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**Explaining the commerce of Roman Mediterranean Ports: the evidence from
scripta commercii and law**

by

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VOLUME I. THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Faculty of Humanities

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EXPLAINING THE COMMERCE OF ROMAN MEDITERRANEAN PORTS: THE EVIDENCE FROM *SCRIPTA COMMERCII* AND LAW

Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz

The aim of this work is to study the commercial activity of Mediterranean ports during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire. There has been an increase in the last years in the amount of ancient port studies, increasingly showing that ports cannot be viewed in isolation, or simply in relation to the sea (Keay: 2012). That conception has been the impetus for the development of interdisciplinary studies carried out on several ports (e.g. Portus, Baelo Claudia, Narbonne). Archaeologists have recovered many Roman-era port structures revealing the multiple functions of these constructions (e.g. administrative, legal). However, regarding the available evidence of these structures, almost nothing is found in recent publications that tells us how a port worked, what its output was, how wholesale and retail sales were transacted, or what sort of accounting and registration of the transactions took place at ports. These gaps in the research are partly due to the lack of consideration of the legal framework in relation to commerce and distribution, and especially concerning the merchandise that was distributed between ports.

In order to try to answer questions such as these, this study seeks to understand the commercial procedures taking place across the interconnected port-systems from the Mediterranean in the period from 1st through the 3rd cent. AD. This research focuses on the commercial inscriptions, which I have labelled as *scripta commercii*. These inscriptions recorded essential data (e.g. owner, weight) from the contracts agreed by the parties, the diverse controlling procedures carried out, and the itinerary traced by the container from the departure until the arrival to destination, among other things. My work evidences a model concerning the commercial cycle in which artefacts moved from the point of manufacture and purchase (e.g. kilns) until their arrival at a specific destination (e.g. port, market). This model will be applied to three main case studies concerning the functions of sale, transport and control performed on the distribution of merchandise from port to port.

These three case studies will reveal different features of the contracts used for the distribution of goods for both retail and state supply, and of the roles played by the different actors involved in distribution. Every legal decision made by anyone engaged in maritime trade would have been driven by one overarching agenda, namely to reduce the risk of the venture failing. The

study of the contracts of sale and lease & hire through material and textual evidence will highlight the flexibility of these contractual schemes, which can be adapted to different situations depending on the agreements established by the parties. In addition, these three case studies, and especially the one concerning control, will question the relation between private and public in the Roman Empire, reassessing the roles of private subjects for the *Annona* distribution. Finally, the three case studies bridge the gap between the legal schemes provided by Roman jurists and the daily commercial practices performed by merchants.

RÉSUMÉ

Expliquer le commerce des ports méditerranéens romains: l'évidence de *scripta commercii* et de la loi

Dans un empire si grand que celui de Rome, le commerce pratiqué au long de ses côtes est un des facteurs qui permet de parler d'un niveau relativement élevé d'intégration dans l'empire. Cette thèse se concentre sur les trois premiers siècles de notre ère, lorsque la domination romaine s'établit autour de la Méditerranée et que les ports situés le long de ses rives se sont développés et ont accueilli le trafic commercial qui arrivait de tout l'empire. Les ports étaient des endroits stratégiques à partir desquels transitaient les principaux flux commerciaux entre Rome et ses provinces méditerranéennes. Ce travail tente de comprendre les schémas fonctionnels et légaux de vente, de transport et de contrôle des marchandises distribuées dans les ports méditerranéens. D'une part, il vise à expliquer comment les sujets impliqués dans le commerce et le transport de marchandises ont pu mener à bien ces tâches. D'autre part, les fonctions de contrôle exercées par les autorités portuaires ont été également étudiées, dans le but de mieux comprendre l'administration romaine et la comptabilité.

Ce travail est fondé sur l'analyse des inscriptions visibles sur les marchandises distribuées dans les ports romains et sur les routes commerciales le long des côtes méditerranéennes. Les artefacts étudiés sont des amphores, des cruches, des *ostraka*, des tonneaux, des lingots, des étiquettes, des sceaux, des bouchons et des marbres. L'épigraphie de marchandises comprend des inscriptions que j'ai nommé *scripta commercii*. Ce terme fait référence aux inscriptions attestant des procédures de distribution commerciale dans lesquelles l'objet était impliqué. Ces marques pouvaient être peintes, estampillées ou gravées. Les *Scripta commercii* ont été écrites durant l'étape se situant entre l'acquisition de la marchandise par un marchand et l'arrivée à destination. Ce travail cherche à comprendre pourquoi ces objets ont été inscrits avec cette information, à examiner si les inscriptions suivent un système, et finalement à utiliser les inscriptions pour retracer les fonctions de vente, de transport et de contrôle impliquées dans le commerce. Cependant, dans les cas où les inscriptions n'ont pas été conservées, j'ai abordé ces questions en considérant d'autres sources disponibles, telles que les textes juridiques et littéraires.

Les études antérieures sur l'épigraphie commerciale se sont concentrées presque exclusivement sur des catégories uniques d'objets plutôt que sur une approche comparative des différentes marchandises. Par conséquent, un des buts de ma recherche est d'être de comparer les inscriptions enregistrées sur différents types d'objets, à la recherche de motifs communs ou divergents. Les objectifs de ce travail ont amené à exclure normalement les inscriptions relatives à la production du conteneur lui-même (par exemple, les timbres d'amphores), car l'intérêt principal s'est concentré sur le processus de distribution. Cependant, les marques de production ont été

considérées pour mieux comprendre la distribution, dans les cas où les rôles liés à la livraison de ce matériel devaient être mieux définis. Ceci est particulièrement important dans le cas des inscriptions sur les tonneaux, qui n'ont pas fait l'objet d'études approfondies comme l'amphore; ou pour le cas des biens distribués pour la fourniture publique. Ce dernier suppose l'implication à la fois des acteurs privés et des magistrats romains. Ainsi, l'étude de toutes les preuves disponibles en termes de production et de distribution permet d'établir les différents rôles des acteurs et leur implication dans le processus d'expédition.

L'un des objectifs de ce travail est aussi de présenter une nouvelle approche méthodologique pour étudier les ports de la Méditerranée romaine, en mettant l'accent sur les activités juridiques qui s'y déroulaient. Par conséquent, j'ai qualifié cette méthode d'archéologie juridique, en mettant l'accent sur les espaces dans lesquels les procédures légales avaient lieu. C'est une façon de décrire et de définir l'espace en fonction des interactions des différents sujets. Le droit romain ne devrait pas être considéré comme un système unitaire où les règles juridiques sont imposées par le pouvoir en place, mais plutôt comme un processus dynamique d'interaction bidirectionnelle entre Rome et les habitants de l'empire.

Les *Scripta commercii* font référence aux procédures associées à la vente, au transport et au contrôle des cargaisons, ainsi qu'aux acteurs impliqués dans ces pratiques. Chaque terme ou abréviation utilisé dans ces inscriptions délivre un message distinct et unique, reflétant souvent l'organisation interne ou les contrats formalisés lors des opérations. Certaines des inscriptions ont été trouvées loin des côtes, mais elles auraient pu y arriver l'uniquement par une combinaison de transport terrestre et maritime.

Les *scripta commercii* sont la preuve d'activités humaines dans les ports. Les étudier nous aide à évaluer le degré d'intégration commerciale à travers la Méditerranée romaine, à combler la théorie et la pratique, et à considérer le caractère hybride du droit romain dans les provinces. Les questions de recherche de cette thèse ont été:

- L'épigraphie commerciale suit-elle un système?
- Dans quelle mesure pouvons-nous comprendre les *scripta commercii* dans leur contexte juridique romain?
- Quelles caractéristiques du commerce et du transport dans les ports peuvent être abordées à partir des *scripta commercii*?
- Que pouvons-nous dire de l'administration romaine du commerce dans les ports à travers les *scripta commercii*?
- Peut-on voir des preuves d'intégration commerciale à travers la Méditerranée à travers l'analyse des *scripta commercii*?
- Pouvons-nous détecter l'influence des coutumes et des pratiques locales dans les *scripta commercii*?

L'un des objectifs de ce travail est de comprendre si ces inscriptions suivent un système et, le cas échéant, les événements commerciaux pouvant être évoqués dans chaque inscription. Les *scripta commercii* résument les principales caractéristiques des contrats formalisés entre les parties.

Percevoir des traits systématiques ou répétitifs de ces marques sur la marchandise pourrait révéler certaines caractéristiques de ce cadre juridique impérial commun. La relation entre les inscriptions écrites sur un artefact masque une série de phénomènes liés à l'économie politique, aux monopoles, à la propriété et à la responsabilité qui découlent des accords conclus entre les parties concernées. Cette recherche commence par examiner Les artefacts individuels ont été d'abord examinés, puis contextualisés et comparés à d'autres sources de preuves, afin de les placer dans l'organisation du commerce dans les ports romains.

L' étude comprend trois niveaux de référence nécessaires pour bien comprendre le matériel: d'abord, l'objet et son texte inscrit; en second lieu, le port et son système; et troisièmement, les procédures impliquées dans la distribution de l'objet inscrit. Un système portuaire est un ensemble de composants interdépendants formant un ensemble intégré. Les sites étudiés dans le cadre du projet Portus Limen peuvent être décrits comme faisant partie des systèmes portuaires, ce qui a assuré le mouvement des navires et de leurs cargaisons autour de la Méditerranée. Ainsi, le concept central de ces ports est la connectivité entre leurs différentes structures qui assuraient le mouvement des navires et de leurs cargaisons autour de la Méditerranée.

Les liens entre les bâtiments, l'administration et les parties commerciales étaient des éléments clés d'un réseau plus large d'infrastructures portuaires axées sur l'approvisionnement de l'empire romain en denrées alimentaires et autres matériaux provenant de toute la Méditerranée. Il est nécessaire de concilier le développement des structures portuaires, conditionné par les exigences de la navigation et du transport, avec l'étude des opérations commerciales qui facilitent les flux commerciaux le long des côtes méditerranéennes. Dans ce contexte, les *scripta commercii* sont des témoins matériels polyfonctionnels indiquant les activités des acteurs du commerce portuaire, attirés dans le cadre économique et commercial plus proche.

La zone géographique couverte par le projet Portus Limen est large, incluant des zones éloignées et socialement diverses. Ces ports avaient des structures différentes, construites en fonction de leurs besoins fonctionnels, et adaptées aux caractéristiques de la terre ou de la ville auxquelles ces ports étaient associés. En ce sens, les ports et leurs installations conditionnent les procédures qui s'y déroulent. Par exemple, le contrôle de l'empire ou de la ville sur le port conditionnait la mise en place de structures organisationnelles et les rôles et fonctions attribués aux personnes travaillant dans les ports, que changeaient en fonction du contrôle de l'empire ou de la province sur le port. Chaque port peut être compris comme un lieu particulier, où non seulement les structures, mais aussi le contrôle sur les mêmes ports, façonnent ses caractéristiques. Les différences entre les itinéraires et les ports de destination peuvent ainsi révéler différentes manières de définir les contrats, ainsi que des différences culturelles, structurelles ou organisationnelles. Cela peut se refléter dans les inscriptions ainsi que dans le type de produits et leur emballage. En raison du grand nombre d'inscriptions et de la vaste zone étudiée, j'ai tracé des modèles généraux pour décrire le commerce dans les ports méditerranéens, visant à étudier les problèmes concrets et individuels qui en découlent.

Cet ouvrage est issu d'un dialogue entre la compréhension théorique du commerce romain en puisant dans les sources anciennes, et la pratique commerciale découlant de l'analyse des *scripta commercii*, qui composent notre registre matériel. La loi commerciale romaine était établie sous des

formes contractuelles modelées par la jurisprudence et les lois de l'empire, mais aussi dans leur application pratique. Le droit romain a façonné certaines institutions juridiques, qui offraient des solutions pragmatiques aux problèmes quotidiens pour être appliqués à divers cas. Ces remarques soulignent le fait qu'il y avait une interaction entre la loi et ce qui a été fait dans la pratique des affaires.

En ce sens, les *scripta commercii* sont à la fois des artefacts archéologiques et des documents historiques. Ils ont essentiellement été conçus pour transmettre des données sur des questions commerciales. Ces objets sont des preuves renseignant les pratiques commerciales, et nous permettent de remettre en question certains points de vue traditionnels du commerce romain. L'analyse des différentes techniques ou de la calligraphie employée dans les inscriptions nous aide à discerner certains détails sur le contexte juridique de l'objet. Les *scripta commercii* fournissent des données essentielles (par exemple, type de produit, quantité) permettant de comprendre comment la distribution des produits a été menée. Chaque inscription constitue une preuve d'interactions entre individus, collectifs ou autorités portuaires. C'est à partir de ces petites interactions que les phénomènes à plus grande échelle peuvent être abordés. Les informations fournies par l'épigraphie sur les marchandises doivent être complétées et contextualisées avec d'autres données, telles que des sources littéraires ou l'épigraphie monumentale.

Malgré les lacunes pour aborder ces questions à partir des vestiges archéologiques, il est possible de comprendre une gamme de fonctions couramment effectuées dans la plupart des ports, y compris le chargement, le déchargement, la réception, la quantification, la dégustation, le stockage et l'enregistrement. En outre, les *scripta commercii* fournissent des informations sur la taxation, et par conséquent sur les interactions entre les sujets provinciaux et les autorités romaines. Les ~~inter~~relations entre les différents peuples qui vivaient et commerçaient à travers le bassin méditerranéen ont été explorées du point de vue de l'autorité impériale et des besoins pratiques du commerce romain. Dans le contexte de la domination romaine, la loi de l'empire a influencé les pratiques commerciales, mais elle n'a pas empêché certaines régions de maintenir les coutumes existantes, à condition qu'elles n'interfèrent pas avec les intérêts romains. Cette dichotomie entre les pratiques romaines et locales doit être appliquée aux trois fonctions principales (vente, transport et contrôle) impliquées dans la distribution commerciale des biens. Ces fonctions impliquent l'étude de questions complémentaires, telles que la connexion de ces inscriptions avec les autorités portuaires, à des clients privés, ou avec des implications en cas de litiges contractuels. Les litiges contractuels se rapportent à la juridiction présente dans un port, et à la loi disponible pour les commerçants pour faire respecter les accords, dont ces *scripta commercii* témoignent.

Le droit romain manquait d'une typologie systématique contractuelle, mais fournissait en même temps les outils avec lesquels les individus pouvaient établir les termes de leurs affaires, visant ainsi à réduire les niveaux d'incertitude dans les transactions. Les juristes, individus connaissant la loi et conseillant les gens pour résoudre leurs problèmes, ont cherché à fournir des éléments essentiels pour la validation de toute relation digne de protection (Fiori: 2010, 30). En gardant à l'esprit que les objets inscrits ont été transportés d'un endroit à un autre, la preuve de l'accord dans lequel ils étaient impliqués et les garanties qui en découlaient étaient des questions importantes à prendre en considération en cas de problème.

Alors, "Il est plus profitable d'examiner de fond en comble la question du droit et de la pratique juridique et de se demander si, comment et pourquoi les sujets de Rome, en tant qu'individus ou en tant que groupes, se prévalaient du système juridique romain" (Humfress: 2013, 93). Cette approche nous permet d'intégrer ces matériaux dans toute discussion concernant l'interaction entre les parties impliquées dans le commerce. La récurrence des inscriptions sur les objets nous permet de comprendre que, malgré l'abstraction des principes du droit romain ou leur caractère hybride dans les provinces, les besoins quotidiens du commerce ont participé au développement de certains comportements pour faire face à la diversité des cultures et des pratiques. Une étude des sources matérielles et écrites montrera que c'était le résultat de l'influence combinée de l'empire, des villes et des initiatives privées. Toutes ces questions, vues à travers de multiples prismes croisés tels que la responsabilité, les risques, l'impérialisme et la coutume, permettent de comprendre les ports romains comme une réalité insaisissable et en constante évolution.

Tout au long de ce travail, il a été constaté à plusieurs reprises que l'enregistrement épigraphique des objets commerciaux devait être réinterprété en relation avec le cadre juridique des procédures commerciales dans lesquelles ces objets étaient impliqués. En outre, l'interprétation systématique des objets s'est avérée insuffisante pour comprendre leur rôle dans le commerce romain. Une étape essentielle a donc consisté à retracer les itinéraires commerciaux, afin de parvenir à la pleine compréhension des différentes étapes qui les ont composés. La connaissance approfondie de la distribution et des procédures commerciales a été une question plus simple, pour laquelle des sources légales, littéraires, épigraphiques, papyrologiques ou iconographiques ont été utilisées. Ainsi, une méthodologie à multiples facettes, en comparant les inscriptions et en les reliant à diverses sources juridiques, a permis de reconnaître les marques qui, parmi les complexités individuelles des *scripta commercii*, peuvent être regroupées comme appartenant à un système d'écriture.

Les artefacts commerciaux sont toujours intégrés dans une multitude de contextes régissant leur distribution. Dans ce travail, j'ai suivi une approche ontologique de l'interprétation des *scripta commercii*. Ces objets n'ont de sens que par rapport aux conflits, négociations et appropriations qui se déroulent durant leur itinéraire commercial. Les transformations dans la signification de ces artefacts, pour les sujets interagissant avec eux, peuvent se produire lorsque les objets changent de propriétaire, ou au moment de leur expédition. Les inscriptions indiquent ainsi les différentes situations dans lesquelles ils ont été impliqués et les participants concernés. J'utilise ici le concept-métaphore de l'itinéraire, qui est nécessaire pour comprendre les transformations qui sont arrivées à l'objet pendant le chemin commercial, et qui se sont matérialisées à travers les inscriptions.

Pour comprendre les inscriptions dans le contexte commercial, j'ai créé un modèle qui vise à étudier le paysage en considérant les procédures commerciales, réalisées dans les ports méditerranéens, et leur cadre légal, contrôlé et protégé par la loi de l'empire. Ce modèle a été créé pour prendre en compte tous les éléments structurels pouvant être présents dans n'importe quel port (entrepôts, docks, par exemple), et les opérations commerciales s'y déroulant selon les normes du droit romain. En comparant différents ports et leurs procédures commerciales, l'existence d'un modèle est utile pour voir les différences entre les ports et les expliquer. Pour cette raison, des

généralisations peuvent être utilisées pour faire face à ces différences. Les exceptions à ces généralisations, qu'il s'agisse de cas extrêmes ou de cas marginaux problématiques, posent des problèmes assez différents. À un certain niveau, ils nous rappellent utilement que le monde n'est pas si soigneusement ordonné, et que tout ne rentre pas dans un schéma intellectuel unique. Ainsi, à la fois la diversité et les exceptions peuvent être utilisées pour prouver ou réfuter la réalité d'une chose.

Les études de cas (chapitres 5-7) montrent que lorsque l'on considère différentes régions du monde romain, un certain nombre de ces procédures de répartition peut être identifié à travers les différentes sources et matériaux. Les variations résident dans les différentes structures, dans le contrôle du port par les autorités locales ou romaines, et dans les accords établis entre les parties. En effet, ce travail a permis de démontrer qu'il n'existe pas un modèle-type de cargo, de vente, ou d'inspection. Rien ne justifie l'opinion généralement répandue selon laquelle les besoins du commerce à longue distance étaient complètement contrôlés par les autorités romaines, afin de satisfaire les besoins de l'approvisionnement de l'état. Ce travail démontre plutôt que le commerce impérial romain était constitué d'un certain nombre d'acteurs et d'autorités, liés au contrôle du trafic commercial, qui voulaient s'assurer que les cargaisons atteignent leurs destinations et que les taxes soient payées.

L'étude des *scripta commercii* suggère qu'à travers la Méditerranée romaine, les règles et les coutumes locales étaient importantes et influençaient le commerce. Il existait un système intrinsèque dans les *scripta commercii* dans lequel le produit, les propriétaires et les prix étaient reflétés (pour établir les droits et obligations essentiels des parties qui interagissaient avec eux. (ou « Les *scripta commercii* étaient réalisées selon un système d'écriture précis, traduisant les interactions produits-propriétaires-prix, et établissant les droits et les obligations essentiels des parties qui interagissaient avec eux). Les différences sont évidentes dans les positions des inscriptions et les cas linguistiques utilisés, ces deux aspects révélant différents rôles et événements qui se produisaient pendant le cycle de vie des objets. Aussi, les différences entre les inscriptions mettent en évidence des pratiques contrastées dans différentes régions de la Méditerranée.

Il y avait ainsi une interaction entre le droit impérial et les pratiques coutumières au niveau local, dans lequel les sujets impliqués utilisaient la « loi universelle des Romains » dans le but d'établir des relations commerciales. La coutume, qui était la forme de droit la plus rudimentaire mais la plus fondamentale (Kelley: 1990, 3), complétée par les pratiques locales, comble les lacunes de la loi impériale qui n'étaient pas forcément appliquées ou connues dans de nombreuses provinces de l'empire (Kantor: 2009, 249-259). Les différences entre les *scripta commercii* mettent en évidence la contradiction entre les ambitions du centre (Rome) et l'expérience de la périphérie (provinces). Le système d'administration était juxtaposé aux différents cadres culturels, et la communication littéraire bureaucratique contraste avec les communications personnelles et orales non officielles (Tuori: 2007, 40). De plus, les différences dans les techniques utilisées par les particuliers, pour vendre leurs produits, montrent comment les marchands ont essayé de faire face aux limites d'un monde d'affaires préindustriel.

Dans les cas d'études, j'ai observé que les textes relatifs à la location des bateaux se réfèrent toujours à la cargaison en unités reflétant la capacité, car c'est ainsi que les expéditeurs ont pu

établir le prix à payer par les commerçants. De plus, pour les produits qui apparaissent inscrits et qui ont été vendus dans un contenant, les textes légaux sur le bail et l'embauche s'y réfèrent en indiquant les unités de capacité. Par ailleurs, des citernes à huile non identifiées ont été mentionnées dans des textes juridiques en référence à une unité de capacité, la *metreta*, qui fait probablement référence aux volumes importants dans lesquels l'huile était vendue et emballée.

De plus, l'étude des différents *scripta* a confirmé que les artefacts ont été écrits afin d'atteindre un certain type de contrat de vente. J'ai souligné qu'il y avait plusieurs façons de vendre des produits et que cela se reflétait dans les inscriptions sur les objets dans lesquels ils étaient transportés. Une question particulièrement intéressante concerne l'utilisation d'échantillons, qui ont été utilisés de deux manières différentes. D'une part, il y a les échantillons utilisés pour engager un client potentiel dans une vente, en permettant aux produits d'être dégustés avant l'achat. Cette pratique était donc destinée à produire un contrat de vente. D'autre part, nous avons les échantillons utilisés dans le commerce des céréales qui accompagnait une cargaison et qui étaient inscrits selon les détails de l'expédition. Dans ce cas, la vente avait déjà été acceptée, mais il manquait la dégustation d'un échantillon du produit. Ces échantillons sont donc un instrument qui réduit le risque potentiel que pourraient subir les fournisseurs de grains, en donnant la preuve que le grain n'a pas été modifié. Les inscriptions indiquant si le navire dans lequel la cargaison a été transportée appartenait ou non à l'État, indiquent que la même pratique a été utilisée, que la cargaison ait été adressée ou non à l'*annona*. Ces derniers échantillons ont donc effectivement agi comme une sorte de document de voyage, qui certifie, soit aux responsables de l'inspection, soit aux procureurs chargés de la réception, la cargaison, sa qualité et le contrat convenu avec les expéditeurs.

Il s'agit à présent d'aborder le sujet du moment où les responsabilités du marchand et du transporteur commençaient, et de leurs limites, compte tenu notamment du fait que l'une des obligations du vendeur était d'amener les marchandises vendues au client. Une fois que les marchandises étaient chargées dans le navire, la garde de celles-ci à l'expéditeur, sauf en cas d'attaques de pirates ou de tempêtes (D.4.9.3.1). Les différents rôles impliqués dans le transport ont équilibré les risques et les responsabilités de chaque partie lors de la navigation. Ces rôles établissaient la relation entre les différents acteurs au cas où un événement empêchait l'accomplissement du contrat. L'enregistrement et le paiement des taxes, pour les produits vendus et expédiés, constituaient des obligations tant pour le commerçant que pour l'expéditeur. Le négociant devait enregistrer les marchandises qui partaient d'un port et payait les taxes dues sur les marchandises, tandis que l'expéditeur payait des taxes pour l'utilisation du port et des frais de douane, dans les cas où il transportait ses propres marchandises.

L'étude du dossier épigraphique des artefacts impliqués dans l'*annona* révèle certaines spécificités dans les formules écrites sur les objets associés avec ce type de distribution (par exemple Dressel 20). En outre, l'étude de l'approvisionnement de l'huile d'olive, de pierre et des céréales, révèle que l'importance de ces produits a conduit à une augmentation du contrôle de leur collecte et de leur distribution. Cependant, contrairement à de nombreux chercheurs intéressés par le sujet de l'*annona*, mon étude du dossier épigraphique de ces produits révèle que le fournissement d'État ne doit pas être considéré comme des modalités commerciales totalement différentes du commerce entamé par des acteurs privés. Les sources juridiques ne créent pas de forme contractuelle spécifique

et unique à appliquer à ces transactions, mais elles servent à louer les services d'individus pour effectuer certains travaux. De cette façon, l'État romain contrôlait le commerce mais en gardant son intervention à un niveau *minimum*.

Ce scénario semble plus dynamique si l'on pense que ces accords pouvaient être modifiés par la volonté des parties engagées ou de l'État, visant à atteindre un objectif concret. Je mentionne l'État en tant qu'entité distincte, parce que, comme je l'ai dit, dans un contrat d'État, les parties n'ont pas le même statut, l'État pouvant modifier certains détails des accords. Par exemple, dans le cas du Dressel 20, l'État a assumé la responsabilité du transport à un moment ou à un autre, dans le but d'encourager l'expédition de l'huile d'olive à Rome. Ainsi, l'État semble agir en tant qu'entité en assumant des responsabilités et en exonérant des taxes les personnes impliquées, ceci encourageant son offre.

Cependant, l'État romain contrôlait étroitement le commerce et percevait de larges sommes d'impôts et de taxes, ce qui pouvait être perçu comme n'étant pas très favorable à certains commerçants. Cependant, les preuves archéologiques et textuelles indiquent un flux intense de marchandises vers Rome et les autres provinces, ce qui indique que les taxes n'étaient pas assez élevées pour empêcher les commerçants de faire du commerce. L'intervention des évergétistes, dans le paiement des taxes pour encourager le commerce dans leurs ports locaux, ou la diversification de l'activité commerciale de certains commerçants - travaillant pour l'état et l'approvisionnement au détail, aide à compléter cette image dynamique du commerce dans l'empire romain.

Il est clair que les parties impliquées dans le commerce à longue distance voulaient que les marchandises soient livrées en toute sécurité, ce qui a mené à des ententes officielles établissant les responsabilités des parties concernées et de leurs objectifs. Par conséquent, certains des éléments qui étaient implicites dans ces accords (par exemple obligation, propriété, responsabilité) sont transcrits dans les inscriptions sur les biens échangés. En outre, les inscriptions fournissaient des informations qui devaient être prises en compte par l'État romain, comme celui-ci contrôlait le flux des cargaisons se déplaçant entre les ports de la Méditerranée. Les différents *scripta commercii* fournissent des informations relatives à l'économie politique, aux monopoles, à la propriété et à la responsabilité qui découlent des accords conclus entre les parties concernées. Les codes et les abréviations utilisés sur les inscriptions induisaient une prise de conscience par les commerçants des processus juridiques qui sous-tendaient le commerce maritime.

Le commerce dans l'empire romain des trois premiers siècles de notre ère a fonctionné dans un cadre juridique bien établi, prévu par le droit romain. Ce cadre était le produit de la théorie et de la pratique juridiques. Ainsi, les longues distances et les différences culturelles indiquent que ces pratiques communes ont été développées pour que les entreprises commerciales puissent fonctionner efficacement. La distribution efficace des marchandises a nécessité la création d'un système symbolique élaboré qui a promu la légitimité et les coutumes commerciales à travers l'empire. Ainsi, le contraste entre les traits commerciaux systémiques et ceux qui en diffèrent révèle qu'il existe différents niveaux d'intégration de la distribution des biens échangés autour de la Méditerranée. L'analyse des ensembles de données combinés a conduit à la création d'un modèle des procédures qui ont eu lieu le long des routes maritimes qui sillonnaient la Méditerranée. L'analyse des sources matérielles et textuelles selon ce modèle a révélé les différents types de vente

et de transport qui ont soutenu ces distributions. Cette approche a permis de mieux spécifier les activités des personnes qui ont pratiqué ces routes en vendant, contrôlant, transportant et en acquérant des marchandises dans différentes parties de la Méditerranée. De cette façon, nous ~~ne~~ pouvons mieux comprendre la perception dans l'empire, et leurs rôles dans le commerce, ainsi que l'influence de l'identité impériale sur les différentes routes commerciales.

Les itinéraires de livraison ont commencé dans un port d'origine et se sont terminés au port de destination où les cargaisons ont été déchargées. Deux centres de demande se détachent des routes commerciales canalisées par des réseaux de ports: la ville de Rome et l'armée. Cette dernière était située à différents endroits le long des limes romains. Les navires, les personnes et les marchandises se déplaçaient le long des routes sur lesquelles ces deux centres constituaient des pôles importants, certains ports prospérant en raison de leur emplacement par rapport à eux. Les commerçants spécialisés dans certains produits suivent un parcours régulier et une certaine façon de distribuer les marchandises (au détail ou en vrac). Les différentes procédures se déroulant le long des voies de distribution ont été reconstruites dans un modèle. Il a permis de décrire l'itinéraire de *scripta commercii*, en suivant les différentes procédures dans lesquelles l'artefact était impliqué depuis son lieu de départ, jusqu'à la livraison au client. Les actions qui ont eu lieu le long du parcours comprennent le scellage, le chargement, le contrôle, (pesage, mesure et dégustation), le déchargement, l'enregistrement et le paiement des taxes; elles se terminaient par le stockage de la manutention des marchandises. Ces actions ont été réalisées par le biais d'accords juridiques conclus par les parties impliquées dans le commerce, qui définissaient les droits et la responsabilité des parties, et les garanties que le client pouvait attendre des commerçants.

Trois fonctions principales peuvent être rassemblées à partir des voies de distribution, de vente, de contrôle et de transport. C'est à partir de l'étude de ces trois fonctions à travers les sources matérielles et juridiques que des problématiques plus larges émergent. Les fonctions ont été incorporées dans deux contrats utilisés dans la distribution (vente et location), et dans les divers contrôles effectués par les autorités romaines sur les cargaisons se déplaçant à travers les ports. Ainsi, ces contrats évoquent les personnes qui travaillaient dans les ports, des individus qui sont autrement largement invisibles. Ainsi, les inscriptions nous informent sur la manière dont les contrats de vente étaient convenus et exécutés; quelles en étaient les limites, les droits et les risques dans la navigation pouvant en être déduits; et comment les procédures de contrôle étaient appliquées aux cargaisons. Ces fonctions traitent de la relation entre les sujets privés et les autorités impériales dans la création de modèles de vente et de distribution de biens.

La première intention de ce travail était d'approcher l'archéologie romaine et la loi en conjonction, une étape nécessaire pour parvenir à une meilleure compréhension des sources des deux disciplines. Dans son livre de 1999, David Johnston a indiqué que "to write history using the legal sources alone is inadvisable; whenever possible other evidence should be employed too" (1999, 29). Les *scripta commercii* représentent une source importante d'informations, qui doivent être considérées dans leur contexte, en particulier dans le commerce de l'empire romain, où les différents individus essayaient d'échanger et d'être protégés en cas de problème dans la transaction. Les archéologues classiques ont parfois compris que le commerce était une science, quantifiant, établissant des statistiques et des réseaux. Ces méthodes permettent d'éclairer les sources

différemment et de mettre en évidence des informations importantes, mais ces sources ne doivent être sorties de leur contexte humain pour pouvoir être pleinement analysées. Il est nécessaire de placer les données dans un scénario où l'on peut voir non seulement combien de conteneurs ont voyagé d'un endroit à l'autre, ou quels sont les endroits concernés par le trajet, mais aussi les mesures prises pour expédier les marchandises d'un endroit à l'autre, et les risques et les passifs assumés, etc. Si nous suivons cette approche, alors les sujets impliqués dans ces processus apparaissent soudainement (peuvent être compris de manière dynamique ?), et il est possible d'imaginer les ports d'une manière différente.

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List of abbreviations

Abbreviation	Complete name	Bibliography/ link associated
A.	Letter referring to amphora	See catalogue of <i>scripta commercii</i> in the Appendix VIII
AE	Année épigraphique	
AEA	Anuario español de arqueología	
AHDE	Anuario de historia del derecho español, Madrid, INEJ, 1924-	
AJP	The American Journal of Philology	
AntAfr	Antiquités Africaines	
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt	
AUPA	Annali del Seminario giuridico dell'Università di Palermo	http://www1.unipa.it/~dipstdir/pub/annali/annali.htm
B.	Letter referring to barrel	See catalogue of <i>scripta commercii</i> in the Appendix VIII
BCH	Bulletin de la correspondance Hellénique	https://www.persee.fr/collection/bch
BMC	<i>British Museum Coins</i>	Poole, R.S. (ed.), A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Italy. London c. 1873
CAG	Carte archéologique de la Gaule	http://www.aibl.fr/publications/collections/carte-archeologique-de-la-gaule/?lang=fr
CGG	Cahiers du Centre Gustave Gotz	
CI.	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>	Krueger: 1877; Frier (ed: 2016) For the compilation of legal sources used in this work, see Appendix IX
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de//drupal/?q=en/node/291
CLA	Customs Law of Asia	Cottier et al: 2008
CTh.	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>	Pharr: 1952; For the compilation of legal sources used in this work, see Appendix IX
D.	<i>Justinian's Digest</i>	Watson: 1998-2004. For the compilation of legal sources used in this work, see Appendix IX
DHA	Dialogues d'histoire ancienne	
EP	<i>Edictum perpetuum</i>	Lenel: 1927
FIR	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui</i>	Bruns/ Mommsen: 1887

FIRA	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani</i>	Riccobono: 1941; Ferrini/ Furlani: 1968; Arangio-Ruiz: 1968
G.	Gaius' Institutes	Seckel and Kubler: 1935; Zulueta (ed.) 1946-53; David & Nelson (ed.): 1954-68; Nelson & Manthe: 1992-2007; Gordon & Robinson: 1988
Gnomon	<i>Gnomon of the idios logos</i>	Riccobono: 1950
HS	<i>Sextarius</i>	
I.	Letter referring to ingot	See catalogue of <i>scripta commercii</i> in the Appendix VIII
II.	<i>Institutiones Iustiniani</i>	Latinlibrary.com
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae (Berlin, 1873-)</i>	http://epigraphy.packhum.org/
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, R. Cagnat, J. Toutain, et al., eds., Vol 1, 2, 4 (no more publ.) (Paris 1901-27, repr. Rome 1964)</i>	
IJNA	International Journal of Nautical Archaeology	
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones latinae selectae</i>	Dessau: 1892
IVRA	Rivista Internazionale del diritto romano e antico (Naples)	
JDS	Journal des savants	https://www.persee.fr/collection/jds
JJP	Journal of Juristic Papyrology	http://www.taubenschlagfoundation.org/jjp.html
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology	http://www.journalofromanarch.com/
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies	https://www.jstor.org/journal/jromanstudies
LABEO	Labeo, Rassegna di diritto romano (Naples)	
LC	Lacuscurtius	http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/
<i>Lex Silia</i>	<i>Lex Silia de ponderibus publicis (287-218 BC)</i>	Festus, F. 246 (<i>FIRA</i> I, Firenze, 1941)
LL	The Latin Library	http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/
M.Ant.Fr.	Musée des antiquités françaises	

MBAH	Munstersche Beitrage zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte	
MEFRA	Mélanges de l'école française de Rome	
Mon. Eph.	Monumentum Ephesenum=Customs Law of Asia	Cottier et al: 2008
O.	Letter referring to artefacts belonging to the category "other <i>scripta commercii</i> " (Marble, labels, jars)	See catalogue of <i>scripta commercii</i> in the Appendix VIII
OGIS	<i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i>	Dittemberg: 1902
P.□	Papyrus and in brackets, the collection to which it belongs and its number	http://papyri.info/
p.	Page of the thesis	
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome	
Pers.	Perseus Digital library	http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/
Pl.	Plate	
PS	<i>Pauli Sententiae</i>	Levy: 1965; Fosatti Vanzetti: 1995
REA	Revue des études anciennes	
RIB	<i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i>	http://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/
RIDA	Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité	http://local.droit.ulg.ac.be/sa/rida/?tdm=pub
RIL	<i>Reccueil des inscriptions libiques</i>	Chabot: 1940-1
S.	Letter referring to stopper	See catalogue of <i>scripta commercii</i> in the Appendix VIII
SB	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i>	http://epigraphy.packhum.org/book/377?location=1492
SDHI	Storia et Documenta Historiae Iuris	
SEBarc	Sylloge Epigraphica Barcinonensis	

SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>	http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum
SHA	Scriptores Historia Augusta	
Tab. Vind.	<i>Tabulae Vindolanda</i>	http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/
TAPhA	Transactions of the Americal Philological Association	
TPSulp.	<i>Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum</i>	Camodeca: 1999
TH	<i>Tabulae Herculaneses</i>	http://www.centroarancio-ruiz.unina.it/tabulae-ceratae-della-campania/
ZPE	Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigrafik (Bonn)	http://www.habelt.de/index.php?id=26
ZSS	Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung	

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Exploring the commerce of Roman Mediterranean Ports: the evidence of epigraphy

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signed:

Date: 1st march, 2018

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Chapter 1

Introduction. *Scripta commercii* and Mediterranean Roman ports

1.1. Overview

The Mediterranean is an intricately patterned tapestry of customs and practices. The mass of water has been regarded as a border and a site of violent cultural conflict, but alternatively as a bridge or road, linking all who lived on its shores. In an empire as big as that of Rome, one of the elements that speaks most strongly to its relatively high level of integration was the commerce that took place along its different shores (Plin. *Pan.* 29.2–3; Liban. *Orat.* 59.171). This thesis focuses on the first three centuries AD, when Roman domination was established around the Mediterranean and the ports located along its shores were growing and hosting commercial traffic from all corners of the empire. The following map (Figure 1) displays the ports considered:

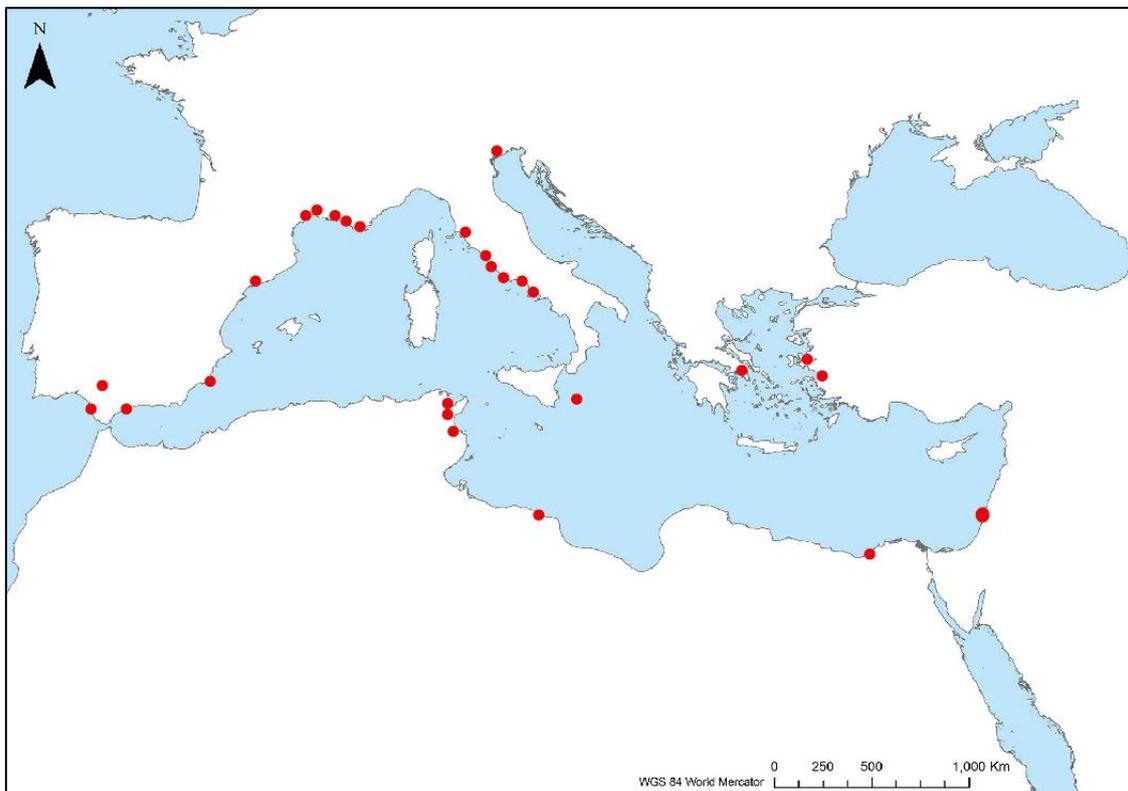


Figure 1. Roman ports studied in the Portus Limen project

Specifically, the Roman ports studied are: Acholla, Alexandria, Aquileia, Arelate, Caesarea Maritima, Carthago, Carthago Nova; Cemtumcellae; Cumae; Elaia; Ephesus; Forum Iulii; Gades, Hispalis, Kane, Lepcis Magna, Leptiminus, Massallia, Narbo, Neapolis, Ostia, Piraeus, Pitane, Portus, Puteoli, Roma, Sullechtum, Tarraco, Telo Martius, Thapsus, Utica, and Vada Volterrana. (Keay: 2012, 6). These major ports acted as key nodes through which major commercial flows were channelled moving between Rome and its Mediterranean provinces. This work attempts to understand the

functional and legal patterns of sale, transport, and control of goods performed in Mediterranean ports. On the one hand, it aims to explain how subjects involved in trade and transport of goods performed these functions. On the other hand, it is intended to gain a deeper insight into the controlling functions carried out by port authorities, aiming to better understand Roman administration and accountancy.

Regarding the archaeological evidence from the Classical Roman world, almost nothing is found which tells us how a port worked, what size and what sort of workforce it employed, what its output was, how wholesale and retail sales were transacted and what costs and profits were implied in trade. This work is based on the analysis of inscriptions on merchandise distributed to Roman ports and commercial routes along Mediterranean shores. The artefacts studied are amphorae, jars, barrels, ingots, labels, seals, stoppers and marbles. This epigraphy of merchandise includes inscriptions which I have named *scripta commercii*. This term refers to the inscriptions on artefacts reflecting the procedures of commercial distribution in which the object was involved. These marks could be painted, stamped or engraved. *Scripta commercii* were written at some stage between a merchant's acquisition of the merchandise and the arrival at its destination, what *a priori* excludes production marks (e.g. stamps) from this study. This work seeks to understand why these artefacts were inscribed with this information, examine if the inscriptions followed a system, and finally use the inscriptions to trace the sale, transport and control functions involved in commerce. However, in cases when inscriptions do not survive, I will address these issues by considering other available sources of evidence, such as legal and literary texts.

Previous studies of commercial epigraphy have focused almost exclusively on single categories of objects rather than considering a comparative approach. Consequently, the other aim of my research is to compare inscriptions recorded on different items in search of common or divergent patterns. These artefacts were embedded in a life cycle involving their production, distribution, use, reuse and discard (Peña: 2007). This work will normally exclude inscriptions relating to the production of the container itself (e.g. amphora stamps), because the main interest is focused on the distribution process and consequently, we need to target exports to remote lands. However, production marks will be considered in the cases when the roles involved on the delivery of that material need to be better defined, to assess their fiscal value (Garlan: 2013, 266) or it is necessary to discover where the products originated (Zevi: 1967, 234). This is especially important for the case of inscriptions on barrels, which have not been subject to comprehensive studies as the amphora; or for the case of goods distributed for public supply. The latter implied the involvement of both private actors and Roman magistrates, thus the study of all the evidence available in terms of production and distribution helps establish the different roles and their involvement on the shipping process. These issues will be especially addressed in Chapter 7.

One of the aims of this work is to present a new methodological approach for studying the commercial side of Roman Mediterranean ports, focusing on the legal activities that took place within them. Therefore, I consider this work as a study belonging to the field of juridical archaeology, that

is a way to describe and define the space according to the interactions of the different subjects, defined and protected by Roman law. Thus this work engages with the *Rechtsarchäologie* tradition, that deals with the research, evaluation, systematization and inventory of witnesses of the (usually older) legal life including the associated locations, symbolism and actions, such as legal, customary, or legally shaped customs (Schwerin & Amira: 1943; Maisel: 1992; Luck: 2012). In that sense, this approach benefits on the one hand from the spatial turn, theoretical approach that in the last years has been used in the field of law to understand spaces of justice (Bablitz: 2007; De Angelis: 2010; Farber: 2014) or domestic locations (Riggsby: 1997; Tuori & Nissin: 2015). For this work, I will focus on the spaces in which legal commercial procedures (e.g. agreements) took place. Thus I will not only to describe the relevant port structures, but I will discuss the interdependence of space, people, behaviour, and law acceptance and practice.

In that sense, we should not view Roman law only as a unitary system imposing legal rulings from above, but more like a dynamic two-way process of interaction between Rome and the empire's inhabitants. Thus, taking a cue from more recent work on legal pluralism in the Roman empire, we should rather employ an anthropological approach by looking at the law from the ground-up and asking to what each party in the contract thought they were agreeing (Tuori: 2007; Humfress: 2013; Kantor: 2014; Ando: 2016; Czajkowski: 2017). Perhaps the time has come to look at the Roman law of sea transport, not as a legal transplant or as the international law of the Mediterranean, but rather as an open system affected by the legal choices made by individual actors involved. In fact, the character of ancient Roman law and its texts would had constituted a kind of legal supermarket, in which lawyers of different periods have found what they needed at the time (Stein: 1999, 2).

However, while I acknowledge the importance of bearing in mind the multilegality and multiculturalism present in the diverse areas of the Mediterranean, this work will present a model based on the so-called classical western Roman law. That model provides a unitary focus to understand how trade was performed at the different Mediterranean ports. As with every model, it leaves aside some particularities that inevitably occur due to the diversity of cultures composing the Roman Empire. The main aim is to use that model to identify the main traits of western legal practices face to the local particularities. The latter could be studied through different case studies to be developed in further work.

Scripta commercii refer to the procedures associated with sale, transport, and control of cargoes, and to the parties involved in these practices. Every term or abbreviation utilized in these inscriptions delivers a distinct and unique message, often reflecting the inner organization or the agreements formalized during the operations. The map of Figure 2 shows the main find-spots of inscribed commercial objects studied in this work. In addition, some inscriptions found in Britain have been considered to complete the sample by comparing different data, and because they were shipped from Mediterranean areas. Some of the inscriptions were found inland, but the products traded, the containers used for transport, and their epigraphic record indicates that they arrived there through a combination of sea and land transport. Other possibility is that these were found inland, but that they

have been found in other areas of the Mediterranean in connection with sea transport (e.g. marble pieces). However, the serial use of waterways and roads is attested in Gaul by the funerary stele of a *nauta Araricus* (shipper from the Saône) preserved at the Dijon Museum (*CIL* XII 5489), shows a scene of loading or unloading a chariot. That material evidence perhaps implies that the road transport was part of the whole of the distribution itinerary and functions of the body of shippers of the river (Demant: 2002, 244).

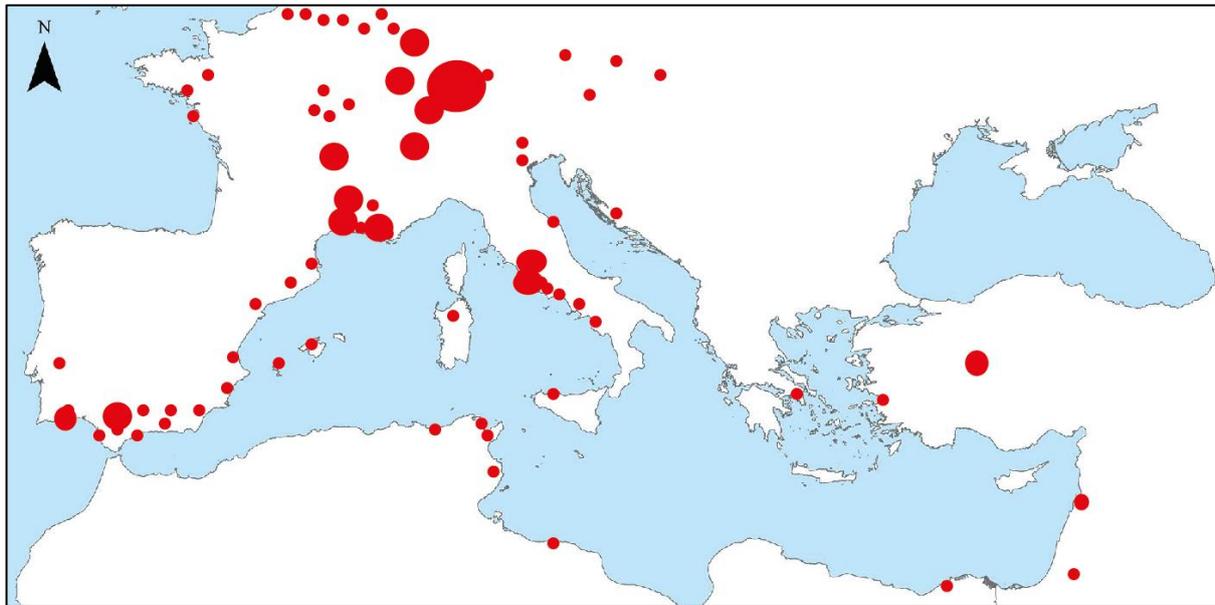


Figure 2. Find spots of *scripta commercii*. The size of the markers indicates the size of the sample found.

When looking at the map, we need to be aware that I am excluding amphorae stamps from this study, except for the cases when that evidence can help reconstruct the distribution process. So for the rest of the inscriptions considered, dominance of *scripta commercii* finds from the western empire can be explained partly because the scarcity of publications that mention painted inscriptions of these sort of objects in the eastern areas.¹ In addition, bearing in mind that this study uses a western classical Roman legal model applied to the whole of the Empire, the most important evidence comes from the west. So the artifacts coming from the eastern part of the Mediterranean can help confirm or question the influence of western roman law in the different areas of the empire. The varying influence of Roman law on practices in the western and the eastern part of the empire could provide additional explanation when studying concrete cases. This is one of the points highlighted in Appendix VII (16.1) as an area of potential future work, since it is a complex issue that needs to be studied on its own.

¹ Instead, for the case of amphora stamps, stamps certainly belonging to the Roman imperial period *SEG* LXIII 232 (Corinth, Hadrian to Severus); 1367 (Knidos, ca. AD 250); 1514 (Palmyra); 1555 (Gadara, publication of 134 stamps); 1567 (Kypros in Palaestina, 37-34 BC); 1661; 1664 (Bahriya Oasis, late imperial); 1685 (Taposiris Magna, 3rd/4th cent. AD). Note also Bezeczky: 2013), summarised in *SEG* LXIII 940.

My research is part of the Portus Limen project, which focuses on the organization and scale of pan-Mediterranean commerce during the first three centuries AD.² This project addresses the study of Roman Mediterranean ports by applying sets of similar approaches from archaeology and related disciplines (e.g. geology, geography, cartography) and historical approaches (e.g. Roman law, epigraphy, iconography) on a Mediterranean-wide scale. To this aim, Portus Limen has built a set of inter-connected databases dealing with the different data from the different disciplines employed.³

1.2. Rethinking Epigraphy: main Research Questions

The *scripta commercii* are evidence of human activities at ports. Studying them will help us evaluate the degree of commercial integration across the Roman Mediterranean, fill the current gap between theory and practice, and consider the hybrid character of Roman law in the provinces. The research questions of this thesis are:

- Does commercial epigraphy follow a system?
- To what extent can we understand the *scripta commercii* within their Roman legal background?
- Which features of commerce and transport in ports can be gathered from *scripta commercii*?
- What can we say about the Roman administration of commerce in ports through the *scripta commercii*?
- Can we see evidence of commercial integration across the Mediterranean through the analysis of the *scripta commercii*?
- Can we detect the influence of local customs and practices in the *scripta commercii*?

One of the objectives of this work is to understand if these inscriptions followed a system, and if so, reveal the commercial events that can be implied from each inscription. To that aim, I have built a model detailed in Chapter 4, matching the written record with the procedures performed during the distribution itinerary of the merchandise. I argue that features such as the language and technique employed for writing, as well as the visual arrangement of words on the artefact are metadiscursive phenomena that shaped the communicative function of the inscription. A better understanding of the inscriptions' communicative function, in turn, allows us to achieve a better reconstruction of the artefacts' commercial itinerary and context inside the cycles of production and distribution. The codes and abbreviations employed for the inscriptions indicate that the subjects were aware of the

² <http://portuslimen.eu/site/portus/>

³ Databases are structured into four sections: General (composed of: harbour system, digital documents, waterbodies, interfaces); Archaeological (structures, sites and occupational phases) all of them created by Nicolas Carayon. Ancient sources (ancient literature, the *scripta commercii*, inscriptions, iconography, and juridical, created by Nuria Garcia Casacuberta, Stephanie Maillieur and the author); and geo-database (geomorpho unit, geo-features, sea levels, geo-stratigraphy, created by Ferréol Salomon).

connotation and purpose of these writings. In this way, the meanings of these inscriptions and their techniques were metapragmatic, as applied to an audience of traders and the associated people.

The *scripta commercii* summarized the main features of the agreements formalized between parties. Perceiving systematic or repetitive traits of these marks on the merchandise might reveal some features of this common imperial legal framework. The relationship between the inscriptions written on an artefact mask a range of phenomena related to the political economy, monopolies, property, and liability that originate in the agreements made among the parties involved. As with every model, these characterizations leave out some particularities of concrete cases. The description of the distribution cycle and the different aims of the techniques used in the inscriptions, however, provide a deeper insight into the traders' intentions.

This research starts with examining individual artefacts, contextualizing and comparing them to other sources of evidence, and then placing them within the organization of commerce in Roman ports. The study has three points of reference needed to fully understand the material: first, the object and its inscribed text; second, the port and its system; and third, the procedures involved in the distribution of the inscribed object. A port system is a set of interdependent component parts forming an integrated whole. The sites studied in the Portus Limen project can be described as forming parts of port systems, which ensured the movement of ships and their cargoes around the Mediterranean. Thus, the central concept of these ports is connectivity between their different structures that ensured the movement of ships and their cargoes around the Mediterranean.

The connections between buildings, administration and trading parties were key elements in a broader network of port infrastructure that was focused on supplying the Roman Empire with foodstuffs and other materials from across the Mediterranean. The different areas indicated in Figure 1 are studied in relation to other places trading there, what implies the interaction within subjects from different legal backgrounds, and access to justice. It is necessary to reconcile port development, conditioned by the requirements of navigation and transport, with the study of trading operations that facilitated trade flows along the Mediterranean coasts. Within this context, *scripta commercii* act as poly-functional nodes that drew the activities of port trade actors into a closer economic and commercial framework.

The geographical area covered in the Portus Limen project is certainly broad, including distant and socially diverse areas. These ports had different structures, built according to their functional needs, and adapted to the features of the land or the city to which these ports were associated. In this sense, ports and their facilities conditioned the procedures taking place there. For example, the control of the empire or the city over the port conditioned the establishment of organizational structures, and the roles and functions attributed to the individuals working in the ports changed in relation with the control of the empire or the province over the port. Every port can be understood as one particular place, where not only the structures but also the control over them shape its characteristic features. The differences among the itineraries and the ports of destination can thus reveal different ways of setting the agreements, as well as cultural, structural, or organizational differences. That can be

reflected in the inscriptions as well as the type of products and their packaging. All these details will be analysed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. These case studies will reveal the coexistence of general models of business accommodating a wide variety of economic and social factors, such as investment, profit, manpower, local customs and so on, which all likely to change through time and location. Due to a large number of inscriptions and the broad area studied, I will trace general models to describe commerce in the Mediterranean ports, aiming to study concrete and individual issues arising from them. However, as big as the Mediterranean area studied is, was the number of local customs, so the influence of customs in Roman law and trade practices will be studied to a certain extent in this work, and I will hold this issue to be studied focusing on concrete areas in future work (Appendix VII).

1.3. The Role of the *Scripta Commercii* in understanding Commerce

This work emerges from a dialogue between the theoretical understanding of Roman trade drawing upon ancient sources, and commercial praxis arising from the analysis of the *scripta commercii*, which composes our material record. Roman commercial law was set in contractual forms shaped by jurisprudence and modelled by the laws of the empire, but also in their practical application. Roman law shaped some legal institutions, which offered pragmatic solutions to daily problems and were flexible in their application to various cases. These remarks point to the fact that there was an interplay between law and what was done in business practice.

In that sense, the *scripta commercii* are both archaeological artefacts and historical documents. They were essentially made to convey data on commercial matters. These items are snapshots of commercial practices, and allow us to challenge some traditional views of Roman commerce. The analysis of the different techniques or the calligraphy employed in the inscriptions helps us to discern some details about the agreements or controls which were involved. The *scripta commercii* provide essential data (e.g. product type, quantity) allowing us to understand how the distribution of goods worked. Each inscription constitutes evidence for interactions between individuals, collectives or authorities in ports. It is from these small interactions that larger-scale phenomena become evident. The information furnished by epigraphy on merchandise should be completed and contextualized with other data, such as literary sources or monumental epigraphy. More information about these issues concerning inscriptions will be detailed in chapters 2 and 3.

Despite the contrasts, it is possible to grasp a range of functions commonly performed at most ports, including loading, unloading, receiving, quantifying, tasting, storing, and registering.⁴ In addition, the *scripta commercii* provide information about taxing, and consequently about interactions between provincial subjects and Roman authorities. Inter-relationships between different peoples living and trading across the Mediterranean basin will be explored from the perspective of imperial authority and practical needs of Roman commerce. In the context of Roman domination, the law of

⁴ The commercial itinerary followed by the objects is described in Figure 18

the empire influenced trade practices, but it did not prevent some areas from maintaining existing customs, as long as they did not interfere with Roman interests. This dichotomy between Roman and local practices must be applied to the three main functions (sale, transport, and control) involved in the commercial distribution of goods. These functions imply the study of related questions such as the connection of these inscriptions to the port authorities, to private customers, or implications in cases where there were contractual disputes (Broekaert: 2008, 197ff.). The contractual disputes relate to the jurisdiction present in a port, and to the law available for traders to enforce the agreements (Aubert: 2015, 236), to which these *scripta commercii* bear witness. All these questions will be further studied in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Legal regimes and the laws that are generated by them shape, constraint, and move societies in various ways (Manning: 2018, 202). The study of commercial functions performed at ports will highlight the push and pull of homogeneity *versus* local practices. The peoples inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean were strongly defined by their differences, but commerce was one of the activities that contained a great degree of contact between them. Being covered by an established set of legal principles protected by the authority and recognized by the community provides security to these transactions (Black: 1976, 108). The *scripta commercii*, studied against the background of Roman law, concern a three-part relationship between (1) ownership, (2) obligation, and (3) liability.

1. Marking the items allowed the shipper to differentiate them, and consequently, to establish which part of the cargo belonged to individual merchants. In addition, these inscriptions denoted the objects as being owned by someone (e.g. D. 19.2.31), therefore the right of ownership over the objects was not able to be transmitted simply by the physical transfer of the goods. The transmission of legal ownership required a cause, since it had to be based on a special legal relationship or obligation of another kind between transferor and transferee.⁵
2. The Roman concept of obligation implied that one person could be held responsible for the breach of a required duty.⁶ It essentially implies the duty of performing a task, as for example in the case of the duty of the sailor to transport the goods to the place agreed amongst the involved parties.
3. Inscriptions and obligations between parties generate a double relationship of liability: one by the merchant and the final customer for the product sold, and the other by the shipper to the people hiring his boat for the transport of the goods.

These three elements must be studied on a case-by-case basis, because not all the artefacts were marked, and not all of their inscribed record fits in a single systematic scheme (Bonifay: 2004, 100ff.).

⁵ A simple delivery of an object never transfers ownership, unless a sale or another fair cause preceded the delivery. (D.41.1.31pr.)

⁶ This is a genuine Roman concept and it is absent from other legal traditions such as Greek law, Velissaropoulos-Karakostas: 2011; Dedek and Schermaier: 2011

In addition, Roman law lacked a systematic typology of contracts, but at the same time did provide the tools with which individuals could establish the terms of their businesses, thus aiming to reduce levels of uncertainty in transactions. The jurists, individuals who knew the law and provided advice to people in resolving their issues, sought to provide some essential features for the validation of every relationship worthy of protection (Fiori: 2010, 30). Roman jurists did not produce an elaborate and systematic theory of contract, as happens in modern law, but instead, created and developed concrete contracts in a casuistic fashion.⁷ For that reason, the meaning of contract was a matter of continuous evolution, usually subject to the commercial and economic progress of Roman society (Domingo: 2018, 180). Bearing in mind that the inscribed objects were transported from one place to another, the evidence of the agreement in which they were involved and the warranties for it were important issues to take into consideration in the event that something went wrong.

So where does this leave us in relation to the *scripta commercii* and Roman law? “It is more profitable to look at the issue of law and legal practice from the bottom up, and to ask whether, how and why Rome’s subjects, as individuals or as groups, availed themselves of the Roman legal system” (Humfress: 2013, 93). This approach allows us to integrate these materials into any discussion concerning the interaction between parties involved in the trade. The recurrence of inscriptions on objects helps us understand that despite the abstraction of the principles of Roman law or their hybrid character in the provinces, the daily needs of trade developed the establishment of certain patterns of behaviour to cope with these diversities in culture and practice. A study of both the material evidence and the written sources will show that this was a result of the combined influence of the empire, the cities, and private initiatives. All of these issues, viewed through multiple intersecting prisms such as liability, risks, imperialism, and custom make the Roman ports reflect an elusive, ever-changing reality.

1.4. Chapter Summary

This thesis is divided into eight chapters with their respective Appendices, plus the compilation of the inscriptions studied and a glossary of essential terms. Chapter 2 begins with a literature review concerning the epigraphy of merchandise, from its initial conception by Heinrich Dressel while compiling the data for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* to the present-day. It highlights a number of debates within the scholarly community as well as some of the more general critiques and responses to them. In particular, it notes a significant split concerning the relationship between the public and private spheres in imperial trade. It investigates in-depth theories concerning the epigraphic record relating to a wide range of items (barrels, *signacula*, *opercula*, labels, etc). These objects have been individually studied but rarely compared. In addition, there has been a lack of research into the relationship between these records and the legal background, while several economic

⁷ For the meaning of casuistry, see App. X

theories have been widely assumed and rarely questioned. The Chapter concludes by indicating the need for a comprehensive survey of this material record by means of an interdisciplinary approach.

Chapter 3 offers an overview of the methods used to study both the inscribed artefacts and the legal sources. It highlights the need to classify the inscriptions by their role within a contract if one is to be able to understand their role in trade. It also indicates the importance of considering the legal sources with respect to their features, their author, and their authority. This point is critical to highlight, as these differences in form and in the audience addressed by the sources affect the language, purpose, and influence on the merchants. It finishes with an example that illustrates how one can relate materials and sources, highlighting the importance of this approach to understanding the needs and aims of the people working in the trade. An Appendix that describes the structure and organization of the epigraphic and juridical databases created for this work completes the chapter.

Chapter 4 identifies the main functions of the artefacts considered and a clearer understanding of the main procedures performed at ports. It also displays a model of underlying commercial processes at ports through an analysis of the *scripta commercii*. This model has been created considering all the elements which can be present at any port (e.g. warehouses, docks), and its location (e.g. mouth of a river, implying transshipping in some instances). The chapter continues by explaining each of the procedures in detail, indicating their particularities and highlighting their importance within the distribution cycle; this provides a general frame of understanding for the case studies analysed in the following chapters

Chapter 5 describes the first case study, which compares a wide range of inscriptions concerning the framework of sale. The basis for studying these inscriptions is the contract of sale, which will provide us with the necessary elements to trace the implications of the inscriptions in retail and state supply. The Chapter helps establish the roles of the different individuals involved in the distribution of artefacts bearing the *scripta commercii*, the hierarchies existing among main ports and anchorages, and the different procedures delineating the distribution of products in the imperial period.

Chapter 6 provides the second case study, which focuses on transport. In this, I compare the different writings concerning lease and hire contract, mainly related to shipping. This Chapter will provide a deep insight into the issues of navigation and its risks, how the parties addressed these problems according to the different elements that defined the features of the contract, and adapting the agreement to specific situations.

Chapter 7 contains the third and final case study, which focuses on the function of control. The main claim is that controlling the cargoes moving between the different ports of the Mediterranean was a function performed not only by the authorities, but also by the individuals purchasing goods. The characterization of the controlling functions will bridge the gap between private and state supply, and define the latter to gain a better understanding of its organization and aims. This chapter outlines how authorities monitored the cargoes entering and leaving the ports, showing a high degree of control, which is indicative of the bureaucratic nature of the Roman Empire.

Chapter 8 summarizes the findings from the previous chapters before reviewing how these case studies answer the research questions raised in this Chapter 1. I will also relate how this work has provided us with a new perspective for research into Roman law and commercial epigraphy, unexplored until now. There follows a more theoretical discussion as to whether linked data approaches might offer a more promising alternative to the study of commercial epigraphy and its legal framework. That question cautions us that the realities of Roman trade were complex and very diverse and that what this study offers is reliable evidence for understanding it in general terms. The thesis ends with a set of Appendices.

Chapter 2

Epigraphy of Merchandise in the Scholarly Literature

2.1. Preliminary Remarks

The following review aims to highlight several issues, mainly stemming from the lack of studies combining archaeological and legal evidence, scholarship that considers commercial epigraphy as a whole and not as single categories of objects, and an understanding of these inscribed artefacts as objects evidencing the commercial procedures performed alongside a distribution itinerary from port to port.

Studies of commercial inscriptions have increased in recent years due to the interest in their economic significance. The discourse concerning artefacts and their economic importance is linked to the role of the Roman legal framework on trade, which reflects the structure and functions of port societies. The commercial value of individual types of objects (especially *amphorae*) has been recognised in several studies concerning Roman trade and economy (e.g. Paterson: 1982; Tchernia: 2011). However, the emphasis on the study of these objects has focused on their origins, contents, their role in commerce (Peacock: 1982, 3, 152ff.), and as elements of a cycle of re-use (Peña: 2007). Archaeological studies have focused on trade in particular commodities, such as honey (Bortollin: 2008, 108), wine (Archéologie de la vigne et du vin: 1990), or marble (Pensabene: 2012, Russell: 2013). Recent studies (e.g. Aguilera: 2012; Djaoui: 2016) have been devoted to the commercial epigraphic record of individual categories of artefacts.

The inscriptions, which compose the epigraphy of merchandise, are often catalogued together with other kinds of epigraphic evidence, as for example in volumes IV or XV of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Dressel: 1891), which does not make distinctions between commercial objects such as amphorae and utilitarian objects such as lamps (*lucernae*). In addition, it is necessary to study the subsequent editions of many inscriptions compiled in the volumes of *CIL*, since some of them (e.g. *CIL* IV 9591) have proven wrong and needed to be revised and edited.

Epigraphy of merchandise can be divided into two main types: that relating to production and that ascribed to distribution. Scholars have isolated the procedures concerning production and distribution (Harris: 1993; Nicolet & Panciera: 1994) considering the differences between them, their inscriptions and their implications. Although production and distribution marks will be studied separately in this study, they are of importance in understanding the relationship between merchant and customer, because they explain contractual relations. On the one hand, inscriptions related to production (e.g. amphora stamps and labels, ingot or iron bar stamps) reflect the workshop that produced the item and the merchant who sold it (Steinby: 1993: 139-143; Aubert: 2005, 3ff.). On the other hand, the distribution inscriptions describe relations between the merchant and the customer of the product, and their relationships to external agents such as those responsible for port controls. Texts on amphora stamps (Ponsich: 1982; Berni: 2012, 154ff.; Garlan: 2013, 203-70), or internal barrel

marks (Marliere: 2002, 62) are related to production; while *tituli picti* (painted inscriptions) are related to distribution. Both cases involved contractual practices, but they were carried out in different contexts such as the *figlina*; the port docks, or any other place before the merchandise is stowed in the ship. Both the production and distribution procedures have been systematically studied in relation to the object, and classified as single categories of items such as amphorae or ingots (e.g. Tchernia: 1993; Berni: 2012).

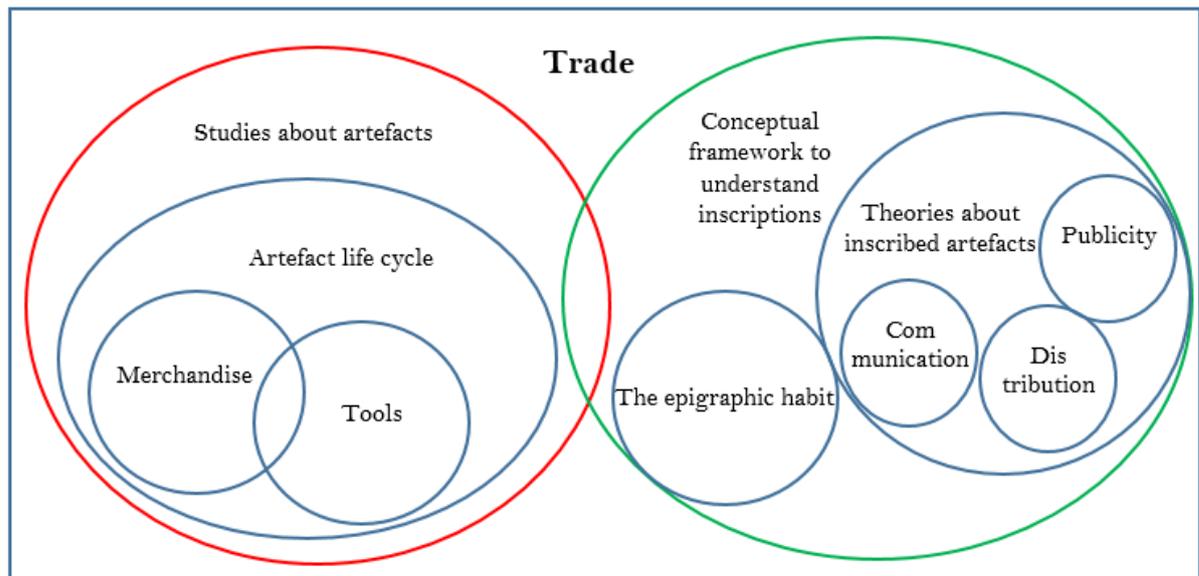


Figure 3. Different approaches considered in this thesis to understand *scripta commercii*

There is a lack of Roman legal literature in this field. Legal studies focused on trade (e.g. Huvelin: 1932; Zulueta: 1945; Jakab: 1997, 2009; Gaurier: 2004; Minaud: 2011) have paid attention mainly to Roman textual sources, and sometimes to archaeological evidence such as papyri or monumental epigraphy. Small finds such as the *instrumentum domesticum* (and namely, these ones related to commerce) have been omitted. There are many possible reasons for this, and one of them being that these scholars do not consider these objects as important sources to understand the legal sources concerning trade. Studies about these sources were carried out in other disciplines (epigraphy, archaeology), and these studies were not undertaken from an interdisciplinary perspective (e.g. Remesal Rodríguez: 2004; Peña: 2007). Finally, the publications are sometimes incomplete, or the sources are fragmentary. Therefore, I am not simply analysing this material with a new focus, but also integrating three disciplinary approaches that can help to gain a better understanding of the finds.

The Figure 3 represents the different approaches used to understand inscriptions. Each large circle represents one of the research perspectives, all of which are interconnected. The circle on the right (green) represents the conceptual framework to understand inscribed artefacts. Differently, the red circle concerns the multiple theories through which these inscriptions have been understood, represented by the three blue circles drawn inside (distribution, publicity, and communication). The second blue circle refers to the theory referred as the epigraphic habit, the scholarship of which has

not generally considered inscribed artefacts, which is why the circles in the diagram are not linked to each other.

The second circle concerns the diverse studies focused on single categories of objects, considering that these artefacts have a life cycle. The cycle implies that the people who distributed merchandise engaged in various actions that determined how, when, where, why, and in what condition and quantity these artefacts came to be incorporated into a commercial flow.⁸ At the same time, some of these artefacts are classified as merchandise, because they were involved in sale, whilst others would be considered as tools because they were employed to perform commercial operations. All of these artefacts had a role inside the commercial distribution cycles of the object. The objects will be classified according to the categories of artefacts to which they belong, such as the amphorae, the ingots, or the labels. Both circles are encompassed in one theoretical approach that considers the artefacts as having a life cycle, formed of different human behavioural practices.

The first part of this chapter is dedicated to the conceptual framework of these inscriptions, while the second part focuses upon theories about the life cycle of these objects, followed by the third part which is a study of the individual types of objects considered as merchandise or tools. A wide variety of different inscribed objects has been collected for a comparative analysis, searching through the materials published to find a large variety of different objects to compare within their inscriptions. The collated objects represent a selection of the total materials actually published, because not all of them are pertinent to this study. The particularities guiding the choice of *scripta commercii* in each category of artefacts will be detailed in the relevant sections in the Appendix to this chapter (I).

2.2. The conceptual Work of Scholarship about Inscriptions

2.2.1. Theories relating to the Interpretation of *Scripta Commercii*⁹

2.2.1.1. Publicity

The works referred in this section have understood inscriptions on objects as messages aiming to engage customers to buy the product. Some scholars have affirmed that the different inscriptions on merchandise - especially stamps - were texts used for advertising the goods carried within the containers.¹⁰ Curtis (1986) proposed that the standard shapes of fish sauce amphorae and their labels were meant to identify and promote the sale of that product. His idea that both the shape and the

⁸ Similar approach considered by Peña: 2007, 6-16

⁹ Although here I am *a priori* excluding amphora stamps, similar theories and questions were addressed by Garland:2013, 233ff. concerning amphora stamps

¹⁰ Callender: 1965; Domergue (1998, 211) had a similar view concerning Dressel 20 amphora stamps, and quoted Manacorda (1989, 1993). That assertion does not make sense considering the large amount of *figlinae* located in Baetica, which probably implied that only people involved in the oil trade would be aware of the appearance of the jar. The seal implied the liability of the producer for the jar sold. See D. 18.6.1pr and Tchernia (1967, 231); Berni: 2008, 23ss.; Rubio Campillo *et al.*:2017, the latter still doubting about the identity of the person identified on the stamp.

inscriptions on the objects were recognisable by the customer and that they promoted the acquisition of these goods was later further supported by Berdowski (2003). The author analysed both the shape and inscriptions of fish sauce amphorae through semiotics, thus interpreting the inscriptions as symbols. That perspective allowed the author to maintain the argument that the inscriptions on fish sauce amphorae were emblems which enabled the customers to recognise the features of the product and acquire it, despite their lack of understanding of Latin language.

Two years later, Martin-Kilcher and Witteyer (2005) argued that the *tituli picti* were advertising formulas outlining sales strategies in antiquity. Despite the fact that they do not refer directly to publicity, they argued that these inscriptions were employed as advertisement. In contrast, Alison Cooley (2012, 90-4) suggested that despite the fact that amphora inscriptions relate to shipping, some of them could have a publicitary aim (e.g. the amphorae of the fish sauce merchant *Umbricius Scaurus* from Pompeii), with one premise being that the advertising has to be acknowledged by the purchaser. Challenging that assertion, Ehmig (2014, 100) highlighted the existence of the shipwrecks throughout the Mediterranean, showing that in many instances these objects did not reach their destination, and instead proposed that these inscriptions are linked to transport logistics. In order that these inscriptions reached the consumer, it implies that the information written on these objects had to be understood by everyone. However, these writings do not appear to be simply abbreviated, but also sometimes written in a negligent way (e.g. Aguilera: 2012), making them difficult to read. The inscriptions refer to data closely related to commerce, and would have been just about understandable by people working in the trade. The problem with Ehmig's theory is that she considered only transport and not the interplay between the sale of the good and the transport of it being part of two types of agreements implying different duties and liabilities.

2.2.1.2. Distribution

Some of the inscriptions on merchandise were created during the manufacturing process (e.g. amphora stamps) and others at a later stage or for distribution (e.g. painted inscriptions). Consequently, some of scholars have focused on one or other stage of the itinerary of these objects and their inscriptions, even organising symposia dedicated to the differences between these two stages (Harris: 1993).¹¹ Particularly relevant to this research is the work of scholars who have analysed *scripta commercii* related to distribution. The diverse solo works by Liou (1980; 1987; 1992; 1993; 1998) or with colleagues (1977; 1977²; 1978; 1986; 1987; 1990; 2000) are essential for understanding inscriptions as witnessing aspects of their distribution. His publications addressed different wrecks, all of them in the western Mediterranean. The author studied the sites in context and included catalogues with the epigraphic analysis of the different inscriptions found. The studied inscriptions are cross-referenced with those found on the same kind of artefacts or with names in literary sources.

¹¹ Also the volumes from the collection of the *École française de Rome*: 114 (1989); 193 (1994)

The study of all these elements helps us to draw the distribution patterns of the cargo found in the wrecks.

The works of Liou and his colleagues can be distinguished from other publications, such as the publication of artefacts found at the Athenian Agora (Lang 1976), as they differentiate between different kinds of inscriptions on different objects (amphorae, lamps, etc). The meaning of the commercial inscriptions is not analysed in any depth. Pucci (2001) adopts a similar approach, differentiating between inscriptions related to production and distribution contexts, although he does not provide an insight of their backgrounds. Cooley mentioned the importance of these inscriptions for the needs of shipping (2012), but little more. Furthermore, the abovementioned Ehmig (2014) advanced the hypothesis that these inscriptions were written as a way of differentiating between different goods loaded in a ship shared by numerous merchants. That theory is the most likely interpretation of these inscriptions that has been published hitherto, despite the fact that it needs further development within the context of the legal sources.

Other studies recently published by Djaoui (2014; 2015; 2016) interpreted these objects in the context of a commercial itinerary of distribution. That approach was also employed in the work of Baratta (2001, 2004), and by members of the CEIPAC group (e.g. Aguilera: 2004; Berni: 2008), who followed the theory of the importance of these inscriptions for the distribution of goods, but focussed their studies on individual categories of objects (e.g. *signacula* or Dressel 20 amphorae).

2.2.1.3. Communication

This interpretation focuses upon the idea that inscribed artefacts carried marks that reflect their use as objects of communication. Donati (2012) and Mayer i Olivé (2015) emphasized the value of these inscribed objects in transferring messages, and despite enumerating the different kinds of objects, they did not address particular cases. This theory labels such objects as “instructive”, and one volume of research based on that approach has been recently published (Buora *et al.*: 2015). One of the articles by Mayer (2016: 39-56) illustrates the different issues that inscriptions on objects can communicate to the reading public (e.g. localization of the good, origin, identification, ownership).

The identification of these items as instructive inscriptions is very generic and lacks a deeper insight into the practical issues concerning navigation and the agreements involved in transport. It needs to be enhanced by studies which look into concrete and practical issues relating to ancient navigation and sale. Some of the papers in the volume of Buora address particular issues concerning inscriptions, for example the issues of Roman administrative controls (e.g. Rigato & Mongardi: 2015; Corti: 2016). The main shortcomings are that these papers do not compare different kinds of inscribed items, and that they do not consider them against the background of law, which helps reconstruct their context.

2.2.2. The Epigraphic Habit

The “epigraphic habit” was a term coined by Ramsay MacMullen (1983, 233-246). He observed that the number of surviving Latin inscriptions increased steadily from the first to the early third centuries AD, but then drastically dropped. MacMullen associated the phenomenon with Roman practices and their changing influence in the territories conquered by the empire. The term has been broadly accepted in scholarship, stressing its importance in understanding imperial society (Hingley: 2005; Bodel: 2001) and late antique Roman society (Trout: 2009). Other authors have studied MacMullen’s concept, relating it to issues such as Romanization in Greece (Chaniotis: 2000) or Asia Minor and Syria (Ameling: 2009), individual identity and imperialism (Meyer: 1990; Woolf: 1996, 39), or demography (Saller & Shaw: 1984, 124-156). The last of these provoked a response by Mann (1985) who argued that the epigraphic habit theory could not be used to study the population of an area, but only to understand the local epigraphic practices.

Meyer analysed monumental inscriptions of Greece to discern an epigraphic habit in Classical Athens (2011, 74-96), and, in a more recent essay (2013, 205-218), she interpreted the concept of an epigraphic habit as a mechanism of communication and interaction between social agents. Mouritsen (2005, 38-63) also analysed a large number of epitaphs in an attempt to understand the social aims of that practice, concluding epigraphic habits were “contingent social practices” which some people might embrace and others would ignore.

Beltrán Lloris (2014) has challenged MacMullen’s theory. He highlights the weakness of the inscriptions’ chronologies and the inaccuracy of the graphs employed in MacMullen’s article. He concludes by indicating “that Roman epigraphic culture, although marked by strong general tendencies, was at the same time driven by a very varied range of private emotions” which were linked to chronological, regional, local, social, and even personal terms. That assertion goes along with other definitions of the epigraphic habit, indicating that it claims to contextualize epigraphic evidence, to reconstruct distinct epigraphic cultures, and to interpret their meaning along historical, social, and cultural lines (Hahn: 2013, 2447).

However, the different interpretations of MacMullen’s theory fall short concerning the epigraphy of merchandise. The term “epigraphic habit”, coined by MacMullen, and the later theoretical developments provide several theoretical backgrounds on which the *scripta commercii* can fit, despite the fact that they have not been considered before in any of the discussions arising from that term.

Rethinking the epigraphic record on commercial objects implies trying to identify what compelled the subjects involved in the trade to inscribe the objects. Bearing in mind that merchants and other subjects associated with trade developed their activity within a legal framework such as Roman, Hellenistic, among many other local legal frames or hybridizations of legal traditions. As an epigraphic artefact, inscribed objects can be considered in light of the epigraphic habit, and therefore be closely associated with Roman practices. As legal artefacts, they have a connection to Roman law but could travel throughout the Mediterranean, particularly into zones where other legal frameworks of

commercial practices predominated (Hellenistic, Jewish, etc.). All of these elements can be perceived in these inscriptions, when the objects are considered as being inserted into a particular commercial cycle of distribution, and being inscribed with a view to transferring messages to different people in different places where languages other than Latin prevailed. Thus studying the epigraphic record of merchandise within their legal framework will help understand the impact of Roman or local laws in commerce and distribution, and its reflection on the material record. Thus my intention will be to study if there is an appreciable difference between east and west on the habit of inscribing merchandise, and if that difference could be linked to the engagement of these areas to Roman law. This issue has been considered as one of the future challenges and included in the Appendix VII, 16.1.

2.3. Studies of Artefacts and their *Scripta Commercii*

2.3.1. Amphorae and Samples¹²

Amongst the many containers employed in trade, amphorae were the most common. Other containers employed to transport large quantities of liquids are the *dolia*, which could be used for fermentation and storage (*defossa*) or to transport large quantities of liquids. Despite the fact that the latter will be considered in this study concerning transport, their epigraphy will not be compiled in the catalogue, because it constitutes marks related either to the production or the storage of these jars in warehouses, and not to distribution.¹³

Much of the information concerning inscriptions on amphorae was initially collected in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* by Dressel (1879; 1899), who catalogued the inscriptions but did not interpret them according to their context. *Tituli picti* (painted inscriptions) are found rarely, usually in extremely damp or dry conditions, coming from shipwrecks (e.g. Colls *et alii*: 1977; Liou: 1987), sites in the north-western Roman provinces (Frere and Tomlin, 1994), and from Monte Testaccio in Rome (Rodríguez Almeida: 1984; Blázquez and Remesal: 2003). They have been the subject of intense and wide-ranging research which has emphasized the understanding of their commercialization, of the people involved, and the economic structure of the Roman Empire (e.g. Liou & Rodríguez-Almeida: 2000; Berni: 2008; Chic García: 2002; Rico: 2003). For the eastern part of the empire, the most complete published dataset of inscriptions on merchandise remains that of the Athenian Agora, which has provided a collection of painted inscriptions relating to ownership, capacity and taxes (Lang: 1976, 30-86). The problem of the latter publication is that the author separates the inscriptions according to their meaning (e.g. weight, merchant) and does not refer if an artefact was inscribed recording different elements or just one of the categories included in the book. It is rare to find painted inscriptions from the eastern Mediterranean, and there are not as many publications in that respect

¹² See Appendix I. 10.1 (methodological criteria for artefact selection)

¹³ See Berni Millet: 2010, 154; Cooley: 2012, 95; Salido Dominguez: 2017 (with associated bibliography); Mayer i Olivé: 2013; Edmonson: 2014, 678 nt.22 (also quoting bibliography)

(e.g. Peacock & Blue: 2011) in comparison to the ones referring to the western part of the Empire. This absence in scholarship could be due to a problem of preservation, perhaps related to the perishability of the goods exported from that part of the empire, or a lack of publication of such finds.

Understanding amphorae depends on the approach applied to its primary characteristics (shape, fabric, function, and origin). While some scholars have concentrated on the product carried inside the container (e.g. Remark: 1912; Berdowski: 2003; Bonifay *et al.* 2015), others have focused on single categories of amphorae (e.g.: Aguilera: 2004; Cipriano: 2016; Djaoui: 2016). Scholars have focused on the areas where they were found (e.g. Martin- Kilcher: 1994; Ehmig: 1994), their historical context (e.g. Martin-Kilcher and Desbat: 1989) or a combination of the two (e.g. Mongardi and Rigato: 2013; Bernal Casasola *et al.* 2014). While many scholars continue to classify inscriptions according to Dressel's labelling (e.g. Lagostena Barrios: 2004; Martínez Maganto: 1994), others have created their own classifications for the inscriptions found on specific amphora types (Martin-Kilcher: 1992; Laubenheimer, 2004). Some authors have limited publication to only the inscriptions supporting their position on the amphorae or the material employed for writing them (e.g. Liou *et al.* 1978; 1987; 1990; Liou: 2000).



Figure 4. Dump of inscribed fish sauce amphorae (Bernal *et al.*: 2014, 220. Fig.1.D)

A paper recently published (Bernal *et al.*: 2014, 219-232) concerns a dump of Dressel 21-22 amphorae from Pompeii (Figure 4). The paper asserts that practically all the amphorae from the dump had inscriptions, which demonstrates that Italic fish sauce amphorae were inscribed systematically and individually. That assertion is very important because, due to the fragility of these writings and the problems of their preservation, many archaeologists have identified these marks as something rare or casual.

Scholarship has devoted special attention to the Dressel 20 amphora, a container that has traditionally been related to the *annona* (Rodríguez-Almeida: 1989; Remesal: 1995, 2004). These scholars ascribe all the commerce of Baetica and the activity of its merchants to the *annona*, and to the special case of the *annona militaris* (Remesal: 1986).¹⁴ One paper discusses the possibility of the standardization of these inscriptions (Aguilera: 2012), trying to demonstrate the evolution and modification undergone by them during three hundred years of production. Aguilera suggests that these modifications are to be explained by the regulation of trade activities linked to olive oil, from production to consumption, going through the different phases of distribution. The analysis of Aguilera is well founded and it is true that the inscriptions α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , θ and ζ ¹⁵ appear recurrently but with some variations on amphorae. However, his point of view is still too focused on the perspective that emphasizes the influence and control of imperial institutions in the *annona*. The inference often arose naturally from the fact that some scholars insist on “institutionalising” the people working for the *annona* (e.g. Le Roux: 1988; Sirks: 1984). This point of view has been challenged by the argument that although there was a large state interference in all activities associated with transport and storage, most part of those who worked in that field were private subjects (Broekaert: 2008; Virlovet: 2013).

Recent discoveries (e.g. Poux *et alii*: 2014) underline the need for a revision of the understanding of amphorae inscriptions considering parameters such as economic context or other inscriptions on different commercial items. Djaoui’s 2014 paper demonstrates that items not involved in the *annona* and exported from the same area as Dressel 20 bore the same kind of *tituli* as some of these amphorae, and were written with the same tools, as is evidenced by the use of a distinctive calligraphy different from the one used for artefacts not related to the *annona*. The main thesis of the paper is that the kind of systematisation attributed to Dressel 20 amphorae was also used on other kinds of amphorae intended for private trade and not related to the *annona*.

A different sort of vessels is represented by the samples (Mayerson: 2000², 105-109). Some of these travelled with cargoes that carried within them a sample, which enabled the quality of the good to be checked when unloaded, and thus prevent adulteration before delivery to the receiving merchant. This use was recurrent in grain trade –referring to these samples as *deigma*-¹⁶ despite the fact that the term could be used for distributing other sort of goods. The inscriptions on these objects tell us about the shipping of goods, how these were controlled, and about the liability of the parties involved in the whole contracting process. One of the examples appears in Figure 5 being edited by diverse scholars (e.g. Della Corte: 1946; Marichal: 1974-5; Varone: 2015; Andreau *et al*: 2017). Unfortunately, we do not have many samples preserved, but their mention in papyri is quite recurrent (Geraci: 2012), which

¹⁴ Criticized in Wierschowski: 2000, Tchernia: 2000; and debated in Remesal Rodriguez: 2000.

¹⁵ Meaning: α =tare weight of the empty amphora; β =name of the merchant; γ =tare weight of the amphora filled, ϵ =unknown number; s, θ =unknown text; and ζ =unknown number, perhaps related with ϵ .

¹⁶ Plut. *Dem.* 23.4; Plut. *Pomp.* 42.11; Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.21; Demost. *Orat.* 35.29; 50.24; also Casanova: 1995; Bresson: 2006, 77ff.; Dickenson: 2016, 253

indicates the extent of their use through time, not only in the grain trade (Guéraud: 1950; 1953; Liou & Morel: 1977), but also for other sorts of distribution (Vera: 2006).

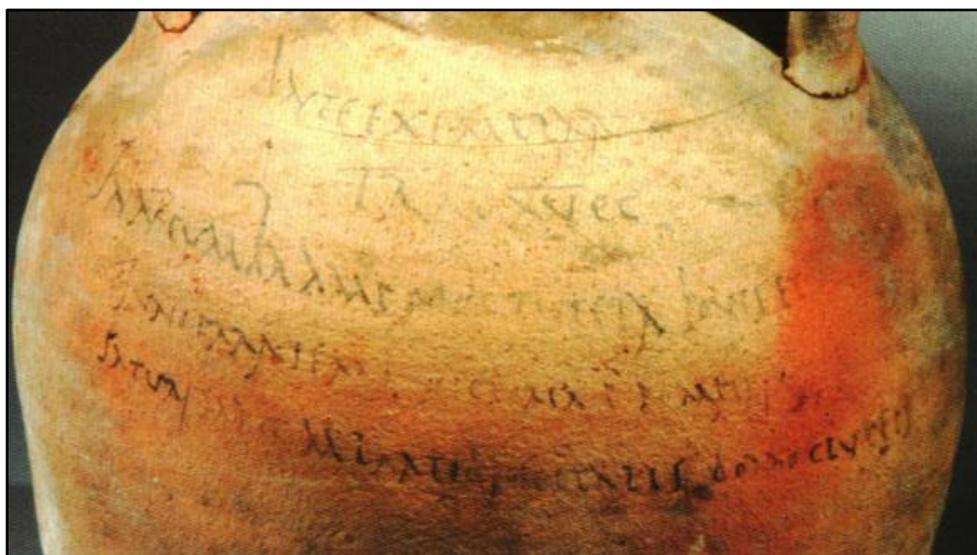


Figure 5. *Titulus pictus* on a jar containing a grain sample, Pompeii (Varone: 2015, 22.Fig1)

Another possible use for these small containers was as product tasters, offered to a potential customer to convince them to buy it.¹⁷ This practice was attested already in the Hellenistic period in the Papyri of Zenon (Campbell Cowan: 1925-1940), and in the mention of the Athenian *deigma* by various sources.¹⁸ Some of the samples found (Djaoui: 2015; Djaoui & Tran: 2015) constitute objects of a different shape than the amphorae normally used for transport (e.g. Dressel 7-11). However, a fragment of a sample found by Poux (2014) corresponded to a piece of Dressel 2-4 amphora, indicating that the kind of vessel used for this purpose depended on the merchant. These inscriptions contain the name of the merchant, and in case of wine samples, the name of the estate where it came from and the merchant selling it.

2.3.2. Amphora Stoppers¹⁹

More than a century ago, the Fasc. 2 of the *CIL XV*. (numbers 4899-4924) documented a series of inscriptions relating to amphora stoppers. Since then, only a few studies have devoted sections to amphora stoppers (e.g. Beltrán Lloris: 1970, 62ff. Vegas: 1973, 42ff; Gianfrotta: 1994, 591ff.), wooden barrel lids (Baratta: 1994, 249; 1994², 559-560), or even rarer barrel stoppers (Desbat: 1991, 319-36).

¹⁷ See also Appendix IV, 13.2

¹⁸ Plut. *Pomp*, 42.11; Xen. *Hell*. 5.1.21; Demost. *Orat*. 35.29; 50.24; also Gofas: 1993; Casanova: 1995; Bresson: 2008, 79-82; Dickenson: 2016, 253

¹⁹ See Appendix I, 10.2

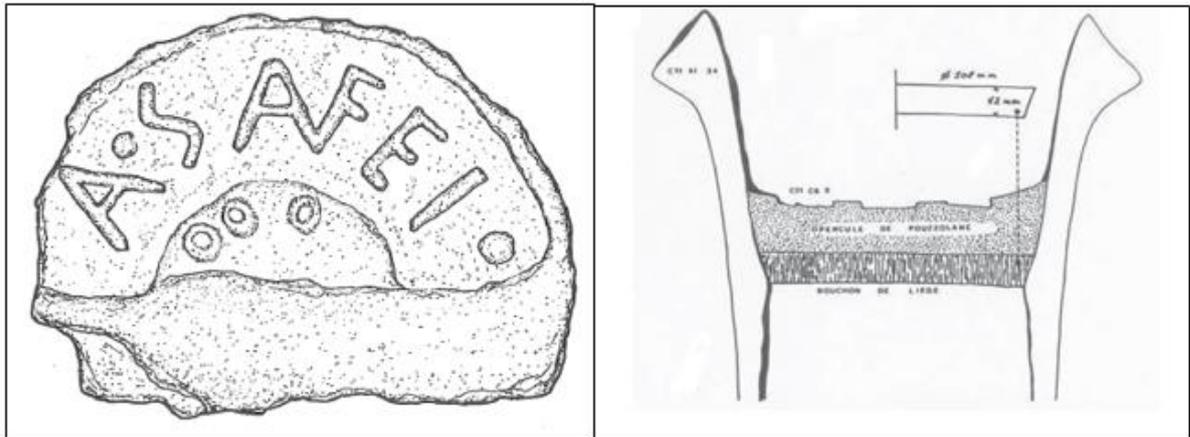


Figure 6. Amphora pouzzolana stopper (Gianfrotta: 1994, 595, Fig. 1) and illustration of how it was situated in an amphora neck (Joncheray: 1975, fig.34)

The stopper materials vary from organic (such as cork or wood) to clay or lime. There were multiple sealing systems which could be used in combination. The contents of a vessel dictated the choice of a stopper. Some of the most common sealing systems in the imperial period include:

- Cork stoppers with a covering substance such as lime or *pouzzolana* (Figure 6). This sealing system appears on the Graeco-Italic amphorae from the Grand Congloué wreck (Benoit: 1952-3; 1957, 256). The substance covering the stopper could be marked with a name or a symbol representing a characteristic feature of the merchant (Joncheray: 1975, fig.34; Tchernia *et al.*: 1978, 38-9; Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1989, 398).

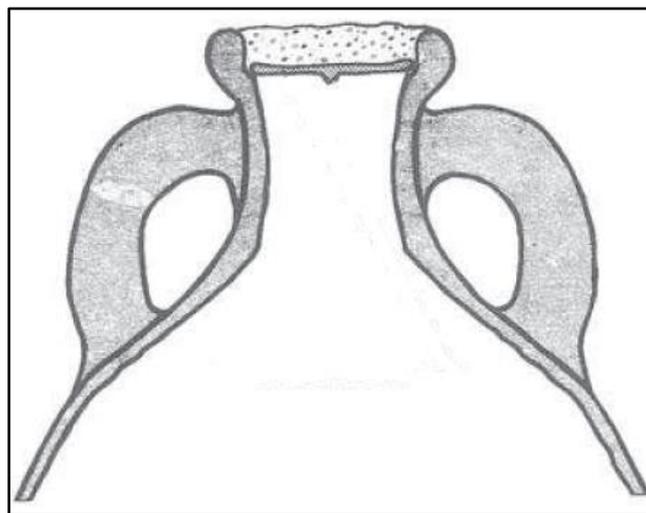


Figure 7. *Operculum* made with clay (Sciallano & Sibella: 1994, 14)

- Cut clay *opercula* (Figure 7) were common in the high empire and were cut from ceramic fragments. (Sciallano and Sibella: 1994, 14; Blázquez *et al.* 1998, 222-3; Bonifay: 2004, 467-8). Letters or symbols in relief (Fernández de Aviles: 1942, 150-151; Egger: 1956, 35 fig. 28;

Gomez: 1994) normally characterise their inscriptions. Sometimes opercula of clay have been found with a stopper on top (Benoit: 1952, 282-3).

Martínez Maganto (1992, 57) has asserted that all the different kinds of sealing systems were employed simultaneously in all periods, preferably using one kind or another according to local customs or other issues related to transport. Challenging that assertion, a recent paper proposed a chronology and evolution of the *operculae* (stopper covers) (Bernal Casasola *et al.*: 2007, 3 chart 1). That paper indicated that while in the 2nd to 1st cent. BC there is typological variety (cork/*pouzzolana*), up to the 2nd to 3rd c AD there was a standardization of the stoppers that can be linked to issues with amphora production and distribution. The discovery of a set of stamped and painted stoppers in Myos Hormos on the Red Sea (Thomas: 2011) indicates that these were used in areas different from the Mediterranean during imperial times.

The latest publication devoted to *operculae* (Buonopane: 2012-2013) focuses on amphora stoppers and presents isolated finds not yet published. The distribution of these materials has been previously commented upon, emphasizing their importance as a warranty for the maintenance of the quality of the good (Mayer i Olivé: 2008, 235-9). Two constituent elements of the system have been identified: the stopper itself and the material used to seal it.²⁰ On both are found inscribed names, symbols or geometrical shapes, and sometimes combinations of all three. It is unclear whether the amphorae bearing inscribed stoppers were also inscribed with *tituli picti*; I have not found any such sealed and inscribed amphora.

2.3.3. Barrels²¹

Barrels have been studied summarily over the years, focusing on single items found in the Netherlands (Breuer: 1918, 1920; Vechten: 1918; Lebel: 1964; Derks: 2009), Belgium (Renard: 1961; Frison: 1961; Viérin and Leva: 1961), France (Audin: 1985; Martin-Kilcher: 1994; Tchernia: 1997; Desbat: 1997; Marlière: 2001), and Britain (Birley and Blake: 2005; Birley and Marlière: 2005; Chapman *et al.*: 2009). Some authors had previously addressed the challenge of approaching the origins, history and functions of barrels (Tchernia: 1980, 1997; Schnitzler: 1994; Baratta: 1994, 1997, 2001, 2004, 2005), or even directly considered a single category of inscriptions on barrels (Baratta: 1994). Others have focused the study of barrels or objects related with them (such as pipes used to taste the liquid of the barrels) to develop hypotheses about their distribution, function and the type of trade in which they were involved (Desbat: 1991; Djaoui: 2015²).

Finally, the publication of the study by Marlière (2002) has summarized all the material and studies conducted on barrels to the present day, and provided new ideas about their origin, production, inscriptions and typology. Barrels have a varied epigraphic record, which can comprise fire marks,

²⁰ Gianfrotta: 2012-2013, 11, calling them “tappi e copritappi”.

²¹ See Appendix I, 10.3

stamps, painted inscriptions, or graffiti, each of which has a different function.²² The fragmentary nature of these objects and the difficulties of interpreting their inscriptions has been supplemented by Marlière by iconographic and literary sources, such as Caesar (*Bell. Civ.* II, 11, 2), Hirtius (*Bell. Gal.* VIII, 42, 1), Lucan (*Bell. Civ.* IV, 420-22), Frontinus (*Strateg.* III, 14, 3), Pliny (*HN*, XIV, 132), and the *Historia Augusta* (Max. 22, 4; Baratta: 2005). The author has also proposed the only existing classification of the barrel inscriptions (2002; 2004), sorting them according to their position and technique. She distinguishes between those marked by fire, chiselled, or inscribed, as well as their location either on the exterior of the barrel (on the staves or on the bottom), or on the interior (on the staves or on the bottom). Apart from these locations, marks are sometimes found on the stoppers (Desbat: 1991). The main drawback to Marlière's studies is not having labelled the inscriptions according to the categories of the messages inscribed, which would have made it easier to compare the evidence.

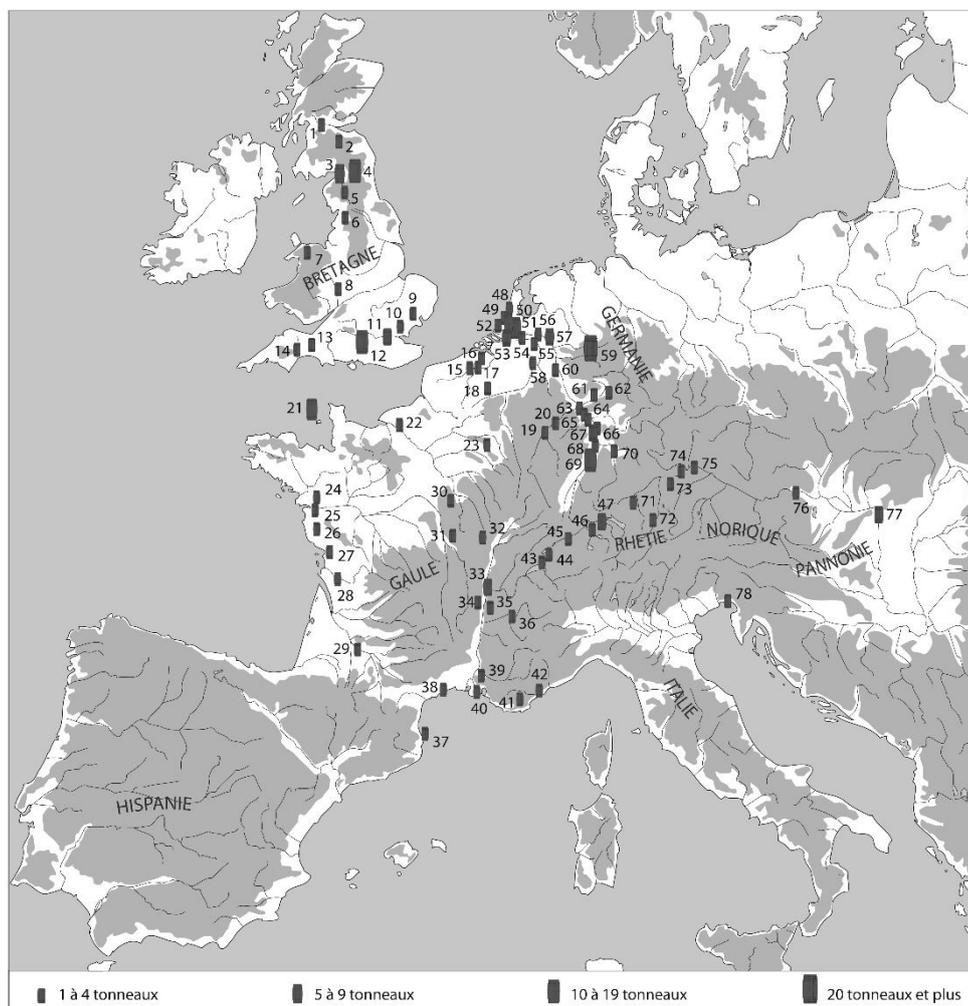


Figure 8. Map indicating the find-spots of barrels (Marlière: 2001, 182.fig.101).

²² See Appendix I, 10.2-3

Current scholarship points to the fact that barrels were initially produced locally in the areas from where the products were exported. From Augustus' reign until the late empire, the production of barrels was located within vineyards, as barrels start being used as wine containers alongside amphorae (Marliere: 2001). However, the absence of barrel remains in shipwrecks and excavations is a remarkable fact to question this hypothesis. Until now, we can just find evidence of the use of barrels in iconography, some texts or the Port-Vendres 3 wreck in which some metallic finds have been identified as barrel bonds (Colls *et al.*: 1988). We have to wait until some more evidence is found, which can confirm this theory.

Barrels are generally found in non-Mediterranean but inland areas, reason why in this study I have considered barrels coming from different regions than the ones that I am normally addressing in this thesis, as can be appreciated when comparing Figure 8 above with Figure 1. Barrels were widely used to provide supplies to the army, which is why they are often found in military camps (e.g. Vindolanda). Despite the advantages of the barrel as a container, it is still discussed if this container replaced amphorae for the transport of wine (Olmer: 1996, 73-78 *vs* Djaoui: 2017).

Recently, many of them have been inventoried, the vast majority of which came from wells in which they had been replenished as casings. On the other hand, there are scholars like Marliere (2001, 181) or Djaoui (2017, 2017²³) who think that barrels were more common than we think as containers to transport goods, but the lack of preservation of organic material in the archaeological records prevents certainty until now. However, in the light of the work carried out in recent years, it seems possible to re-examine the barrel's place in ancient trade.

2.3.4. Ingots and Metal Bars²³

Scholars as far back as the 16th century have noted ingots from the Roman period with detailed cast inscriptions (e.g. *RIB* 2404.19). In most of these early examples, the inscriptions were recorded, but details about their dimensions, weight and condition were omitted. In the early 20th century, several scholars published more detailed studies of known lead ingots, many of uncertain provenience (Gowland: 1901; Besnier: 1920, 1921; Beltrán: 1947). In the 1960s, Domergue began to study the lead output of Iberian mines of the Roman period in a more rigorous manner, considering not only the inscription as a historical record, but also the ingot as an artefact (Domergue: 1965, 1966). Later on, his work with Rico fully developed this approach (Rico & Domergue: 2002, 2010).

²³ See Appendix I, 10.4



Figure 9. Lead ingot from the Bou Ferrer wreck (photo by author, MAN Madrid, num. inv. DO 2015/100/1) l: 56cm, w: 15cm, h: 14 cm. Also De Juan *et al.*: 2014, 138-139).

The archaeological remains of most mining sites or mining zones under imperial control are not yet well documented outside of Roman Iberia and Britain (Hirt: 2010, 32; Orejas and Rico: 2015; Domergue: 1990). The operation of mines changed substantially from the Republic to the empire, which is reflected on the ingots' marks. The ownership and management of mines changes through time and space, either belonging to private individuals, municipalities, or the Roman state. During the Republic, most mines had been owned by private individuals (e.g. *metallum Antonianum in Baetica*²⁴ or *Carthago nova*²⁵).²⁶ As a consequence of its expansion during the middle Republic, the Roman state acquired important mining districts in newly conquered territories (Hirt: 2010, 90).²⁷ During the transition from the Republic to the empire (later 1st cent. BC - 1st cent. AD), many of the working mines owned by the emperor were granted as a concession for private exploitation (Domergue: 1990, 303-6). According to Hirt (2010, 368; 2015, 210-211) both mining and quarrying administration intended to keep imperial involvement to a minimum without renouncing control of these ventures. Where possible, much of the work was entrusted to private entrepreneurs in return for either a fixed payment or ownership of the produce. The lease of these mines was entrusted through a *locatio conductio* or lease and hire that established the terms of the agreement between the empire (represented by its magistrates) and the lessees (e.g. Vipasca bronze). That organization applied as well for the quarries that I will address in the next section.

The recently discovered ingots from the Bou Ferrer wreck (Figure 9) have revealed the name of a Baetican producer (*Cornelius*). The countermark indicates the name of an emperor (IMP GER AVG) who can be identified with Nero, thanks to two coins found in the wreck that date the wreck to 64-68 AD.²⁸ This ingot provides an example of the practice of leasing taking place in the Spanish mines. However, that does not negate that some of these mines and quarries were managed by an imperial official (Hirt: 2010, 107ff).

²⁴ Domergue: 1990, 235

²⁵ Liv. 26.47

²⁶ Marquardt: 1884, 259ff.; followed by Rostovtzeff: 1904, 445; Hirschfeld: 1905; Tackholm 1937: 97 f.

²⁷ Liv. 39.24.2, 45.18.3-5, 45.29.11

²⁸ <https://s.ua.es/Zu2M>. Last consulted 11/10/2017

These different marks have made possible to evidence a model of the interactions between producer, and owner(s) (Domergue: 1998, 207ff.).²⁹ The name of the producer is understood to be identified by the rectangular stamp on the top of the ingot, while the sides of the ingot were inscribed with a sharp object or by other methods (sometimes written in graffiti), noting information such as weight. Rico (2011) has presented a model to explain the logic of distribution and storage of ingots through their marks and the identity of the shipper in charge of transporting them from port to port. However, the identity of the shipper has to be inferred from other data, such as the name on the anchor of the ship.³⁰ According to Rico, some ports, such as *Narbo Martius* and *Hispalis*, had an open market in metals. The producers took their ingots to the warehouses where they were stored until interested merchants bought them to sell them or to use them as ballast to balance the ship. Once the merchant arrived at another port, they can resell the ingots or store them in warehouses in case of not needing them. Thus, there were three possible roles for ingots in a cargo: (1) cargo;³¹ (2) ballast;³² (3) both. This pattern of commerce explains why some wrecks contained ingots that were older than the rest of their cargo.³³



Figure 10. Iron bar from Saintes-Maries-de-la-mer (Bouches du Rhone, France) with associated marks (Coustures *et al.* 2006, 250).

Besides ingots, metals could be also moulded into the shape of bars (Figure 10), which according to Diodorus Siculus (5.13.1-2) could be easily sold in ports to be reused. Fittingly, many of these bars have been found on shipwrecks like the one at Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (Long: 1998-99; Liou *et al.* 2000, 164; Pages *et al.* 2008) and the Plemmirio B (Gibbis & Parker: 1986). Again, their epigraphic apparatus, as well as the analysis of the material, helps us to trace their origin (Baron *et al.* 2011, 71ff.). Two types of inscriptions can be found on these objects: those related to production (stamped on hot metal), and those that were related to commercialization processes (stamped on cold metal, inscribed,

²⁹ See Appendix III, 12.4

³⁰ As happened for the case of the *Sud-Lavezzi 2* wreck (Liou and Domergue: 1990, 47-48).

³¹ Domergue & Rico: 2002

³² The holes on the sides of the *Sud Perduto 2* ingots indicate that they were nailed to the bottom of the ship to balance the cargo (Domergue & Bernard: 1991, 42-3), the disposition of the ingots in the Bou Ferrer wreck is similar, but their purpose is still doubtful (De Juan *et al.*: 2014, 138).

³³ Aratta: 1993, 131-152; Beltrame: 2002, 459

graffiti). The fact that stamps were made carefully, not superficially, and placed on the same spot on different bars, reveals that they correspond to the production phase (Rico *et al.*: 2006, 250). Unfortunately, the only complete publication of a wreck containing iron bars in the cargo is the one from the Saintes-Maries-de-la-mer, leaving us with little archaeological context (Long: 1998-9; Rico *et al.*: 2006).

2.3.5. Marble³⁴

Similar to the case of the mines, who owned quarries and how they controlled the material extracted are issues that have dominated discussion of the Roman stone trade. The question of state involvement has been a focus of special attention in scholarship, because most evidence attesting the organization of quarrying in the Roman period comes from those sites where the involvement of imperial officials is epigraphically attested. The majority of archaeologically documented quarries undoubtedly remained in private or municipal hands during the Principate, and only a limited number of marble or granite quarries stood under direct imperial control (Ward-Perkins: 1992², 24; Hirt: 2010, 57-9; 89). This topic, as in the case of many objects analysed in this chapter, requires a consideration of imperial control and the role of private subjects in its exploitation and distribution.³⁵

Ward-Perkins appreciated the importance of imperial agency in marble distribution in an article published in 1951, which was reinforced by later studies.³⁶ His main assertion was that the increasing demand for marble during the empire was the primary motivation for creating an imperial marble bureau (Ward-Perkins: 1951, 103). This theory (but not the pattern of distribution described in the paper) was later challenged with the assertion that prestige was the main reason for the existence of the *ratio marmorum* (Fant: 1988; 1993, 148; Adams: 2001, 188). Recent studies seem to point to the latter hypothesis concerning the *ratio marmorum*, at least concerning high quality marble that was normally employed for buildings that reflected the majesty of the emperors (Pensabene: 2012, 77; Russell: 2013, 353). Russell and Pensabene mentioned the control that the emperors had over these goods, emphasizing that this management was not intentional and that many of those goods were left open to be acquired by private individuals. That last approach was sustained by other scholars (Lo Cascio: 2006, 218, Fant: 2008, 580). However, while Pensabene (1983; 2015) firmly believes that all the quarries ended up being public property, Russell indicates that most quarries were probably owned by private individuals or were located on land owned by cities (Russell: 2013, 38, 58ff.).

³⁴ See Appendix I, 10.5

³⁵ *Cfr.* The explanation of Hirt: 2010, 386 in previous section, and also Barresi: 2003, 68-81.

³⁶ Ward-Perkins: 1992; Baccini: 1979; 1989; Dodge: 1991; Fant: 1992-1993; Maischberger: 1997; Pensabene: 1994; 2002; 2012; Russell: 2013.



Figure 11. Marble block from Dokimeion, Phrygia with inscription (Drew-Bear: 1994, 751, Fig. 2)

One publication focused on Portus and Rome described the state and retail supply by means of the presence of these seals and writings (Spagnoli: 2003, 492ff.). Marking the pieces with both a seal and other writings may indicate strong imperial control, while only the presence of quarry inscriptions without seals could perhaps point to the existence of blocks destined for the retail market (Pensabene: 2013, 77). That last argument by Pensabene needs to be further studied by comparing more inscriptions. According to Pensabene's assertion, the market was structured by collaboration between public administration, contractors and private merchants (D. 19.2.25.7; Sel.Pap. II.211; Russell: 2013, 193), an assertion with which I agree. The hypothesis of a body of people working on marble distribution implies that they were in charge of selecting, marking, and making the decision to send some pieces to Rome, some to private market, and others to contractors (Hirt: 2010, 290; Russell: 2013, 51-2). The works of Hirt and Russell has challenged the previous publication of Barresi (2003),³⁷ who calculated the costs of quarrying, dressing and transporting marble products in Asia Minor, getting results that can clearly be extrapolated to the whole of the Roman Empire.

In the 2nd cent AD, a certain formula (recurrent set of writings) was recorded on some marble pieces, suggesting that these were destined for imperial use. They can be divided into two types: inscriptions and stamps. Some inscriptions refer to imperial supply (*ex ratione*), and some lead seals related to the *statio marmorum* of Portus display either the image of the emperor or his name (Spagnoli: 2003, 496). In general, they constitute a formula that helped track the marble piece during its transport, control the amount of marble extracted from the quarry, and indicate the state control over the marble pieces extracted and distributed.

Phrygia was one of the areas where many marble quarries were located, and it has been the primary sample used in this work, because the study of inscriptions from its quarries (Figure 11) reveal some standard patterns on the formulas written on marble pieces, patterns that are changing through the

³⁷ Russell: 2014, 20, conclusively shows that many of Barresi's calculations are incorrect and overly inflate the production figures

years. Further examples subsequently identified by Drew-Bear (1994, 747ff.), Hirt (2010, 293ff.), and Russell (2013: 38ff.) were generalized to produce a broad model of distribution for Roman imperial marble (Fant: 1993, 158, 2001, 157ff.). The description of this model clarified the role of the different parties involved in this market, and confirmed that the essential purpose of these inscriptions was to identify the piece and the contractor who prepared it. However, the pieces destined for local or private use seem not to have been labelled, since they did not have to be handled within the imperial system. The inscribed blocks, would represent the material that the contractors were obliged to produce, which would then have been credited to their account or *ratio* (Russell: 2013, 46). It seems, regarding the example provided by the quarries of Phrygia, that the blocks were generally inscribed when they had a customer to be sent to. Therefore, it is possible to find uninscribed pieces, waiting to be assigned a destination (Waelkens and Hall: 1982). Outside the quarries, the inscriptions served not only to pass on information about the block, but also to track it during shipping and to be able to identify whether there was any seepage into local markets of goods destined for Rome (Pensabene: 1989). Every term or abbreviation utilized in these inscriptions delivered a distinct and unique message, often reflecting the inner organization of quarrying operations. The labels make a permanent record of this information. Moreover, the fact that all surviving labels had been engraved on the stone may suggest that at least part of the information had to be readable for a specified length of time, possibly for the duration of storage at the quarry or, following shipment, to ensure it could be read at the destination (Hirt: 2010, 291). Marble pieces provide an example of how private and state initiative worked together managing quarries, establishing distinctions through messages encrypted in the inscriptions made on these materials.

2.3.6. Tracing an Invisible Material Record: the Evidence of inscribed Sacks

Sacks were one the most ordinary containers in the domestic context for carrying grain, vegetables, and similar products.³⁸ However, in the absence of any remains, the only recourse is to examine texts³⁹ and iconography.⁴⁰ This evidence is enough to attest the use of sacks as not only a tool, but also a unit of measure in both the west (Still: 1993, 408) and the east (Mayerson: 1998). For example, in the case of grain, it is clear that the grain was loaded onto ships and unloaded again by means of large numbers of porters (*saccarii*) each of whom carried a sack (Rougé: 1966, 160). Some archaeological remains illustrating that practice are the sculptures of the Ostian *saccarii*⁴¹ compiled by Martelli (2013). Rickman (1980, 133; 2002, 359) calculates the huge volume of sacks moved by *saccarii*

³⁸ Other products such as salt, rocks, marble *tesserae*, Viriouvét: 2015, 675

³⁹ D. 16.3.26.2; D. 18.1.40.3; *CTh.* 14.22. Some examples of the east: O. Did. 5; BGU.7.1629; SB 14 11562, *inter alia*.

⁴⁰ E.g. a sarcophagus from Rome, on which a large sack is shown (Applebaum: 1987, pl. 19.3) and Trajan's column, Lepper and Frere: 1988, pl.6 (ii/9); pl.25 (xxxiii/80-81); pl.26 (xxxiv/84 and xx.xv /87); pl.35 (xlvii/120); pl.36 (xlix/125)

⁴¹ Besides Martelli, there are not many studies consacred to the *saccarii*, Deniaux: 2007; Freu: 2007

from ship to store in Ostia, and Sirks (1992, 235) or Salido (2013: 105) do not believe any other type of container was used to unload grain.

The *Isis Giminiana* (Figure 19) painting displays a boat being loaded with grain by *saccarii*, who, after reaching the deck of the boat, emptied their sacks into a *modius* (Floriani Squarciapino: 1958, 125-127; Fourniol: 1998², 5). As can be appreciated in the painting, the sacks were marked indicating messages such as *res* (thing) or *fecit* (I did). These messages are probably part of the whole scene of the painting, but also indicate that these sacks were marked indicating features such as the contents or the owner. The latter is asserted by Still (1995, 57), who repeatedly mentions the presence of seals to identify the owner of the sacks, especially in the case of imperial cargoes of grain. The TPSulp 45; 51-2; 66-67 (Camodeca: 1999, 122-3; 139-40) are a group of wax tablets dealing with a loan of money warranted by some sacks deposited in the *horrea Bassiana publica Puteolanorum*. The TPSulp do not mention if the sacks were marked with the name of the borrower, but these containers would have been marked in some way to indicate their owner. Instead, lines 10-11 of TPSulp. 46 indicate that the wheat, which is the object being loaned, is stored in bulk, because they reveal that the storekeeper will measure the wheat when it is released for transport (Camodeca: 1999, 124-5). The stipulation of *mensura* in the tablet means that the storekeeper is responsible for the amount given and not for a specific recipient. In this case, when the object of the loan has to be released, the restitution should be of the same amount of grain. On the other hand, it is possible to store grain in separate compartments, but not in sacks,⁴² because the latter implied that the same sack stored needed to be returned.⁴³

2.3.7. *Signacula* (Seal Matrix)⁴⁴

A seal (*signaculum*) is a piece of wood, lead, or other material (e.g. bronze) with an individual design stamped in it, attached to a document as a guarantee by the seller to the customer. They must not be confused with the seals used in kilns, which identified the producer of the container and not the merchant selling the goods. In Roman times, they were employed for marking a wide range of objects (e.g. food, bricks, marble, and cloth). Because these were used on many different materials, that I have classified them separately from the stoppers, from which these seals were the matrix markin them. Notwithstanding that methodological clarification, stoppers and *signacula* should be considered as artifacts entangled to the procedure of sealing.

The first study by Mommsen (1883, *CIL* X, 915-16) focused on their use for marking containers with consumables such as wine or oil. However, this narrow approach was challenged by Poggi, specially concerning Mommsen's publication *Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani Latinae* (1852), in which he compiled a large number of *signacula* and their possible uses. Particularly relevant is Poggi's

⁴² Despite the fact that it was a common practice, *cf.* D. 13.7.43.1.

⁴³ *Cfr.* D. 19.2.31; D. 18.1.40.3.

⁴⁴ See Appendix I, 10.6

hypothesis that these seals were used for sealing sacks or even the objects traded (1876: 13). When studying them, the elements of relevance are shape, material, context in which they were found, and the name or symbols inscribed on them.

Since *signacula* have been collected by antiquaries for years, many of them were studied out of their archaeological context and are consequently lacking key information, which is one of the issues underlined by Girardi (2014, 177).

There are no hard rules and clear links between the materials, shapes and functions of individual seals. One can find seals for amphora stoppers made of wood (Almagro & Sancho: 1968) or of lead (Berni & Gorostidi: 2013). The shape of the seal can give clues about the kind of goods that it marked, with rectangular seals for ingots, circular for stoppers (Figure 12) , and a stick for leather (Baratta: 2007, 99-108). Sometimes there are extravagant shapes (e.g. shoe or dolphin) that can refer to the owner's business or particular taste (Manganaro Perrone: 2006, cat. 34). Symbols can also carry details about the owner, such as his/her occupation, but also inform us about the function of the seal (Baratta: 2014, 188). Hence, these objects display evidence of diverse ways of personalising objects by marking them because of their nature or their use (Aubert: 2005, 53).



Figure 12. A lead seal of C. Iulius Alfius (Taglietti: 1994, p. 166, fig. 6a)

Recently, an entire volume devoted to *signacula* has been published (Braitto & Buonopane: 2014) in which several authors addressed different issues which help to understand these objects and their function in trade. Besides their commercial use, seals were also employed for juridical documents, to show an intervention of someone as having a right or an action, or as being liable for the conditions established on the object stamped (Lazzarini: 2012; Mayer: 2014, 21). This function highlights the important role of seals to mark the person liable in a given agreement. For the most part, these marks

are written in the genitive case, thus showing ownership by the merchant and his liability with respect to the customer (Cooley: 2012, 102).

2.3.8. Labels.⁴⁵

Labels consist of rectangular-shaped metal tags, usually made from lead, with a hole on one side made for attaching it to the product that it accompanied. They normally describe information about the product to which they are attached or to a treatment applied to it, namely fulling in the case of textiles. Although many studies have dated these objects between the 1st and the 2nd cent. AD (Paci: 1995, 33; Bizarrini: 2005, 125), there is evidence to indicate that these objects were already in use during the last years of the 1st cent. BC (Buonopane & Buchi: 43ff.), and even extending into the 3rd or 4th cent. AD. The contexts in which these objects have generally been found (Bizarrini: 2005, 125) and the inscriptions that they carry are related to the work of the *fullonica* (Piccottini: 295-6). There are some studies dedicated to the Roman wool industry (Flohr: 2013, 2014; Wild: 2000) and to the archaeology of the *fullonica* (Wilson: 2003; Flohr: 2003; 2013²; Tran: 2007), which provide a background to the associated epigraphic record (Buonopane: 2003).

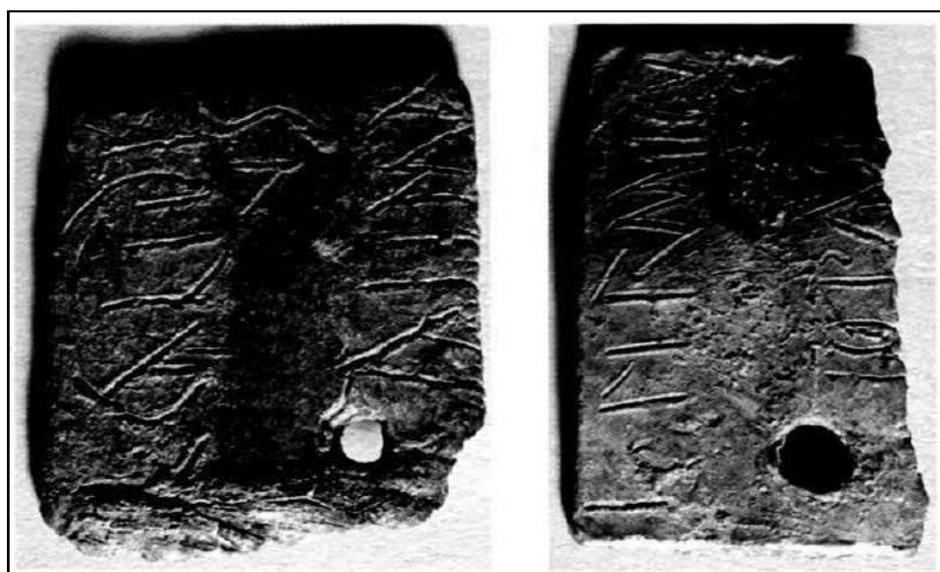


Figure 13. Lead labels from Altino (Italy) from fullonicae, showing the name of the owners of the clothes (Buonopane/ Buchi: 2005, 43, Fig. 1)

These labels worked as bills, as they normally record personal names, making them understandable to the people working in this environment (Paci: 1995, 32). Despite the fact that the first items registered in the *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (*CIL* XI 6722, 1-12; *CIL* III 11883; *CIL* XIII 10029, 325) are identified only as labels, Egger was the first scholar to focus on these items as a means to reconstruct the economic life of the Roman period (1061-3; 1969, 401-403). The large

⁴⁵ See Appendix I, 10.7

number of samples studied (e.g. Mócsy: 1956; Manganaro Perrone: 1989; Marengo: 1989; Romer-Martijnse: 1990) has allowed us to see how these labels in the *fullo* business worked (Figure 13). The labels were written on both sides. The inscriptions on one side relate to the treatment applied to the fabrics, providing the names of people with symbols of their profession, such as the term *fullo*, which refers to a worker in a *fullonica* (*AE* 2001, 298; *CIL* III 13552). On the same side, other inscriptions also give the name of the owner of the cloth, and a name of a process or dye applied to it (Buchi: 2002, 261-3). On the other side, the labels record the weight of or colours applied to the cloths (IG 132486). The inscriptions represent a significant challenge to the reader, because they employ abbreviations sometimes related to the language of the region, or maybe to the technical language employed in the *fullonica* (e.g. *nostrum aema*).⁴⁶ Thus these *scripta* reflected traits of the leased contracts of a job, namely fulling,⁴⁷ and will be helpful to understand these contracts in a broader context, such as quarrying or managing imperial estates, as I will address in section 7.2.1.

One last example of labels comes from eight lead labels attached to the neck of African amphorae from Annaba, Algeria (Lequément: 1975, 677-80). The fact that these kinds of marks have not been found elsewhere points to their use as strictly limited in space and time, and in this respect it is worth noting that most African amphorae appear to have been uninscribed at this time (Keay: 1984; Bonifay: 2004; Peña: 2007). The writings on these labels refer to *officina iuliorum*, and cannot be qualified as writing relating to the merchant but to the producer of the goods traded. They provide evidence for other uses of labels, and provide more data about trade in the late empire. For an earlier period, it is possible to find a set of commercial lead labels for amphorae associated with Greek Sicily (Rocco: 1971). As another example of the uses of these artefacts, it is possible to find labels used for products destined for the army, indicating the exemption of taxes on these products (Kritzinger: 2015). Thus it seems that labels could be used on a wide variety of objects, and reflect details related to the agreement, such as the treatment applied to the fabric, or to issues of distribution such as the payment of taxes.

2.3.9. Ostraka⁴⁸

It is common to find Greek ostraka in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in Egypt (Cuvigny: 1986; Shelton: 1991; Bingen *et al.*: 1992; 1997). On the contrary, Latin ostraka are rarer (Bagnall: 1976; Bulow-Jacobsen: 2009) and primarily associated with military activities. Only one group is relevant to this thesis – the Latin ostraka from the Ilot de l' Amirauté at Carthage (Figure 14). Despite the fact that they are of late imperial date, the information recorded on them helps us understand a number of procedures about which we are not otherwise informed. They witness control mechanisms at work in the movement of olive oil within *Africa Proconsularis* and between that province and Rome. Moreover,

⁴⁶ This refers to the dyes practiced on the cloths, in this case it is *haematius* or red, that can be read on IG 132454, IG 132456, IG 132459, IG 132454, IG 132464, IG 132465m IG 132470, IG 132473, IG 132477, and IG 132486.

⁴⁷ E.g. D. 12.7.2; D.19.2.13.6; D.19.2.60.2

⁴⁸ See Appendix I, 10.8

the archaeological excavations on the Ilot de l' Amirauté have revealed that *ostraka* were associated with a monumental colonnaded piazza within which were located offices, suggesting that it was a controlling point for the movement of goods in the port. According to Hurst, an 'annonary' role could be ascribed to the harbour, with the documentation and perhaps the transshipment of olive oil destined for Rome taking place there (Hurst: 2008, 55).

Cagnat and Merlin undertook a first transcription and translation of these ostraka in 1911. Many years later, they were subject to a detailed analysis and translation by Peña (1998, 117-238). He suggests that the ostraka could be divided into two groups, corresponding to different functions. The first was composed of six examples which described the quantities of oil in terms of their type and their containers, received from transport by sea. The second group, formed of seventeen ostraka, displayed a list of merchants and associated numbers, which recorded the amounts of oil being stored in the warehouses of Carthage. These are inventories of oil taken as a tax, and weighed in preparation for its export. Hence these last inscriptions confirm the hypothesis of Carthage's involvement in the oil supply to Rome.

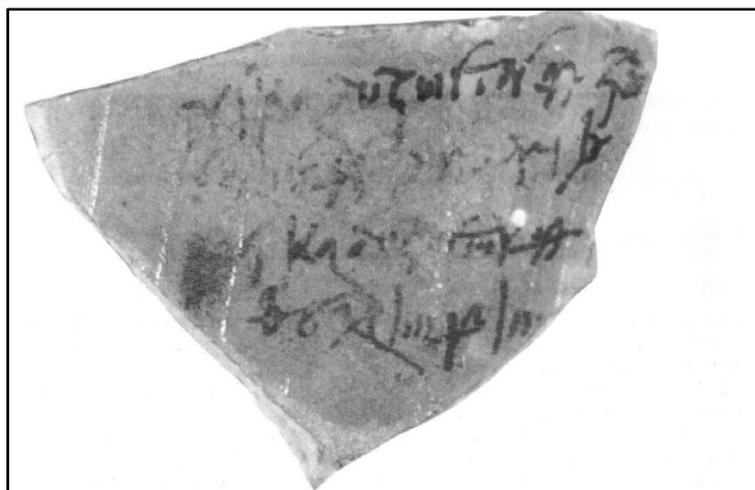


Figure 14. Ostrakon from the Ilot de l'Amirauté, Carthage (Peña: 1998, 120, Fig. 5)

Nevertheless, the interpretation of some of the inscriptions needs further comparison with other sources if we are to gain a clearer understanding of the meaning of the f/ and R/ inscriptions on the ostraka, which have been interpreted in this context as meaning *fero* or *reprobo*. These inscriptions, related to control procedures, can be found in inscriptions on Dressel 20 amphorae and marble. Furthermore, the same notations R/ or f/ on Dressel 20 amphorae and marble have been interpreted in a different way. The re-interpretation of these inscriptions will be attempted in Chapter 5.

2.4. Conclusions

I have shown how a range of objects has been studied through different scholarly approaches, and included some theoretical frameworks not previously applied to the material studied. Despite the fact

that the scholarly record concerning inscribed artefacts has increased in recent years, such research tends to focus upon single categories of items, or upon one kind of object within a broader class, such as the Dressel 7-11 within amphorae more broadly. On the other hand, other studies have approached these subjects by focusing on the goods transported within the containers. This allows us to understand Roman commerce as comprising several interdependent markets (Temin: 2013, 95ff.). In fact, the only studies relating together inscriptions on different artefacts are focused on building networks of traders. For example, the inscriptions of barrels and amphorae has been examined by Marlière (2004, 314-15), by relating two items with the aim of re-creating networks between merchants. The more traditional method of analysing single categories of inscriptions alone isolates them from other traits of the object that provides it with its context. The second method, understanding networks within inscriptions, results in questionable results because it is based on connecting scant data, even subjectively sometimes.

Perceiving these objects as sources of information about procedures in the course of Roman trade agreements employs an interdisciplinary approach and involves merging different sets of data. Previous studies of the *scripta commercii* have focused solely on the objects, thus “decontextualizing” them from their economic or legal context, excluding their relationship with state control and the supply of imperial Rome (Cooley: 2012, 90). This is an issue that has yet to be considered by scholars writing handbooks on Roman law (e.g. Cerami & Petrucci: 2004; Chiusi: 2007; Gaurier: 2004). My intention is to compare inscriptions between different objects, not just to challenge the accuracy of their epigraphic interpretation, but also to build a more informed reading of their meaning. Once these writings are interpreted within a broader understanding of Roman law, it will be possible to develop an interpretative framework relating to the character of commercial operations in the empire. This work is also devoted to examining the ways in which the inscribed artefacts provide information about their use as objects of communication.

Chapter 3

The Entanglements of *Scripta Commercii*: Methodology of Analysis

3.1. *Scripta commercii* as evidence of practice

Scripta commercii can be analysed through several disciplines, such as archaeology, epigraphy, economy, history, iconography and law. What has been more relevant in my approach has been the consideration of *scripta commercii* as the elements that change and shape the identity of an object. In addition, the Appendix II (11.1) describes the functioning of the *scripta commercii* database, configuring a corpus of data that differentiates the commercial procedures involved in the distribution of merchandise. Furthermore, the Appendix II (11.1) indicates how the different *scripta commercii* have been classified, by developing the system labelled by Martin-Kilcher (1992). Though developed for amphorae I have employed the system across the board, as it is based on the content of the text only and allows one to cover all aspects which regularly appear on objects (such as product; weight; or merchant name), independently of the support. Inscripting commercial items was a recurrent practice (Bernal: 2014, 231) and, from my point of view, their absence from containers such as amphorae would have been an issue linked with either their preservation or, as I will affirm in chapters 5, 6 and 7, to the different trading modalities employed by merchants. These assertions shape my research, which uses the dichotomy of the presence and absence of inscriptions as a way of defining the different techniques employed for selling and loading the goods involved in the distribution process.

The artefact life cycle is a conceptual scheme formulated by Schiffer in the early 1970s (1972: 157–60) that went on to gain wide acceptance in archaeology. His approach is mainly concerned with the formation processes of the archaeological record. It was reinterpreted by Peña (2007, 9ff.), who introduced a model presented in the form of a flow diagram that incorporated eight discrete behaviours – manufacture, distribution, prime use, reuse, maintenance, recycling, discard, and reclamation – that governed the passage of Roman pottery through its life cycle and its incorporation into the archaeological record. My conception of the life cycle of merchandise considers the distribution phase, and uses the inscriptions on the artefacts to trace the different procedures through which the objects passed from the moment they were bought until they arrived at their destination. In this thesis, I am not considering reuse or recycling of the artefacts, since that involves the study of the distribution cycle of the item reused or the new cycle in which the artefact was being reemployed (Peña: 2017).

Scripta commercii were labels that recorded information of interest to persons concerned with the distribution of the containers. In instances in which two or more labels appear on a single vessel, each may have been produced in association with a different stage in what was a complex distribution process. The main consideration when studying *scripta commercii* is that the people who transported, controlled, inscribed and received Roman merchandise engaged in various actions that determined how, when, where and why objects were inscribed or not, or were used in the distribution cycle. It seems a reasonable assumption that, from the time of setting sail from a port until the time of reaching

its destination, a substantial portion of the merchandise was subject to these actions in a more or less regularly recurring order. That may be thought of as constituting a sequence similar to the life cycle of an organism.

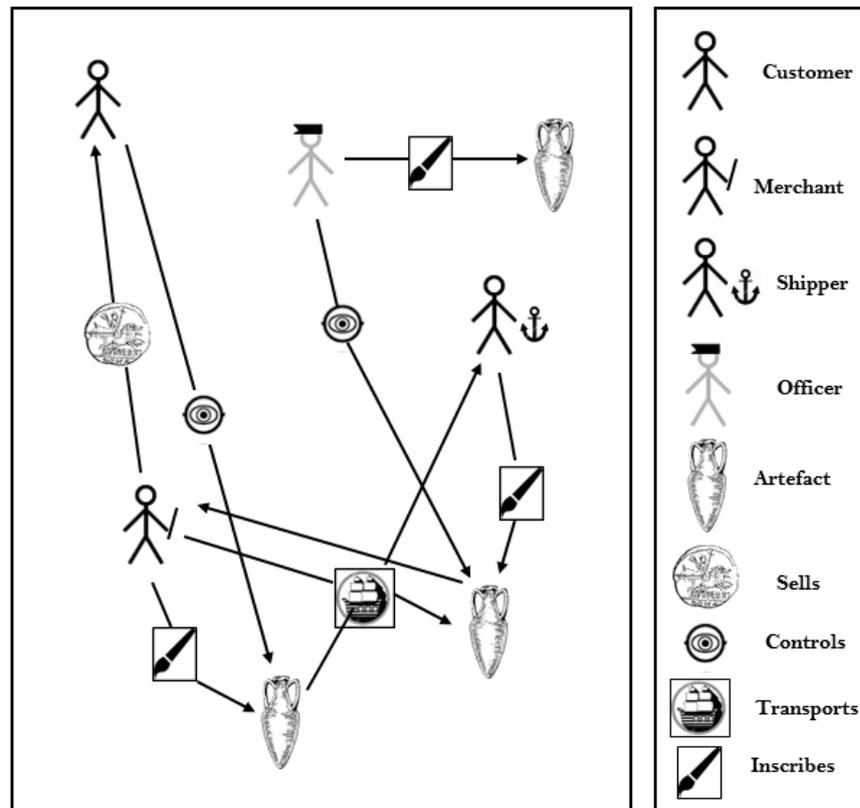


Figure 15. An ontograph detailing human interactions with a container

I would like to underline the different ontological approaches that can be used to interpret the artefacts, such as actor-network theory, which understands these objects in connection with the people interacting with them (Knappett: 2011; Van Oyen: 2016). Another theoretical approach that needs to be mentioned is assemblage theory, used in order to understand *scripta commercii* as an accumulation of interactions with the object that characterize it, differentiating it from other groups of merchandise (Fowler: 2013, 2; Jones: 2016, 92). The different human interactions with a given object are shown in the ontograph detailed in Figure 15. An ontograph would depict, in whatever format, the ways of being and becoming of a given object, so that an object acquires a different entity by the human interactions imposed upon it (Bogost: 2012). The legend on the right identifies the people in contact with the object and their actions with it. So the people and procedures involved in the life cycle of the artefacts represented in the ontograph can be summarized as follows:

- **Merchant**, who writes notations on the artefact which are necessary for the transport and sale of the object. The arrow going from the amphora at the bottom right of the diagram to

the merchant implies that the amphora has been sold to a second merchant in the port of arrival, who in their turn can sell it to a customer.

- **Shipper**, who takes care of the transport of the container and who can write some details on the object in case there are any changes to the conditions previously agreed.
- **Officer**, who controls the merchandise and the payment of the taxes, may need to write text on the container to indicate that it has been subject to controls.
- **Customer**, who buys the merchandise and has to pay for it, is entitled to enforce the sale agreement if there are features described in the sale not fulfilled by the product.

Commercial inscriptions are written on different parts of the merchandise and employ different techniques (Table 1). Understanding the different procedures used in completing the inscriptions can also help us comprehend (1) the way the goods were distributed, (2) the different control procedures, (3) the relative time-sequence of the constituent elements of the inscriptions, (4) which of these elements was written first, and (5) which stage(s) of the act of inscribing took place at the port of origin.

Object type	Technique	Location of text	Content of text
Amphora / Jug	Painted	On the side of the neck or belly / On the neck or belly / on the bottom / on the shoulder. ⁴⁹	Elements linked to the features of the product sold, the transport and the registration
Amphora / Jug	Stamped	On the handle / on the bottom / on the rim	Producer
Amphora / Jug	Graffiti post-cocturam	On the side of the neck or belly/ On the neck or belly	Details linked to the sale of the product
Amphora / Jug	Graffiti pre-cocturam	On the handle / on the bottom	Marks probably linked to the production process
Barrel	Chiselled	Exterior / Interior	Merchant / producer
Barrel	Marked with fire	Exterior / Interior	Merchant / producer
Barrel	Painted	Exterior / Interior	Elements linked to the features of the product sold / the transport / producer
Barrel	Graffiti	Exterior / Interior	Elements linked to the features of the product sold / producer
Ingot	Stamped	On the top / On the side	Producer
Ingot	Graffiti	On the side / On the base	Merchant / receiver/ details of storage

⁴⁹ As on the Greek amphorae found in the Athenian agora, see Lang: 1976, 55ff.

Marble	Chiselled	On the side	Details of the transport / registration
Stopper	Stamped	On the top	Merchant

Table 1. Techniques of inscribing, position of the inscriptions on the objects, and the content of the text.

The evidence of the materials analysed allows us to place the different techniques in context, being able to relate one type of writing to one specific moment in the distribution cycle. In order to achieve this, a metapragmatic approach to the inscriptions will describe how the effects and conditions of language use become objects of discourse (Silverstein: 1993). Metapragmatic signalling allows participants to construe what is going on in an interaction. I have used this approach to understand the epigraphy of merchandise in its context with the aim to (1) specify under which conditions a specific technique and language should be used, (2) identify the kind of event occurring, and (3) link the absence of use of this sort of language to the different events or conditions.

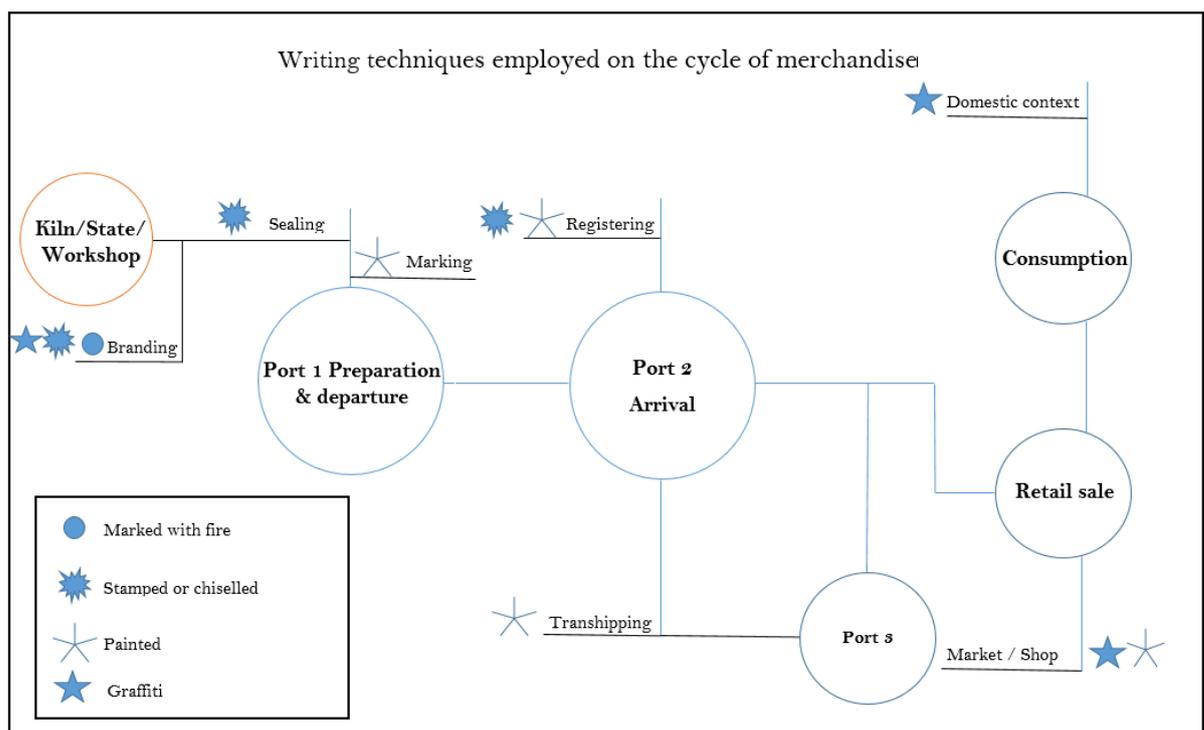


Figure 16. Writing techniques and their use in the distribution cycle of artefacts.

Figure 16 connects the different types of writing techniques with the associated moments in the distribution cycle of the merchandise.⁵⁰ I can identify the following scenarios when the different techniques are applied to the vessels:

⁵⁰ The procedures composing the distribution cycle of the *scripta commercii* will be detailed in Figure 18

(1) The production site (kiln, estate, or workshop) where the object was stamped (vessel, ingot, and barrel) or woodburned (barrel) indicates manufacturing. There the container was filled with the product, sealed (stamped with the name of the owner), and painted to indicate details about the product or ownership. Also graffiti written on the containers record such issues as the amount due to the person making the ceramic container.

(2) The port of departure, where the goods were loaded onto a ship. If the vessels were not already marked, they could have been painted and counted at this stage, as the examples of P. Oxy.43.3111 and P. Bad. 2.43 indicate. The port also could be a place for transshipment. If the cargo passed from one shipper to another, then the goods could be re-inscribed, indicating the liability of the new carrier within the framework of lease and hire.

(3) The ship carrying the goods. Should the ship change its itinerary or the goods be transhipped to other boat, they would be marked again, leaving names written with a different hand which would correspond to the new shipper in charge of the transport. Some such cases have been identified in the context of the river system of the Rhone, and is connected with the liability of the shipper to carry the goods safely to its destination (Martin-Kilcher: 1994).

(4) The port of destination, where the goods were supervised by the authorities for the payment of the customs or registration and handed to the final customer or stored in a warehouse. Here we can find stamps used especially for goods intended for state supply or, in the case of marble, for public buildings, and painted inscriptions which indicated issues concerning the registration of the goods.

(5) The market or the shop where the goods were sold, where we can find either painted inscriptions attesting to details about the sale (e.g. *CIL XV 4539*), or graffiti indicating features of the goods sold (e.g. *CIL XIII 10008, 43*).

The act of inscribing these objects displayed the importance invested by the parties involved in the agreement in reducing the possible risks involved in commerce. The inscriptions themselves reflect the names of the parties assuming liability for the distribution of the goods, and were also useful as evidence in trials in case something went wrong. The fresco (Figure 17) depicts a trial scene where two subjects discuss a broken amphora. In the context of administrative practices in the Roman Empire, it was important that inscribed notations should form a compulsory record of activities as part of the bureaucratic process (*D.22.4.2*). The paradox, however, is how this process of inscribing could be enforced in an empire with a poorly developed framework for prosecution, with only a handful of *praetors* and *iudices*, no access granted to the courts and a limited bureaucracy (Terpstra: 2008, 369; Metzger: 2010, 27ff.). How could law have any power in the absence of the rule of law? In this context, commercial agreements were based on words and good faith, and needed to show some proof of what had been settled between the involved parties.



Figure 17. Fresco with judicial scene from the Caseggiato del Ercole, a market building at Ostia, dating to 2nd cent. AD (Pavolini 1983: 197, fig. 4.1)

Three different forms of evidence for behavioural practices involved in the cycle will be considered here: textual, representational, and material. The textual evidence pertaining to the practices under consideration comprises three distinct categories: documentary (texts for record keeping such as wax tablets or papyri), epigraphic, and literary. The representational evidence consists of a small number of fresco paintings, mosaics, and reliefs that depict scenes of procedures taking place during the distribution of the goods. The material (archaeological) evidence consists of Roman artefacts and other relevant material remains, including the structures, facilities and portable artefacts with which *scripta commercii* may be associated.

3.2. Exegesis on the Sources of Roman law

First of all, is important to indicate that the sources of Roman law studied here correspond to what is identified as classical western Roman law. The Appendix II (11.2) explains the functioning and aims of the legal database created for this study. Legal sources help us reconstruct the Roman juridical experience (Robinson: 1997, 25). Exegesis means the interpretative activity of a person trying to unravel the meaning of a text. In the case of Roman law, the need for this activity relies upon two principles:

(1) Legal texts are written in a cryptic and particular language, making it necessary to contextualize and critically understand them, especially bearing in mind the dangers of reading them using modern scholarly perspectives (D' Ors: 1943, 1; Tuori: 2007, 1-20).

(2) Many of the texts are not preserved in the same state as that in which they were written, and some of them have not been transmitted at all. Many of them appear as part of compilations, having been re-written, and perhaps altered, by several scribes through the ages. In a first phase, the reader must examine the trustworthiness of the sources available with an exegetic-critical approach, drawing upon other sources that can be helpful. In a second phase, the reader proceeds to the historical reconstruction of the sources, understanding them in context, and analysing individually the case revealed in the text.

All texts are analysed exegetically in order to trace the eventual alterations that the text has undergone through the interference of people other than the original author (i.e. scribes, readers or commentators). This way of approaching legal sources has to be adapted to the format in which the texts come to us, differentiating between:

- Primary sources, which contain a direct representation of the issue (e.g. a contract, a letter, an announcement) which they refer to (e.g. stone carving, wax tablet, papyri).
- Secondary sources, which are re-tellings of individual facts (e.g. a trial, a book), which allow us to make indirect reconstructions of the events (e.g. the writing of a jurist or literary works).

Calling these sources “primary” or “secondary” does not reflect their relative importance, but simply the way they provide information. The study of primary sources implies an archaeological and historical analysis of the context of the piece, together with methods of analysis of text coming from disciplines such as epigraphy, palaeography, or papyrology. Primary sources reflect directly the historical event being studied (e.g. *Lex Parieti faciendo puteolana*, 105 BC=CIL X, n. 1781).⁵¹ The matter undertaken in these sources has to be considered according to whether they were addressed to a general audience (by means of epigraphic records upon walls or monuments), or if they were binding documents between private individuals (such as wax tablets or papyri with contracts).

The analysis of secondary sources requires an awareness of the making of Roman law, the timeline of sources of Roman law (Appendix II, 11.2), the creation of compilations (such as the *Corpus Iuris civilis* and the *Codex Theodosianus*), and the problems involved in reconstructing the historical facts represented in a text. The codes are composed by imperial constitutions or juridical decisions coming from the emperor. Justinian’s Digest was mainly composed of excerpts of legal treatises written by jurists, comments on law, or *responsa* to private law cases, in which sometimes they quote public laws, *senatusconsulta* or imperial constitutions. Differently, later codes such as the *Theodosian* or Justinian are mainly composed of public dispositions (*edicta, iura, leges*), but also include private rescripts (*rescripta*).

⁵¹ *FIRA* III: 1943, 472-5; Girard & F. Senn: 1977, 511-513.

In this thesis, I will be working with both material and textual legal sources, and using the previous classification, notwithstanding that it is only one of the ways that legal sources could be classified. There are many other distinctions that reflect main features of the texts, such as the differentiation between casuistic and non-casuistic or systematic texts (Babusiaux: 2016, 179), or among collective decisions, imperial and official pronouncements, and private documents (Rowe: 2014).

While the codes are composed of imperial constitutions,⁵² the Digest is composed of fragments of different books written by jurists concerning multiple topics such as comments to the praetor's edict (e.g. *Ulpian ad edictum*), compilations of cases (e.g. Papinianus. *Quaestiones*), or the work of former jurists (e.g. Pomponius. *Ad Quintum Mucium*). Many of the fragments of the Digest come from jurists from the 2nd cent. AD onwards, especially from Ulpian and Paulus (Severan). Much of our knowledge of jurists of the Republican period or the 1st cent. AD comes from later works. Moreover, the Digest fragments could have been altered by the compilers collating them into codices, because the emperor Justinian, when enacting it, established that the jurists could alter the fragments they considered to be incomplete or imperfect (*Constitutio Tanta*.10). This is why many scholars have focused their research on the identification of these alterations or interpolations (Kalb: 1897; Lenel: 1927; Palazzini Finetti: 1953, 9ff.).

The reader must be aware that in some of these sources, some of the advice must be considered as examples of practical cases creating patterns of response in different situations. For example, in the Digest, jurists created situational abstractions that involved different relations with Roman law. However, the fact that the jurists described case examples does not mean that they were not reflecting binding features of the contracts of lease and hire. There are two inter-connected queries that indicate the limitations of studying Roman legal sources: What is the relationship between Roman law and the society that produced it? How far can we see of that relation in the material evidence? The answer to these questions is in fact much more complicated than it may seem at first glance. Watson's (2000: chapters 5, 9 and 13) conception of "legal isolationism" of the jurists, indicating the spirit of Roman law is merely the reflection of the concerns, ways of thinking and values of a small stratum of society that belonged to those who created the law and those who should use it. Otherwise, Crook (1967) argued that there is a close relationship between Roman law and society and that many rules of law may be explained in terms of the peculiarities of that society. Both visions fall short to reveal that a Roman lawyer's approach to law was mostly pragmatic, revealing traits of the social and economic life of Rome (Aubert & Sirks: 2002, 183-4; Cairns & Plessis: 2007). The latter consists the approach of which we are benefitting for this study.

Imperial constitutions can be addressed to an individual (*rescriptum*), a member of the administration (*mandata*), or to a whole group of subjects (*edicta*). The emperor enacted these sources, which have law force and, in addition to that, they were compiled, archived, and used comparatively

⁵² Cf. Appendix II, 11.2 and Appendix X

for different cases, distributing the advice given in the text. Moreover, literary or historical sources have to be regarded as fragments written by an individual who, even pretending to be objective, was influenced by their own subjectivity.

Being labelled as primary or secondary does not reflect the authority of the source itself. They must be understood in context, meaning where the source was displayed, who the subjects creating such an act were, and what that source signified for Roman standards. Meyer (2004, 33-42) asked some of these questions concerning the case of Roman wax tablets and Greek papyri, underlining the importance of formalities in Roman written documents. From this approach, two issues must be considered for the study of the legal sources considered in this thesis: the importance of the act of creating that source, and the effect that this source had for the people affected by it.

This last remark raises a question about the audience for whom the texts was intended, who would have had access to them, the subjects involved in their creation, and the issues addressed in them. In fact, it is more beneficial to look at the issue of law and legal practice from the ground up, and to ask whether, how and why Rome's subjects, as individuals or as groups, availed themselves of the Roman legal system (Humfress: 2013, 93). When we are concerned with how the law functioned in society, we can talk about issues such as authority, provinciality, citizenship, connectivity and legal culture (Czajkowski: 2017, 21). Thinking about these different issues is a useful way of framing the *scripta commercii* under study, in which we move from looking primarily at legal texts to the significance of the values, attitudes, and opinions of the various people involved in or affected by legal texts. One important focus lies in how the cases studied were discussed and resolved, and what kinds of narratives formed from them. The separation of normative and factual realities (what ought to have happened and what did happen) is just the first step towards a more historically accurate view of legal integration in the Roman Empire (Tuori: 2007, 52).

However, these matters introduce the issues of pluralism and integration of the Roman Empire into this discussion. In relation to them, the question of the plurality of legalisms need to be regarded from a holistic perspective, considering regional variations in time and place. This will lead to a balance between the sources from the centre and those from the provinces. In sum, the sources have to be considered regarding the context of the people who created and interacted with them on a case-by-case basis, bearing in mind the multi-legal approach that characterized cultural variation across the Roman Empire.

3.3. Linking *Scripta Commercii* and Roman law⁵³

The connections between *scripta commercii* and legal sources are key to better understanding of the inscriptions. Connections between them can show how the different procedures are reflected in the material record, thereby emphasizing complexities of Roman commercial procedures and the

⁵³ See. Appendix II

possibility of a degree of systematisation in the labelling of the commercial items. I will illustrate this approach through an analysis of a single example: a fragment of Ulpian (3rd cent. AD) describing the different steps in the procedure for the sale of wine. The fragment comes from one of his books *ad sabinum*, in which he commented upon civil law. In this text, Ulpian comments upon a common practice with the focus on a particular case study, to show the application of the general features of sale contracts. The text reads:

D. 18.6.4.1. Ulp. 18 *ad Sab.* *If a quantity of wine was sold for a lump sum, the vendor is liable only for its safekeeping. It will be apparent from this that if the wine is not sold with a provision for tasting, the vendor has no liability for acidity or mustiness and that all risk is on the purchaser. At the same time, it is hard to believe that anyone would buy wine without a proviso that is to be tasted. Hence, if a period for tasting be fixed, the purchaser may taste when he can and, until he does taste, the risk of sourness and mustiness is on the vendor; for a specified period for tasting rebounds to the purchaser's advantage.* [Transl. Watson: 1985, vol. 2, 81]

Ulpian advises the buyer of wine in bulk (*per aversionem*) to insist upon tasting as a condition of purchase, and on setting a time limit for this, otherwise the seller will bear the risk of deterioration until the buyer wishes to taste the wine, and the buyer is not obliged to hurry. The procedure of tasting will be further detailed in section 4.2.3.2 and Appendix. III, 12.3. Tasting could take place at different times, as described by Frier (1983, 282). Growers, after pressing and fermenting the wine, stored it for aging in huge vats (*dolia*), and while it was aging they sold it to wine merchants (*vinarii*). The *vinarii*, after decanting the wine into more portable amphorae, conveyed it, usually by sea, from the region of its origin to an urban distribution centre. There, local wine merchants purchased and took delivery of it, even before its final sale to consumers, meaning that the wine has already been sold at least twice: once at the point of origin, and again at the point of final distribution. Insisting upon the condition that tasting should take place was apparently most common when growers sold wine in *dolia*, presumably because wine usually remained with the seller for some weeks or even months before it was sold. When wine was sold in amphorae at the point of final distribution, wine tasting as a condition seems to have been less common, doubtless because the buyer normally tasted the wine before the sale and took delivery of it soon afterward.

This source can be related to some inscriptions on amphorae collated in the *scripta commercii* database (1295; 1571; 1223; 1262; 3230)⁵⁴ which record one of the steps in this kind of sale. The most important inscription to relate here is the 3230, concerning the sale of wine in *dolia* using a sample because this operation was exactly the moment when they used the sample to try it (Figure 42). The inscribed container is referred to in the database as follows in Table 2

⁵⁴ For more details about this database, see Appendix II.

ID	ID Support	ID tituli picti	Text	Interpretation	Type of <i>scripta commercii</i>	Notes	Main Source
3230	O. 006	Inscription F	DOL. CXXXX. SEXSAGEN ARIA	<i>Dolia centum quadraginta sexsagenaria</i>	General inscription	This is a sample, which is why the inscription mentions that the content of the container belongs to a bigger cargo. From each <i>dolium sexsagenaria</i> you can take approximately 60 jars, of 13 l each (average capacity of a Roman jar). Thus one <i>dolium sexagenarium</i> corresponds to 780l. The fact that the inscription refers to a estate owing 140 <i>sexagenaria</i> jars indicates that the sample came from a big state with high productivity	Djaoui, Tran, 2014

Table 2. Excerpt from the *scripta commercii* database

Linking the texts with the objects relies largely upon connections that can be made with the keywords. The inscribed container was a constituent element of an agreement of sale (*emptio venditio*), in which it was agreed that the content of the object had to be tasted by the customer before acquiring it. Until then the liability corresponded to the merchant. Moreover, the inscription refers to a single item within a cargo of 140 *dolia*; this in turn was related to the contract of the lease and hire (*locatio conductio*) of the boat transporting the jar and the rest of the cargo. To understand the liability of the person in charge of the transport and involved in the lease and hire, the texts assembled for this thesis contain passages which refer to the procedure keyword ‘*locatio conductio*’. An example is found in a text that contains the edict of a praetor, which established the liability of the seaman transporting goods in a ship:

D. 4.9.3.1. Ulp. 14 ad edictum⁵⁵ *The praetor says: "unless they restore, I will give an action against them". From this edict an actio in factum arises. But it must be seen whether this action is necessary because a civil action could be employed for these sorts of events; certainly, if there has been payment of a reward, there will be the action arising from letting or hiring. Of course, if the whole ship has been let out, the lessee will be able to bring the action on the hire, even for goods, which are missing. However, if the shipper was hired to transport the goods, he will be sued by the action arising from the letting. Nevertheless, if the goods have been accepted free, Pomponius says that the action on deposit could be applied here. Therefore, he was surprised that a praetorian action has been introduced, since there are civil actions available, unless perchance. He said that the reason is that the praetor wished to make known to those engaged in these occupations that he was taking care to repress*

⁵⁵ The Latin text can be found in Appendix IX, 18.4, the translation here is my own.

dishonesty. Because liability in hire is for fault, in deposit only for fraud or malice, but by this edict, in all circumstances, one who receives property is liable, even if it is lost or damage is caused that is not his fault, unless this happens through an unavoidable accident. Hence, Labeo writes that if anything is lost through shipwreck or an attack by pirates, it is not unfair to defend the seaman. The same must be said if the vis maior happens in a stable or inn. [Transl. Watson: 1984 (vol. 1), 161]

This text reveals one of the basic principles of seafaring contracts: the liability of the shipper for the safekeeping of the cargo. The liability of the merchant could have been reflected by writing his name on the object, and the shippers acknowledged the responsibility for the transport when they accepted the cargo loading them in the ship, with the consequent procedures of accounting, weighing, etc. In addition, this text is linked with the *actio exercitoria*, a legal measure that established that when a shipper (either the owner or lessee of a commercial ship used for the transportation of men and goods) employed another as captain (*magister navis*), he was still liable for the contracts concluded by the latter (Aubert: 1994). The fragment (D. 4.9.1.3) is linked to the text referred below because both fragments describe different features of the letting and hiring boats for transporting goods.

P. Koln. III. 147.⁵⁶ (30 BC – AD 15), “*the agreement within the time [...] with the merchandize recovered in the port of Alexandria, undamaged, apart from depreciation and rotting, unless something is done by higher violence, storm or fire and the ship is taken or is captured by enemies from the country in war or of pirates, [event] that I will demonstrate. But if I was contrary to some of the (aforementioned rules), I will pay for the harm, and in addition to half times the value of all things forming the cargo I will owe five hundred pieces of silver for the private loan debt, and two hundred drachma dedicated to Augustus, in addition if the terms written above remain relevant, wherein I may get the enforcement of my entire fortune because that deserves such a judgment, that enforcement should not take place in case that the terms I briefed before for my own protection happened. If I act in breach of contract, it should allow you to throw me out of the tenancy before expiration of the time settled in the contract, then rent one boat to another subject and collect the costs incurred by the new tenants, for what [I will] also have within five days to agree on the affair, starting by the time at which you have announced to me ... [I will exhibit] the security certificate without delay.*” (transl. author)

The papyrus attests the short-term lease of a seagoing ship, for which, instead of a fixed rent, the lessee had to give the lessor a share of his income from freight charges (*naula*). This papyrus shows that essential conditions of the contract such as the establishment of the rent (D.14.2.2pr.) were entirely subject to the will of the parties. The text establishes the liability of the *nauta* for the receipt of one cargo, and his duty of keeping it safe until the ship arrived at its destination. The shipper confirmed that he had loaded a certain cargo onto his ship and committed it to be transported to a

⁵⁶ For further literature about this document, see Rathbone: 2007, 587-93; Jakob: 2009², 73-88.

port of destination. The liability clause “he let the cargo intact” is often followed by “will deliver free of shipping damage”. He made a contract with the state which could assure him of certain exemptions and obligations. The additional 200 drachmas, which in the contract meant a fiscal fine, was in the case of breach of contract, and to be paid to the state treasury. Thus, the creditors wanted the willingness of the debtor to fulfil the contract and the protection of Roman authorities in case of breach. It also describes some events which were beyond the control of the shipper, such as the sinking of the ship in stormy weather or in an attack by pirates. In these situations, the shipper will not be liable for the loss of the goods since they happened against his will, and he will demonstrate that these events have happened.

Of relevance for the first text discussed above (D.4.9.1.3.) is the passage: “Hence, Labeo writes that if anything is lost through shipwreck or an attack by pirates, it is not unfair to defend the seaman”. This would imply that the jar of wine discussed earlier (O. 006) and the rest of the cargo travelling with it were the responsibility of the merchant to fulfil what was agreed in the sale, until the tasting of the product from the sample. The shipper in charge of transporting and safekeeping goods was liable until the end of the voyage unless an unavoidable event happened against his will.

3.4. Conclusions

This chapter examines the ways in which inscribed artefacts can provide information regarding their use as objects of communication. I have connected the materiality of the epigraphy of merchandise with their Roman legal background by shifting the focus from traditional linguistic analysis to the means by which inscribed texts were created, shaped, and used as commercial tools in the different regions of the Mediterranean. This Chapter has discussed how *scripta commercii* and legal sources are interpreted in relationship to each other. I have first described the method for analysing both kinds of sources through an interdisciplinary scope (using archaeology, classical literature, epigraphy and law), and how these artefacts must be understood from an ontological approach. This interdisciplinary method provides a more holistic and historically informed approach to both material and textual sources. The example analysed above provides an insight into one specific artefact and its related texts, but at the same time, it describes the overarching procedures of transport and tasting. Thus these connections make it possible to describe procedures on a case by case basis and to characterize key procedural features of Roman trade.

Chapter 4

Framing Research into Roman commerce: Port Context

4.1. Overview

In this Chapter, *scripta commercii* are considered in the context of Roman Mediterranean ports from the 1st to 3rd cent. AD. A port context comprises the administration, organization, and controls performed at the port and the series of procedures through which cargoes were obliged to undergo en route to their destination. These procedures involved marking the objects with *scripta commercii* as proof of the steps through which the traded objects passed.

Here I propose a model for these procedures, which illustrates the complex trading processes that are indicated by the *scripta commercii*. While it is set within the context of commercial procedures at one port, it can be applied to others, notwithstanding the likelihood of some variations in different parts of the Mediterranean. This model is used as a way of addressing four questions: What kind of procedures were carried out? How and where they were performed? Who executed them? What happened if something went wrong after delivery of the goods? These processes will be analysed through the descriptions of the different procedures involved in the stages of the commercial chain.

4.2. The Context of the Objects

Ports are not simply physical structures enabling transport to a destination. They also embody issues of ideology, power and identity, and are intimately involved with the social structures of the places where they were located. Moreover, the essential concept in this thesis is that of a “port system”, understood as a set of ports or harbour systems working together as an administrative, financial or socio-economic entity (Key: 2012). My intention is to study the legal activities taking place in a port linked to the *scripta commercii*. I have labelled this method as juridical archaeology and it goes beyond the legal texts to investigate causal connections between the legal procedures that would have taken place at Roman ports and the *scripta commercii*. It thus describes and characterizes space at ports in terms of the interactions of the different actors present under the protection of Roman law. It also focuses upon the actors themselves and attempts to define the boundaries between the knowledge established by the law and the practical necessities of commerce.

The approach to juridical archaeology adopted in this thesis follows the idea that the legal framework of trade became visible at ports through the commercial procedures. One of the problems in understanding the context of, and the procedures at ports is that in many cases, the archaeological evidence is insufficient. Because of that, our context needs to be reconstructed with the help of ancient iconography representing the procedures, the texts and inscriptions describing them, and the *scripta commercii*, which formed part of these procedures.

4.2. What, how and where? Unravelling Commercial Routes

Tracking the operations which are attested by the *scripta commercii* encompasses the overall itinerary from the moment that the traded object(s) that they mark were purchased until they arrived at their destination, as represented in Figure 18. The actions therein took place within the framework of legal agreements that were concluded by the parties involved in commerce, and which defined the rights and liabilities of the parties implied in the agreement, and the warranties that the customer could expect.

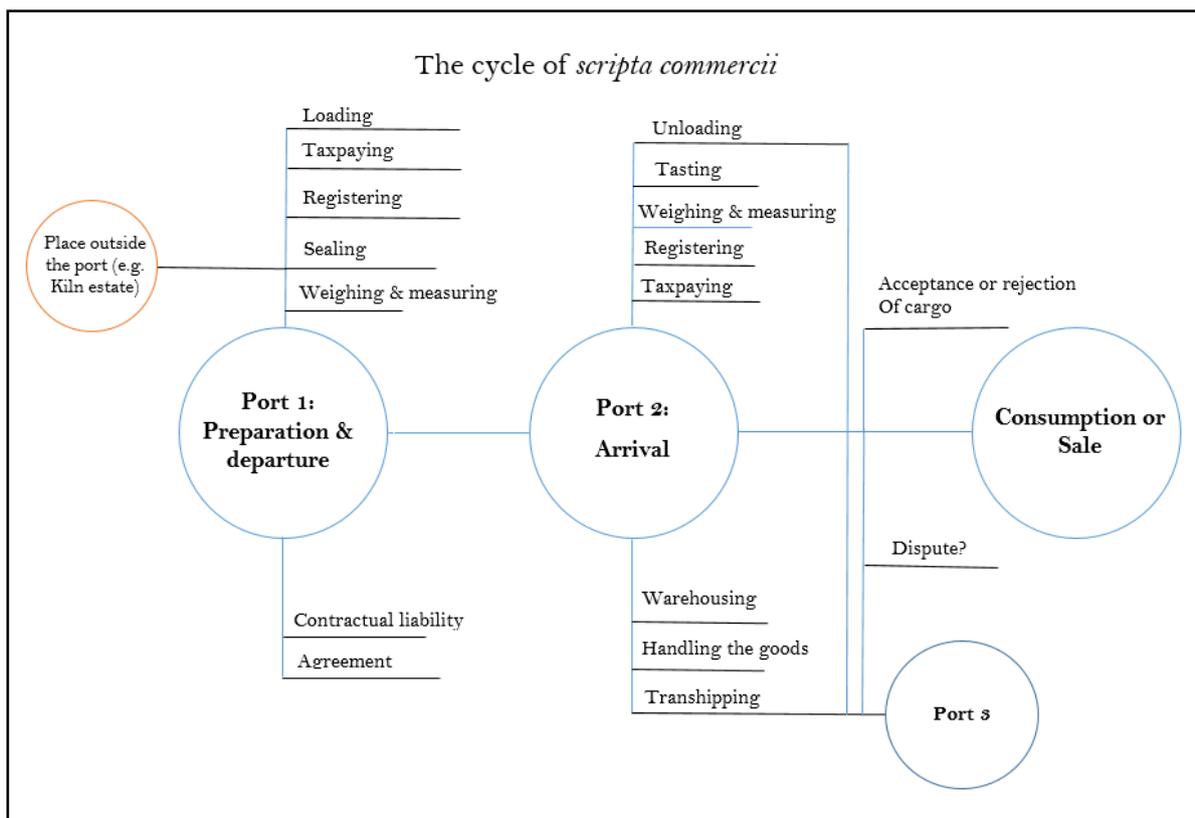


Figure 18. Model of the itinerary of *scripta commercii* from purchase until delivery

The port of origin is identified as Port 1 and the port of arrival as Port 2. So, activities such as weighing and measuring are associated with Port 1 and Port 2 because they were performed at both of them; other activities such as loading are located at Port 1, or tasting at Port 2. The arrival at the port does not imply the end of the cycle of merchandise, but could imply a transshipment to another vessel, or that the cargo would be stored for some time in a warehouse before completing its cycle of distribution. In case of reuse of the artefacts, which in many cases implies reinscribing the object, consequently implies reintegrating them within the cycle of distribution. Reusing the container can imply changing the purpose of the container, but the economic and ontological issues are complex and

will be studied in future work.⁵⁷ The model involves three main functions: sale, control and transport. These three functions will be analysed in chapters 5, 6 and 7 through three case studies, which analyse them against their legal background. There probably would have been geographical variations in how these procedures were implemented, but the archaeological evidence indicates that on the whole these activities would have been practiced widely across the Roman Mediterranean.⁵⁸

4.2.1. Port 1. Preparation and Departure

Upon departure from a port, two kinds of contracts were agreed: sale, and lease and hire of the ship or of some space of it. The concluded agreements and the consequent contractual liability took effect from the start of the trip and lasted until the acceptance or rejection of these goods by the customer. The *scripta commercii* reveal basic traits of sale or lease and hire. Such legal categories as agreement and liability were embedded in the inscriptions, forging the duties of the parties involved in commerce during the whole of the itinerary described in the model above.

4.2.1.1. Sealing

Sealing containers ensured the preservation of a product susceptible to fermentation (e.g. wine),⁵⁹ other kinds of alteration, spillage, or possible substitution with another product. In addition, it could also be useful to identify a product, and consequently, to help control the number of containers distributed.⁶⁰ While many examples were used to secure packages and thus prevent theft or substitution of their contents, others may have denoted ownership. A combination of the two is possible, since the security seal could have to bear a recognisable design identifying the merchant. Stoppers and *signacula* are the sealing devices studied in this thesis and other details about them can be consulted in Appendix I, 10.2; 10.6; and Appendix VIII, 17.6-7. For goods sold in bulk we need to think about sacks, with a knot or loose ends of rope securing its neck in order to prevent the sack being secretly opened (Still: 1993, 408).

Stoppers were made of different materials (section 2.3.1.4) and marked with names or geometric symbols. Materials employed for lids changed with time,⁶¹ and in 1st-3rd cent. AD, clay stoppers were used more frequently on account of the decay in use of *pozzolana* stoppers (more common in the Republican period).⁶² Some seals used to mark stoppers were found in Cap Negret wreck (Almagro

⁵⁷ See some of the issues to be addressed in future work in Appendix VII

⁵⁸ Minaud: 2004, 467-8 describes standard measuring, quantifying and storing procedures. These phenomena happened even even in other areas, see for example the case of Egypt, Gallimore: 2012, or the Atlantic coast, Campos Carrasco & Bermejo Meléndez (eds.): 2017

⁵⁹ Practice attested in Horac. *Carm.* 3, 8; Colum. *De re rust.* 8.8.7.4; 12.30.1.1; 12.39.2.6; Cato. *De agri.* 10.4.4; 11.2.1; 13.2.2; Varro. *Re rust.* 3.16.17.2.

⁶⁰ For the case of amphorae destined to the *annona*, both Djaoui: 2011 and Berni and Gorostidi: 2013 indicate that seals can be helpful to control how many containers were distributed.

⁶¹ See Appendix I, 10.2

⁶² Volcanic ash, mainly from the area of Puteoli (Pozzuoli).

and Sancho: 1968, 323, 336), together with the reserves of pozzolana in two other wrecks pointing to the fact that these kinds of stopper were applied to the vessels on the deck of the ship (Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1989: 397ff.). These tools could have been used to sea or reseal in case of breakage of the stoppers. Bearing in mind that stoppers could be used only once, so if port authorities broke them in order to control the containers, they had to be resealed in case that that port was not the destination for that cargo. In case resealing the containers was necessary, the shipper needed to be provided with the appropriate tools on board. Tasting was also performed by the control authorities of ports (Philost. *Vita Apoll.* VI, 12).⁶³ This could be the use of these stopper materials found at Cap Negret and of the stamp-matrices for stoppers found in the Tiber at the port of Rome (CIL XV 4921-4924; Still: 1995, 72). Apart from that, some papyri indicate that the merchant could have sealed the containers before they were loaded onto the ship.⁶⁴ Some stoppers were made of the same material as the amphora, which probably means that they were filled and sealed in the same place, probably a wine estate where the kiln may also have been located (Konestra *et al.* 2012-2013, 129-135).

Names inscribed on these stoppers have been identified by one scholar as referring to people working in the kilns (*figlina*) where the containers were produced (Mayer: 2012-2013, 20-1). That assertion comes from the hypothesis that these stoppers were made with the same material as the amphorae. However, they have different names to those written on the stamps that we can normally find on the handle of the amphora (Serrano: 1960, 116; Manacorda: 1987, 123; Volpe: 1989, 557). Moreover, we have cases where the stopper names indicated the merchant who sometimes was also shipper (Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1989, 339ff.; Gianfrotta: 1994, 591), as indicated by evidence of Dramont A wreck (Benoit: 1962, 170, fig. 51; Benoit: 1971, 150, fig. 8), on which the *opercula* and the anchor belonged to the same person, *SEX ARRI MF*. In addition, one text of the Digest confirms that amphorae were sealed with the name of the merchant to indicate ownership (D.19.2.11.3). Barrels were also sealed, and the evidence seems to indicate that these were also marked with the name of the merchant (Desbat: 1991, 319-36).

The meaning of geometric marks (e.g. rounds, triangles) on the stoppers is still obscure (Mayer i Olivé: 2012-2013, 18),⁶⁵ but they are different to the production mark of the handle which connects them with the commercialisation and ownership of the product. All stopper symbols found on wrecks are different and can point to an identification of ownership, as in the case of names.

Usually, names appear stamped, despite the fact that there are some painted examples (Thomas: 2011, 21). The practical handling of the sealed product was essential to end the contractual procedure of the transaction, according to institutions and practices in force in the Mediterranean for centuries, continuing into the Roman period. The criterion was reported in a law of Thasos on trade in wine at the end of 5th cent. BC (*IG XII Suppl.* 347. I-II). Part I (II.5-6), refers to grape or wine buyers and

⁶³ Appendix II, 12.2

⁶⁴ For some references, see Mayerson: 2010, 217-220

⁶⁵ Despite the imaginative interpretation of Benoit suggesting that these marks served to confuse the buyer about the origin of production and make it look like a prestigious good. See Benoit: 1952-1953, 157

indicated that the sale was complete when the buyer sealed the amphorae after tasting the content. Another recently discovered example is a name found on a wooden seal from the Tiboulen de Marie wreck, which links the name of a private merchant involved in the *annona* supply (Djaoui: 2011). This last example fact demonstrates that both kinds of trade scale (retail and state) were related.

Sealing was related to tasting, because sealing helped preserve the quality of the good and prevent substitution (D.18.6.1.2). The products could have been tasted before accepting the product and transferring the risk to the buyer (D.18.6.1pr.), except in the case that the parties have established otherwise in the agreement. Therefore, merchants assumed their liability on the product sealed by stamping their names on the stopper. On the Herculaneum tablet 4 from AD 60 (Della Corte & Pugliese Carratelli: 1956), the words '*signa salva praestari*' (to provide unbroken seals) confirm that the integrity of the seals on the wine was a guarantee not only of quantity, but also quality (Purpura: 2014, 144 nt. 78). An example of this practice is recorded in the Talmud (*Kelim. X.2*), which states that the products have to be properly sealed to assure that the level of quality was preserved, and even more important, its kosher quality was assured.

Thomas (2011) states, it is likely that almost all stoppers of these types were stamped. However, we lack a bigger archaeological sample of stoppers bearing the name of the merchants dating to the Imperial period to properly understand this practica at that time. When do the merchants use seals and when *tituli picti*? Do they use both simultaneously? Does it depend on the products? Does the practice change over time, or is it an issue of the survival of the evidence? Their common occurrence suggests that sealing amphorae in this way was a practice employed by specific traders, who produce big amounts of goods. More information about this issue will be detailed in Chapter 7.

4.2.1.2. Loading

The agreement to ship the goods by the parties in a transport contract commenced with the loading of the cargo. The assumption of liability does not only apply for the cases of lease and hire of vessels, but also for loans (D.45.1.122.1). In the Roman world, the acceptance of the cargo implied the objective liability of the shipper, defined by Roman jurists as *receptum nautarum*.⁶⁶ It implied an agreement, added to the main contract of lease, by which a shipper assumed control of goods for transportation and safekeeping until arrival at their destination. Thus, by virtue of the *receptum nautarum*, the shipper was liable for anything that happened to the cargo during transport, except in cases of pirate attack or shipwreck⁶⁷ as noted by Labeo (1st cent. BC). The assumption of liability would have happened after the loading, counting, and then the acceptance of the cargo, at which point the carrier was allowed to depart from the port.

⁶⁶ D.4.9.3.1 (Ulp. 14 *ad ed.*); *Receptum nautarum* comes from Hellenistic trade P. Hib. 1. 98=W. Cr. 441=Sel Pap. II. 365 (250 a.C.). De Robertis: 1952; Menager: 1960.

⁶⁷De Robertis: 1952, 85-86; Menager: 1960, 385-411, Robaye: 1987, 72.

While loading, the captain and his crew presumably counted the elements of the cargo for which they were responsible, as some papyri attest.⁶⁸ This scene is represented in Figure 19, which displays the painting of the *Isis Geminiana* ship. Here, the cargo was loaded in inscribed sacks and measured on board in the presence of one official (with black *toga*), the *ensor* Abascantus and the captain of the ship (identified as *farnaces magister*). At one of the sides of the ship, a crew member raises his hand in a sign that could imply the assumption of the cargo loaded. The identification of Abascantus as *ensor* and of the importance of the crew member's gesture is possible because a similar gesture appears in the mosaic of the *aula mensores* in Ostia (Figure 22, figure on the right with open hand), in what Minaud (2004, 438) interpreted as accounting gestures. While it is widely known that the hand is the earliest calculating machine (Ifrah: 1998, 47-61),⁶⁹ it is also true that all the cargo loaded must have been recorded in an accounting book, that can be reconstituted from indirect sources (e.g. D. 4.9.1.3),⁷⁰ and some surviving examples.⁷¹ However, this gesture seems to be a sign of acceptance more than accounting, since both images display a very similar gesture, and I do not think that they were counting the same number of items.

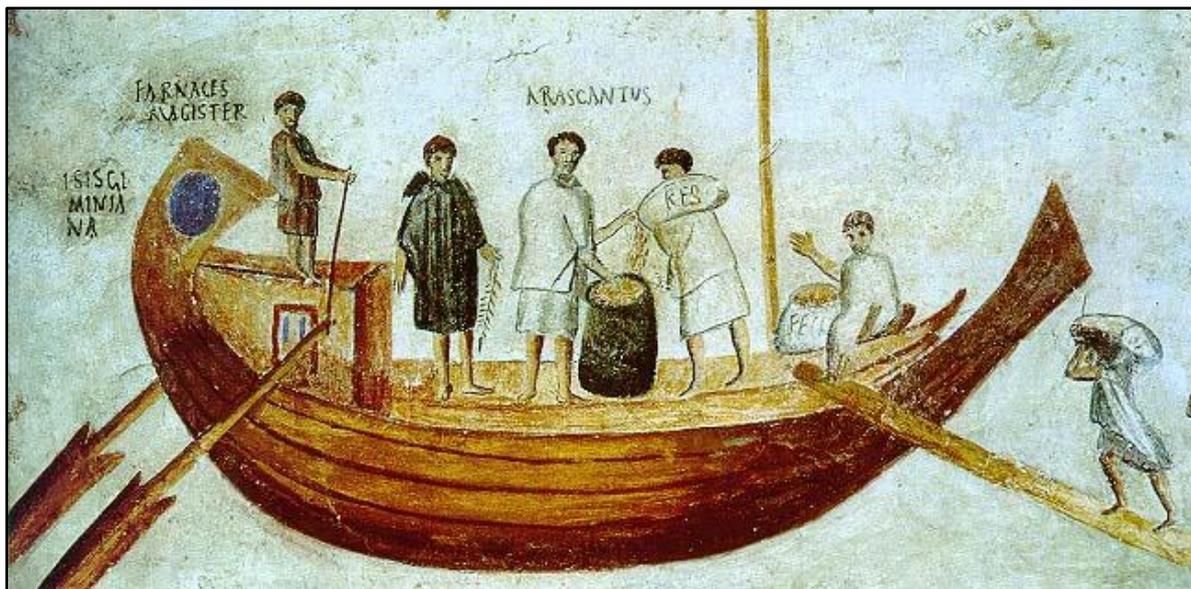


Figure 19. *Isis Geminiana* painting (1st cent. AD) (Photo of the author. Vatican Museums and Galleries)

That requirement implied the acceptance of the cargo, perhaps through a performance labelled *xereimbolon* (D. 4.9.1.3), of which the scholarship still discusses if it constituted a gesture⁷², the fact of marking the cargo for which the *nauta* was responsible (Purpura: 2014, 134-5), or the documentation associated to that cargo.⁷³ Purpura thinks that the *adsignatio* or marking of the merchandise was the

⁶⁸ BGU XIII 2297; P.Vindob. Worp 8; CPR VIII 34, 39; CPR XVIII 7; P.Laur. I 6; P. Oxy. XXXII 2670

⁶⁹ Referring to texts such as Cic. *Ad Att.* V, 21, 13 or Sen. *Ep.* 87

⁷⁰ A detailed list of Roman legal sources can be found in Minaud: 2006

⁷¹ E.g. P. Cair. 4 59706; P. Cair. 4 59753-4, and especially P. Select. 6, edited by Worp: 2014

⁷² Cuiacio: 1722, 744; Paris: 1926, 33; De Martino: 1937-1938, 77; Petrucci: 2007, 143. De Robertis: 1952, 72

⁷³ D' Ors: 1948-1949, 259; Rougé: 1966; Vélissaropoulos: 1988, 300; Bove: 2006, 21-6

event that implied liability, but it is necessary to bear in mind that merchandise is marked in different ways and these *scripta* indicate different phenomena. From our point of view, there could have been different ways to accept the cargo, because some of the goods may have arrived to the ship already marked by the merchant, while others could have been marked on board, as the evidence indicates. Some seals used to mark stoppers were found in Cap Negret wreck (Almagro and Sancho: 1968, 323, 336), together with the reserves of pozzolana in two other wrecks pointing to the fact that these kinds of stopper were applied to the vessels on the deck of the ship (Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1989, 397ff.). Apart from that, some papyri indicate that the merchant could have sealed the containers before they were loaded onto the ship.⁷⁴ I will return to this issue in Chapter 6 concerning *scripta commercii* β and D to identify the owners of the goods.

Stowage is the other issue that needs to be addressed, since the placement of the cargo in a boat was important to keep the stability of the ship and allow for safe navigation (McGrail: 1989; Parker: 1992²; Pecchioni *et al*: 2007). The crew and the shipper undertook this skilled task, as they were the ones in charge for the safekeeping of it. Shipwrecks and mosaic representations, such as that in Figure 20 illustrate the different ways in which a cargo could be placed on the ship (e.g. on the deck or below decks in the hull of the ship).⁷⁵ Ulpian (D.4.9.1.3) mentions the *nauphulakes et diaetarii* who were on board in charge of the stowage and safekeeping of the cargo.⁷⁶



Figure 20. Mosaic of a Roman merchant ship with cargo of amphorae from Tebessa, Algeria. 2nd or 3rd cent. AD. (Casson: 1959, 219, plate 9b)

⁷⁴ For some references, see Mayerson: 2010, 217-220

⁷⁵ Stowage is considered when studying wrecks, to understand the role of the different goods in a cargo and how were they loaded. See De Juan: 2011, 101ff; 2014, 137ff.

⁷⁶ Festo, *De verb. sign.* Lindsay, 440, *Stipatores ait dictos a stipe quam mercedis nomine custodes cuiusque corporis. Unde et stipam qua amphorae cum exstruuntur firmari solent*

Accounting was an essential practice for ensuring regular trade among Mediterranean ports (Minaud: 2011; Chankowski & Minaud: 2014). For the merchants, the interest was in the organization and control of the assets, which could have been managed by a single merchant or a *societas* formed of several merchants. In the case of the captain and his crew, accounting helped them control the stock and establish for which cargo the carrier was liable face to whom. In case of a mixed cargo of goods destined for retail trade as well as goods for state supply, the latter implied an additional procedure in the Later Roman Empire. When setting sail, the shipper got a receipt stating how much food he had loaded for state supply and of what quality (*CTh.* 13.5.21; 13.5.26).⁷⁷ Upon arriving at his destination, the shipper had to present this declaration to the port authorities, who checked it and then returned it to him, presumably with an acknowledgment of receipt. The declaration was then to be given back to the authorities in the port of departure, enabling them to close their accounts.

These documents served several functions concerning the state distribution of grain; official confirmation for the *officium* of the *praefectus annonae* that the shipper had fulfilled his responsibility (D.48.11.7.2); official permission to leave the port; and possibly instruction to pay the agreed funds for the work. They were traditionally employed on the occasion of an appeal in the case of controversy. Thus, officers in charge of grain transport could use it as evidence in a trial (D.50.16.106). When the carrier possessed/obtained that document, he could leave the port. One exception was the port of Alexandria, where he would be obliged to obtain special permission to leave the port (*lettera dimissoria*).⁷⁸ These last procedures can be classified as controlling procedures, because they affect the cargo after being measured and/or weighed.

4.2.2. Ports 1 and 2

The procedures described so far in this section took place at the ports of departure and destination. These involved weighing and measuring, tasting, stamping, and registering the goods. These operations served four main aims: (1) they ensured that the conditions agreed upon for the traded goods (and declared on the *scripta commercii*) were met; (2) they help control the amount of goods loaded on to ships; (3) they accepted the goods purchased; and (4) they help establish taxes, or fees.

4.2.2.1. Quantifying Traded Goods

Controlling the accuracy of weights and measures employed in trade guaranteed equity in commercial transactions for both buyer and seller. Accounting determined the quantity of goods and weighing also helped to set the price of the goods (D.18.1.34pr). Quantification implied the existence

⁷⁷ Purpura: 2004, 210, also sections. 7.4.1 and 7.5.1 of this work

⁷⁸ Strab. II. 3.5; P. Oxy. X. 1271; BGU 1, 27; Purpura: 2002; Moatti: 2007; 2007²; Rossi: 2016, 84

of standards that were meant to be followed by merchants. However, converting local units to measures prevailing in different Mediterranean regions was a major issue in imperial Rome. In the eastern Mediterranean, that function was controlled by *αγορανομοι* (*agoranomoi*) by the use of official standards of measurement (gr. *sekomata* or lat. *mensae*). The control of weights in the western Mediterranean, by contrast, was performed by the *aediles* (*AE* 1986 333; *CIL* XI 6375).⁷⁹ Standardization of weights and measures was established in the decree from Athens found in *IG II²* 1013 (2nd cent. BC). It established penalties for sellers and customers when official standard measures were not employed (Breglia Pulci Doria: 1985, 411-30). In the case of Rome, the importance of standards appears in the *Lex Silia de ponderibus publicis* (287-218 BC),⁸⁰ which specifies the penalties imposed upon magistrates who forged fake weights or measures. Thus both in Greece and Rome, these weights and measures were standards, were used as matrix for shaping other measuring tools, and thus they were kept in protected spaces such as temples (Chankowski & Hasenohr: 2015, 33, 37; *CIL* XI 6727.1; *ILS* 8627). The practice of using official standards to shape measuring tools was also used in other areas of the eastern Mediterranean, such as Pontus and Bithynia (Haensch & Weiss: 2005; 2007); Syria (Aliquot & Badawi: 2013; Gatier: 2014) or Cesarea Maritima (Holland: 2009). In fact, the Digest' texts indicate the importance of using these official tools (D. 47.11.6.1-2), highlighting the importance of controlling the use and manufacture of these tools, what can be a generalized practice along the whole Mediterranean.

These standard tools, called *sekomata* or *tabulae ponderariae* played a crucial role in controlling different types of merchandise, and provided information about how these procedures of monitoring and control of the cargoes were performed, sometimes even in inscriptions written on them.⁸¹ These artefacts allow us to see which standards prevailed in the city where they were used, and consequently raise such questions as the relationship of that city to the Roman state, the conversion of units of measurement from one region to other, and how the customs duties were calculated. In relation to these topics, other matter would be the possible controversies arising from these conversions or the use of false measurement tools, as highlighted with the inscription of the *navicularii* from Arles, found in Beirut (*CIL* III 14165).⁸²

In addition, the official weight standards were exhibited in public spaces where trade was practiced in order to allow merchants and customers to use them (Pérez Zurita: 2011, 125-6). Quantification procedures employed scales (variously referred to as *sacoma*, *aequipondium*, *statera*, *trutina*, *libra*)⁸³ official weights such as the *mensae ponderariae*, and official measurements of length such as the *mensae mensuariae*. The *Lex Silia* also established the equivalence between standard units of weight (*modius*) and volume (*quadrantal*). A well-known document of the 3rd cent. AD (P. *Oxy.* L 3595)

⁷⁹ Also, D.4.3.18.3; D.19.1.6.4; D.19.1.32; D.19.2.19.1; D.19.2.13.8 and D.47.2.52.22, see also: Stein: 1955; Lamberti: 1994; Rizzi: 2012

⁸⁰ Festus, 288 L; Crawford: 1996; Riccobono: 1941, 79; Cloud: 1996, 737-39.

⁸¹ See Appendix III, 12.1

⁸² See also Rizzi: 2012

⁸³ Vitruvius (X, 2, 10).

set a standard for the precise capacity of wine-jars in Oxyrhynchus, a standard that was borrowed by the estate owners in the Fayum (Mayerson: 2005, 105). However, the evidence points to the fact that amphorae were not standardized in practice (Kruit & Warp: 1999, 96-127; 2001, 79-87). They were manufactured objects and as such, their capacities might be similar but would not be the same. The Oxyrhynchus papyrus thus tries to establish some uniformity to cope with the complexities of the daily practices of measuring and weighing.

The evidence from important ports such as *Hispalis* in *Baetica* (Liou & Tchernia: 1994, 150) or *Narbo Martius* in *Narbonensis* (Laubenheimer: 2004, 169ff.), suggests that they followed Roman standards based on the Roman pound. In AD 386 Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius enacted a law establishing that *modii* of bronze and stone should be deposited in every municipality, so that taxpayers would see the established measures and know what had to be paid to the *susceptores* (tax receivers). The reason for this legislation is clear from another law, which mentions that landowners had suffered heavy losses on account of excessive measures and weights being added by the *susceptores* (*CTh.* 12.6.21 = *CI* 10.72.9; *CTh.* 11.8.3 = *CI* 1.55.9).

However, not all Mediterranean ports employed Roman standards. In the eastern Mediterranean, some places seem to have adapted their weighing standards to the Roman pound (Ioppolo: 1967),⁸⁴ but identified it with a local name (Aliquot: 2013, 202-204; Gatier: 2014, 158). In fact, analysis of the P. Vindob. 40 822 *verso* (De Romanis: 1998, 11-60) reveals that taxation in Egypt was in part regulated by alterations of the local weight units. Other places would have employed their own weights, translating the Roman standard weights recorded in *scripta commercii* into their local units. It is still unclear where the weighing procedure took place while loading cargoes onto ships. According to iconographic sources it could take place on the ship, as appears in the painting of the *Isis Geminiana* (Figure 19), or on land as indicated by both the mosaic of Sousse,⁸⁵ Tunisia (Figure 21) and in the mosaic of the *aula mensores* in Ostia (Figure 22).

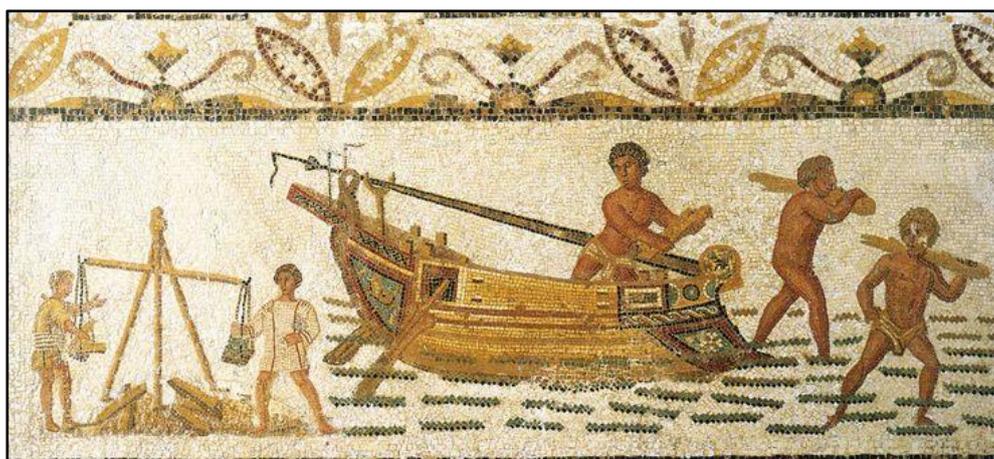


Figure 21. Scene of unloading wood pieces from a cargo vessel and wading to the shore where it is weighed, from a mosaic at Sousse, Tunisia, 3rd – 4th cent. AD (Basch 1987, n. 1106)

⁸⁴ Appendix III, 12.1, Figs. 63-64

⁸⁵ For what concerns the ship and the technique of beaching, see Votruba: 2017



Figure 22. Mosaic from the aula mensores, Ostia, 3rd cent AD. Depicted are grain measurers (*mensores frumentarii*) at work. (Photo of the author. Museo Ostiense)

These three iconographic examples are essential for reconstructing the weighing process that was performed by five main figures: the *ensor* (measurer), *ponderator* (weigher), *tabularius* (accountant), *saccarius* (porter) and *togati* (functionaries overseeing the operation). They used the established weight and measure standards to quantify the goods being loaded or unloaded. They counted the number of standard measures filled, emptying and refilling them with the commodities carried inside the containers. As can be seen in the *Isis Geminiana* painting (Figure 19), the items were already marked (the sacks bear the inscription *res*).⁸⁶ The quantity was inscribed on the container, and despite the fact that Laubenheimer (2004, 156, 158) the main tendency before the Flavian period was to indicate capacity, and then afterwards weight, the example of the sample from the Pompeian bottega del garum (Bernal et al: 2014), points to the fact that inscribing weight was more common. I will talk further about this issue in chapter 5. In either case, the containers could be emptied into the measures in order to ensure a correspondence of volume and weight (Geraci: 2012, 348).

The importance of weighing in sale is highlighted by Domergue (1998, 203-8) with respect to the commerce of ingots in Baetica. He offered a fascinating explanation for the sequence of inscriptions written on the ingot: the producer marked the lead ingots with his mould-mark. These ingots might have been collected by merchants who then stamped their own seals on the sides of the ingots. At Hispalis, the ingots were probably unloaded and stockpiled. They were then sold to a further trader. The ingots were weighed, marked with incised numbers, and then stamped with the name of the new owner. The evidence of other ingots, such as the ones of the Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer wreck (Long & Domergue: 1995), indicate that Domergue's scheme is quite compelling and makes it possible to differentiate various distribution schemes of these goods.

⁸⁶ The inscriptions on the sacks may be abridged words.

Measuring of weighing affected on the transfer of the risk or *periculum*.⁸⁷ for the object sold from the merchant to the customer. The *periculum* could last until the measure, in case that the parties had added that condition in the contract (D.18.6.4.2). Since this quantification of cargoes took place at the ports of both departure and destination, there may have been cases of double accountancy. One could have been performed by the authorities who marked unloaded goods for the payment of taxes, and the other carried out by individuals in charge of transport to acknowledge the amount of goods transported.

4.2.2.2. Registering and Taxpaying

Registering goods was of key importance for the accountancy of both private maritime businesses and for the *Annona* distribution. Taxation and registration were performed both at the ports of departure and arrival. I will explain this in further detail in Chapter 7. Roman Mediterranean ports were highly monitored places, where every ship setting sail or entering harbour was carefully registered and controlled. This assertion is clearly stated in ll. 22–26, §9 of the Mon. Eph., even indicating the places where these taxes could be paid. Egypt furnishes quite a lot evidence of that practice, with papyri such as the P. Customs 462-3, receipts issued to Serenos and Oresenouphis for the payment of harbour tax of Memphis at the customs authorities located at Philadelphia, or the Fay. 166 a port tax receipt for people leaving the Fayum.⁸⁸

Registration and taxation of goods upon arrival was performed at practically all ports or subsequent major destinations, be they maritime or terrestrial, such as Palmyra (*IGR*, 3, 1056; *CIS*, 2, 3, 3913), Ephesus (Cottier *et al.*: 2008), or ports along the Red sea (Cuvigny: 2014, 172; Bagnall: 2000; 2005). Exemption of payment of taxes at the port of Caunus (Bean: 1954, 97-105) was justified by the fact that the amount to be paid to Rome had been paid otherwise (e.g. by a benefactor). Two separate taxes were levied when a ship entered a harbour: the harbour dues (*portoria*), consisting of the municipal fees exacted for the use of the harbour and facilities, and the customs dues, which were calculated according to the value of the merchandise (e.g. Bean: 1954; France: 2001; Cottier *et al.*: 2008). Many sources (e.g. Cic. *Verr.* II.171) confirm the obligation to register the goods which had been inspected and stored.⁸⁹ One example comes from a toll inscription from Andriake (Turkey), indicating that the registering of the declarations (τομός) that is made in the toll (τηλωνητων) is made for “the common security of the publican and of the declarant” (*AE* 2007 1503).

Once the containers had been checked and approved, a small countermark could be written on each of them. Aside from being an essential feature in the checks performed by the relevant authorities, these marks indicated to the porter (*saccarius*) where the item needed to be transported. An engraving

⁸⁷ *Cfr.* Appendix. X and Zimmerman: 1996, 285

⁸⁸ Other examples: sb 5 7828; BGU XIII 2297; P.Vindob. Worp 8; CPR VIII 34, 39; CPR XVIIIA 7; P.Laur. I 6; P.Oxy.XXXII 2670

⁸⁹ *Lex Portorii Asiae*. II. 15-16, §8; 20-22, §8; 22-26, §9; 26-28, §10; 28-29, §11, *inter alia*.

from the Torlonia collection (Figure 51) displays two porters unloading amphorae from a ship. In front of them, there is a table with three individuals observing the unloading. One of the three figures has an item in his hand to mark the objects that have been checked and approved. The *fiscus* will have used countermarks to indicate the payment of taxes (*CIL* XV 7941-2). Afterward, these goods would have been noted in an accounting book, such as the one held by the seated figures in Figure 51. Finally, the mark from each container was checked when disposing it to another agent at the entrance to the warehouse where the goods were stored (Virlovet: 1995, 87). That the stations were issuing receipts (for the payment of fees, to allow passage), and had not only the purpose of keeping the taxpayer from having to pay double for goods (*CLA*. II. 16–20 = §6) but also of accelerating the customs measuring procedure, of supporting controls by *circitores* (circulators) (Günther: 2015, 234–236; 2016), and, having a legal document for both parties in case of a legal action.



Figure 23. Wax tablet acknowledging the payment of taxes found in the port of Marseille, 2nd cent AD (Hesnard & France: 1995, 81, fig. 3)

Registration was followed by the collection of taxes by the responsible individuals or their procurators.⁹⁰ A clear distinction in the duties implied by their roles is difficult to draw, since both the names and tasks of the people taking care of the operations in the sources are heterogeneous.⁹¹ As the Muziris papyrus shows, once the declaration and evaluation is accepted, the amount to be paid will be determined in three days.⁹² If the officer found something that had not been declared when checking

⁹⁰ E.g. D.50.4.18.10 (*tabularii*); D.39.4.1.1 (*publicani*); *Mon eph.* II. 13–15, §4 (*procurator*), also Fuhrmann: 2012, 194.

⁹¹ An example of a chart designating diverse names of people in charge can be seen in France & Nelis Clement: 2014, 225.

⁹² Rathbone: 2000, concerning the Pap. Muziris, (SB 18 13167) which details the registering of ships carrying goods entering in a port.

the cargo, he could confiscate it (D.14.2.10.1; D.19.2.61.1; P. Oxy., 1, 36, II, 1. 6-15.). Once the tax was paid, the contributor might receive a receipt (*symbolon* or *chirographon*).

We can find evidence for this in the wax tablets from the port of Marseille (Figure 23). These recorded the registration of the payment or exemption from taxes (France & Hesnard: 1995, 88ff.).⁹³ They are also evidence that control was performed equally for goods destined for the *annona* and for the free market, since the owners of all of these cargoes had to pay the *portorium*, one of the taxes collected by the empire (De Laet: 1949, 119ff.; Cottier *et al.*: 2008, 220.94).

Some taxes were addressed to Rome as the *Quadragesima* (Pliny, *epist.* X. 34; France: 1999, 99; 2001, 424), while local taxes were part of the income of the city where the port was located (Bockh: 1886), provided they had received this right from the Emperor or had been authorised to levy it by a proconsul on behalf of the Emperor (Bang: 2008, 222). Settling the amount that was due to Roman state was met in diverse ways, as in the case of Caunus, where two benefactors in the Hadrianic period paid that Imperial tax and relieved the tax burden of the port (Vélissaropoulos 1980, 224-225; Purpura: 1985, 292-3; Marek 2006, 171-221, n° 34; Arnaud: 2015, 10). The fact that these people paid the taxes on behalf of the broader community would have stimulated the activity of local shippers and merchants, who could come and sell at reduced cost and risk, thereby promoting the import and export of goods. Some shippers were exempted from official taxes because they were involved in the state supply or benefitted from certain immunities (*C.Th.* 12.6.26 = *CI* 10.72.11).

4.2.3. Port 2. Arrival

Reaching a port implied more than arriving at the destination. Some of the agreements finalized at the port of departure had consequences once the ship arrived at the port of destination and was docked and unloading had started. The goods would be checked by weighing, measuring and tasting to see if they matched what was agreed in the contract at the port of departure. Any discordance would lead either to negotiation or dispute. Furthermore, these controls (which could be as many as the number of entities involved) allowed an estimate to be made for the amount of tax to be paid and the registration to be carried out upon entering the port (e.g. D.19.2.60.8).

When a ship arrived in harbour it would have need to be berthed in the docks so that it could be unloaded. In case of the high sailing season we can maybe imagine some ships waiting outside the port to be assigned a berth to moor and unload, since the space for docking within the port may have been limited (Keay: 2005). It is not known if there was a register of the ships entering on the port as happens nowadays, but we can imagine that some sort of information about the kinds and origins of ships

⁹³ The ostraka from the customs house of Berenike (Bagnall *et al.*: 2000) are some of the few documents attesting to the registration of taxable goods. The ostraka are the eastern equivalent of the wax tablets of Marseille mentioned above.

⁹⁴ Referring to Mon. Eph. II. 56-7.

arriving would have circulate around the port for the benefit of receiving merchants (Rossi: 2016, 79ff.).

4.2.3.1. Unloading

The path of the ship approaching a port could have been as follows. Upon arriving at the mouth of the harbour and passed through the entrance check (France & Nelis-Clement: 2014). The ship was acknowledged by the harbourmaster and assessed for appropriate port fees, and assigned a berth and guided to it (Purpura: 1985; Cottier *et al.*: 2008).

Especially in the case of ports with a lot of traffic, these operations needed to be performed in an organised manner. This is the reason why inscriptions, such as that of the *saburrarii* of Portus (*AE* 1977, 171), can be seen to indicative of the rulings that applied to the different groups working in big ports, aiming to establish some order in the different operations.

Once the ship had moored, its cargo had to be unloaded. Instructions received from the merchant as well as the content of *scripta commercii* written on the objects (P. Bad. 2.43), helped the shipper identify which part of the cargo belonged to whom and what was to be done with it. The cargo could then have been transported to a warehouse (Rickman: 1971; Torres Costa: 2007; Virlouvét: 2011), collected by a customer (Patterson: 1983, 155-6) or their agent (Plaut. *Pseud.* 603), or loaded onto another ship to reach its final destination. A recent paper by Arnaud (2018) demonstrates that, differently from the Greeks, the Romans did not establish a particular place to unload in ports, but settle a series of *stationes* where the goods could be registered, and then unloaded in a different area of the port. That Roman practice was widely widespread, affecting and changing older regulations such as the one of Caunus and Ephesos. That is perhaps the sign of a more dynamic transport and control established by the Romans at ports.

In loading and unloading, cranes or nets (D.9.3.5.12) were employed for moving cargo that was too heavy to be transported manually. People in charge of that operation should handle this operation carefully aiming not to commit a delict, and especially bearing in mind the public role of ports (D. 1.8.4pr.-1), what should assure the safe passage of people through them (D. 9.3.1pr.-4). Vitruvius provided an inventory of these machines (*de arch. Lib.* X), some of which were used in ports (Mailleur: 2017). There were also people in charge of unloading the cargo, known as *saccarii* (*CIL* IV 497; D. 18.1.40.3) and *phalangarii* (Vitruv. X. 3.7), who carried burdens by means of a pole or a sack respectively. The use of specialized tools and people was important to demonstrate that the shipper had taken all the precautions that a careful person would have observed (D.19.2.25.7).

When a cargo arrived to the port, it could be sold in the same container in which it was transported, or decanted into smaller vessels.⁹⁵ That was the case for the *dolia*, and in some occasions for the barrels too, given that the latter had a volume varying between 75 l and 1300 l. In other words,

⁹⁵ See the case detailed in Appendix II, 12.3

it is likely that such quantities were more for wholesalers than for individuals. The capacity of the barrel, and the difficulty of relating its purchase to the needs of private individuals suggests that it more likely to have been used for bulk transport.⁹⁶

Unloading implied quantifying the cargo as in the port of origin. Therefore, goods and their samples (if included in the cargo) were checked and measured again. In case price had not yet been agreed, it would have been settled at that point. One famous inscription found in Beirut (*CIL* III 14165 (8) = *ILS* 6987)⁹⁷ displayed a complaint from the *navicularii* of Arles to the *praefectus* of the *annona* because their distribution operations were not properly surveyed by the authorities, causing them a loss.⁹⁸ At every stage of this process, there might have been officials and overseers who monitored the exchanges, compared the commodity to official weights and measures (*Mon. Eph.* 45-47= § 18), collected taxes, and ensured that none of the cargo had disappeared in the course of the sea voyage (Casson: 1965, 35).

4.2.3.2. Tasting (*degustatio*)

This procedure may have taken place after unloading and had the main purpose of establishing that the goods sold corresponded to the quality agreed with the merchant. The importance of tasting appears in a fragment of Philostratus (*vit. Apoll.* VI, 12),⁹⁹ who described the trip of Apollonius of Tyana to India, stressing that even at such a remote destination, *degustatio* would be an integral part of the handing over the goods.

Degustatio could also be referred as *probatio*, a word that points to an approbatory statement, delivered by a magistrate or another individual with authority (e.g. customer), in connection with a document or object presented for examination. In the sale of goods, many purchases were subject to approval to check if the quality of the good was as agreed, and if so, to accept the product (Santamato: 2012, 65-66). The *probatio* or tasting¹⁰⁰ could be linked to the acceptance of certain conditions such as evaluation of the goods being sold,¹⁰¹ or confirmation that a task has been performed rightly.¹⁰² Tasting affected on the transfer of the risk or *periculum* for an object sold. The *periculum* will last until the tasting, in case that the parties had added that condition in the contract. For a diagram explaining a concrete case, see Appendix III, 12.3.

Wine was the product that posed more problems at the time of the sale and the transport, which can be verified in the large number of texts of the Digest dedicated to this practice, as well as for the

⁹⁶ Djaoui: 2017 (Forthcoming)

⁹⁷ Virlovet: 2004, 329

⁹⁸ The word used in the inscription is *iniuria* that translates as “damage”. Cfr. Appendix X

⁹⁹ Appendix. III. 12.2

¹⁰⁰ The other meaning is not referred to the confirmation itself but to the process of confirmation (Santamato: 2012, 65)

¹⁰¹ E.g. D.18.6.16

¹⁰² *CIL* I 24694; 698; 800; 1560; 1633; 1635; 2198; 2294; 2537; 2648; for monumental inscriptions recalling the *probation operis*, see also Martin: 1986; Du Plessis: 2004.

numerous works devoted to the particularities of this product's sale.¹⁰³ The reason for this specialized treatment was because once wine was put in the container, it continued to ripen and susceptible of oxidation, therefore it posed more problems than other goods.

Tasting was performed by taking a small quantity from the container, as appears in the painting from the house of the *Vettii* in Pompeii (Figure 24). As a rule, such a risk was with the buyer from the moment the sale was concluded (*emptio perfecta*).¹⁰⁴ and until then it was assumed by the seller. The perfection of the sale was so important because it was from that moment that the buyer was the new owner of the product sold and had to bear its defects (D. 18.6.8pr.). If the product subject to the contract has perished or deteriorated before the delivery, therefore the Roman law provided for means of compensation for the damaged part. Exceptions in favour of the buyer were introduced in some cases, especially if the supplier had not assumed responsibility for specific events or neglected his duties of custody up to the moment of delivery. Likewise, there were also established conditions to protect the merchant in case the buyer did not fulfil what had been agreed (Arangio-Ruiz: 1990, 260-1). Thus *tasting* was valuable for the sale agreement, as it was a determinant as to whether or not the cargo was to be accepted (D.18.1.34.5; D. 18.6.1pr.).



Figure 24. Painting from the House of the *Vettii* at Pompeii showing the tasting of wine, 1st cent AD, (Zimmer: 1982, 177)

The condition of tasting, if agreed by both parties, established the moment in which the liability for the product sold stopped belonging to the seller to be transmitted to the customer. Sale would not be finished until tasting was concluded, as the Digest clearly establishes (D.16.6.1pr.) and as is attested by Cato (*de agricultura*, 146-148). One brief example can be consulted in the Appendix III, 12.3.

Where the *degustatio* took place is still unclear, but one possibility is that it might have been performed at the same time as the control at the point of unloading (*CTh*.14.4.9). Tasting was performed by taking a small quantity of the product in question from the container, as appears in the

¹⁰³ E.g. Yaron : 1959 ; Frier: 1983; Thur : 1997 ; Tchernia : 2000 ; Jakab: 1999; 2009; Gallimore: 2012

¹⁰⁴ *Id Supra*.

painting from the house of the *Vettii* in Pompeii (Figure 24). An accumulation of used stoppers was found associated with warehouse installations at Myos Hormos, which points to the fact that tasting was undertaken in front of them, and that the container was then resealed before being transferred to the consumer (Thomas: 2011, 32).

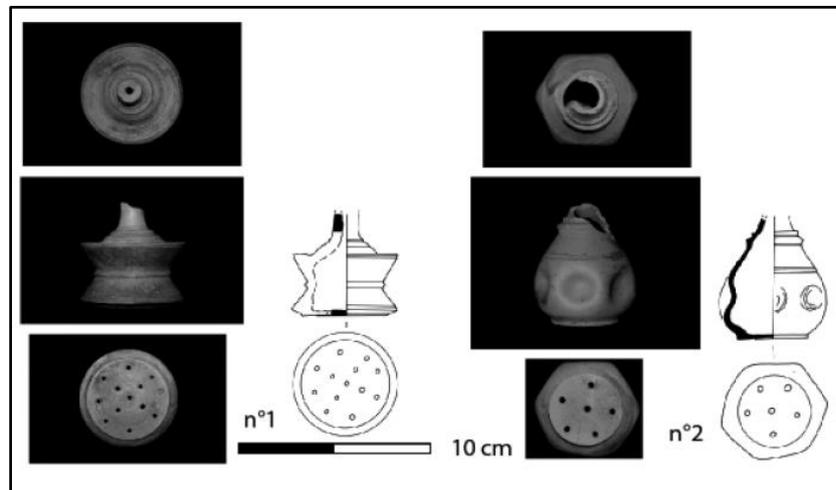


Figure 25. Pipes employed for tasting wine from the ancient port of Arles, 1st cent AD (Djaoui: 2015, 207, fig.1)

Tasting the content of barrels and amphorae sometimes involved the use of small pipes (Joncheray: 2004, 109; Djaoui, 2015, 207-14; Djaoui: 2016, 54-55). For the amphora, a ladle (*simpulum*) allowed to the liquid to be removed for tasting, but in the case of the barrels, it was necessary to find the hole located in the central stave, remove the stopper (e.g. Desbat: 1991), and introduce the pipe. The pipe had a long tube with a perforated wider end that was introduced into the barrel and facilitated the removal of a sample of the liquid. Pipes (Figures 25 and 26) were also employed for the wine (D.18.6.16), to control its acetic fermentation. It is unclear if tasting of wine took place only in the context of bulk sale or retail trade as well. If so, tasting would take place after emptying the *dolia* into smaller containers handed out to the final customer (Yaron: 1959, 72).

The first use of samples in the sale of grain is attested in many papyri as a common practice employed in trade involving goods for state supply of Rome (Geraci: 2012, 347-363). A Roman inscription of the 3rd cent. AD (*CIL* VI 1785 =31931) concerning the public distribution of wine in Rome described that after barrels were unloaded, samples were tasted and the containers returned to the merchant. Tasting was a necessary practice for the wine trade, but could also be performed for oil, as attested by '*gustavit*'¹⁰⁵ on a control inscription from a Dressel 20 amphora (Liou *et al.*: 1990, 183). These samples were examined and later returned to the merchant, as attested in *P.Cairo.Zen.* III.

¹⁰⁵ Several inscriptions mention the job of the *gustatores*, e.g. *CIL* VI 602; 1956; 5355; 9003-5; *CIL* X 6324; *CIL* XI 3612; *CIL* XII 1754; *CIL* XV 7585

59522..¹⁰⁶ The importance of these objects in the process of selling can be appreciated in the specific demand of the merchant for the empty jars used as samples to be returned after tasting (Vera: 2006, 303ff.).



Figure 26. Sarcophagus of a vintner. The buyer (left) holds a bag of coins and the wine dealer (right) holds a plate and a pipe to test the product. Museo della civiltà Romana, first quarter of 1st cent. AD (Photo of the author).



Figure 27. Painting Casa del Larario del Sarno. Scene with weights. (Corti: 2001, 145)

Use of samples as a way for selling products is attested in one recent discovery from Arles (Djaoui/Tran, 2014). It consists of a jar containing wine from one particular estate (Figure 42), and the inscription reads *Alb(anum) Valeri Proculi /Dol(ia) (centum quadraginta) sexsagenaria*. [Albanum of

¹⁰⁶ “Receive from Herakleides 250 anabe of wheat and 300 of barley [...] take the best quality as possible and send me the samples”.

Valerius Proculus/Hundred and forty dolia of sixty (unity of weight)]. So it reveals details about the product and the way of selling it (i.e. the way of packaging and sending it). The jars could be sent to a potential client, as seems to be the case when a name in the dative is inscribed. The papyrus of Zenon shows that already in the mid 3rd cent. BC, it was common to buy goods for private use from some distance, based on the circulation of small sealed samples (Bresson: 2004, 79-82).

One list of Papyri can be found in Mayerson: 1998, 153-8; 2001, 97-101; and in Geraci: 2004, 154-180; 2012, 347-363; who also quotes as sources the painting of the casa del Larario in Pompeii (Figure 27), displaying one scene where some magistrates weight samples.

4.2.4. Procedures performed after Arrival at the Destination

Goods were distributed across the Roman Empire in a variety of ways. Some were exchanged directly between producers and consumers in local markets, while some never entered the market but were moved directly from the place of production to that of consumption. Completion of the process after unloading and controlling the cargoes at ports could imply that the goods could be stored in the different warehouses, handed directly to the customer (middlemen, private customers or subjects working for the *Annona*), or loaded onto another ship in order to reach its final destination.

4.2.4.1. Storage

Warehouses were intimately connected to shipping. They acted not only as the repository of cargo waiting to be shipped, sold or used as security in relation to a loan, but they also formed an integral part of the processing of the cargo. Storage was a key element of business life, because the time gap between production and consumption, often implied delays in processing, packaging and transportation (Aubert: 2016, 623). In fact, it would not be surprising if sometimes the purpose of a transport contract will only be fulfilled if the cargo shipped was stored in a warehouse,¹⁰⁷ which seems to have been common practice in the case of loans implying a pledge over the cargo.¹⁰⁸ It is also possible to find cases of merchants storing cargoes with the aim of waiting for a price rise of the product, and therefore to increase their benefits.

Thus it is necessary to bear in mind that storage does not imply the end of the distribution cycle of merchandise, but a step inside that cycle, that lead to the relocation of these goods in other ship, storehouse (Virrouvet: 2018). In that sense, warehouses have been classified into two kinds: mainly for storage, or for mixed use (storage, sale, eventually distribution), looking to their geographical location, structure or historical and climatic context (Virrouvet: 2011; Bernardos Sanz & Virrouvet: 2016). That implied the use of slightly different variations of the lease and hire contract

¹⁰⁷ An example of that practice appears first in the lines 10-19 of the Grain tax law of Athens (Stroud: 1998), as well as in later documents P. Oxy. LXVII 4612; P. Meyer 14; P. Lond. II 301. Also, Jakab: 2014

¹⁰⁸ D. 45.1.122; D. 10.4.5; D. 19.2.11.3; SB. XIV 11 850; TPSulp. 45-6 Also, Rathbone: 2000, 39ff.

enabled by classic Roman law (Alzon: 1964, 201ff.; Du Plessis: 2006²; 2012). In addition, warehouses could have been state (e.g. TPSulp. 45) or privately owned (e.g. TPSulp. 46), and consequently managed in different ways and by different personnel, such as private subjects or imperial slaves (Corritore; Marin & Virlovet: 2016). The evidence of the TPSulp. demonstrates the similarity in legal practice in state-owned and privately-owned warehouses, and also the practice of having a fairly short contract of lease into which technical rules of law were incorporated tacitly via a set of legal rules displayed in the warehouse (e.g. *horrea Caesaris* at porta Salaria, Rome).¹⁰⁹ However, I will not deal with all these distinctions in detail, but just mention storage as a function being part of the distribution cycle of the merchandise, hoping to work further on this issue in future studies.

The text of D.19.2.11.3 refers to resealing goods stored in a warehouse. When a warehouse served as a relatively short-term storage area, the merchandise likely remained in its original containers (perishable sacks; basketry; long-lasting jars and amphorae). For long-term storage purposes, the merchandise might have been transferred from the smaller, space-consuming amphorae, to larger containers, such as underground granaries and large *dolia*. It is difficult to read these stages between unloading, storing, and loading again into the *scripta commercii*. The exception could be the ingots, which according to Domergue (1998) and Rico (2011) acquired new marks in the cycle of storing and re-selling them. All these different procedures left marks on the ingots, as can be appreciated in some wrecks by the fact that many of them bear names of different owners inscribed on the side (e.g. Bou Ferrer, Cala Rossano).¹¹⁰

Sometimes the goods shipped to a port were not immediately stored in a warehouse, since many ports were part of a system and their associated warehouses could be located in other connected areas. For example, the storage of the oil shipped to Portus and addressed for the *annona* could have been located in Rome, since we do not really know what was kept inside the warehouses of Portus.¹¹¹ However, the area of *Septem Caesaris* has inscriptions recalling the name of oil merchants (*CIL IX 4680*), and the presence of Mount Testaccio. Bruzza, who carried out excavations around the *Horrea Seiana* in the *Porticus Aemilia* of Rome (1868-1870), discovered the relief of a Dressel 20 carved on an *opus reticulatum* (Aguilera: 2002, 96, fig. 17). That suggests the existence of a warehouse dedicated to the storage of fiscal goods, or *horrea fiscalia*, as described in *CTh.* 15.1.12.

We should look closely at the management strategies of these warehouses, to see if they were managed privately (*CIL VI 33860*) or publicly (*CIL VI 33747*), depending on the ownership (Dubouloz: 2008, 293). The staff involved included *custodies*, dispensatores or *contrascriptores*, who were seconded from provincial authorities, as well as *horrearii* and *vilici* who appear in private contexts (France: 2008, 506-507). Thus, a degree of control was needed at the entrance of the warehouse, enforcing the registration of goods (D.19.2.60.6), and checking their volume and weight. Goods were

¹⁰⁹ *CIL VI 33747=ILS 5914*

¹¹⁰ A model of the distribution of ingots is detailed in the Appendix III, 12.4.

¹¹¹ Recently affirmed by Keay, S.J. in the presentation A photogrammetric Survey of the Grandi Magazzini di Settimio Severo, 25th January 2018, British School at Rome

stored in the warehouses until they were distributed to other places, which at times meant that the objects were inscribed with an indication of provenance, especially those goods destined for state supply (Torres Costa: 2007). The registration of the goods took place at the exit or entrance of the warehouse, to acknowledge the amount of goods to be kept safely (Alzon: 1964, 120).

Storage of goods in warehouses was carried out under a contract of lease and hire for the space where the objects were stored. One of the subjects (*conductor*) hired the space in the warehouse to keep the goods safe until they were transported to another place or transferred to someone else.¹¹² The safekeeping of the stored goods was in the hands of the *horrearius* (D.19.2.60.9; D.4.9.3pr.). A contract could be agreed for a defined period of time (*TPSulp.* 79), or could last until the owner retrieved the goods (*TPSulp.* 45). The cost of the lease varied according to the season and the amount of goods to be stored. If there was no agreed terms for the contract, the *conductor* might pay a non-refundable deposit.

It is possible, as suggested by several authors (Thomas: 1959, 372-4; Du Plessis: 2006², 433; Rowe: 2011; Aubert: 2016), that the absence of requirements on the respective obligations of the parties in the contracts can be explained by the existence of a general regulation of the warehouse, a *lex locationis*, to which the contracts tacitly referred. Details such as the price and due date of the contract would have been specified on each occasion.¹¹³ Also, the comparison with one agreement of lease and hire recorded in writing on one wall of Puteoli (*lex parieti faciendo puteolana*) of 105 BC.¹¹⁴ and the evidence from the Puteolian archive of the *Sulpicii*, indicate that there was a large measure of similarity between private and state practice in the letting and hiring of warehouses.

4.2.4.2. Transferring Goods to the Customer

Handling the merchandise to the buyer will imply the transfer of the risk or *periculum* from seller to buyer.¹¹⁵ A key question concerns communication between buyer and seller, how they made contact and how a buyer would know that a ship was arriving in port. Sources are silent on this topic, but it seems likely that client networks and sharing information amongst groups of people would have played a big role. In the high empire, “merchants might take the relative security of following a regular route to a big city, perhaps specializing in particular products, with a more or less guaranteed market for their goods and the opportunity of building up relations and regular connections, rather than sailing from port to port in search of demand” (Morley: 2007, 579). In cases where the parties had traded previously, the customer did not have to come in person to pick up the goods, but could send a representative with the money and a letter (*epistula*) expressing his intention to buy them. How did

¹¹² For a detailed explanation of the roles implied in warehouseing, see Thomas: 1966, 371ff; Dubouloz: 2008; France: 2008

¹¹³ For example, in the *TPSulp.* 45-46 the stipulation of *mensura* means that the warehouse keeper is responsible for the risk regarding the amount. (Jakab: 2014, 336)

¹¹⁴ *AE* 1971 88

¹¹⁵ See sect. 4.2.2.1; App. III, 12.3, and McCormack: 1979, 138ff.; Bauer: 1998, 59ff.; Pennitz: 2000, 50-68

the carrier recognise the receiver? The only reference to that comes from Plautus, who in several plays.¹¹⁶ described how an agent showed a token (*symbolum obsignatum*) proving his connection with the buyer. The story is fictitious and relates to the late 4th cent. BC, but a similar situation sounds plausible in a Roman context (Aubert: 1994, 2). Agents could be freemen or freedmen, who had capacity and were liable for their actions, and slaves.

The use of freedmen for building these networks and their development was common for Roman patrons.¹¹⁷ One of the recently discovered Bloomberg tablets is a receipt of sale and delivery of goods, signed by a freedmen who acknowledges the amount to be paid by his master for the goods received (Tomlin: 2016, 152). Freedmen scouted the newly arrived ships in the port, in search of goods that their patron could later resell; or shipping merchandise to their patron's stores (Broekaert: 2016, 234). Merchants are also likely to have used their freedmen to import foreign merchandise to their home market. This practice may be reflected in a legal note by Paul, in which he discusses the case of a patron sending his freedman into Asia for the purpose of buying purple (D.34.2.4); or Ulpian referring to a *praepositus mercis olearia Arealata*, an agent in charge of an oil business in Arles (D. 14.3.13)

Patrons with an active interest in business may have wished to reduce risk and uncertainty and enhance efficiency by exerting control over different stages of an enterprise. Instead of using their freedmen to monitor a single stage, such as production or distribution of merchandise, they assigned different tasks to different freedmen, thus creating a network of agents, with each manager being responsible for a single part of the business enterprise. Ideally, every single stage (production or purchase of merchandise; transport; distribution) would be supervised by either the patron or one of his freedmen (Broekaert: 2016, 238). Therefore, the remarks above indicate that the lease and hire for the transport of goods can take one of two forms: either the customer lets out the transport of goods or passengers as a task for the carrier, or he uses an agent to achieve the transaction. It seems more likely that the first case would have generated an inscription than the second. Perhaps in a big ship with cargo from different merchants, one scrupulous businessmen would have preferred to mark the containers either way, but this is a hypothesis since detecting agents in *scripta commercii* is problematic.¹¹⁸

In cases where slaves were used, their actions were organized by the *actiones aiectionis qualitatis* as they did not have legal capacity themselves, making the master liable for the business transactions of his slave agent. Some *scripta commercii* have been interpreted as disclosing slave names working for their masters (e.g. A. 1020;¹¹⁹ A. 929),¹²⁰ but I am not convinced by this interpretation. I will not

¹¹⁶ Plaut. Bacch. 263-6; Pseud. 598; 652; 716-7; 1092; 1201; 1216-7

¹¹⁷ The status of freedmen was important for these agents, because they needed to have capacity to perform these acts, and also because to send slaves with a cargo was unsafe for a merchant, since they can be thrown overboard in the case of complications during the trip (D.14.2.2.5)

¹¹⁸ Evidence from slave-agent activity can be witnessed in other sources such as the Digest of the Murecine tablets from Puteoli (TPSulp.), or sometimes appreciated in the epigraphic record, as for example in *CIL IV 5894 (Orfitianum)*

¹¹⁹ Appendix VIII, 17.5

¹²⁰ Appendix VIII, 17.7

investigate the issue of the capacity of the agents in this Chapter because it is not something that we can easily appreciate from the *scripta commercii*. However, I will briefly address that point in Chapter 8, while discussing the matters of liability in case something went wrong in the transaction.

Transmission of commodities to the customer or their representative was the last phase of sale, and implied the assumption by the customer of the goods with all their features. Because these issues concern the contract of sale, they will be further studied in Chapter 5. Another possible consequence of the arrival of the goods at the port and conclusion of the sale contract could be that one of the parties felt dissatisfied with the result of the agreement, and this could have led to a dispute. The place of ports and related infrastructures in entangled jurisdiction is an issue that involves the study of different topics, such as the relation between Roman law and other systems, or the access to justice of the parties in litigation. Unfortunately, such a broad matter would not be addressed in this work because it needs to be the focus of specific study.

4.2.4.3. Transhipment of Goods

Transhipment implies the transfer of a cargo from one ship to another. Many Roman harbours were situated at or near or by rivers, thus making transshipping a necessity if the goods were to arrive at their final destination. Transhipment could have been performed in the middle of the harbour basin of a port, with cargo being transferred from big ships to smaller ones. At other times, the ship would have been moored and then the cargo transferred onto other smaller ships. Alternatively, the cargo could be taken from the warehouse and loaded onto specialized riverboats (*naves caudicariae*), which were then towed up the river to the city, as in the case of Rome (Keay: 2013, 34). This stage could have taken place a considerable time after the ship had first been unloaded. Once it arrived at the final port of destination, the process of unloading and storing at warehouses took place again. There could also be other reasons for the movement of the cargo from the ship to the harbour, e.g. in the context of bottomry loans where the cargo formed the object of security until the debt had been paid (D.22.2).

Transhipment was a perilous stage in the process of shipping cargo and could expose the carrier to potential liability if things went wrong. Digest of Justinian mentions more than one case where transhipment led to the loss of a cargo when the river barge, onto which the goods had been transhipped, sank (e.g. D.19.2.13.1). This did not prevent its practice, as transhipment was often the only way for the cargo to reach its destination (Knutel: 1983, 340ff).

However, transhipment was not always necessary, and every port was a particular case and developed a specific organization for developing this operation. For example, Portus constitutes a particular case where the banks of the Tiber were curved, not allowing to reach Rome with using wind power, being then necessary to use the help of Ropes and mules (Aguilera: 2012²). The route from Portus towards Rome had spots such as Pietra Papa, because above this point many ships could no longer follow. That area was used to lighten these ships or completely unload the indivisible cargoes to tranship them to another boat (Aguilera: 2002).

Roman law developed a number of rules to reduce the risks involved in the movement of goods. The most prominent of these was the so-called *receptum* or “undertaking to carriage” mentioned in Roman legal sources (D.4.9.3.1), which implied the strict liability of the shipper or shipmaster in taking the goods safely to their destination.¹²¹ Strict liability concerned the *magister navis*, and was irrespective of the actions of the crew, meaning that the shipper or shipmaster needed to ensure that nobody interfered with the goods. This strict liability would also have impacted the decisions of the shipper or shipmaster regarding the hiring of their crew.

There were three main issues related to transshipment: liability of the crew chosen to transship goods; liability for tracking goods; and limits and issues covered by the lease and hire contract (see sect. 6.6.3.4.1). *Scripta commercii* bear inscriptions that allowed goods to be tracked during their transit from origin to destination. This is the case for the samples containing grain, whose inscriptions tell the reader about the origin or destination of the goods contained within (e.g. *CIL* IV 9591; Guéraud: 1950). Furthermore, some inscriptions link objects to the number of individual owners in a cargo and the origin of the item, useful information for tracking the item during transport.

4.3. Conclusions

This Chapter has outlined a model of Roman commercial procedures, indicating the main operations taking place on a commercial trip from a port of departure to a port of destination. As with every model, it leaves aside some inevitable regional peculiarities. Behind this model, there is a whole Chapter of Roman commercial history that is still largely unwritten (Wilson & Bowman: 2009, 213).

Each phase of the distribution itinerary of shipborne cargoes proposed in the model implied the undertaking of liabilities, acceptance of risks, or being subject to the controlling operations of the Roman state. Distribution itineraries appear as controlled and organized routes, attempting to minimise the risks for the parties involved. The different phases of the itinerary are also connected with other issues, such as the nature of the contract employed in trade or the roles of the individuals interacting in the course of the trade. The *scripta commercii* embody core warranties for the buyer, the need for control by the Roman state, or ownership and liability relationships between parties involved in trade. All three issues and other connected questions will be addressed in the next Chapter through three different case studies (Chapters. 5, 6 and 7) focused on the main functions comprising this model: sale, transport and control.

¹²¹ This *receptum* is also applicable to the *horrearius* for the goods stored (D. 4.9.1pr.; Thomas: 1959, 379)

Chapter 5

Linking Material Evidence and tracing Sale Contracts in Roman Mediterranean Ports

5.1. Opening Remarks

The opening section of this Chapter develops the work method for three case studies based on the functions of sale (Chapter 5), transport (Chapter 6) and control (Chapter 7) as reflected in the archaeological and legal evidence. All of these case studies are connected to each other, featuring essential details of commerce. The analysis of the material evidence against the background of the legal sources concerning these functions, enables us to understand commercial patterns performed during the stages presented in the model of Chapter. 4.

All three case studies start by reviewing the archaeological evidence, connecting the characteristics of the materials with the main features of the contracts considered. Finally, each Chapter will conclude by merging different aspects of *scripta commercii*, linking processes and displaying the versatility of the *scripta commercii*. All the case studies are structured in the same way:

1. Description of the contracts and commercial functions analysed.
2. Archaeological and epigraphic analysis of the material evidence. All the *scripta commercii* are compiled in the Appendix VIII, indicating the inventory number of the artefact (e.g. A. 057) and the individual number of the inscriptions marked the object (e.g. 2321). The appendixes where the *scripta commercii* could be found are detailed in the footnotes of each of the section's titles.
3. Overall analysis of the data according to the legal framework of the procedures addressed in this particular case study.

This Chapter provides an insight into the function of sale performed during the commercial path described in Chapter 4 and the related underlying principles of Roman governmental practices. The case study will reveal difficulties in the chosen approach, as one faces the dichotomy of absence/presence of inscriptions on the objects, and the uneven preservation of the written record on artefacts in all parts of the Roman Mediterranean.

5.2. *Scripta Commercii* and Sale

The focus of this case study is the contract of sale (*emptio venditio*), one of the most commonly employed forms of agreement in Roman trade. This Chapter focuses upon the contract of sale agreed by two private parties, while the sales engaged by private and public parties will be addressed in Chapter 7.

Both the sale and the contract of lease (*locatio conductio*) had one trait in common: they were enforced by good faith (*bona fides*). That means that, in case of a trial, the judge focused upon what the defendant ought to have given or done by means of the circumstances of the agreement. Thus, in this context, good faith must be understood as the fulfilment of what has been agreed and can be expected from the parties involved in the contract of sale. In the case of merchants who were in transit within the Mediterranean, the domicile to claim against them was where they have their shop or the main branch of their business (D. 5.1.19.2).

Sale was understood to mean the conveyance of an object in exchange for a price, and the contract had three main features. First, the parties were bound by the contract by consent without the use of any special formality such as an oath, a document, a deed, or even a handshake. That means that the law already set the essential terms which applied to the contract and the parties agreed the particularities of it by their deal. Second, the sale contract was controlled by *ius gentium* (interregional law), so that all subjects living in the empire, even if they were not Roman citizens, could use this form of agreement (D.18.1.1.2; D. 48.22.15pr.). Third, the sale was binding upon consent before delivery of the goods or payment of the price. Thus, the contract recognised the existence of a legal tie prior to the actual performance of the transaction (Yaron: 2004, 62).

Sale contracts were very adaptable to circumstances, so the parties involved could add conditions to the deal consisting of inducements to the acceptance of sale in a given case.¹²² On the one hand, the seller was obliged to take care of the object until its delivery (D.18.6.1.1), to deliver it (by themselves¹²³ or by hiring a carrier), and to be liable for any defects the goods might have. On the other hand, the buyer had to pay for the goods that were being handled. Both parties could establish special conditions to be fulfilled by both parties. However, no sale would take place unless there was an agreement to exchange an object for a price. Other juridical problems arising from this agreement would be the transmission of property, risks and liability assumed, warranties for the customer, and issues of delivery.¹²⁴ Some of these problems can be directly appreciated from the *scripta commercii*, while others can be indirectly linked and analysed with the help of other legal or literary sources.

The three essential elements composing sale contracts were: the object (D.18.1.8pr.), price (D. 18.1.2.1), and the agreement. In addition, it also involves that the parties have the capacity to perform that contract. Three conditions can be appreciated in the *scripta commercii*: the product, quantity or attributes of it, and the name of the merchant. Sale needed at least two parties in the agreement to assume the rights and liabilities involved in the contract, of whom at least one (the merchant) was registered on the object. Besides, agreement is the essence of sale and purchase, because there would not be purchase if there is disagreement over the contract itself or any of its elements (D.18.1.9pr.). The particularities of the agreement are connected to all the inscriptions reflecting traits of the

¹²² Arangio-Ruiz: 1987, 86-7, indicates the variety of documents that we can find reflecting sales in the archaeological record, of which none reflects only the simple obligations of the parties in a contract.

¹²³ P. Mich. 11613

¹²⁴ I will not deal here with the so called “sale on delivery” (*cf.* Appendix. X) since it is a very specific sale contract used for wine and it is not acknowledgeable through the inscriptions.

commodity and price, and especially with the inscription reflecting the name of the merchant who is liable for the object sold. The *scripta commercii* which will be considered in this case study are presented in table 3:

Type of inscription	Inscription label	Refers to	Comments
Name of the merchandise	Inscription A	Features of the merchandise	
Quality	Inscription B1	Features of the merchandise	
Qualitative	Inscription B2	Features of the merchandise	It indicates traits such as origin or maturation period
Seller	Inscription β	Merchant	This inscription applies only to Dressel 20 amphorae
Quantity	Inscription C	Amount of the merchandise traded	
Quantity	Inscription α	Amount of the merchandise traded	Weight of the empty Dressel 20 amphora
Quantity	Inscription γ	Amount of the merchandise traded	Weight of the oil filling the Dressel 20 amphora
Seller	Inscription D	Merchant	
General inscription	Inscription F	Features of the agreement	

Table 3. Types of inscriptions analysed in Case study 1.¹²⁵

Goods could be conceived of either as one group possessing common structural characters (*genus*), or as individual containers (*species*).¹²⁶ The qualification of the goods depended largely on the way in which the parties involved in the sale contract decided to sell and buy them. Accordingly, goods could be sold in bulk or in retail, by price or by container. The characterization of a cargo as a whole or as individual items was made by dividing the cargo.¹²⁷ by containers.¹²⁸ These matters will have an influence on transport contracts, as we will appreciate in Chapter 6.

In the following sections, the types of inscriptions listed in Table 3 will be related to the main traits of the contract of sale, in order to outline patterns of commercial activity. First, each inscription type will be analysed separately, describing its particularities with respect to essential features of sale contracts. Then, the meaning of the written formulae on the objects will be analysed. The final section will evaluate these analyses and draw out conclusions.

¹²⁵ For further details of label inscriptions and how they match across different object types see Appendix II.

¹²⁶ That division of things has influence from Greek dialectic, *cf.* Talamanca: 1977; Churruca & Mentxaka: 2015, 103

¹²⁷ D.19.2.31

¹²⁸ D.18.1.35.5

5.2.1. Inscriptions referring to the Merchandise (A, B1, B2).¹²⁹

Some of the objects studied, such as ingots, constitute a product in themselves, and others only identify the owner of the product to which they were attached (e.g. labels or stoppers). Consequently, none of these elements bear an inscription that actually refers to the product in question. Thus there may be an unavoidable limitation in the study of this sort of inscription, due to the fact that it can only be found on containers such as amphorae, barrels, jugs, or similar objects. Normally amphorae yield more inscriptions than other containers, and consequently, they constitute our most abundant body of evidence, even though they most frequently survive as fragments and can also be decontextualized. Other containers, such as barrels or sacks, are much less visible archeologically.

Inscriptions A, B1, and B2 reflect data that can be linked to two of the main features of sale contracts: product and price. As explained in Chapter 3, inscription A referred to the merchandise, while inscription B1 indicated its quality. Finally, inscription B2 invoked one qualitative adjective that described further details of the product. These three inscriptions refer to the product or its properties, so they provide data which are closely related, if not inter-dependent. Moreover, these features had an influence on determining the price of the merchandise in the retail market. The two features which must be noted when classifying these inscriptions are: the word inscribed and the position of the inscription.

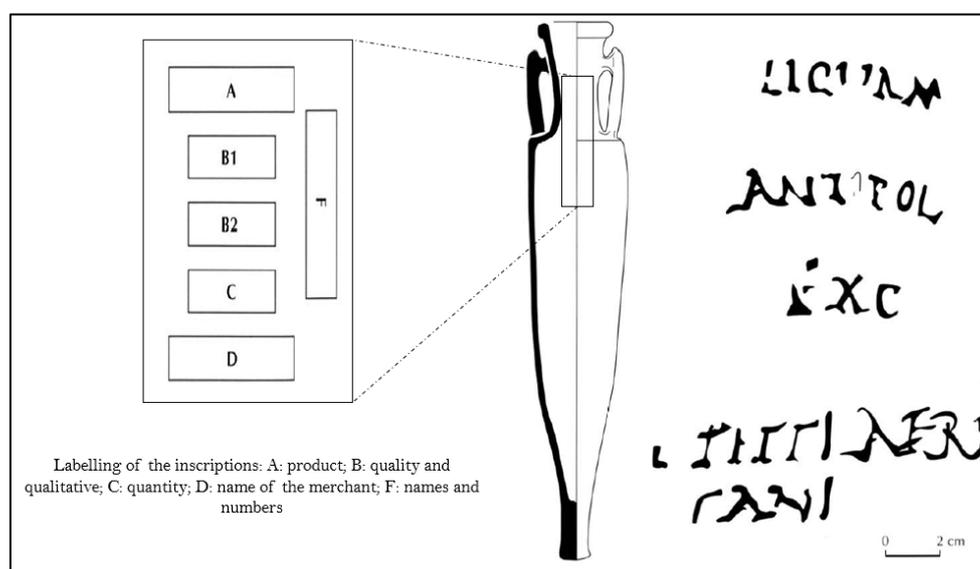


Figure 28. Labelling of fish sauce amphorae. The same scheme of positions can be appreciated in fish sauce amphorae (Laubenheimer: 2004, 156, figs. 80-81) see also Appendix IV, 13.1 Figure 71

A degree of systematization can be generally observed in the location of the inscription on the object and the information that it conveys. However, the inscriptions sometimes refer to different

¹²⁹ For the *scripta* quoted in this section, see Appendix VIII, 17.1

features and are written on the same line. In general, it is possible to appreciate systematic traits on inscriptions, with some differences which highlight the diversity of practice in different parts of the Mediterranean (see fig. 28 and 29). Inscriptions A, B1 and B2 were inscribed horizontally, and judging by the palaeography, written at the same time by the same hand. On amphorae, these inscriptions could be in different positions, while on barrels, they are always written outside on one of its edges.¹³⁰

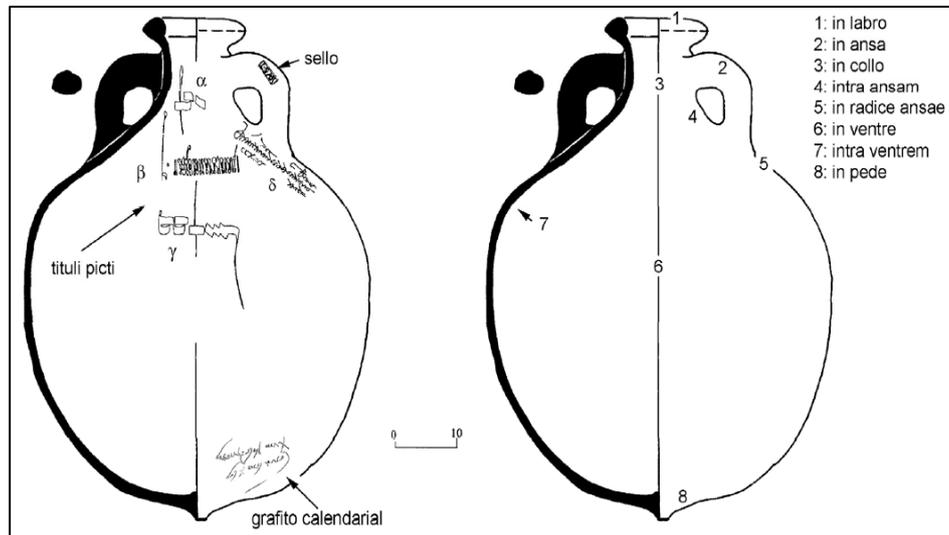


Figure 29. Epigraphic apparatus of Dressel amphora with the positions of the *scripta commercii* (Berni Millet: 2008, 81). The writing reads: (1) on the edge; (2) on the handle; (3) on the neck; (4) inside the handle; (5) on the bottom of the handle; (6) on the belly; (7) on the side of the belly; (8) on the bottom

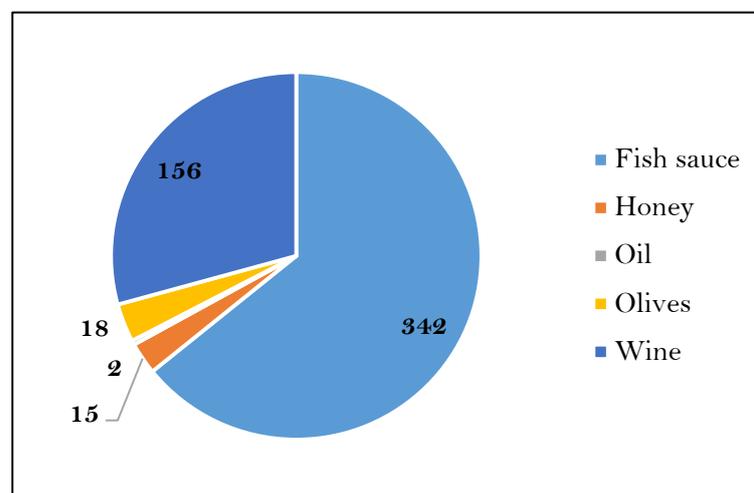


Figure 30. Inscribed containers (barrels, amphorae and jars) listed in Appendix VII, by the products contained within them

The amphorae could be inscribed using different techniques (Table 1) which recall different stages in the distribution cycle of an amphora, and on different parts of the vessel, such as neck, belly, handle or side, dependent upon the shape of the amphora or the message being inscribed (Figures 28

¹³⁰ Appendix VIII, 17.1-2

and 29). For example, some amphorae with a long neck (e.g. Dressel 14, Beltrán 2A & 2B) are often inscribed there (*in collo*),¹³¹ while vessels with a short neck (e.g. Dressel 20, Gauloises 3 to 5) were normally written on the belly (*in ventre*).¹³² Not all the products sold in containers were mentioned with equal frequency. The chart in Figure 30 indicates that the products most referred to on inscriptions were wine and fish sauce.

Some inscriptions referring to types of wine allow us to locate their place of origin, for example, *ammineum*, which is sometimes read as *massicum* by inscription B1 on amphorae type Gauloise 3-5 ou Lyon 2 amphorae (Djaoui: 2017²). The *aminneum* was a type of wine from Campania, and *massicum* was a wine from Campania.¹³³ Our epigraphic sources point to the fact that *massicum* was prepared with *aminneum*.¹³⁴ Liou (Liou: 1987, 74) initially expanded MASS as *Mass (siliense)* but later believed that it was to be interpreted as *massicum*. If so, how does one explain the presence of Italian wine in Gallic amphorae? There were two possibilities. We know that between the Augustan period and a period around AD 50-60, Italian wine was transported in bulk in *dolia* from Italy to Gaul (Gianfrotta: 1987, 297). Once it arrived at port, this wine was poured into Gaulish amphorae, amongst others. A second hypothesis argues that Italian wine was carried in barrels to Gaul and then decanted into locally produced amphorae (Laubenheimer: 2004, 170).¹³⁵

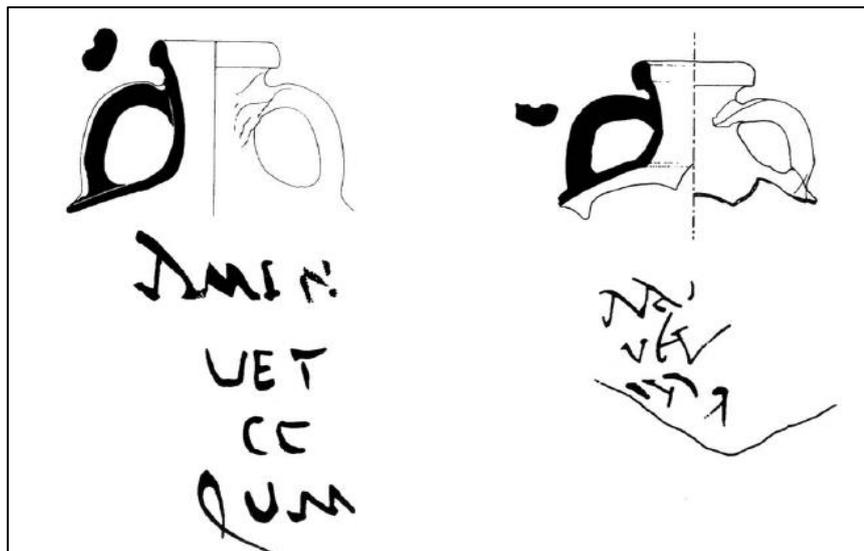


Figure 31. Example of *scripta commercii* on Gauloise 4 amphorae (Liou, Marichal: 1978, F 38) see also Appendix IV, 13.1 Figure 72

Referring to the quality of the wine by mentioning its origin was very common (Figure 31). Two types of amphorae (Dressel 43 and Dressel 2-4) mentioned the quality of the wine and its Cretan

¹³¹ Figure 28

¹³² Figure 29

¹³³ The output of Campanian wine was interrupted by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD, after which production levels fell (Lós & Prietruszka: 2016).

¹³⁴ Appendix IV, 13.1

¹³⁵ Some small pots of local wares with the name of the merchant inscribed at the bottom have been found recently at Arles, what contributes to corroborate this theory (Djaoui: 2017, 93)

origin (A. 193, A. 346). Other Dressel 2-4 amphorae indicate the regions from which the wines derived (Baeterrense, Lauronense, Falernus and Gavianus).¹³⁶ It is notable that, while on Dressel 43 amphorae the inscription referring to quality was located to position A, on other amphorae it appears in position B2. The most remarkable example comes from an inscription on a container that held a sample of wine (O. 006) that was recently discovered at Arles (Djaoui & Tran: 2014). Inscription B2 read ALB.VALERI.PROCULI, referring to a kind of wine coming from the large estate of *Mons Albanus* in Gaul.

Other B2 inscriptions refer to the preparation of the wine, as *passum* (A. 454), *picatum* (e.g. A. 496-8), *defrutum* (A. 595) and *mulsum* (A. 488), or simply labelling the product as *vinum* (e.g. A. 602; A. 995), but which is characterized as *rubrum* (A. 546) or *depletum* (A. 506). Two barrels (B. 074; B. 078) refer to *sentior*, which means thorny, rough, or rugged; this could be an adjective referring to wine or a similar product. This way of inscribing can be connected to inscriptions referring to fish sauce, which always makes reference to the ways of preparing the sauce (Vargas: 2006; Lagostena Barrios: 2007).

As regards fish sauce (Figure 28), a wide variety of terms is attested on the inscriptions.¹³⁷ While it is possible to find *scripta commercii* referring to the type of fish, such as *araneus* (O. 002), or *sardinas* (O. 131), archaeological evidence indicates that these goods rarely circulated in the retail market, because they do not appear in containers generally associated with fish sauces (e.g. Haltern 70 or Dressel 7-11) but in jars of different shapes. On the other hand, containers such as Dressel 8, Beltrán 2A, and a barrel have inscriptions referring to *garum* (e.g. A. 200, A. 255), which is generally qualified as *flos*, *vetus*, *hispanum*, *antipolitanum*, or *scombri* in the position of inscription A (e.g. A. 244, A. 239, A. 500). Other varieties of fish sauce were *lumpa* (e.g. A. 383), *cordula* (e.g. A. 224; B. 031), *liquamen* (e.g. A. 243), *scombri* (A. 580), *hallec* (e.g. A. 313), and *muria* (e.g. A. 312).

Sometimes these can also be qualified in the same inscription A with an adjective such as *flos*, referring to an excellent quality (e.g. A. 326). However for products other than *garum*, the adjective *flos* appears generally written in position B1 (e.g. A. 337, A. 433) or B2 (e.g. A. 428). Other kinds of adjective referring to the high quality of fish sauces are *summaur* (generally employed for *cordula*, *lumpa* and *laccatum*).¹³⁸ and *excellens* (e.g. A. 201; A. 223; B. 073). In a recent paper, Djaoui (2016:² 117-125) argues against the identification of this inscription as *laccatum*, proposing *Lacertum* (mackerel) instead, and *cat* as an abbreviation of the adjective *catulus* (young), thus using a similar designation of the product as fish + age of the fish + preparation, such as in the case of *cordula argute vetus*. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the recent find in the Rhone of a Dressel 7-11 amphora with an inscription referring to a product containing sardines and *lacertum* (mackerel) (A. 1089).

¹³⁶ A. 522; A. 1023; A. 198; A. 209

¹³⁷ For a study on the terminology of some of these words, see Dumitrache: 2009, 553-560

¹³⁸ A. 230; A. 381; A. 399

The adjective *vetus* is generally associated with other attributes such as the sauce's maturation period (AIIIA or AIIIIA),¹³⁹ a sauce that is matured or preserved “*penuar*”¹⁴⁰ (e.g. A. 226) or, referred to sauces coming from *Lixos* (e.g. A. 388; A. 399).¹⁴¹ Especially peculiar is the inscription A recorded on a Beltrán 2A amphora labelled as A. 427,¹⁴² referring to a conserve made of a mixture of fish (*miscellae*) and relating it to a port [MISCELL POR].¹⁴³ The mention of one port context appears on two Dressel 7 amphorae containing fish products (*CIL* IV 9367; *CIL* XV 4732) and on a Dressel 9 (A. 272). The study of eleven painted inscriptions¹⁴⁴ on amphorae from Baetica found in different contexts, such as the so-called Pecio Gandolfo wreck (Andalusia), Pompeii or Strassburg has allowed to establish some conclusions on the fish sauce trade to which these amphorae were all affected. They contained sauces, garum, liquamen, and fish in brine, cordula, young tuna, whose origin, Lixos, in Mauretania Tingitane, or other areas from the so called “circle of the strait” (Gades, Malaca, Sexi or Baelo Claudia).¹⁴⁵ This area was a very well known place for fish sauce production, based on the combination of favourable natural spaces on the one hand, and the creation of several interconnected production centres which help the activity of the fish production industry. In that sense, it is not rare to find both in the south of Spain (e.g. Baelo Claudia)¹⁴⁶, fisheries surrounded by other structures (e.g. ports, warehouses) and industries connected and helping to produce these sauces (e.g. kilns, salteries). Indeed, the port produced fish sauce that was widely distributed around the empire, to places as far afield as Arles in Gaul and Ephesos in Asia (Gonzalez Cesteros: 2012).

Finally, one interesting case comes from Arles (Djaoui; Botte & Piques: 2014, 183), where a set of vessels containing the remains of fish was found. The jugs were recognisable as containers of fish sauce, but the inscriptions on two of them did not refer to fish but to olives (O. 130) and onions (O. 005). The analysis of the contents of the jugs reveals that they were indeed filled with fish, which raises the question of why the fish were not mentioned on the pots. It might be that these containers were initially employed for preserving olives or onions, and that they were later reused for fish sauces. Or, more likely in my view, it could be that the inscription refers to a type of fish sauce made with additional ingredients, such as onions or olives.

Less commonly, it is possible to find inscribed honey pots (Appendix IV, 13.1, Figure 73). The corpus produced by Bortollin (2008, 176-8) distinguishes between pots used for transport and for

¹³⁹ E.g. A. 385; A. 381, standing for *annorum triorum* and *annorum quattorum*

¹⁴⁰ This is an uncommon adjective, which refers to these kinds of fish products, or to vegetables as in two fragments of the jurist Ulpian (see. D. 33, 9, 3, 8; 11)

¹⁴¹ Lixos presumably refers to the riverport of Lixus in Morocco

¹⁴² *AE* 1992, 01163d

¹⁴³ There are texts referring to these sort of mixed products with wine. See. Cat. *De agr. Cult.* VI.4; Plin. *NH.* XIV.46

¹⁴⁴ Liou & Rodriguez-Almeida: 2000, 192-193; Liou: 1993, 140; Liou: 1987, 66; CAG 13 05, 705; CAG 6702, 381; Liou: 1992, 90; *CIL* XV 4732; *CIL* XV 4740; *CIL* IV 9367; Léquement: 1980, 257-8

¹⁴⁵ The term "Círculo del Estrecho" was coined by Miguel Tarradell, and followed by Ponsich, who titled an important publication, aiming to explain the socio-economic reality that takes place in the area of the Strait of Gibraltar, where, after the fall of Tíre, in the Eastern Mediterranean, a set of city-states interact linked by common cultural and economic ties, the Phoenician culture. The leading city of this economic and cultural hinterland was Gadir (Roman Gades), *cf.* Ponsich: 1975, 655-84

¹⁴⁶ Bernal Casasola & Arévalo González: 2007

preservation. The analysis of their epigraphy reveals that when inscriptions were not written on containers for transport but for preservation, the writing system changes completely (e.g. Bortollin & Bruno: 2006, 113-124; Gandolfi & Mennella: 2012, 327ff). In these cases, the constituent elements of the inscriptions are differently organized and normally written as graffiti instead of painted script. Moreover, transport amphorae bearing graffiti have been found in domestic or market contexts.¹⁴⁷ One example comes from a tavern in Pompeii, stating *Oliva condita / XVII K(alendas) Novembres*. As can be appreciated, it refers to the way of preserving the olives and does not follow the same system as we find on transport amphorae. This points indicates that the amphorae were inscribed after their delivery or arrival at the port, perhaps when it was handed to the customer.

Inscriptions relating to honey are written on containers normally used for transport, as is the case of one Crétoise 3 amphora (A. 578) found at Port-la-Nautique (Bortolin: 2008, 118ff.). The fact that the Digest mentions explicitly the possibility of buying the product with the container or not (D. 18.6.1.4) means that the contents need not be decanted into other containers. Some transport amphorae sold with the honey correspond to Cretan types or their equivalents in the Pompeian forms identified by Schone-Mau (Panella: 2002), underlining the importance of Crete in the production of honey. Moreover, adjectives written in Greek that qualify the honey reassert its Cretan origin (e.g. A. 1067). These inscriptions also follow the scheme of writing product/quality/ qualitative, and that these last two notations normally make reference to traits connected to the origin of the product (A. 1078), its properties (A. 1068), or its producer (A. 1068). Fish sauce or wine are sometimes identified by referring to the preparation of the product, whereas honey is always referred to as “honey” (e.g. A. 1067, A. 1074). The adjectives describing goods refer to the geographical or botanical origin of the product, which describes whether it is worthwhile for mixing or to be eaten alone.

Inscriptions referring to olives are less common than in the case of wine and fish sauce (Figure 32).¹⁴⁸ Recent research (Djaoui *et al.* 2015; Bonifay *et al.* 2015) reviewing Panella’s work (1982); confirm her argument that the contents of the amphora type Ostia LIX were olives. Study of the type reveals a varied range of olives, perhaps originating in Tunisia,¹⁴⁹ which were distributed across the western Mediterranean, especially to Pompeii, *Forum Iulii*, and Arles. Four sets of Ostia LIX amphorae found in Pompeii have tituli which use adjectives such as *molles*,¹⁵⁰ *Tauronense* (e.g. A. 1072-3),¹⁵¹ *dstricta* (A. 1070).¹⁵² or *uirides* (e.g. A. 1071).¹⁵³ One amphora found at Lyon could be an Ostia LIX type, since its shape, has been identified in Tunisia (Desbat; Liou & Lequemet: 1987, 159) and because it contained *tapenade* or *epitum* (A. 443). Another type of amphora bearing script referring to olives is the Haltern 70 *similis*.¹⁵⁴, upon which we can find written references to various products. Sometimes

¹⁴⁷ Schindler Kaudelka: 1989, 67; Maier Maidl: 1992, 111; Corti: 2014, 164-171

¹⁴⁸ One of the case mentioning olives on the jar corresponds to a container of fish sauce (O. 130)

¹⁴⁹ Bonifay: 2004, 101, has still doubts about the origin of these amphorae.

¹⁵⁰ MOL= *CIL* IV 2605, 5756

¹⁵¹ TAVR= *CIL* IV 9338; 10297; 10301

¹⁵² STR= *CIL* IV 6179, 6182-3, 6184, 9444, 10294, 9442

¹⁵³ VIR= *CIL* IV 6214, 9353, 9366, 10304, 10306, 10307, 10309a-d

¹⁵⁴ This was also an amphora employed for wine (Colls *et alii*: 1977; Parker and price: 1981)

the writings only refer to *olivae* (e.g. A. 588-9; a. 593-4), which are occasionally qualified as *albae* (e.g. A. 590), *nigra* (e.g. *AE* 2001-2, 00135; *AE* 2007, 00180), *dulce* (e.g. *CIL* IV 2610; AmphMainz-Dipinti 00008) or *picena* (e.g. *AE* 2006, 00940). Consistently the inscriptions make reference to the liquid used to preserve and flavour the olives, as *ex dulci* (e.g. A. 592; *AE* 1991, 00862c), *ex defruto* (e.g. AmphMainz-Dipinti 00005-6), *ex amaro* (*CIL* V 8111, 03), or *ex aqua* (*CIL* IV 10292).

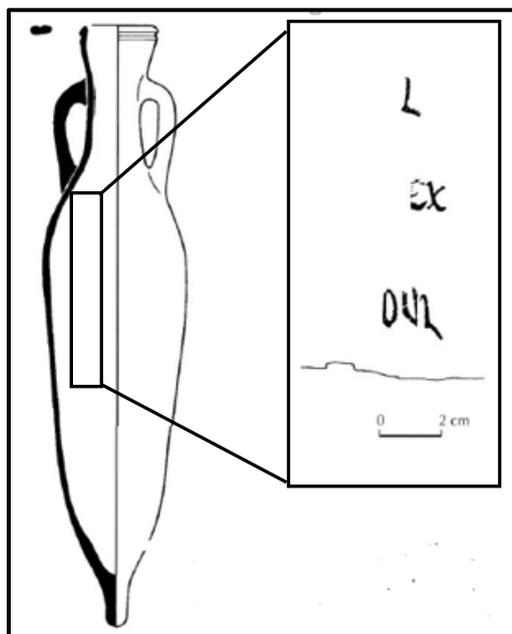


Figure 32. *Scripta commercii* on an August 21 amphora containing olives (Martin-Kilcher: 1994)

It has not been yet found any Barrel bearing any inscription referring to olives, probably because barrels were not commonly employed for transporting them. We do have evidence from the Vindolanda tablets (Pearce: 2002, 935) that olives were consumed in military camps, and even if a lot of evidence indicates that many goods were transported to the forts in barrels, it is not clear if olives were moved in these sort of containers.

Olive oil is only mentioned in *scripta commercii* on a few occasions (A. 1065; A. 1084-5).¹⁵⁵ Some literary sources use the word *oleum* (e.g. Ap. *De re coquinaria*. 1.7; Plin. *NH*. 1.15, Juvenal 5.5.88, Plaut. *Pseud.* 213), while others mention it using adjectives such as *ricinum* (Plin. *NH*. 15.25) or *balanus* (Horat. *Carm.* 3.29), showing the diversity of types of oil used around the Mediterranean (Brun, Amouretti: 2002, 129). Moreover, Diocletian's Prices Edict (III.1) distinguishes between three kinds of oil, that of the first pressing (*flos*), the second pressing (*sequens*), and ordinary oil (*cibaria*).

An inscription on an Ostia LIX amphora from Pompeii (A. 1065).¹⁵⁶ suggests that the oil could have been a refill of the amphora, which previously contained olives. It has been recently compared to

¹⁵⁵ See also Appendix IV, 13.1, Figures 69-70

¹⁵⁶ *CIL* IV 9435

four samples of Ostia LIX found at Arles (Djaoui et al.: 2015: 186).¹⁵⁷ The study of these amphorae reveals that the main content was olives, but that when they were found, they contained perfume oil, which probably indicated a re-use of the amphorae.¹⁵⁸ In this example, it is worth noting that this is one of the few mentions of oil in amphorae and that it relates to oil used for perfumes and not for eating.

Other inscriptions referring to oil (*AE* 1966, 320B; Gerst 0037; *CIL* IV 6203) do not provide enough information to propose other hypotheses, because they do not refer to the characteristics of the container itself. An examination of the paintings in the House of the *Vetii* (Figure 33) at Pompeii or in the House of the *Cervii* at Herculaneum show that the containers employed for the sale of perfume were small in comparison to those employed for other goods such as wine. For example the containers of Venafrum oil (Col. 5.8.4-6, Mart. 12.63.1), or for other sorts of perfumes are rather small (Mattingly: 1990, 71-90; Tran: 2008, 254).



Figure 33. Detail from painting of the House of the *Vetii* showing cupids working with perfumes (Monteix: 2016, 206. Fig.5)

However, going against this trend are inscriptions on Dressel 6B amphorae referring to oil from Istria (e.g. A. 1084-5). These amphorae had a capacity of c. 35litres, and have been found in Gallia Cisalpina, Rhaetia, Noricum and Pannonia (Degrassi: 1962, 970; Bezeczky: 2014, 4). The capacity of the Dressel 6B is already considerable when compared to more common amphorae such as the *urceus*, a container of 3 litres (Bernard: 2008, 462). Thus, the fact that they were involved in the free market and not in state supply needs to be borne in mind when comparing them with other uninscribed oil amphorae. The evidence from the Dressel 6B must be considered alongside other large uninscribed amphorae, particular in terms of how recognisable they may have been for people involved in trade.¹⁵⁹ For example, the most recognisable of all containers used for oil transport was the Dressel 20 amphora. These bore no mention of olive oil despite the fact that they carry notations recording other features such as weight (Figure 29).

¹⁵⁷ Other similar connections between Arles and Pompeii can be made thanks to the recent discovery of a vessel which contained *lomentum*, a medicine produced in Utica which was also found in Pompeii, see Djaoui; Garnier; Capelli: 2016 in connection with *CIL* IV 5738

¹⁵⁸ This discovery confirms the idea that the shape of one amphora cannot correspond only to one product, see Djaoui: 2016, 489-490

¹⁵⁹ Appendix IV. 13.1

The shape of the Dressel 20, its capacity (70-75 l), and its distinctive epigraphic apparatus made this item recognisable to the eyes of the people involved in trade.¹⁶⁰ Apart of the fact that these containers were embedded in a particular distribution cycle, these features ensured that the Dressel 20 could be recognized as an oil vessel from Baetica. Perhaps amphorae forms like the Dressel 6B which were not involved in public supply needed to be inscribed in order to distinguish them from the other merchandise in a cargo that was distributed to different destinations.

In general, the study of different olive oil amphora shapes (Appendix IV. 13.1) indicates that (except for the Agora G 199), some of the most commonly distributed types (e.g. Dressel 20, Africana IIC grande or Tripolitanian 3) were large containers (more than 30 litres). This may have served to emphasize that these containers contained olive oil. In fact, the Baetican olive oil trade developed a distinctive epigraphic style, as we can appreciate in the inscriptions of the Dressel 20 (Figure 29) and a container in the “Punic-Gaditanian” tradition (Figure 34). These two examples show how the same calligraphy (made using the same tools) was employed in state supply and in retail.

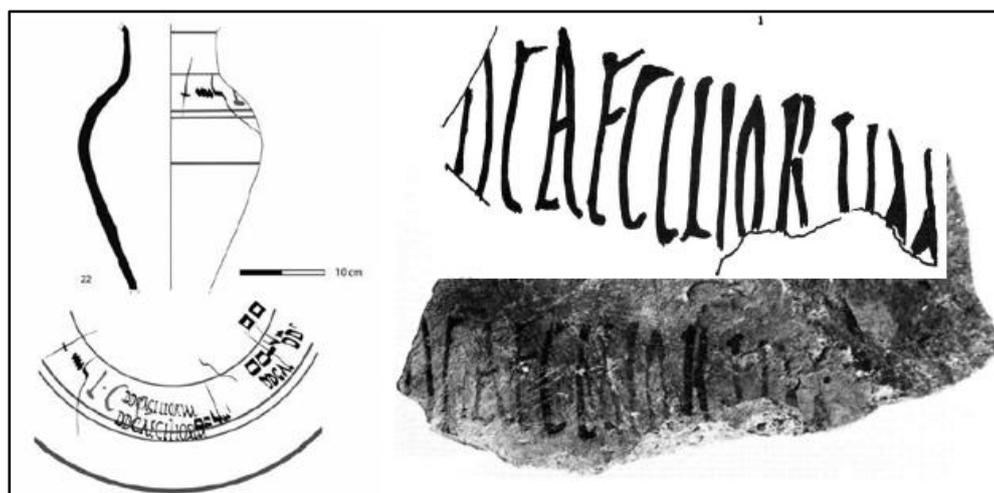


Figure 34. Jug mentioning *DD Caecilli* found in Arles (Djaoui: 2014, 701, Fig.8) and inscription mentioning *DD Caecilii* on a Dressel 20 amphora from Fos (Liou: 1987, 60-1, F83)

Contrasting these amphorae with those employed for wine and fish sauce (Appendix IV. 13.1), it is possible to observe that the latter had capacities between 20-35 litres. This confirms that oil amphorae which had a bigger capacity than those employed to carry other substances, could have been identified by their size. Accordingly, the small Dressel 6B and the high quality of the oil (*flos*) could have been part of a circuit of retail trade dealing with a high quality product. Thus, one difference between the trade in olive oil and high quality or cosmetic oil was the amounts in which the goods were sold, a distinction that was made clear by the *scripta commercii* on the containers. In a recent paper, Lowe (2016, 229) concluded that, in general, fish sauce products seem to have formed a component of a larger cargo of olive oil or wine. This would indicate that the commerce in fish sauce

¹⁶⁰ Zevi: 1967, 235

was performed on a smaller scale than that of wine or oil. However, it might be advisable to consider each wreck on a case by case basis, on account of differences in quality of the products being transported, the sizes of the containers and the presence or absence of inscriptions.

The *dolia* employed for bulk transport of wine lacked *scripta commercii*. The wine carried in them was acknowledged by the container itself, and the kind of ships on which they were transported, which carried *dolia* alone (Hesnard: 1997, 130-1; Hesling: 2011, 160). The wrecks that carried *dolia*, spanned a fairly limited period between the late 1st cent. BC and the end of the 1st cent. AD. It is still a topic of research if after that period bulk transport of wine was carried out in barrels, since these artefacts tend not to survive in the archaeological record.¹⁶¹

As for the inscriptions on barrels, the very few *scripta commercii* (Table 4) that can be reconstructed (dated to around the 1st and 2nd cent. AD) can be related to products there were also carried in amphorae, such as wine and fish sauce. I argue that the product carried was wine because of the adjective *sentior* that can be translated as rough or thorny, a term that can be related to a low-quality product that was destined for consumers of the *limes* at Saalburg. The inscriptions reconstructed as *laccatum* or *cordula*, however, confirm that barrels were indeed used to transport fish products. The remains of a barrel found in a 1st cent. AD context at the ancient port of Fos (near Marseilles) contained remains of sardines or *allec* (Desse-Berset; Desse: 2000, 82-4). Moreover, *Tab. Vind.* 190, 302 demonstrates that fish sauce was commonly supplied to military camps such as Vindolanda in northern Britain.

Code	Location	Technique/ position	Inscription	Text	Reading	Reference
B. 031	Vindolanda	Fire/ external	A	CODꞚ	Cordula	Birley: 1993, 75-85; Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
B. 067	Xanten	Fire/ external	A	LAC	Laccatum or laccertum	Groeneveld: 1993, 62-4; Marliere: 2002, 69; 87
B. 074	Saalburg	Chiselled/ external?	A	VM	Vinum	Breuer: 1920, 208; Marliere: 2002, 78; 87
B. 074	Saalburg	Chiselled/ external?	B2	SENTIOR	Sentior	Breuer: 1920, 208; Marliere: 2002, 78; 87
B. 078	Rheinzabern	Fire/ external	B2	SENTIOR	Sentior	Ulbert: 1959, 21; Marliere: 2002, 80; 88

Table 4. Chart showing the reconstruction of product names from *scripta commercii* found on barrels

¹⁶¹ Djaoui: 2017² (forthcoming)

To sum up, inscriptions A, B1 and B2 show that, with the exception of oil, products transported in amphorae were identified by the following system of notation written on the container: (1) product, (2) quality, and (3) qualitative. Sometimes, it is possible to find different elements written together on the same line. So even though we cannot talk about a totally homogeneous way of labelling the different products, several common traits can be generally appreciated. The containers came from different origins and consequently were handled by different individuals, a reality that is key to understanding these minor differences. Moreover, they could be associated with different areas of distribution that may have used slightly different inscriptions on the containers. The evidence from barrels, however, is very fragmentary, allowing us only to perceive what the content of the barrel was. The *scripta commercii* were encoded or shortened, confirming that they were meant to be read by people involved in trade.

Another issue to be considered here concerns the liability assumed by the seller for the quality of the merchandise sold,¹⁶² versus the preservation of that product during transport. Several texts (e.g. D. 18, 1, 9, 2; Cato. *De agr.* 142) and some archaeological evidence attest to the danger of the fermentation of wine during transport (Bernal Casasola *et al.* 2007, 15; Djaoui: 2015). However, fish sauce and oil were less susceptible to this, signifying that there would be no reason to refer to these products on the inscriptions. However, the appearance of adjectives qualifying the product and its preparation can be linked to the obligation of the seller to provide the right quality. That warranty was subject to tasting, as explained in section 4.2.3.2.

5.2.2. Inscriptions referring to quantity (C, α, γ)¹⁶³

Scripta commercii related to quantity can be studied in relation to three key functions: (1) checking the amount purchased and setting the price; (2) keeping a record of this for accounting purposes, and (3) control intended for establishing the amount of tax to be paid.¹⁶⁴ Functions 2 and 3 will be analysed in separately in Chapters 6 (transport) and 7 (control). As regards the first function, weight and capacity were the two main indicators of quantity. The former was normally expressed in *pounds* (1 Roman pound=0.327 kg), while capacity was expressed in *sextarii* (1 *sextarius* =0.547 litre). In addition, 1 pound = 0.66 *sextarii*, and the abbreviation of *sextarii* is HS.

It is generally accepted that Dressel 20 inscriptions refer to weight in pounds, as also seems to be the case with other amphorae used in the supply of foodstuffs for the state, such as the African amphorae.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, for containers which are not Dressel 20, it is sometimes complicated to appreciate if the quantity inscribed refers to weight or capacity (Marichal: 1974, 541). For Roman law, wine vessels comprise all the wine containing recipients (D.50.16.206), and there was no legal

¹⁶² The right of the customer to enforce the lack of quality of a good bought is contemplated in the edict of the *curule aediles*, Lenel: 1927, 554ff; Birks: 2014, 89

¹⁶³ For the *scripta* quoted in this section, see Appendix VIII, 17.2-17.3

¹⁶⁴ Also asserted by Domergue: 1998, 208-9 for the weight inscribed in the ingots.

¹⁶⁵ Appendix VIII, 17.3

standardization of wine vessels by means of volume (Aličić: 2017). That consideration in the legal sphere contrasts with the material reality, in which statistical analysis realised upon drawing a sample of 1281 amphorae have revealed their average capacity (Molina & Mateo Corredor: 2018).

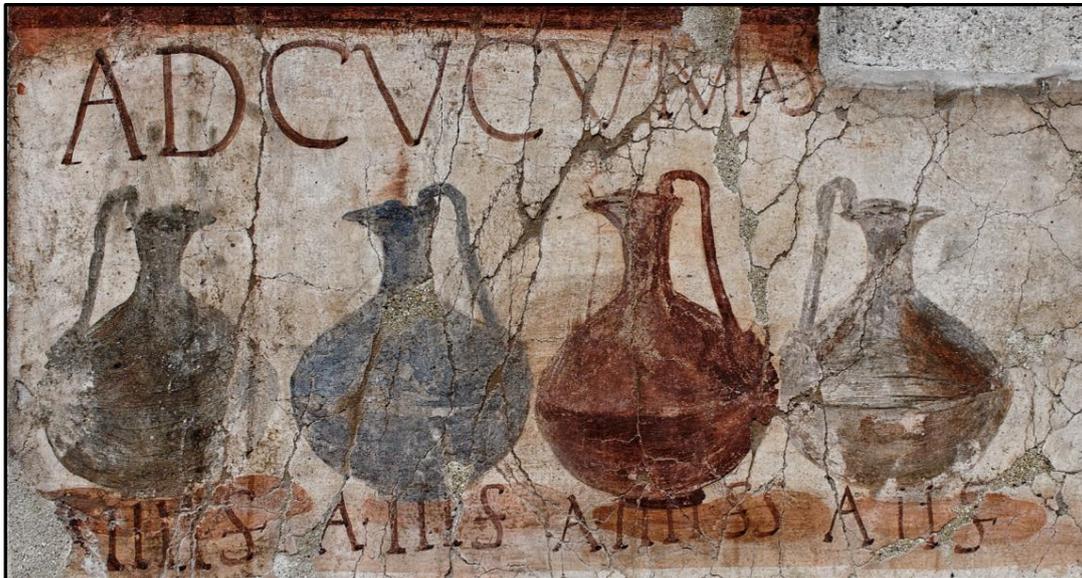


Figure 35. Painting of the Bottega *Ad Cucumas*, Herculaneum, Italy (Monteix: 2011, 50, fig. 49)

Corti (2015, 190) affirms that other goods that were transported in amphorae (wine, oil and fish sauces) and marketed seem to have been inscribed with capacity expressed in HS, supporting his argument with the painting of the wine-shop *Ad Cucumas* in *Herculaneum* (Figure 35). In this image, we can see four wine jugs and under each of them we find the unit of measure expressed in *sestertii* (Tassinari: 1979, 240 n.79; Pagano: 1988, 214; Monteix: 2011, 50; Corti: 2016, 160). However, the letter S in the painting could also mean *sextertius*, indicating the price (Guadagno: 1993, 88-9, n.112; Baratta: 2009², 265 nt.18), or *semis*, referring to half a pound of the product (as appears in A. 1076; O. 133-4).

The epigraphic evidence points to HS being used as a measure of capacity on many occasions (e.g. ILA-Sant 01004, 5), despite the fact that sometimes HS and *semis* appear together in the same inscription (*CIL XV 02525*). Notwithstanding that, if we observe the painting carefully, we will realise that the jug at the far left and the jug second from the right have inscriptions of A followed by IIII, but this number is followed by one single S for the former and a double S on the latter. Perhaps the types of wine carried in the jugs were all different, as can be deduced from the fact that the jugs are painted with different colours. Thus, the S could either refer to a feature of the wine, the price of it, or the quantity in which the wine could be sold (either pounds or HS). It would seem most likely that the notations in the painting record the price for a *sextarius* (or one and a half *sextarius* in one case) of various qualities of wine, characterized by the colour of the jug.

One of the best examples of standardization in amphora production was the Dressel 20, which was produced on a large scale in the south of Spain during the high empire (Remesal *et al.* 1997, 165;

Berni: 2008; Wilson: 2008). However, all of the amphorae were hand-made, so probably they were not exactly the same size.¹⁶⁶ The inscriptions α and γ on Dressel 20 amphorae (Appendix VIII, 17.3) show that the quantities inscribed were very similar, but that there were also differences between them, even when they formed part of the same cargo on a ship (Colls *et al.*: 1977, 51-71; Liou: 1980, 164-174). In Figure 36, I have translated the Roman figures into modern equivalents, aiming to compare the weight of Dressel 20 and establish whether there were any standardised measures. Out of a total sample of 183 inscriptions (Appendix VIII, 17.3), most belong to a weight range of between 80-100 pounds, indicating that the amphorae were not equal, but very similar.

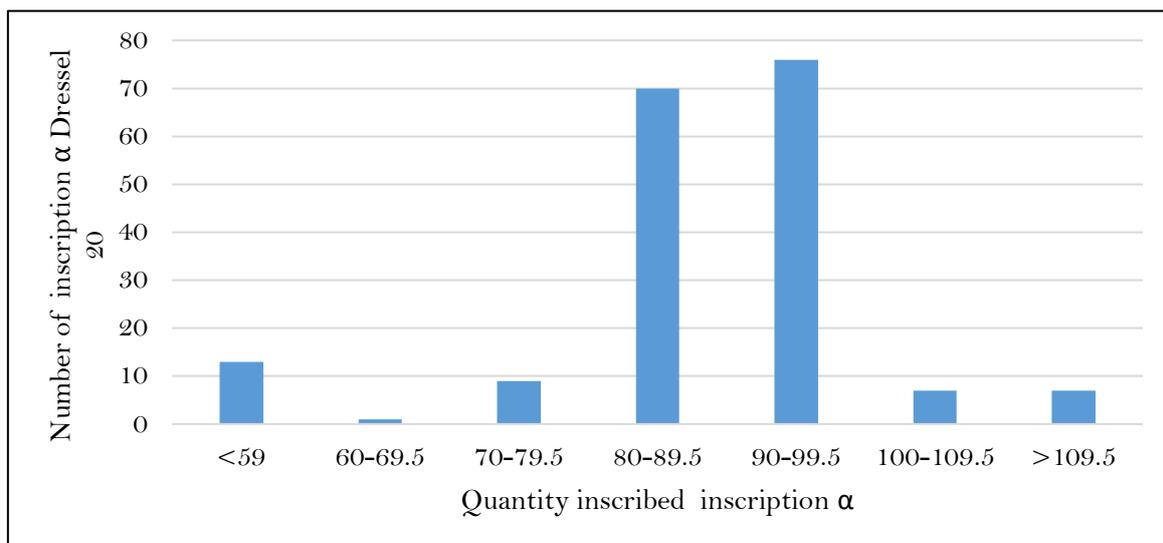


Figure 36. Inscription α indicating the weight of empty Dressel 20 amphorae (Appendix VIII, 17.3)

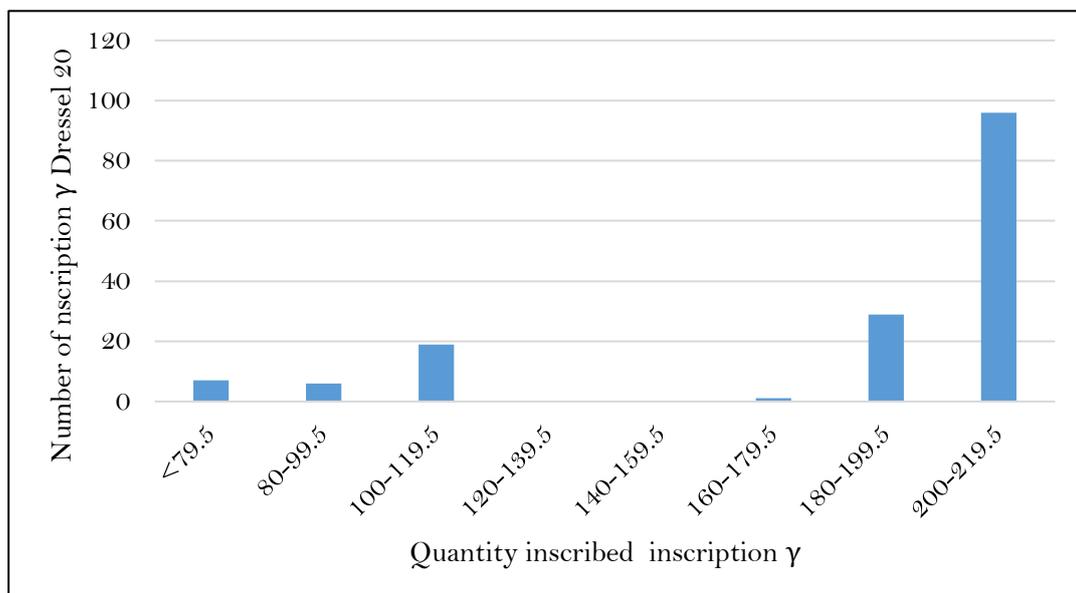


Figure 37. Inscription γ indicating weight of liquid contained in amphorae Dressel 20 (Appendix VIII, 17.3)

¹⁶⁶ The same approach has been taken by Cuomo 2013, concerning weights and other tools for measuring

Figure 37 analyses inscription γ , which refers to the total weight of the amphora and the liquid it contained. As it can be appreciated, the number of inscriptions referring to quantities among 200-220 pounds is the highest in the chart, perhaps pointing to an aim to standardise the amount of liquid carried in the amphorae. A study of African oil amphorae indicated that amphorae of different capacities (Africana IIC and Africana IID) were inscribed referring to the same amount of liquid (Torres Costa: 2007, 309). In the words of the author (2007, 309-310), “the fact that the amount is the same while the amphorae offer different capacities can be explained by a desire for uniformity which can be compared with that which characterizes the Dressel 20 type of Baetican oil amphorae that were commonly calibrated to 216 pounds under the Antonines”.¹⁶⁷ This can be a possibility, as can be appreciated with other cargoes recorded at the same time, such as the case of the *ostraka* from the Ilot de l’Amirauté at Carthage. The latter recorded a set of entries using a polynomial equation that it made possible to solve for the standard weight values that the documents’ composers had assumed for each of the container types as well as their capacity (Peña: 2016). The standardisation of these inscriptions referring to weight can also indicate a standard amount of liquid filling the amphorae composing a cargo, as occurred with the African amphorae loaded on the ancient ships found in Pisa (Figure 38).

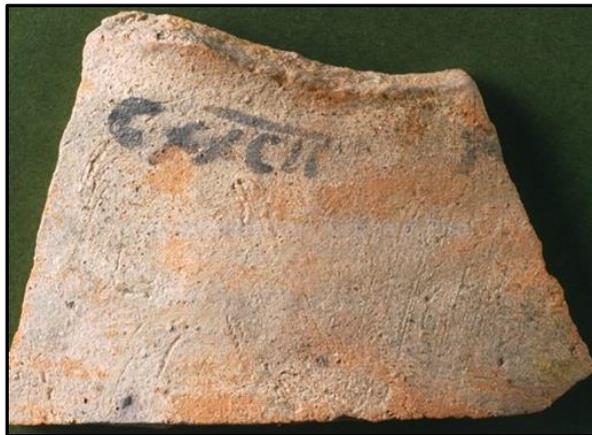


Figure 38. African amphora fragment found on one of the ships from Pisa with inscription referring to 182 pounds=60kg (Source: <http://www.navidipisa.it/>)

The similarities between the quantities inscribed on the amphorae points probably to the fact that the merchants were providing similar amounts of oil by amphora. Dressel 20 inscriptions record amounts close to the 216 pounds asserted as the standard measure according to which this product was bottled.¹⁶⁸ As regards price, the oil carried as part of the *annona* was normally sold at a reduced price (Brokaert: 2011, 591-623). Thus, the price fluctuations would then depend on the abundance or

¹⁶⁷ That standardization was also highlighted by Rodriguez Almeida: 1981, 105-164

¹⁶⁸ That standardization of weight measures can be acknowledged in the late accounts of oil found in the *ostraka* from the ilot de l’amirauté in Cartage. See Peña: 2016

quality of the crop in any given year and the negotiating ability of the merchants against the Roman authorities, not the amount sold.

Inscriptions on containers other than the Dressel 20 display different units of measurement or letters of dubious interpretation. Mayerson studied papyri that indicated that there was a standardisation of measures in retail trade (2000, 105ff.). However, Figures 37 and 38 indicate that even in the case of the very common Dressel 20, the quantities were similar but not exactly the same.

The chart in Figure 39 is a comparison of the different kinds of quantities inscribed on a range of amphora types, including the Dressel 20. It displays a sample of 160 different inscriptions (Appendix VIII, 17.2-3). Each bullet point represents a quantity inscribed on a type of amphora that is detailed on the left column (e.g. Dressel 20, Beltrán 2A). The chart shows that there are a range of different inscriptions inscribed on the same types of amphorae which indicates that there were differences between the quantities denoted which suggests that they may reflect the actual weight or capacity of the containers. In practice, therefore, it seems unlikely that there was an effective standardisation of containers and their capacities. Moreover, Dressel 20 inscriptions reflect weight, and that these amphorae have greater capacity than the other amphorae included in the chart. Inscriptions which imply a very large number (e.g. A. 225: CCCCXXV) that would not fit in the amphora might represent the number assigned to a specific item within a cargo, especially when compared to F inscriptions that are related to transport and control (section 5.2.4).

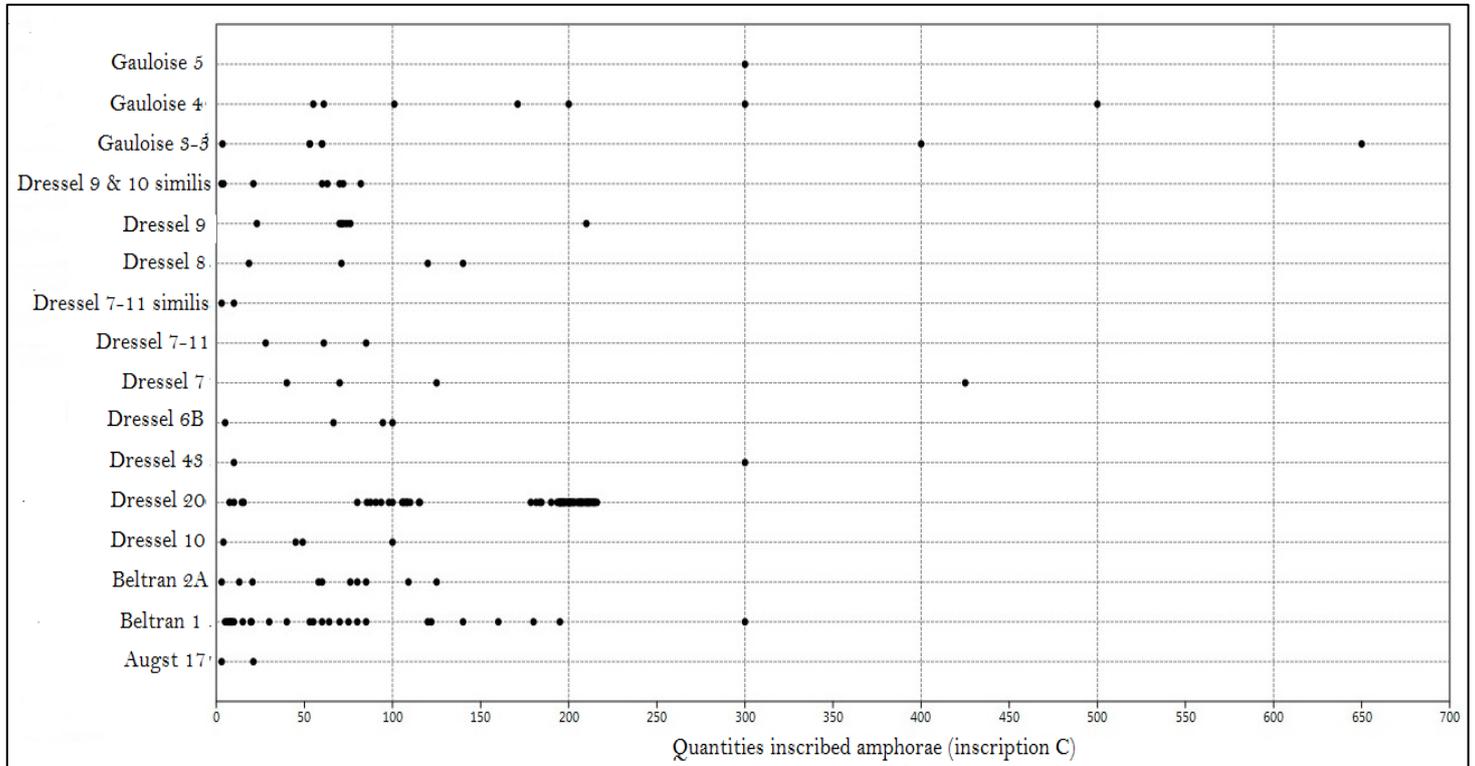


Figure 39. Chart displaying a sample of 100 amphorae, and comparing the numerals inscribed on different amphora types. The numbers on the y-axis correspond to a literal translation of the numerals inscribed on the amphora, e.g. DCL=650

There are also cargos such as on the Bou Ferrer wreck (De Juan *et al.*: 2014) without any inscriptions at all. It can be argued that all these particularities when marking the amphorae can be related to diverse ways of selling goods. I will analyse the sources describing these selling procedures in section 5.3.

For Dressel 20 amphorae and ingots, I will interpret inscriptions written in series beginning with C (e.g. CXXX) as referring to weight. Whether amphorae inscriptions beginning with L (e.g. LXXX) refer to weight or to capacity is still unclear, however, even though some scholars have argued strongly for each interpretation (Marichal: 1974, 541; Laubenheimer/Martínez Maganto: 1993, 248). As early as the 3rd cent. BC, one provision (*lex Silia de ponderibus publicis*) tried to make equivalences between capacity and weight measurements. One recent study focused on the pile of amphorae found at the bottega del garum at Pompeii, displays a sample of not less than 81 Dressel 21-22 amphorae inscribed. The study of the *scripta commercii* written on these amphorae revealed that these amphorae were marked indicating weight, and using the same system as the Dressel 20 amphorae (Bernal *et al.*: 2014, 227). The latter indicates that the containers were inscribed registering both the weight of the empty amphora, and the weight of the liquid poured inside the container.

Reading *scripta commercii* suggests that weight was the more frequently adopted measurement system, since it was probably easier to use, and the capacities of containers varied (Corti: 2015, 160). In this work, I have converted the inscriptions to modern units of measure (Appendix VIII, 17.2) to see whether these writings refer to weight (kg) or capacity (l). I have collated the quantities inscribed for fish sauce and wine amphorae (the most numerous in the set) in Figures 7 and 8.

Fish sauce *scripta commercii* were written in series of 100 (e.g. CXXX), with other inscriptions recording 50 or 10 (e.g. LXXX). Both units seem to reflect weight, considering that Dressel 20 amphora recorded weight by an inscription C and that the *lex Silia* (Festus, F. 246; FIRA I, Firenze, 1941) referred to weight using units as LXXX (*uti quadrantal vini LXXX pondo siet*). Moreover, if as the law says, the standard measure of the amphorae (*quadrantal*) was equated to LXXX pounds, the containers which carried that notation could be considered as standardised according to the *lex Silia*. I would argue that controlling weight was easier than measuring the volume of the containers, because in that way they would avoid spilling part of the liquid when measuring it on arrival at the port. As a matter of fact, the Digest' text 4.3.18.3 (Appendix IX, 18.4) refers to the case of when someone lent the wrong weights to a merchant, suggesting the use of weights in sales was commonplace. Units of volume, such as *metreta* (D. 18.1.35.7) and amphorae (TPSulp), were used for goods sold in bulk such as wine. In the case of the amphorae, the sale could be deemed *perfecta*¹⁶⁹ (TPSulp.80) if, when counting them, they were sold by jar or by weighing them.¹⁷⁰ It is necessary to consider weight or volume depending on the product sold and the way of packaging it. That leaves the discussion about the

¹⁶⁹ For the concept of *emptio perfecta*, see Appendix X

¹⁷⁰ See D.18.1.35

meaning of the L and C inscriptions still unclear. Table 5 shows the different types of amphorae the C inscriptions are found on. It shows that there was no uniformity, even within single amphora types.

Amphora type	Series
Beltrán 1 Beltrán 2A Dressel 7 Dressel 8 Dressel 9 Dressel 10	C serie (e.g.CXXX)
Beltrán 1 Beltrán 2A Beltrán 2B Dressel 7 Dressel 7-11 Dressel 8 Dressel 9 Dressel 9 & 10 similis	L serie (e.g. LXXX)
Augst 34 Dressel 7-11 similis Dressel 9 & 10 similis	M and S serie (e.g. M III S IV)
Augst 17 Beltrán 1 Beltrán 2A Dressel 7 Dressel 7-11 similis Dressel 7-11 Dressel 8 Dressel 9	X serie (e.g. XIIXS)

Table 5. Fish sauce amphorae and types of numerical inscriptions (Appendix VIII, 17.2)

There are two series of inscriptions, however, that are difficult to interpret:

- **Series beginning with X (e.g. XIIXS).** This series appears on both amphorae and barrels (Appendix VIII, 17.2; B. 031; B. 091-2). A confusing feature is that the inscriptions relate to very small quantities of products and cannot be interpreted as volume measures. Perhaps these inscriptions are identification numbers for individual containers inside a cargo. In the case of barrels (e.g. 3003, 3005), these inscriptions are written in graffiti on the exterior of the staves, which can be linked to the processes of transporting them to their final destination and giving the container a tracking number. On amphorae, these inscriptions are written in position C, which can be linked to the modality of sale agreed. It may be that the merchant agreed on sending a cargo of “X” number of containers, and they were measured once they arrived at the destination.

- **Series written with M and S.** There are two possible interpretations of these series: either M refers to *modii* and S to HS or they refer to the maturation period of the fish sauce (like AIIIA).¹⁷¹ An indication of volume is much more likely, due to the inscription’s location and to the fact that some

¹⁷¹ See Appendix VIII, 17.1; numbers 530, 548, 697, 968.

writings on items belonging to the same cargo read *modius*. Containers bearing these inscriptions (e.g. Appendix VIII, 17.2; see 718; 721; 724; 727) date to the Augustan period, when it was more usual to inscribe volumes on containers rather than weight, which seems to be the most widespread practice after the Flavian era (Laubenheimer: 2004, 156, 158).

Writings on wine amphorae are more diverse than those on fish sauce amphorae (Table 6). Here I can differentiate between series with C and with L (the most numerous), some Greek amphorae with Greek letters inscribed, two amphorae with the number D, and a couple of inscriptions referring to the total weight of the container (TP or P). The C series of inscriptions appear on Spanish and Gaulish amphorae from the 1st cent. AD until the mid- 2nd cent AD, while inscriptions with L appear only on Gaulish amphorae from the same period. All these Gaulish amphorae originate in *Narbo Martius*; thus maybe this difference in the inscribed units can be seen as either reflecting the destination of the containers, the agreements, or the kind of goods transported.

Amphora type	Series
Dressel 43 Rhodian type	Greek letters
Dressel 2-4 Tarraconensis Dressel 43 Gauloise 3-5 Gauloise 5 Africana IIC Gauloise 4	C serie
Gauloise 3-5 Gauloise 4	D serie
Gauloise 4 Gauloise 3-5	L serie
Dressel 43 Dressel 2-4 Italian	S serie
Dressel 28 Lamboglia 2	TP serie

Table 6. Wine amphorae and their inscription C (quantity) series (Appendix VIII, 17.2)

Inscriptions that include the letter D (A. 495 and A.516).¹⁷² reflect numbers that are too large to refer to the measurement of weight or volume. Instead, they can be compared with inscriptions F numbered 3704 and 3708 (Appendix VIII, 17.5) and which refer to the number of units of the commodity concerned. The fact that they have been inscribed in position C points to the possibility that they were sold along with a set of containers which were counted upon arrival.

Greek letters can be linked to the origin of the containers, reflecting Greek units of measurement that might have been translated to Roman units upon arrival. It is interesting to see how they include the information needed to perform the contract, but employing the language that was used in the port of departure but not necessarily that at the port of destination. Inscriptions thus

¹⁷² Appendix VIII, 17.2

needed to be simple enough to be understood without further language competence. People working with these cargoes were used to reading these kinds of inscription, since trade was an activity in which cross-language communication was essential (Adams: 2004, 64²).

Some inscriptions are hard to decipher, such as A.548 and A.675 which display the units CVVVS and CLVVI. A double or triple V is curious, and may be ascribable to a local custom. Maybe there was a mistake by the writer, as Djaoui suggested for a vessel which had the same inscription repeatedly inscribed (Djaoui: 2014, 700). Others such as A. 577 (EIIIMH), do not fit with any of the other examples. On many occasions, these inscriptions may have been the result of agreements between individuals. Despite the fact that a certain framework of writing seems to exist, sometimes these inscriptions display differences that show that not everything fitted into a single common scheme. This highlights the different practices of notation performed in different locations.

Another series of inscriptions (A.1076; A.1080-1083; O. 133-4)¹⁷³ makes clear that they record the weight of the whole container plus that of the product, because they have been written as *testa pondo*. What is remarkable about these inscriptions is that some of the containers have been identified as used to preserve the product and not for transport (Bortollin: 2008, 176-7). They belong to domestic contexts and are written in the form of graffiti (Corti: 2015, 159ff.). The shape of the pots for honey seems appropriate for preserving the product, while that of the amphorae was designed to ensure that once the container was no longer needed for transport, it could be used to preserve the content. Probably the graffiti were incised when the customer acquired the good and the price was set by weighing the container. These graffiti could have been made at the docks where the product was unloaded and weighed at the market or in a shop.¹⁷⁴ Painted inscriptions, by contrast, may refer to the total weight of the container and could have been made at some stage during the commercial journey of the object from one port to another.

The marks collated in 17.2 and 17.3 (Appendix VIII) have been converted to kilos and litres, revealing that the same amphorae types were inscribed using similar units, and as can be appreciated in Appendix VIII, 17.2 many of these amphorae come from identical contexts and periods. Indications of weight could refer to three types of measurements: tare weight of the container (*scripta* α), tare weight of the full container (*scripta* γ), and full weight of container with content (*TP* = *testa pondo*). These three sorts of inscriptions appear written on two different sets of objects, which justifies the differences on the inscriptions concerning style and position. On the one hand, *scripta* C applies other kind of amphorae, barrel, ingots, etc. On the other hand, the Dressel 20 inscriptions represent the weight of the oil filling the container (*scripta* γ) and the weight of the empty container (*scripta* α). The differences on the units used to inscribe weight can depend on the port of departure or the type of amphora used. Although the authorities tried to establish standard units of measurement, and thus

¹⁷³ Appendix VIII, 17.2

¹⁷⁴ A similar practice was noticed by Lawall (2000, 3-90) for amphorae of 5th cent BC date with graffiti recalling retail practices in the agora.

provide security to transactions (D. 48.10.32.1), the *scripta commercii* reveal a more heterogeneous reality that reflects local practices.

5.2.3. Inscriptions referring to the Merchant (D, β)¹⁷⁵

Inscriptions D and β, which relate to the merchants involved in trade, need to be analysed through the schemes of liability established in a contract for each of the parties involved, since they reflect the names of the parties involved in an agreement. Some inscribed notations; (such as product, weight and date); were not likely to change during the commercial itinerary of the object, while others could be added to the epigraphic record, namely control marks. The name of the person in charge of transporting the goods to the customer, however, could change because the duty of transporting an object could be transferred to an agent or to another person. There are four aspects to be considered when analysing these inscriptions:

1. Position of the inscription. This allows us to understand whether the name was meant to be clearly seen during the entire transport process or whether it represented a kind of brand to indicate the origin of the container instead.
2. Technique employed for inscribing. The preservation of an inscription would depend upon this, as would the possibility of modifying it at a later stage. Furthermore, some techniques can be indicative of the origin of a container.¹⁷⁶
3. The Latin case in which the name is expressed.
4. Schemes of liability and roles in contracts provided by the texts of Roman law.

All these elements are meaningful because the different individuals in contact with the object during its commercial cycle could reflect their interactions by inscribing on the merchandise (Figure 18). An interpretative and orientative model that combines the four abovementioned aspects is presented in Table 7.

Support	Technique	Location	Name Quoted	<i>Scripta commercii</i> ID	Interpretation	Example (s) ¹⁷⁷
Amphora	Painted	On the side of the neck or belly	Nominative	Inscription δ	Control agent	A.711; A.723
Amphora	Painted	On the neck or belly	Genitive	Inscription D or β	Merchant/ Owner	A. 710; A. 707; A. 324; A.341

¹⁷⁵ For the *scripta* quoted in this section, see Appendix VIII, 17.7 and 17.8

¹⁷⁶ Chiselled marks made by an “axe-hammer” are found only in the Rhone, the Saone and the Rhine Valley (Marlière: 2002, 179).

¹⁷⁷ To consult examples, see the different charts of Appendix VIII, except when bibliography is indicated

Amphora	Painted	On the side of the neck or belly	Dative	Inscription F	Receiver	A. 041; A. 046
Amphora	Painted	On the side of the neck or belly	Ablative	Inscription F	Destination	A. 194; A. 1090
Amphora	Graffiti	On the side of the neck or belly	Nominative	Inscription D	Merchant/owner	García Brosa; Ozcáriz Gil: 2007, 549ff.; Andrieu: 2017, 35
Amphora	Graffiti	On the side of the neck or belly	Genitive	Inscription D	Merchant/owner	A. 1082
Amphora	Graffiti	On the side of the neck or belly	Ablative	Inscription F	Destination (implying receiver)	<i>CIL</i> XV 4539
Amphora	Stamped	On the handle	Nominative	Inscription P	Producer. ¹⁷⁸	Berni: 2008, 37-38
Amphora	Stamped	On the handle	Genitive	Inscription P	Producer	Callender: 1965
Barrel	Chiselled	Exterior	Genitive	Inscription D	Merchant	B. 031; B. 054
Barrel	Chiselled	Interior	Nominative	Inscription P	Producer	B. 031; B. 076
Barrel	Chiselled	Interior	Genitive	Inscription P	Producer	B. 072; B. 073
Barrel	Marked with fire	Exterior	Nominative	Inscription D	Merchant/Owner	B. 031; B. 053
Barrel	Marked with fire	Interior	Genitive	Inscription P	Producer	B. 031
Barrel	Painted	Interior	Genitive	Inscription P	Producer	B. 073
Barrel	Graffiti	Exterior	Nominative	Inscription P	Producer	B. 044
Barrel	Graffiti	Exterior	Nominative	Inscription F	Control agent	B. 031
Barrel	Graffiti	Interior	Genitive	Inscription P	Producer	B. 031; B. 039
Ingot	Stamped	On the top	Genitive	Inscription P	Producer	I. 001; I. 054
Ingot	Stamped	On the side	Nominative	Inscription P	Producer	I. 039
Ingot	Stamped	On the side	Genitive	Inscription D	Merchant/Owner	I. 029; I. 046
Ingot	Stamped	On the base	Genitive	Inscription D	Merchant/Owner	I.026
Ingot	Incised	On the side	Nominative	Inscription D	Merchant/Owner	I. 035
Ingot	Incised	On the side	Genitive	Inscription D	Merchant/Owner	I. 027
Ingot	Incised	On the base	Genitive	Inscription D	Merchant/Owner	I. 028
Stopper	Stamped	On the top	Genitive	Inscription D	Merchant/Owner	S. 001; S. 036
Seal	Stamped	On the top	Genitive	Inscription D	Merchant/Owner	O. 038; O. 040
Label	Incised	Along the surface	Nominative	Inscription D	Owner	O. 099; O. 100
Label	Incised	Along the surface	Dative	Inscription F	Receiver	O. 172; O. 177

¹⁷⁸ This interpretation is the most accepted by Garlan: 2013, 233ff., also highlighting their value for fiscal accountancy

Label	Incised	Along the surface	Ablative	Inscription P	Procedence/ Production	O. 090; O. 091; O. 092
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Table 7. Interpretative scheme for inscriptions bearing personal names

This chart is a model of how these data are generally written, but it is subject to variations that are difficult to justify, as could be the level of literacy of the person writing on the object. (Woolf: 2015, 31) The name of the merchant normally appears written in the genitive case, which indicates the ownership of the container. The position and technique employed clearly differentiates these marks from production inscriptions (e.g. stamps). The use of *tria nomina* is evidence of Roman citizens working in trade, as is evidenced for oil merchants (Broekaert: 2015). Inscribing names in the genitive plural indicated the presence of a family of traders, for example the *Caecilii*.¹⁷⁹ (e.g. A. 183, A. 192). Other cases consist of two names, thus indicating a trading partnership between subjects. *Societates* appear more often on containers involved in state supply such as the Dressel 20 (e.g. 378, 424), or ingots, as the mines were sometimes managed by the *societates* (e.g. 3284, 3285). However, *societates* were also employed in retail trade (e.g. 826, 3664-5).

In the case of ingots, we need to differentiate between names on the ingot indicating the merchant, and other names referring to the producers (e.g. I.017-I.024).¹⁸⁰ Producer marks were normally made when forging the ingot, and were stamped predominantly on its top face. Stamps (e.g. I. 007; I.011-2), could refer to imperial authorities when mentioning the managers of the mines, because these were state owned (e.g. I. 035, I. 041-5). In some cases, additional names appear (e.g. I. 046).¹⁸¹ incised on the ingot, revealing other subjects involved in its commercial itinerary. The same logic seems to have been followed as with other items: the producer inscribed his name using a permanent technique while producing the object, and later, the second subject who was going to trade and transport the object inscribed his name employing a *post costuram* technique.

Different techniques were used in to inscribe barrels (Figure 40) and, together with the location of the inscription, help us differentiate the names of merchants, producers and other subjects interacting with the container during distribution. Barrels could be marked with fire, chiselled, painted, or graffitied on the inside or outside of the barrel. Inscriptions marked or chiselled were more durable, so they were probably meant to last during the entire journey of the object. Thus marks made with these durable techniques and written inside the barrel might refer to the producer of the barrel (Marliere: 2002, 102).¹⁸² and the ones made outside might refer to the merchant.

¹⁷⁹ One of the most prominent families during the Antonine period. Sánchez León: 1978, 265

¹⁸⁰ Appendix VIII, 17.8

¹⁸¹ Appendix VIII, 17.7

¹⁸² Appendix VIII, 17.8

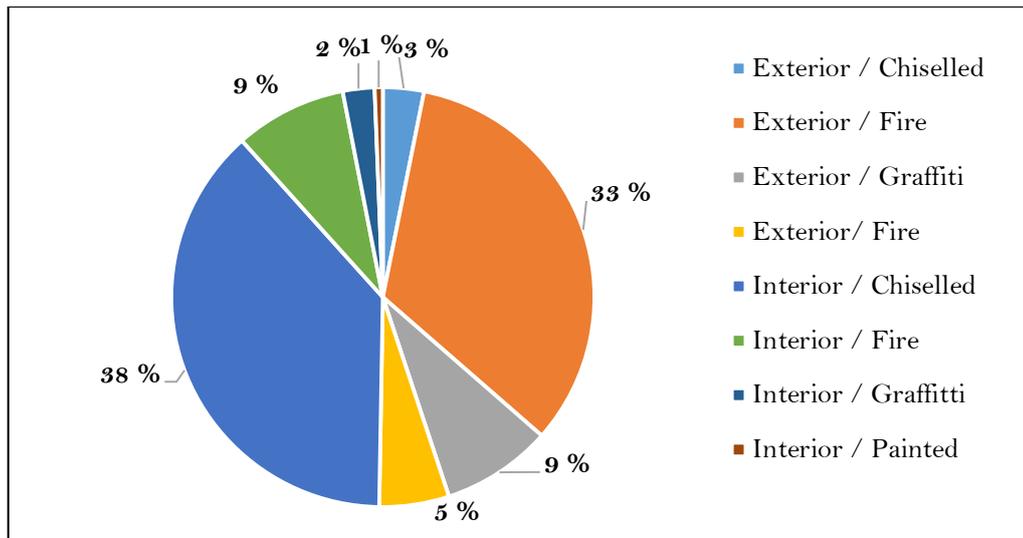


Figure 40. Inscription locations and techniques employed on barrels (Appendix VIII, 17.8)

However, an exception to this interpretation is a barrel stave recently found at Vindolanda (Figure 41). It displays an inscription that has been interpreted as the name of the producer (ALBIN) followed by the place of origin (NORB). The inscription was located on the visible part of the barrel, while the name of the producer is normally written on the inside (e.g. B. 073; B.044).¹⁸³ As the name is abbreviated, it is not clear which grammatical case was intended. Below the name are numbers indicating the quantity that the barrel can hold, information sometimes found in the interior of barrels at Vindolanda (Birley: 1993, 75-85). In cases when the name is followed by an F for *f(ecti)*,¹⁸⁴ it is easier to identify the manufacturer. These inscriptions can be compared to stamps on amphorae or ingots, which are also related to production, which have been studied more systematically than barrels.



Figure 41. Barrel stave found at Vindolanda in 2016 (http://www.vindolanda.com/_blog/press-releases/post/wooden-treasures-unearthed-at-vindolanda/)

¹⁸³ *Ibid*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, inscriptions 3045, 3049, 3557

Apart from fire and chiselling inscriptions, the external marks on barrels could also be in the form of graffiti. These normally contain names, sometimes of a servile origin, which could imply that subjects so named were acting as agents for the principal merchant. These graffiti have been labelled F (Appendix VIII, 17.5)¹⁸⁵ and not D, because they seem to refer to someone other than the principal merchant. There are no recorded external painted marks on barrels, and the number of internal inscriptions made using this technique is very low. This must have meant that either it was rarely used or that it does not survive well in the archaeological record. Graffiti rarely appear on the exterior, which could imply that the commercial routes for barrels were not subject to many changes that would have affected the inscriptions chiselled or burned.

Some barrel stoppers with marks revealing merchant names (3042, 3180-1)¹⁸⁶ were found decontextualized from the rest of the barrel. Because of this, it is not possible to know if the body of the barrel was also inscribed. The same is true with amphora stoppers, which in Republican times display names of merchants, but have all been found in isolation from the amphora (Gianfrotta & Hesnard: 1989).

In addition to the evidence from the traded objects themselves, another source of merchant names comes from the seals used in the process of inscribing the goods. They contain names of merchant families (e.g. *Aciliorum* or *Iuliorum*);¹⁸⁷ and sometimes display symbols (e.g. *caduceus*, palm) associated with them. Seals could be employed on multiple items such as wooden seals for amphora stoppers (O. 039),¹⁸⁸ seals employed for marble (Pensabene: 2012) or leather (Baratta: 2007).

The different techniques and cases described before and in Table 7 helps one distinguish the different roles played in agreements, which can be summarized as follows:

1. Merchant. Tradesmen working at a minor (*mercator*) or major (*negotiator*) scale. He has the duty of taking care of the commodity until delivery, either in person or via a proxy. In fact, the main difference between *Mercator* and *negotiator* would be the volume of business carried by each of them (Verboven: 2007), being the *negotiator* the one in charge of the highest volume of workload, even being in charge of warehouses (Tran: 2018).
2. *Exercitor*. Shipper, who could be the owner of the ship who rents it to transport goods. When hired by the merchant he takes the liability for the transport of the goods until the destination is reached.
3. Merchant-*exercitor*. The merchant undertakes transport himself and can also ship other people's goods.¹⁸⁹
4. Customer. Final receiver of the goods, a private individual or the state in the case of the *annona*

¹⁸⁵ Appendix VIII, 17.5, numbers 3001-7, 3013, 3177, 3179

¹⁸⁶ Appendix VIII, 17.7

¹⁸⁷ Appendix VIII, 17.6, numbers 3593-3594

¹⁸⁸ Appendix VIII, 17.6

¹⁸⁹ See Appendix VIII, 17.7, numbers 138-140; 3920-1. Also mentioned in Manacorda: 1977, 130-1; Curtis: 1989, 31-2; Saez Romero *et al*: 2013.

5. Slaves or *liberti* assigned different tasks in the process.

Table 8 (that when looking at inscriptions, should be regarded in contrast with table 7) lists the different responsibilities and rights of the merchant and the *exercitor* in the sale of goods as mentioned above.

Merchant- <i>Exercitor</i>			Merchant		
The merchant only ships his own goods for which he is liable. See e.g. Bou Ferrer wreck (De Juan <i>et al.</i> : 2014).	OR	Alongside his own goods, the merchant ships goods of other people (Colls <i>et alii</i> : 1977). The merchant is thus also liable for the cargo belonging to other merchants by virtue of the <i>receptum nautarum</i> (D. 4.9.3.1)	The liability of the merchant lasts until the customer receives the goods, and in case that the parties have established some conditions (e.g. weigh or measure), until the condition has been fulfilled (D.18.6.1.pr.-1).	AND	The liability of the <i>exercitor</i> starts when the goods are loaded in his ship and the cargo has been accepted, and lasts until it has arrived to its destination. The liability lies personally with the <i>exercitor</i> even if he is not personally transporting the goods (D.14.1.1.5).

Table 8. Models of liability for traded goods.¹⁹⁰

One key element in this scheme is to differentiate between the liability held by the merchant who sells the product, and the shipper who transports it, except in the cases that merchant and shipper were the same person. In this point starts the discussion about when the liabilities of one and the other start and have their limits, especially bearing in mind that one of the duties of the seller was to bring the goods sold to the customer.

In relation to liability for the object sold, Roman lawyers used the word *periculum rei venditae non traditae*.¹⁹¹ to refer to the risk of deterioration or destruction of an object sold and not immediately delivered to the buyer. The *periculum* will last until the contract was deemed perfect, meaning that all the conditions upon which it was agreed were fulfilled. For example, in case that the sale was subject to the condition of tasting (section 4.2.3.2) or measuring (section 4.2.2.1), the contract would not be perfect until that procedure took place, and then the *periculum* could be transmitted from the buyer to the seller. However, once the goods have loaded into the ship, the safekeeping of them corresponded to the shipper, with the exceptions of pirate attack or storm, as established by Labeo in the first cent AD (D.4.9.3pr.).

The previous remarks justify why it is recurrent to observe a pattern in inscriptions naming merchants across all objects considered here. They appear in a highly visible place and employ a technique that enabled the inscription to survive the rigours of transport and to differentiate among the different roles of the subjects implied in the agreements.

¹⁹⁰ Domergue: 1998, 207 presents also three models considering the different roles of people involved in the sale and shipping of ingots.

¹⁹¹ *Cfr.* Appendix. X

5.2.4. Inscriptions referring to different Features of Sale (F).¹⁹²

In section 5.2. of this chapter, I mentioned that sale contracts had some general features, which were modifiable by the special conditions to be fulfilled, as agreed upon by the parties involved. F inscriptions provide details about additional conditions established for the sale contract or features of the contract that complete the details indicated by inscriptions A, B1, B2, C, D, α , β and γ . In the case of amphorae, F inscription is normally located next to the other inscriptions composing the essential traits of the agreement (A, B1, B2, C, D, α , β and γ).¹⁹³ It is not uncommon for F inscriptions to differ from the rest, either being written by using another ink written by a different hand, and/or running in a different direction. In the case of barrels or ingots, the F inscription is normally written as a graffito and placed in a different position to chiselled inscriptions. The analysis of the different marks compiled in Appendix VIII, 17.5, allows us to identify the following types of inscription F:

- Marks indicating the destination (e.g. 1195, 3004).
- Marks indicating the number of individual items in one cargo (e.g. 3005).
- Marks indicating the receiver (e.g. 1458, 1481, 490).
- Marks indicating the name of another person in charge of the delivery of the goods (e.g. 3770, 3821).
- Marks indicating names of middlemen in charge of selling goods in the markets in the cities where the cargoes arrived (e.g. 3896)
- Marks indicating origin (e.g. 1526, 3622, 3688).
- Marks indicating a different use of the cargo than the one specified in the contract of sale (e.g. 900).
- Marks written in samples (e.g. 3230; 450-2).¹⁹⁴

If the name was written in the genitive case, F inscriptions can indicate that the liability of the merchant could be shared with other subjects. This is the case with inscriptions on such amphorae as the Beltrán 1 (e.g. 975, 980, 1138) and the Gauloise series (e.g. 1271, 1294), where names quoted in the genitive appear in a vertical position and are sometimes written with different calligraphy (Laubenheimer: 2004, 169). These perhaps refer to a transshipment event (as appears in D.18.6.18), where the merchant employed an *exercitor* and had to transfer the liability for transport to another subject. Another possible hypothesis is that a second person has undertaken the liability for the sale in case the first subject could not fulfil that task.

One set of F inscriptions contains names written in the nominative (e.g. A. 611). By comparing lead labels from the *fullonica* (e.g. 3688, 3692-3),¹⁹⁵ where customer names were also expressed in the

¹⁹² All F inscriptions can be found in Appendix VIII, 17.5

¹⁹³ Appendix IV, 13.1

¹⁹⁴ A succinct explanation about the features sale with samples could be consulted in Appendix III, 12.3

¹⁹⁵ These inscriptions were addressed to the owner of the piece of cloth brought for washing, also referring sometimes to the treatment applied (Flohr: 2013).

Material evidence points to the fact that a product was identified in the inscription when it was involved in retail trade (e.g. fish sauce, particular types of wine or perfumes). Items that formed part of public supply (Dressel 20, African amphorae) or large objects (*dolia*, barrels) did not have references to the product or its qualities on them. In bulk trade, it would seem that only a sample travelling with the cargo bore information on the quality of the product. By contrast, an inscribed sample container was recently discovered at Arles (Djaoui & Tran: 2014, 2-12) in association with *dolia* that were kept on an estate where the wine was produced (Figure 42). In this case, the sample was addressed to a customer presumably known by the merchant who wanted to show him a new product, detailing features about the amount of wine produced (Appendix IV. 13.2).

Weight and capacity marks (inscriptions C, α , and γ) were of crucial importance in the sale of goods involved in public supply, but exhibit a lack of uniformity in these practices. While all Dressel 20 were inscribed with notations of weight, some containers arriving at Vindolanda were measured in *metretae* (*Tab. Vind.* 186), while wine supplies for the army in Egypt were measured in HS (*FIRA III* 142). However, the study of a sample of 80 amphorae found in the dump of the Pompeian bottega del garum has demonstrated that the numeral inscriptions of fish sauce containers correspond to weight indications, as happened with the registers α and γ of the Dressel 20 amphorae (Bernal: 2014, 227). *Scripta commercii* evidently changed depending upon the destination of the container, factors relating to the agreements made between parties, or to the standards employed by controlling authorities at the destination port (P. Koln. 14, 556).

This brings us to the important question of the completion of the contract,¹⁹⁶ which depended on price and quantity. Price had four features: (1) it had to be settled in money;¹⁹⁷ (2) it had to be determined¹⁹⁸ (it could not be subject to subsequent variation); (3) it had to be true (and the quantity agreed must be paid);¹⁹⁹ and (4) it had to be fair²⁰⁰ (i.e. in accordance with whatever the parties considered reasonable). Furthermore, two additional elements were essential to settle price: the type of goods to which the unit price is applicable, and the measured quantity according to parameters recognized and accepted by the parties in a contract. In that sense, it is interesting to see how goods could be priced upon weight (D. 18.1.35), and how the material evidence has revealed that the numeral inscriptions referred to weight units (e.g. Dressel 20, fish sauce amphorae).

Thus the retail price²⁰¹ was subject to two main factors: first, the “market price” which as is the case nowadays was a result of supply and demand in a competitive market (Temin: 2012, 14-17;

¹⁹⁶ Perfection of the contract means that all the requirements of the contract have been fulfilled to enable that contract and the liability for the goods, initially held by the merchant, and was transferred to the buyer, see Appendix X

¹⁹⁷ D. 18.1.2.1; G. 3.14.1

¹⁹⁸ D. 18.1.7.1

¹⁹⁹ D. 18.1.2.1; G. 3.139

²⁰⁰ *CI.* 4.44.2; §8

²⁰¹ Different discourse applied to public goods, which were subject to state-controlled pricing in different periods *CTh.* 11.2.2.1; 14.19.1.

Koops: 2016, 618)²⁰² and could differ from one city to other (D. 13.4.3), and second, agreement between parties involved in the sale (D.18.1.71), that could vary the price to a certain extent (also for the Greek world, Bresson: 2016, 256). For an earlier period, the mechanisms looks similar, there was no price anarchy, in the sense that market prices, as well as mechanisms from the cities concurred to establish on basic price for commodities at a given time (Bresson: 2016, 326). As an example, we can find that in some areas prices were settled by an institution precinct, as demonstrates the price list from Apollon's temple at Delos (Reger: 2002; Chankowski: 2011; Manning: 2018, 233).

Matters such as responsibility for defects or repairs would be reflected in the price: the more responsibility was accepted by the seller, the higher the price (Birks: 2014, 68). That the agreement on the price in a given contract was left to the discretion of the parties was reaffirmed in other texts as well (D.18.1. 71; D. 18.1.35pr.-1; D. 19.2.22.3; Cat. *De agri cultura*, 145; Plaut, *Pseud.* 641-50). Market price was left to the fluctuations of the market and the agreements between buyer and seller (Koops: 2016, 618), with only some isolated cases when the government influenced them, with disastrous results. One rescript from Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (D. 18.1.71) indicates to Sextius Verus that measures and prices are a matter for the parties in the sale, especially when they respect the customs of the region.

All the legal texts mentioned refer to merchants and retail trade, but what about supply on behalf of the Roman state? Could the parties in a contract have the same power to establish the price? Some late sources point to the existence of established prices (*CTh.* 11.2.2.1; *CTh.* 14.19.1), and to tax exemptions for shippers in charge of transporting these goods (*CTh.* 13.5.4). The traders also bore the risk of the shipping except in exceptional circumstance such as famine, shipwreck or pirate attack (*CTh.* 13.9=*CI.* 11.6),²⁰³ when public authorities would bear the cost..²⁰⁴ Hadrian's law on the Athenian oil supply (*IG* 2 2 1100=*SEG* 15, 108)²⁰⁵ indicates that oil had to be sold at the market price prevailing in the country. These sort of limitations on market sale and consequently affecting prices can be also appreciated in the *epistula Hadriani de re piscatoria* (*IG*² 1103),²⁰⁶ but also earlier for the Hellenistic period in other inscriptions found at Thasos..²⁰⁷ Thus evidence seems to point to the fact that markets (and consequently, supply and demand) influenced the price, a part of the agreements held between contracting parties (D.18.7.1). However, the emperor could do something different to influence or control prices..²⁰⁸

²⁰² Except in isolated cases when the government tried to influence market prices (e.g. Diocletian's Price Edict).

²⁰³ Manfredini: 1986, 135-148

²⁰⁴ Livy XXIII 48.4-49.4; Suetonius, *Claud.* 18.2-19.1; Broekaert: 2008, 197-219

²⁰⁵ For further information see Silver: 2001, 8-15; Harter-Uibopuu: 2008, 127-141

²⁰⁶ Rizzi: 2016, 70-110, and quoting bibliography associated

²⁰⁷ Daux; 1926, 2225, law establishing limitations on the sale of foreign wine to control prices; Gofas: 1969, 354, inscription mentioning the subjects in charge of a tax imposed over agricultural crops, and indicating that there was a navigation area restricted to foreign ships to allow them perform their functions

²⁰⁸ Events related to imperial control will be further discussed in Chapter 7

Agreement on price could lead to an *emptio perfecta*.²⁰⁹ upon measuring the goods to determine the amount of product being sold (D.18.1.34.5; D.18.1.35.5). In cases where goods were sold in containers, the contract was settled by measuring the goods at the destination.

Goods could either be conceived as one group possessing common structural characteristics (*genus*) or as individualized containers (*species*).²¹⁰ The qualification of the goods depended largely on the way in which the parties involved in the sale contract decided to sell and buy them. Accordingly, goods could be sold wholesale in bulk or in retail, by price or by container (e.g. TPSulp.80). The characterization of a cargo as a whole or as individual items was made by dividing loading in bulk or dividing the cargoes.²¹¹ by containers.²¹² The following different ways of packaging can be identified:

- Containers with their quantity inscribed and prices already set before arrival at their destination (e.g. the Pecio Gandolfo wreck).²¹³ The risk or *periculum* could be transferred from the merchant to the customer upon measure (D.18.1.35.7), provided that the parties had agreed that condition and that the amounts matched up (D.18.1.3).²¹⁴ The ingots would be a different case, with the Baetican examples bearing different amounts stamped upon them, which suggests that they were weighed again once they arrived at their destination, and where their price was settled (Domergue: 1998).
- Objects (e.g. barrels) bearing inscriptions detailing the features of the product but not the amount. This was the case for those objects, which were marked with an individual number inside a set of objects. Their content was weighed and the price assigned at the destination.
- Uninscribed objects carrying goods the weight and price of which will be established at the destination (e.g. the Ladispoli *dolia* wreck).²¹⁵ In the case of sacks, it seems that the price was agreed upon the number purchased by the customer (Mayerson: 1998, 191). Jurists are silent on the question of whether the cost of the amphora container was to be included in the price of the sale. This silence makes it likely that in the wholesale purchase the container was included, except in the case of *dolia* (D.18.1.67). So, when the *dolia* arrived at their destination, their contents were poured into smaller containers which were weighed and priced.
- Objects that were not inscribed and sold at a set price for the whole cargo, such as on the Sud-Perduto 2 wreck containing ingots (Bernard: 2001, 461-471). Also, the Bou Ferrer wreck (De Juan *et al.*: 2014) has revealed a cargo of identical uninscribed amphorae, probably sold in the same way. Here the sources indicate that unless there was bad faith on the merchant's performance, the cargo purchased at a set price was at the customer's risk (D.18.1.62.2).

²⁰⁹ Appendix X

²¹⁰ Talamanca: 1983, 3ff.

²¹¹ D.19.2.31

²¹² D.18.1.35.5

²¹³ Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 7-25

²¹⁴ See also section 4.2.2.1

²¹⁵ Carré: 1993, 9-29

The next Figure 43 shows the elements included in the warranty liability assumed by the merchant through the contract of sale, and the way that the *scripta commercii* reflect these elements. The merchant agreed to provide a product of certain quality and this was written on the container by the inscriptions labelled as A, B1, or B2. An additional tasting could have been agreed by the parties to check that the product fulfilled the features worth the price previously agreed. In cases when the customer did not taste the goods and later discovered that it had undeclared defects, the *aedil curul*²¹⁶ could impose a warranty liability for undeclared defects on behalf of the customer (Lenel: 1927, 554ff; Birks: 2014, 89). As far as quantity is concerned, the parties could agree to sell the product in different ways and the price would be determined accordingly.

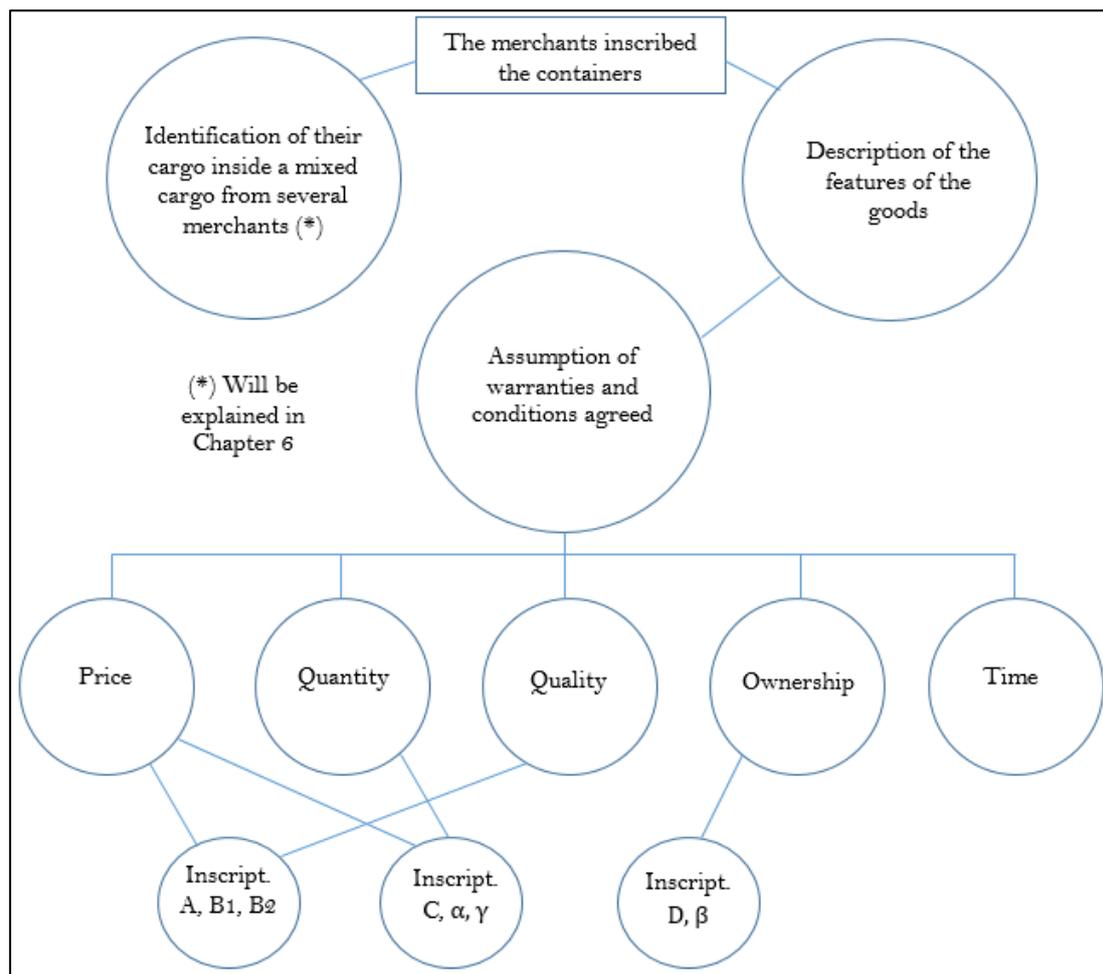


Figure 43. Diagram representing warranties assumed by the merchant in the contract of sale and their reflection in the inscriptions

The duration of the contract could have been part of the agreed conditions of the sale contract, but there is no discernible reference to this in the inscriptions. Other sources testify to its importance (D.13.4.2.6; D.18.6.1pr.), particularly in relation to maritime loans, for which the duration of the trip was essential and noted in the agreements (D.22.2.4.1; TPSulp.13; 34; 78; Pap. Vindob. G. 19792= CB

²¹⁶ Appendix X

VI 9571). In the case of sale, time was not an essential feature of the contract (*FIRA* III 439–443), but it could have an influence on the price when the goods were handled late and the price had increased (D.19.1.3.3). It would seem that in cases when the parties had voluntarily agreed on a time frame (D.13.3.4pr.), this feature was not inscribed on the containers, but in another document which summarized the *lex contractus* (particular provisions of a specific contract).²¹⁷ Thus, in cases when the agreement was formalised in writing, time would have been inscribed in the agreement (P. BGU IV, 1157).

Consensus between the parties was required by law to produce the contract of sale. Although classical Roman law did not strictly require the parties to record their agreement in writing, legal sources indicate that this practice was adopted in many cases (Cascione: 2003; Fiori: 2011). Du Plessis (2006, 79–94) has argued that the main problem in asserting whether or not contracts were written, is that most of that evidence has not survived. Previous scholarship, however, has not considered the *scripta commercii* as evidence of a record of sale contracts. Instead, therefore, these inscriptions witness the main characteristics of the goods that were sold, and together with the agreement of the parties, shaped sale contracts, foregoing a need to formalise anything else in writing.

There can be no doubt that trade practices were jointly protected by the Roman state through the framework of law, and were enlarged and commented upon by Roman jurists in considering pragmatic solutions to daily issues. Looking at the evidence of inscriptions, it is clear that the subjects involved in trade were aware of the boundaries of sale, even if they were not aware of the particularities of the laws. The existence of patterns in the way of inscribing objects and reflecting certain kinds of information shows that there were certain standard practices for performing sales. These patterns seem to be closely connected with the essential features of the contract of sale as described by Roman jurists. The large number of *scripta commercii* referring to sale features proves the endurance of these practices. Furthermore, the highly standardized epigraphic apparatus of the *scripta commercii* as detailed in this chapter reaffirms the existence of a distinct, and encoded language used in sale and shipping by the merchants and understood by the people involved in these procedures. The differences in writing patterns attest to variations in sale agreements, while their overall standardisation testify to integration of these practices across the Mediterranean to allow the flow of transactions. The sheer volume of sale-related *scripta commercii* is a proof of the scale of these activities.

²¹⁷ Berger: 1953, 545; Du Plessis: 2006, 79–94

Chapter 6

Between Materials and Texts: New Perspectives on Sea Transport and Lease and Hire

6.1. *Scripta Commercii* and Transport: opening Remarks

This Chapter addresses the *scripta commercii* in relation to transport, providing an overview of relevant Roman seafaring infrastructure and transport procedures, as well as linking issues such as the risks in travelling by sea and in the safe delivery of cargoes. I will also examine evidence that I interpret as pertaining to part of a lease and hire contract, which thanks to the evidence highlighted in this Chapter, I will reconstruct in Appendix V, 14.2.

One instrument widely employed to finance trade by the sea was the maritime loan (e.g. TPSulp. 13; P. Vindob. G 40822). As it is impossible to find traces of these in the *scripta commercii*, I will focus on analysing the inscriptions against the background of an understanding of lease and hire (*locatio conductio*). Despite the fact that the contract of lease and hire was examined in forensic detail by Roman jurists of the Classical period (1st until the 3rd cent. AD), issues such as the management of risks, damages or who was in charge of the loading or unloading of the cargo at the ports of departure and arrival²¹⁸ are still unclear. The Latin verbs that form the contract reflect the scope of it: to rent or let out (*locatio*) and to hire or accept something on hire (*conductio*). A few details about the contract are specified by the 3rd cent. AD jurist Paulus:

“Since the contract of lease and hire is found in nature and among all peoples, it is contracted not by formal words but by agreement, like the contract of sale and purchase” (D.19. 2.1.1. *ad edict.34*)²¹⁹

From this fragment, we gather that the contract belongs to the sphere of *ius gentium*, so that it could be used by non-citizens,²²⁰ and was formalised by mere agreement. Since consent in Roman law was not an abstract concept, but applied to certain essential aspects of the contracts themselves, this contract had three essential elements: the object of the lease, the price, and the term of the contract (even if it was estimated). As with sale, the contract was deemed perfect when the price was agreed (D.14.2.2pr.). Although Roman law did not require writing for a contract of lease and hire to come into existence (D.19.2.14), it is clear that, given the complexity of some of the commercial transactions,²²¹ the recording of some provisions of the contract would have been beneficial to the

²¹⁸ E.g. we know of the *saccarii* of Ostia in charge of unloading grain (Martelli: 2013), but it is unclear if there were other guilds helping unload other sorts of cargo.

²¹⁹ Translation from Watson: 1985, vol.2, 101

²²⁰ D. 48.22.15pr.

²²¹ E.g. P.Koln.III.147 contains a short-term lease contract for a seagoing ship, for which, instead of a fixed rent, the lessee had to give the lessor a share of his income from freight charges. Evidently the rent could be established in different ways and it was subject to the will of the parties involved.

parties involved. Du Plessis (2006, 79-94) considers the importance of the *lex* (the particular provisions of a specific contract) in discussions of the contract of letting and hiring, while Meyer has discussed the importance of writing in Roman legal culture (Meyer: 2004, 12-123). Neither have considered *scripta commercii* as evidence of this agreement, the application of which in long distance trade would have likely required the expression of some of its features in writing to achieve its purpose. None of the features inscribed on the containers had to do with maritime insurance, since the Romans lacked that concept.²²² Some scholars have confused monetary loans or the regime established to cope with jettison with ancient insurance, when in reality these practices have nothing in common with insurance as it is a modern concept.

Locatio conductio was a unitary contract agreed on the essential terms (object, price, and time) of lease and hire within which were three objectives that allowed the judge to determine precisely the circumstances of the case to be judged (Fiori: 1999, 286-90): the rent of an object, the space, or the service. I will briefly explain each of the three different objectives. The structure of letting and hiring is much disputed, in particular the issue of whether the Roman jurists sub-classified the contract into (1) letting and hiring of things (*rei*), (2) carrying out a piece of work and return it already finished (*opus facere*), or (3) offering services (*operarum*).

In the *locatio conductio rei* the customer rented the 'object' (for example, a ship and crew) to transport goods or passengers personally or by using employees. Hiring a ship could be done for a short or long term, it did not transfer ownership of the ship, and the duration of the lease would be established in the agreement.²²³ The lessor has to deliver the ship to the lessee in the right conditions for its use, and compensate the lessee for damages and losses due to any defects in the ship. Likewise, the lessee had to pay the agreed fee, use the ship for the intended purpose, was responsible for the damage or destruction incurred by the ship as a result of misuse, and return the ship at the end of the lease. *Locatio conductio operarum* (often called *operae*, meaning tasks), in the context of this chapter, implied hiring an operator to deliver the cargo as agreed upon by the parties and also to keep the cargo safe until arrival (D.4.9.3.1). The lessor was obliged to pay the wages even if the performance of the operator's services became impossible by a cause for which he was not liable (e.g. pirate attack). The *locatio conductio operis* implied that the lessor received the money for the completion of a specific work or outcome.

²²² Silberschmidt: 1926, 9-16; Cecchini: 1931, 58-68; Cafiero: 1934, 73-79; Niekerk: 1998, 3; Gaurier: 2004, 129-132 (quoting Liv. 23.49 and 25. 3); Damiani: 2008, 64. Defending the existence of insurance contracts in Roman law; Huvelin: 1929, 95ss; Garcia Vargas: 2016, 121

²²³ *FIRA* III, 477-9 = P. Lond. III, 948 r = M. Chr. 341 = Jur. Pap. 43. It seems that the hire of the ship could also generate a stock account before using it, see P. Aberd.²⁴

6.2. General issues concerning Lease and Hire

The following section examines some features of lease and hire that cannot be clearly appreciated through the *scripta commercii*, because they are embedded in the duties and skills of the actors of transport. These involve the determination of the roles of the actors in the agreement (6.2.1) and the choice of a sailing route (6.2.2). My approach is based on the underlying reciprocal obligation and a particular context shaped by the purpose of the contract.

6.2.1. The Actors involved in Transport

To understand the complexities implied in maritime transport it is necessary to review the technical terms employed to designate the different actors implied in lease and hire (Figure 44) and their responsibilities.

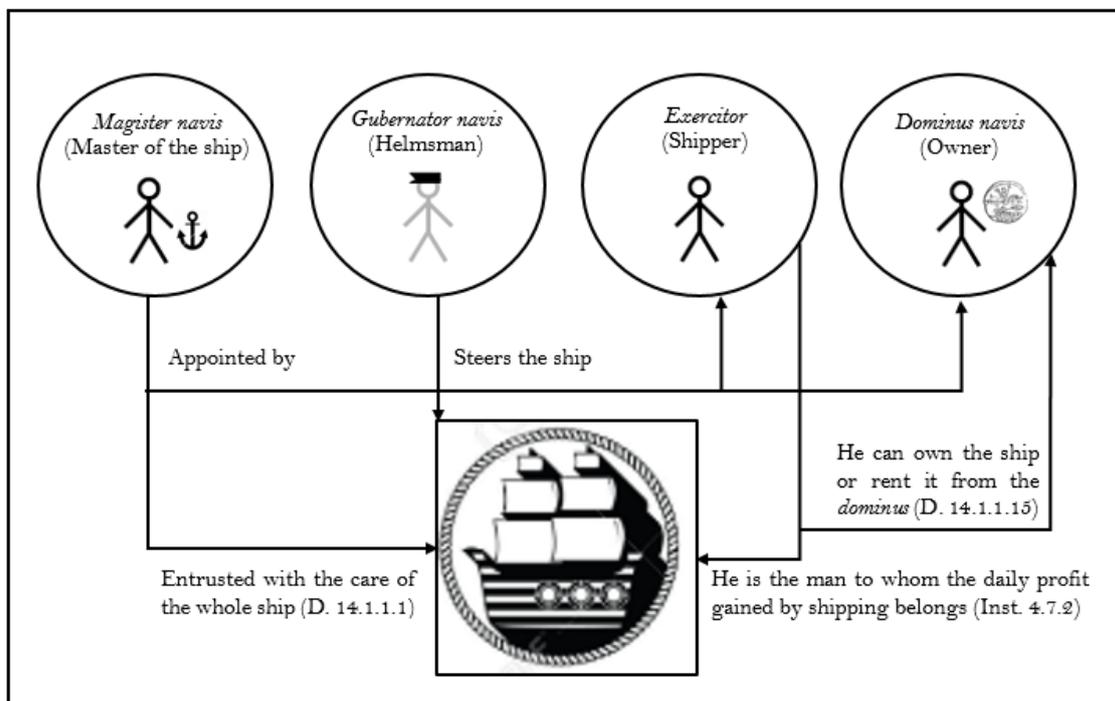


Figure 44. Diagram showing the actors in lease and hire related to sea transport and their responsibilities

As will be shown in the following sections, Roman law developed various legal remedies to cater with various scenarios. While the terminology used here corresponds to that attested in Roman law, other variations did exist.²²⁴ This is yet another example of the different ways that distribution was organized in different areas of the Mediterranean and how the Roman government coped with these variations. However, this diagram is indicative, because one person can perform more than one

²²⁴ E.g. it is possible to find other denominations to designate the different roles of those involved in shipping grain from Egypt (Frosen: 1983; P. Petaus. 53).

function. In addition, the serial use waterways and roads are attested in Gaul by the funerary stele of a *nauta Araricus* preserved at the Dijon Museum (*CIL XII* 5489), shown as loading or unload a cart. That epigraphic element indicates that the concept of *nauta* needs to be conceived in a broader way, including other individuals participating in the distribution cycle, as the muleteers (Deman: 2002, 244).

The owner of the ship can act as a shipper and also be the master of the ship or appoint another person to perform that role (D.14.1.1.1). Shipowners in the Roman world could make money by transporting goods for others, by trading in their own right, or by a mixture of the two. Transport was arranged by charter for a determinate period with shippers who benefit tax exemptions by committing their ships to the service of the *annona* for five or more years (D.50.4.5) or by contracting to carry specific goods or passengers (*res vehendas conducere*) for a freight-charge (*vectura*).²²⁵

Several shippers could form a society, meaning that they would share tasks and liabilities in the transport of goods (D.14.1.1.25; D.14.1.2-4pr.-1; D.14.2.6). Furthermore, in case of several shippers and a lack of division in the tasks assigned to them, all could be liable for anything happening in relation to the transport (D.14.2.1.13). Moreover, the shipper could employ another subject as *magister navis*, who would be liable for the contracts that had been concluded by the former (D.14.1.5.2). In the case where the shipper did not own the vessel being used for transport, he would rent it from an owner. Almost nothing is known about the contract between the owner and the shipper, except that it was classified as letting and hiring of an object (Rathbone: 2003, 205).

The appointment of a master (*magister navis*) was normally accompanied by a document called *lex praepositionis* (D.14.1.12), which set out the scope of his authority and the tasks that were to be performed (e.g. load freight, transport passengers, or both). The purpose of such documents was (1) to define the scope of the agency in the event of a dispute arising between the principal and agent, and (2) to advertise this agency to potential third contracting parties. It is also possible to find among the Greek papyri agreements whereby a principal gives his authorization to an agent to carry out certain transactions on his behalf, on a general basis or on a single occasion, with or without restriction pertaining to the nature of the transactions.²²⁶ A copy of the document was filed with the *agoranomoi* and deposited into a section of the city archive.

If such a contract was missing, the principal's liability was established by long-time practices. Consequently, if a principal wanted the scope of the appointment to differ from what was generally accepted in the context of a given trade, he had to make it known through a *proscriptio* (an advertisement). This could be done, for instance, by posting a notice in a visible place, written with clear letters in the language spoken in the area (most likely Latin or Greek, though usage of other languages was probably not excluded)²²⁷ in order to avoid misunderstandings (Aubert: 1994, 10-12).

²²⁵ See Rathbone: 2003, 210

²²⁶ P.Oxy. I 261 (A.D. 55); P. Oxy. 194 (A.D. 83); P. Oxy. III 501 (in relation with PSI IX 1035, AD 179); and BGU. I 300 (in relation with P.Merl. I 18, A.D. 161); P.Oxy. I 94.

²²⁷ On the role of translators and the use of Roman contracts in the province of Judea, see Czajkowski: 2017.

It is possible that the requirement of writing a document specifying the limits of the appointment became a common practice when businessmen began to rely on employees in distant places whom they did not want to entrust with autonomy (D. 15.1.47 pr.).

The crew was chosen by the shipper (D.14.1.1.2), and working under the direction of the *magister*. The *magister* could appoint other subjects to work with him (D. 4.9.7.1-2), taking liability for his choice except when the shipper approved that choice, in which case the responsibility moved to the shipper (D.14.1.1.5). As the *exercitor* was the person obtaining the benefits of the shipping, all the actions performed by the *magister* of the ship on his behalf were part of the *exercitor*'s responsibility (D.19.5.1.1.). The necessary provisions for the operation of the ship were supplied by the *magister* (D.14.1.13), but the shipper might ensure that all the proper arrangements for the trip had been made (D.14.1.17-8). Unfortunately, we do not have examples of Roman transport contracts from the western Mediterranean, but in some Egyptian papyri of Roman imperial date, the contract established between *naukleros* (shipper) and customer indicated that it was down to the former to provide the equipped boat. These papyri clearly show that the conditions that were agreed between the parties to the contract were established at the start and highlighted the flexibility of lease and hire practices.

Since the different conditions agreed had consequences on the assumption of risk and liability, the Roman jurists discussed the boundaries and particularities of the actions employed to protect the parties in problematic situations. One of the tools mentioned by the jurists was the *actio exercitoria*, which is the right of an individual to sue the *exercitor navis* in a trial for what was due to him (D. 45.1.51; cf. Aubert: 1994; Miceli: 2008). Other remedies were also available for the parties in a lease and hire contract, such as the *actio locati* for the lessee and the *actio conducti* for the lessor. Both actions were used to enforce the terms of the contract, highlighting the bilateralism of the contract. Finally, the *actio in factum*²²⁸ was used when one of the parties needed to sue the other but the matter could not be framed within the features of the contract, thus it was adapted to the particular circumstances of the case.

6.2.2. The Choice of Route

Every legal decision made by those engaged in a maritime trading venture, whether it be an investor or the owner of a cargo, would have been driven by one overarching agenda, namely to reduce the risk of the venture failing. Apart from the importance of the connections to other merchants, promoted by the membership of *societates*²²⁹ and *collegia*, there was the issue of choosing a navigation route between the port of origin and the port of destination. In addition, it has been argued that the

²²⁸ See Appendix X

²²⁹ An association with pooled resources formed through a consensual contract, the membership of which could help the merchants finance their ventures. Cf. Rathbone: 2003, 211.

choice of a sailing route would help the shippers to calculate the cost of the venture in terms of taxation (D.14.1.1.3).²³⁰

Scholarship has generally drawn comparisons between patterns of commercial sailing across the open-sea (Rougé: 1966; Casson: 1971; Pryor: 1987; Duncan-Jones: 1990; Reynolds: 1995) and secondary redistribution networks mediated through cabotage (Pomey & Nieto: 1997; 2000, 137-143; Wilson: 2011, 53). Arnaud (1992, 62; 2005, 124-5; 2012, 61ff.), however, has suggested that different ways of navigation were possible depending on prevailing commercial practices, a proposal that is of particular relevance to this work.

The modality of the contract and route chosen by the parties was dictated by their aims, the level of risk taken that could be incurred (Robaye: 1987, 50), and by the knowledge of the navigational context.²³¹ Two texts in the Digest²³² from different periods describe cases in which either the complete itinerary of the ship, or its destination, was deemed relevant for the legal outcome. Planning the route was key to making sure that the journey was conducted in the right season for safe navigation (P. Oxy. XVIII 2182). The place agreed by the parties for delivery could have an effect on the value of the goods, and it was also the place where the suit could be brought (D.13.3.4). Politically stable contexts, information networking,²³³ standardized procedures (Figure 18), peaceful conditions and marked price differences between particular areas, made the direct route the most common choice in classical times (Arnaud: 2012, 76). So, if some routes were covered several times, that may have also increased the safety of the trip, improving the chance of getting financing for it, and creating networks of customers and associates.

More explicit sources available are the *naulotikai syngraphai* papyri (written receipts of transport contracts),²³⁴ which contain details such as name of the shipper, port of departure, loading and destination of the ship, and even references to sailing routes.²³⁵ These documents could also include the price of the freight and the amount of cargo loaded.²³⁶ From the cases of Callimachus' loan (D.45.1.122.1)²³⁷ or the text of CI. 4.33.2-3, it is clear that lenders had an interest in determining the route for the borrower in the same way as the state did for ships loaded with *onera fiscalia* in the late Roman period (CTh. 13.5.33). So, the risks or the sailing time could be estimated. Purpura (2014, 142. nt.74) provides a new insight into the meaning of the *actio oneris aversi* (action against the shipmaster for fraud committed in the delivery of cargo) cited in D. 19.2 31, which indicates that *aversio* in this

²³⁰ A point made by Domergue (1998, 209) in his study of the transport of Baetican lead ingots.

²³¹ For the Red sea see Whitwright: 2007.

²³² D. 19.2.61.1 from late second early 1st cent. AD, and D. 19.2.13.1 (Ulpian 32 ad edict), from the late 2nd and early 3rd cent. AD.

²³³ As the PME described trading opportunities from Roman Egyptian ports like Berenice along the coast of the Red Sea, and others along Northeast Africa and the Sindh and South western India. See Casson: 1989 ; De Romanis: 2009

²³⁴ Brecht: 1962, 13ff; Meyer-Termeer: 1978, 75-84; O.Mich.

²³⁵ E.g. P.Oxy.45.3250 (Oxyrhynchus, ca 63 CE); P.Oxy.Hels.37 (Oxyrhynchus, ca 176 CE); SB.14.11552 = SB6.9212 (Oxyrhynchus, 221 CE)

²³⁶ E.g. FIRA III 475-6 (P.Grenf. II.108); FIRA.III. 479-80 (P.Oxy.I.44); Worp: 1976, 157-165; Worp: 1979, 95-103

²³⁷ Lübtow: 1976; Rougé: 1980, 294; Sirks: 2002, 142; Rathbone: 2003, 213-4

context could refer to a diversion from the previously planned route, causing losses to the merchants involved. The text from D. 19.2.15.6 indicates the obligation to make good non-fulfilment in the case where a ship is lost at sea, a provision that highlights the importance attached to defining a route in advance of the voyage and following it as far as possible.

6.3. Letting and Hiring in the Context of *Scripta Commercii*

Many of the data used in this case study come from shipwrecks, because they can yield clues as to the composition of entire cargoes loaded on to a ship, even though this is still dependant upon the circumstances of its preservation, its subsequent recovery through excavation, and the quality of its eventual publication. Using shipwrecks to shed light upon aspects of maritime commerce is also limited by the uneven distribution of the evidence of the ships themselves and, of course, the preservation and representativity of the *scripta commercii*. Nevertheless, they do provide evidence for certain aspects of Roman maritime trade and are complementary to the study of traded material found in terrestrial contexts land, where they have become decontextualized from the rest of the cargo to which they originally belonged.

6.3.1. Inscriptions A, B1 and B2²³⁸

As I mentioned in the previous Chapter, the *scripta commercii* A, B1 and B2 reflected the name of the product its quality and its qualitative. The *scripta* indicating the name of the product was a detail which, together with the name of the merchant, would have helped the carrier to identify the goods transported in a mixed cargo and pass them to the receiver at the destination. Moreover, the features of the products composing a cargo dictated the precautions that the carrier should take when transporting it.

The kind of products traded affected the purpose of lease and hire through the manner of packaging the goods. For example, for a cargo of goods loaded in bulk the lease of a whole ship (bareboat charter) would seem to have been the most logical option (Bou Ferrer,²³⁹ Mariposa²⁴⁰), while for small cargoes the merchant would opt for leasing a defined space in the ship and sharing it with other merchants.

It is possible to find ships containing a major cargo of goods in bulk and others destined for retail. Moreover, the sale of wine in bulk could be accompanied with other products to completely fill the ship (e.g. Grand Ribaud D). Other examples include the mixed cargoes such as those found on Arles-Rhone 3 (Djaoui ; Piques & Botte: 2014) and Sud-Lavezzi 2 (Liou & Domergue: 1990). Regarding these cases, Nieto proposed a model describing the notions of “main” and “complementary”

²³⁸ For the *scripta* quoted in this section, see Appendix VIII, 17.1

²³⁹ De Juan *et al.*: 2014

²⁴⁰ Gavini : 2011

cargoes (1988, 379-95). He asserted that ships were loaded with a main cargo that would have justified the trip, and some secondary objects for easy sale and additional gain. Nieto's point of view needs to be nuanced, since it just applies to an economic conception of these cargoes, a perception that is not just one-sided, just conceiving the situation that the *exercitor* was acting as a merchant (*cf.* Table 8), but also using a value-based approach that leaves behind many other issues associated with cargoes. I would like to challenge the systematic distinction proposed by Nieto, because, from the point of view of the lease and hire contract, there was no distinction between a primary and secondary cargo. From the perspective of the contract, there was a cargo belonging to one or diverse people, from which liabilities for safekeeping and delivery were arising. Table 9 includes details of associations between various products on different shipwrecks and in legal sources and the different ways in which they were packaged and loaded.

Product	Container	Cargo	Merchants	Shipwreck	<i>Scripta commercii</i>	Sources
Wine	Amphora	Mixed	Various	Sant-Gervais 3	Yes	Liou et al: 1990
Wine	Amphora	Single	Various? ²⁴¹	Mariposa	Yes	Gavini: 2011
Wine	Dolia	Mixed	Unknown	Grand Ribaud D	No	Hesnard et al: 1988;
Wine	Barrel	Mixed	Unknown	Port-Vendres III	No	Colls <i>et al.</i> 1988;
Oil	Amphorae / ingots	Mixed	Various	Port-Vendres II	Yes	Colls <i>et al.</i> 1977;
Oil	Amphorae	Single	Single?	Agde E	No	Bouscaras: 1961
Fish sauce	Amphorae / ingots	Single	Single	Bou Ferrer	No	De Juan <i>et al.</i> 2014
Fish sauce	Amphorae	Single	Various	Pecio Gandolfo	Yes	Liou, Almeida: 2000
Grain	Unknown	Mixed	Single	No	No	D. 19.2.61.1
Grain	No (Bulk)	Mixed	Various	No	No	D. 19.2.31
Stone	No (Bulk)	Mixed	Various	Punta Scifo A	Yes	Pensabene 1978
Building material	No (Bulk)	Mixed	Various?	Lardier IV	No	Joncheray: 2004

Table 9. Combinations of cargoes, containers and merchants with the presence and absence of *scripta commercii* on different shipwrecks

²⁴¹ The *tituli picti* have not been completely published, thus it is still uncertain if the amphorae retained the name of several merchants or no

What Table 9 clearly shows is that there was not a single ‘system’ for the maritime distribution of goods such as fish sauce, wine or stone in the Roman period. This does not mean, however, that we should reject the idea of specialization or the existence of specific dispositions in the letting and hiring contracts that were dependant upon the kind of product being carried or the route chosen. A recent paper by Rice (2016: 188-9) established three different scenarios of distribution on the basis of the cargoes found in shipwrecks: a single commodity from a specific production area, a mixed cargo of locally produced goods, and a heterogeneous cargo. That model, overlapping with the different variations in lease and hire contracts (of the whole ship) will help us understand what kind of agreement was agreed by the parties. In addition, tracing parallels with these models and the evolution of sailing, can provide more details about how merchants were managing transport and addressing risks in navigation (Whitewright: 2011).

It is only from a whole cargo of *scripta commercii* that we can gather information about the way in which goods were transported and the purpose of the lease and hire contract used. For example, the Pecio Gandolfo wreck had a single commodity cargo belonging to several merchants with *scripta commercii* (A.325; 328-331), while the Bou Ferrer wreck (Figure 45) contained a homogenous cargo without any *scripta commercii*.

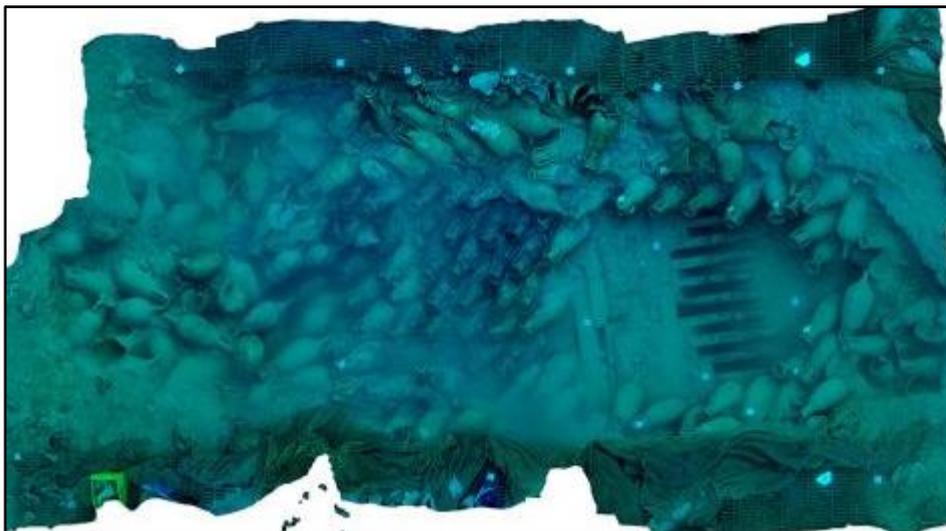


Figure 45. Ortophoto of the Bou Ferrer wreck (National Geographic, April, 2015)

In case of finding a cargo composed of different kinds of unscribed merchandise (e.g. Lardier IV), it will be worth asking if several merchants were loading whole cargoes of distinctive goods, reason why they could travel unscribed, or perhaps in this case we are facing an *exercitor*-merchant who is distributing different sorts of goods.

However, *scripta commercii* do not always survive (e.g. Culip IV, Hamelink: 1989) and the products from many wrecks studied have to be identified by the kind of container in which they were transported. But as the dump of amphorae from Pompeii demonstrated (Bernal et al: 2014), containers

were individually marked except when using another sale strategy as discussed in Chapter 5. The TPSulp.80 (Camodeca 1999, 182) provides supporting evidence for this, comprising a letter from a foreign merchant called Theophilus to his agent Aphrodisius who worked in Puteoli, indicating the shipment of a cargo composed of oil, honey, wine, and derivative products. The tablet showed how Aphrodisius collected several amphorae containing different products which, as I commented in Chapter 5, were normally traded in small vessels. Also, the fact that the letter refers to these different products indicates that the cargo was mixed and consequently that the containers needed to be differentiated by specific features and markings.

The fragility of the goods or their susceptibility to changes in their properties could affect the responsibility of the carrier. Roman law developed a number of rules to reduce the risks involved in carriage of goods. The most prominent of these was the so-called *receptum* or undertaking to carriage mentioned in legal sources (e.g. D. 4.9.1pr-1). In D. 4.9.1.3, Ulpian illustrates how the *χειρέμβολον* was used to formalise the liability of the carrier. The meaning of this word has been widely discussed,²⁴² but considering it in contrast with D. 4.9.1.8, we can suggest that the operation consisted in this context of the assumption (*susceptio rei*) of the cargo when boarding (Purpura: 2014, 153), saddling the shipper with the liability to keep it safe, irrespective of the actions of the crew.

Some products, such as stone blocks and especially columns, would have been an awkward cargo to manage (D. 19.2.25.7) and it seems probable that certain shippers specialised in transporting stone (Russell: 2013, 105, 537). The same would have applied to other products such as wine carried in *dolia*, a business carried out by the Pirani family from the south of France over several generations (Marlière: 2008). The merchant specialised in trading with certain goods would know better how to safely maintain specific cargoes, minimise risks in transport, and have suitable tools for (un)loading them (section 4.2.3.1). Such merchants would have also known where to sell the product for the greatest profit. The terms agreed determined the extent of the liability of the carrier (D.14.1.12). For example, it is possible to find agreements for transporting and storing goods (Jakab: 2014, 332ff - TPSulp. 45-46), so the liability lasted until storage and not only upon arrival at the port (TPSulp. 80). In the case of slaves, for example, it was not the same to transport them as either merchandise or as passengers (D.14.1.12), as, in the latter case, the shipper would be exempted in case of death (D.14.2.10pr.).

In case of the grain shipments,²⁴³ it is known that samples (*δείγματα*) provided by a granary official accompanied the cargo in order to vouch for its quality. At a minimum, that quality was defined as *καθαρά*, a trade term indicating that the designated grain (wheat or barley) was free of extraneous substances, such as sand (Mayerson: 2002, 111-7) or barley (Mayerson: 2005, 51-62). Despite a number of papyri recording shipments accompanied by one or more samples of grain, only P.Oxy. IV

²⁴²D'Ors: 1948-1949, 255-259; De Robertis: 1952, 72 nt.4; Menager: 1960, 203ff.; Rougé: 1966, 366; Martini: 1971, 109, 203; De Marco: 1999, 355ff. Vélissaropoulos-Karakostas: 2001, 209.

²⁴³About grain transport, see Salido: 2013, 139-177

708, dated to AD 188 testifies to the discovery of deficient samples accompanying two grain shipments by an official.

An Oxyrhynchus papyrus (P. Osl.2.52) describes how Zenarion fetched only seven cheeses from a cargo sent by her brother Theon because the others had been eaten by mice. It seems that Zenarion decided not to pay to the shipper for that reason, and tells Theon not to pay him as well. It would thus seem that the duty of the shipper also extended to protection of the cargo from pests. The level of care expected seems to be directly linked to the type of cargo carried. In one fragment from his comment to the provincial edict, Gaius (D.19.2.25.7) indicates that “there is no fault if all the precautions were taken which a very careful person would have observed”, thus I propose that this limit was determined on a case-by-case basis, depending on the ship, the kind of cargo and the route chosen. Ulpian’s fragment D. 14.1.1.12 indicates that if the master was appointed by the shipper to transport a cargo such as vegetables or hemp and the master loads marble or another material instead, then the liability was for the master and not the shipper. That fragment described how what was agreed by the parties assigned the responsibilities to each of them, but Ulpian also wanted to highlight the different levels of risk carried out if the cargo were light vegetables or heavy stones. The modality of transport chosen by the parties would likely have dictated the level of risk to which the parties wanted to expose themselves and probably the profit that they expected to acquire. However, some events, which constituted overwhelming force (e.g. pirate attack or storm) and could not be ascribed to the shipper, would not imply the shipper’s liability if the cargo was ruined as a consequence (D.14.2.4; D. 19.2.15.2).

6.3.2. Inscriptions concerning the Parties on the Agreement (D, β)²⁴⁴

Through a lease and hire agreement, a merchant could hire a part (D.13.6.5.15) or all of the available space on a ship (D.19.2.60.8; D. 19.2.61.1). *Scripta commercii* recorded the name of the cargo owner²⁴⁵ in order to differentiate ownership in a mixed cargo (Colls *et al.* 1977; Gassend *et al.* 1984; Liou *et al.* 1990). Shipwreck evidence points to the amphorae being marked individually and not by stock number, further supported by recent fish sauce amphorae evidence from Pompeii (Bernal *et al.*: 2014, 231). Inscriptions also played a role in stowage organisation (Benoit: 1091, 164ff; Wallinga: 1964, 28), allowing for the separation of cargoes and on-board organization of the goods in the order in which they were to be unloaded.

While owner names on amphorae generally appear to have been painted, different techniques were used on other kinds of object. Vessel stoppers exemplify the evolution in container marking from the 1st cent. BC and until the 1st cent. AD in the western Mediterranean, as described in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.2.2), with a standardisation of stamped stoppers during the first three cent. AD.

²⁴⁴ For the *scripta* quoted in this section, see Appendix VIII, 17.7 and 17.8

²⁴⁵ Not the name of the shipper as Broekaert: 2011 and Ehmig: 2014 have asserted.

Contemporary with this was the use of *tituli picti* as a way of indicating the owner of individual vessels. Unfortunately, no amphora or barrel has ever been found both sealed with a stopper containing the owner's name as well as bearing an inscription on it, so the relationship between the two systems is not clear. Marked stoppers found after the Republican era in the western Mediterranean are associated with public supply,²⁴⁶ while inscribed stoppers associated with retail trade have been found in the eastern parts of the empire.²⁴⁷ One could perhaps speculate that the use of these seals for the goods distributed as part of the *annona* were a more secure system, since one could not reuse the containers without breaking the stopper.

Of the two systems for marking amphora ownership, *tituli picti* provide more details of the goods and the particularities of the sale, as was explained in Chapter 5. The increase in the use of *tituli picti* could have resulted in, amongst other reasons, an increase of port controls or a movement towards a more differentiated liability of the seller (Frier: 1984, 291). However, they testify to an increase in the sophistication of trade, a more complex organization of transport, and, above all, the existence of an institutional framework of Roman law that defined the rights and duties of the parties involved in commerce.

Barrel marks referring to the merchant were created in such a way as to ensure that they lasted the duration of the sea voyage, such as branding by fire (B. 044-50; 53; 80; 87) or chiselled (B. 051; 63; 68; 82; 88-90). Additionally, *scripta commercii* related to the merchant are sometimes made on the stopper of the barrel (B. 040-42; 82-3). There does not seem to be any geographical or chronological pattern to techniques or where they appeared on the barrel (on the stopper or the staves); the choice could have been down to a personal preference of the merchant. Barrel finds are too rare to establish whether or not there were whole cargoes of unmarked barrels.

Some ingots contain multiple marks corresponding to different merchants and periods, such as the Bou Ferrer ingot (Figure 9) or the ones found on the Cala Rossano wreck (Aratta: 1994, 480). A recent paper by Rico (2011) illustrates the cycle of storing ingots in the warehouses of ports and re-selling them, with the consequent marks of the different merchants owning them. Therefore, the different marks on the ingots can give an indication of the number of times that the ingot changed hands.

Apart from signalling which cargo was occupying the whole or part of the ship, the *scripta commercii* would have been important for the delivery, allowing the shipper to differentiate which goods were to be handed over to whom. If a vessel was lent or hired by various merchants, none of them owned or possessed the whole ship, only a share in it. That is the principle agreed in fragment D. 13.6.5.15 (*duos non possunt habere dominium eiusde rei in solidum*), which refers to the fact that each person has a right to a share of the use of the ship. That said, different merchants hiring the same ship would have the right of claim on the basis of their individual contract. The case of the vessel with a

²⁴⁶ See discussion in section 7.2.1

²⁴⁷ E.g. marked stoppers for wine amphorae found at Myos Hormos (Thomas: 2011)

cargo belonging to several merchants is well portrayed in Digest (title 14.2), in which the compilers gathered texts concerning jettison.

The situation addressed was one where an emergency resulted in jettisoning of the cargo in order to lighten the ship. In this case, “the sacrifice for the common good must be made good by common contribution” (D. 14.2.1pr) and it relates to a case of a ship containing the cargo of several merchants (e.g. D. 14.2.2.1). Apparently, such an arrangement constituted a kind of partnership in facing navigational risks (D17.2.7). Thus one cannot think that each merchant had their own space on a ship, but more that they had individualized goods in a shared space. Sometimes the goods were the assets of a *societas* (e.g. A.929-32), with the *socii* sharing the risks (D.17.2.54.2). Clear identification of the owner would help establish who had lost their cargo in favour of others, in order to establish the amount to be paid to the merchants affected by the jettisoning of the cargo.

Middlemen were very common in long distance commerce, provoking Hadrian to enact a disposition against their practices (*IG* 2² 1102), considering them abusive (Terpstra: 2015, 73-94). They were in charge of selling the goods brought to ports in ships for local markets. The sale profits were shared between merchant and middleman. This mechanism allowed sales in markets where merchants had no contacts (Young: 2003, 56). These middlemen could be interpreted as freedmen working for their patrons in distant ports, scouting the newly arrived cargoes in the port to the patron's customers or stores (Broekaert: 2016, 234).

A clear example of the relevant communication that would have been involved in this can be found in P. Bad. 2. 43 (AD 200-301) line 10ff, where one brother writes to the other indicating that the amphorae have been marked with the name of Plutarch (the shipper) and that they will reach him in some days. The brother also says that Plutarch owes him money, so the brother receiving the cargo does not need to pay the rental price of the ship and, when he receives the oil, he has to pay only the price of the oil and not the passage. Clearly the brother would have recognised the cargo by the *scriptum* marked by his brother. This example refers to a small-scale transaction, but the *scripta commercii* were equally deployed in major commercial enterprises. For example, the *Fadii*, merchants specialized in Baetican olive oil, appear on many *scripta* on amphorae (e.g. A. 674; 676; 682; 684),²⁴⁸ and also monumental inscriptions indicate that they were part of a widespread business organization composed of merchants and their agents located in different parts of the Mediterranean (Broekaert: 2013, 357-8). The agents would identify relevant cargo by the inscription mentioning the cognomen *Fadii*. However, it is also true that even if the *Fadii* travelled with the cargo, they would have still needed cargo to be marked in order to distinguish “their” amphorae from others of the same type.

Where does this leave us with the case of the Bou Ferrer wreck, with its homogenous cargo consisting entirely of unmarked amphorae? The amphorae were of the Dressel 7-11 type, with several sub-types deriving from different kiln sites. These amphorae have been interpreted as coming from a

²⁴⁸ Appendix VIII, 17.7

major port (likely Gades),²⁴⁹ with the necessary infrastructure and human and technical resources to enable more than two thousand amphorae to be stored. There are two possible interpretations of this cargo. One is that the cargo belonged to a single merchant who hired the whole ship at a flat rate (D. 14.2.10pr and § 2) and filled it with amphorae. Although it is probably nothing more than a coincidence, the fragment D.14.10.2 specifies exactly the same round number of two thousand amphorae. Since this cargo occupies the whole ship, the amphorae which composed it did not need to be inscribed to differentiate them from goods belonging to other merchants. This merchant responsible would have needed to be significantly wealthy to be able to ship two thousand amphorae on his own. The Muziris papyrus (SB XVIII 13167) illustrates how much money had to be pooled before starting a long business voyage such as this.

The second possibility is that amphorae belonged to several individuals forming a partnership (*societas*). The *societas* was a flexible tool for pooling resources; for instance, a merchant who had just bought a ship and lacked capital reserves to hire a crew and purchase merchandize, could try to draw up a partnership. In this way he would be able to immediately make his investments work by relying on the contributions from other *socii* instead of being obliged to borrow money at his own peril (Broekaert: 2012, 227). The fact that the amphorae derived from different kiln sites could further support this scenario. Unfortunately, all known *scripta* mentioning *societates* (A. 601; 754; 929-31) have been found decontextualized from the cargo of which they were originally a part, preventing us from testing this hypothesis. In sum, we simply do not know have enough evidence for the second interpretation, so the first might be the more likely scenario.

Another case discussed in the Digest, in the well-studied fragment D. 19.2.31, refers to a cargo loaded in bulk with different amounts belonging to various merchants. Scholars have studied numerous issues concerning this text, such as the transmission of ownership (e.g. De Santis: 1945; Albanese: 1971), the existence or not of the *actio oneris aversi* (Thomas: 1968; De Marco: 2003), and the identification of the containers in a cargo (Purpura: 2014). This last issue is relevant for us here. The one thing that seems to be reasonably clear from D. 19.2.31 is that the contract was treated as one of *locatio conductio operis*, implying that a certain Saufeius was hired to perform the specific task of selling the grain²⁵⁰ and to either give back the same amount of product that remained unsold or the money arising from the sale. The grain was loaded onto the ship in bulk and the grain belonging to different merchants was mixed (O. 97-117).²⁵¹ At the first port at which the ship called, one of the customers received back his share of the grain, but the ship then subsequently sank. The text deals with compensation for those merchants who lost grain in the incident. Alfenus indicated that the ownership of the cargo was transferred to Saufeius because it was loaded in bulk and not in containers. Clearly the separation in containers denoted ownership. Grain was fungible,²⁵² meaning it could be

²⁴⁹ De Juan *et al.*: 2014, 140

²⁵⁰ Saufeius would have been payed before the task was completed (D.19.2.30.3).

²⁵¹ Appendix VIII, 17.6

²⁵² See Appendix X

replaced by another of the same quality since economically they exercise the same function (Forschner: 2011, 22). So when goods were loaded in bulk and could no longer be individually identified, then a transfer of ownership to the shipper might have been preferable (Du Plessis: 2012, 87).

The way to ensure that the correct amount of the product transported in bulk would be handed over to the customer was by the use of official standards of measure (*sekómata*) and the samples of the product which were sent with the main cargo.²⁵³ We have evidence of the use of these samples for the state supply of wine in late antiquity by the inscription *CIL VI 1785* (Vera: 2006). In summary, these samples ensured that the good carried in bulk could be measured according to official standards at any moment, thus avoiding fraud. That would be the warranty assumed by the shipper and it could be enforced by the merchant. In the case of Egypt, where the trade in grain was so important, we can find the presence of an *epiplóos* (in Latin *vector*), or person in charge of monitoring the cargo until arrival at the destination (Frosen: 1983, 172; SB 5 7737; P. Ryl. 4 576).

Classical Roman law never broke away from its refusal to recognize the sale of generic goods (see 5.2). This was certainly not because trade in such goods did not take place; there are plenty examples in the Digest as well as in wrecks at the bottom of the Mediterranean Sea. The conventional view is that the law had this restrictive approach precisely because the lease and hire contracts imposed a specificity on the object (G. 3.142; D. 19.2.2pr; Inst. 3.24). Large quantities of goods could readily be sold provided they were identified at least as a mass on board a ship (Johnston: 1999, 80). That was one of the uses of the samples. To sum up, the identification of the freight as individual objects or as a whole implied different ways of selling the product at the destination, as well as different assumptions of liability by the shipper. The individualization of the cargo loaded in separate containers or sacks indicated the ownership of the merchant. The characterization of each container reflected the assumption by the shipper of the strict liability for safekeeping the cargo. This implied an agreement by which the ship owner accepted goods for transportation or custody with the addition of a proviso that they would be safe (D. 4.9.1). With goods carried in bulk, and thus constituted a single entity, the obligation was to give back the same amount of grain or its equivalent in money. This gesture has been interpreted as a *xeirembolon* (section 4.2.1.2),²⁵⁴ but I think that this is better interpreted as a receipt enacted between two people conducting a joint business venture.

6.3.3. Inscriptions concerning the Amount of Goods transported (C, α, γ).²⁵⁵

Did the Romans have a standard unit to measure the capacity of the ships? How could they measure the amount of cargo that could be accommodated on a specific ship? How did that affect transport contracts? When loading a ship, what would have been more important: to know how much cargo weight the vessel could carry, or the quantity of goods that it could accommodate? Knowing

²⁵³ Sections 2.3.2.3 and 4.2.2.1

²⁵⁴ D.4.9.1.3

²⁵⁵ For the *scripta commercii* quoted in this section, see Appendix VIII, 17.2 & 17.3

the capacity of the ship allowed the shipper to gauge how much he could effectively load on board, and knowing the amount of cargo it could hold was crucial for keeping the ship on an even keel. As Nantet noted (2014, 201-10), measuring the cargo of a ship was not a simple affair, concluding that the tonnage of the ship was necessarily approximate. Indeed, D.14.2.4pr shows that sometimes the shipper could not always correctly estimate whether the excessive weight would prevent the ship entering a port or a river. It is likely that shippers working on regular routes knew such things from experience only, as has been argued for the Canale Romano at Portus (Salomon *et al.* 2014, 44 fig. 6).

For lease and hire, weight and capacity affected the decision as to what cargo could fit inside the vessel, as well as establishing the price to be paid by the customer. The study of inscriptions C, α , and γ in section 5.2.2 indicated their heterogeneity, which depended on the good sold, the port of departure or other local and customary practices. Chapter 5 also showed that the units inscribed on a container were sometimes rounded to fit better the schemes of sale. By looking at scarce written evidence that refer to carriage by sea, I will try to elucidate whether the *scripta commercii* relating to quantities were written with sale or transport logistics in mind.

Sources such as the *plebiscitum Claudianum* (Liv. 21.6) or Claudius' edict (G. I.32) mention amphorae and *modius* as standard measures,²⁵⁶ but they were regulations specific to wine and grain, respectively. The problem is that both units were not stable and could change depending on several factors. For example, the *modius*, like the *artab*, was a measure of volume, not of weight, and may have varied in weight depending on the properties of a particular batch of goods. For example, an *artaba* of grain grown under ideal conditions would weigh more than one eked out during a poor year, mainly due to higher moisture content. As an example of that, the Egyptian *artaba* was a measure of traditionally varying capacities (Mayerson: 1998, 189). Both the *artaba* (e.g. P. Bing. 77; P.Oxy.45.3250) and the *modius* (e.g. *Tab. Vind.* 180; 18.1.35.5) are mentioned in different sources concerning grain transport, with the *modius* being introduced in Egypt in the 4th cent. AD (Mayerson: 2006, 101-6). The evidence of the fragment D. 19.2.31 and the famous register of P.Bing.77, together with the iconographic evidence of the *Isis Geminiana* ship (Figure 19), provide clues about how grain loading was undertaken. In the case of bulk transport involving several merchants, the grain was loaded and measured and the quantity belonging to each merchant was noted down to be charged according to quantity. If the merchants were loading the grain in sacks, these would have been inscribed with a name and quantity, indicating the ownership of the container by the individual merchant. In case of a whole cargo belonging to one merchant, the latter would be charged at a fixed price, as can be appreciated in D.19.2.61.1 or D. 19.2.19.3.

Metreta is mentioned in Roman sources as a unit for oil (D. 19.2.61.1; Cato. *De agr.* 100; Plaut. *Mercator.* 75), while one of the Vindolanda tablets connects it to beer (*Tab. Vind.* 186), and two Egyptian papyri to wine (SB.14.11552 = SB.6, 9212; P. Oxy. 62. 4340). The term *amphora* was also

²⁵⁶ As shown in the *Isis Geminiana* painting (Fig. 19), where a *modius* is used to measure the grain being loaded (as *res, fecit*).

used both as a unit of volume (Fest. De verb. 246.37) and of weight (*Lex Silia de ponderibus publicis*). Wallinga (1964, 12-4) pointed out that in shipping, *amphora* applies to an object and not to a unit of measure (cf. D. 14.2.10.2; D. 18.1.35.5). Some papyri (e.g. P. Bing. 77; P.Oxy.Hels.37; P.Oxy.43. 3111) mention jars (κεραμίων), which correspond to the term *amphora*. For wine loaded in bulk, the *dolia* graffiti indicating capacity sometimes display the units in *amphorae*, *sextarii*, *urnae*, *bisextiae*, *modii*, and several other units that are unattested elsewhere (Brenni: 1985, 193-7).

All of the mentioned units of measure were used to indicate the quantity of liquids loaded on a ship, but what motivated the use of one term *versus* another? The sources referring to *amphorae* (Cic. *Ad fam.* XII. 15.2; Liv. 21.6) indicate a large number loaded on a ship, which corresponds with the evidence from shipwrecks. Conversely, *metreta*, when used for a container, meant a very large one, specifically bigger than an *amphora* (Cat. *De agr.* 100; White: 1975, 167). The evidence provided by TPSulp 80 displays a receipt for a sale contract in which the receiver of the goods gave different names for different containers holding various products (*amphora vini*, *urnalia melis*, *amphoram defriti*).²⁵⁷ Latin literature refers to oil as measured in *metretae*.²⁵⁸ Could it be possible that the jurists refer to oil containers as *metreta* because these were recognisably larger than the *amphorae* for wine or *defrutum*?

The text from D. 19.2.61.1 described a route from Cyrene (Lybia) to Aquileia (Italy), a well-known place for oil export (Mattingly: 1988, 33ff.). It is possible to find Tripolitanian exports in the Adriatic region (Zaccaria: 2009; Auriemma *et al.* 2015). Tripolitania was also the region where the wide-bodied Tripolitana 2 amphorae (80-85 litres) were produced. It appears from this evidence that the author of the text, Scaevola (2nd cent. AD), may have been aware of this trade route and that he was also describing a different way of shipping goods by carrying them in bulk or *metreta*.

Dolia were also larger than amphorae and required special ships to transport them. However, legal sources do not mention *dolia* when concerning the capacity of a ship, only when making reference to warehouses (D.18.1.60pr; D.18.1.76pr). In fact, there was no legal standardisation of wine containers by volume, although the terms *amphora*, *urna* and *culleus* were used to designate both the vessels and the units of measure (Aličić: 2017). The jurists divided the wine vessels in two categories that were used for transporting it, namely *amphorae* and *cadi* (other jars), while they referred to *dolia* or barrels as forming part of the farming equipment used on landed property. However, the fragment D. 18.1.35.7 refers to a sale of wine stored in a *dolia*, and refers to *metreta* as the unit used to set the price. Thus, the mention of wine *metreta* in Egyptian papyri is not just due to the lack of *dolia* in that part of the Mediterranean, but also because the shippers used it in referring to large units of volume carried on their ships. Unlike *amphorae*, *dolia* were not mentioned as containers but as units of volume.

²⁵⁷ Other examples of receipts can be found in P. Stras. IV. 184 and the Bloomberg tablet 44 (Tomlin: 2017, 152). This suggests that creating receipts for the acknowledgement of the receiving of goods was probably not uncommon.

²⁵⁸ E.g. Cato. *De agr.* 100.1; 103.7; Colum. *De re rust.* 12.40; 12.49; and D. 18.1.35 (Gai 10 *ad ed. Prov.*); D. 18.1.35.7 (Gai 10 *ad ed. Prov.*); D. 19.2.61.1 (Scaev. 7 *dig.*)

In section 5.2.1., I proposed that the reason why oil containers were not inscribed with the product name could be explained by their size; consequently, the same logic might have applied to quantity.

Labelling the goods packaged as *metreta* or *amphorae* is also linked with the sale strategy employed, dictated by the product and the cycle of trade in which it participated. As demonstrated in Chapter 5 and the fragment D.18.1.35.5, wine could be sold by the jar and oil by the *metreta*, except in those cases when wine was transported in bulk, in which case it was also sold by *metreta*. Concerning the Dressel 20 amphorae, it is known that they were inscribed indicating quantity in pounds (e.g. A. 664-669), which made it possible to estimate how many pounds of oil were being sent to Rome. However this does not preclude that when loading these containers, the space occupied by the amphorae was considered in *metretae*.

Thus, capacity was an important consideration when loading a ship, since it helped the shipper estimate how much could be loaded and how much had to be paid to the merchant. That did not mean that estimating the weight was unimportant. Evidence for this comes from learning that sailors used ingots for ballast to balance ships were aware of issues such as the depth of the waterways or the process of transshipping, and that they considered weight in the case of jettisoning goods (D.14.2.2.2; D. 14.2.10pr; D.19.2.19.7). In addition, the different marks inscribed on ingots (Domergue: 1998, 209) highlight the importance of weight for the estimation of the amount that needed to be paid in taxes.

Knowledge of the quantity of goods transported would have also been relevant for concluding the lease of a ship. As with sale, the contract could be concluded once the price of the rent was agreed upon (D.19.2.2) by the present parties (*PS.5.7.2*; D.19.2.25.pr). While the text from D.19.2.61.1 mentioned the case of a person renting a whole ship at a fixed amount, fragment D. 19.2.19.3 indicates that the rent could be paid for a specific amount loaded at a fixed price, or alternatively, that part of the rent could be paid by the transmission of part of the goods being transported. In letting and hiring of fruit containers, the contracting parties sometimes made different arrangements that included payment partly in money and partly in fruit (D.10.3.23).

To sum up, when loading amphorae or grain in a vessel and not filling it completely, the customer would pay for the amount loaded based on the shipper's asking price. Otherwise, when filling an entire ship with cargo (D.19.2.61.1), the customers would pay a fixed amount for the ship. Labeo explained in D.14.2.10.2 that a vessel could be hired at a flat rate (e.g. hire of a ship with a capacity of 2000 jars would be priced at 2000 jars) or by the amount of cargo actually loaded (the merchant paid for what was actually loaded onto the ship). In section 5.2.2 I mentioned the possibility that some of the numbers inscribed on amphorae correspond to stock figures (e.g. A. 225, A. 487, A. 495, A. 516). These marks could correspond to the amphorae carried in a ship with other cargoes and charged by the shipper by the total number loaded.

Thus, I would argue that the amounts inscribed on containers were primarily important for sale and the procedures that took place when arriving at the port (section 5.2.2). These quantities would have been important in estimating the weight loaded of the goods loaded onto the ship and its

draft (complementing it with ingots where necessary), but it seems that the customer was charged by the space occupied in the ship.

6.3.4. Inscriptions referring to diverse Features of Lease and Hire (F)²⁵⁹

The F inscriptions are especially important for transport, because they provide data about (1) the origin (e.g. 1526, 3622 and 3688), (2) the ship, (3) the receiver, (4) the destination (e.g. 1195 and 30044), (5) the person in charge of the shipping, and (6) other details about the shipping. These details can be found inscribed jointly or in isolation. The role of these inscriptions is studied here through the prism of two specific case studies: transhipment and product sampling.

6.3.4.1. Transhipment

Transhipment was a common occurrence in Mediterranean commercial navigation since many ports were situated at rivers (e.g. Arelate, Lugdunum) or because the urban centers needed to be approached by a river (e.g. Rome from *Portus*), a canal (Ephesos), by means of an internal lagoon (Narbo Martius, Hispalis), or were part of a larger bay (Gades). Figure 46 shows a man transferring cargo from one boat to another, attesting to how this practice was performed at Ostia.

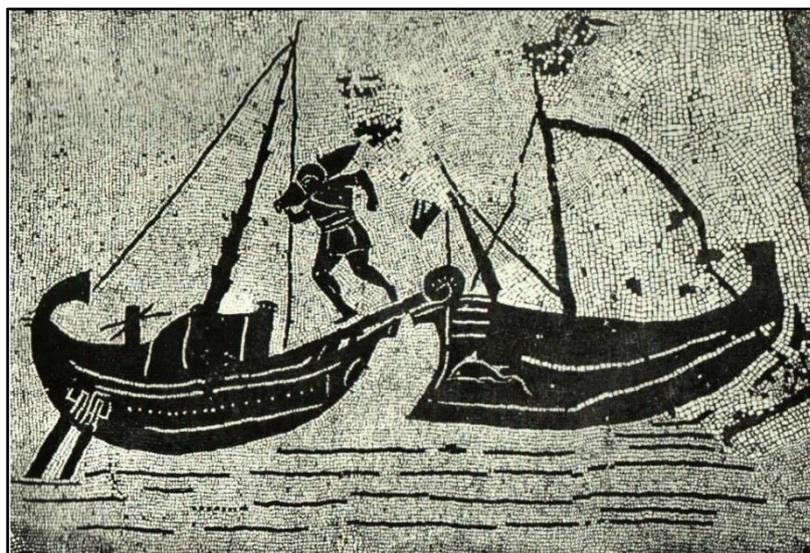


Figure 46. Mosaic from the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, Statio 25 (Ostia)(photo of the author)

In addition, transhipment also took place at ports, because many ports of the Mediterranean acted as hubs for redistributing merchandise to other places, including *Portus* (Dion. Hal. 3.14.2; Keay: 2010, 12; Pensabene: 2012), Puteoli (Pitassi: 2009, 188) and Arelate (Silvino: 2016, 650). Transhipment

²⁵⁹ For the *scripta* quoted in this section, see Appendix VIII, 17.5

posed certain challenges and both sailors and jurists provided their best theoretical or practical solutions to cope with it successfully.

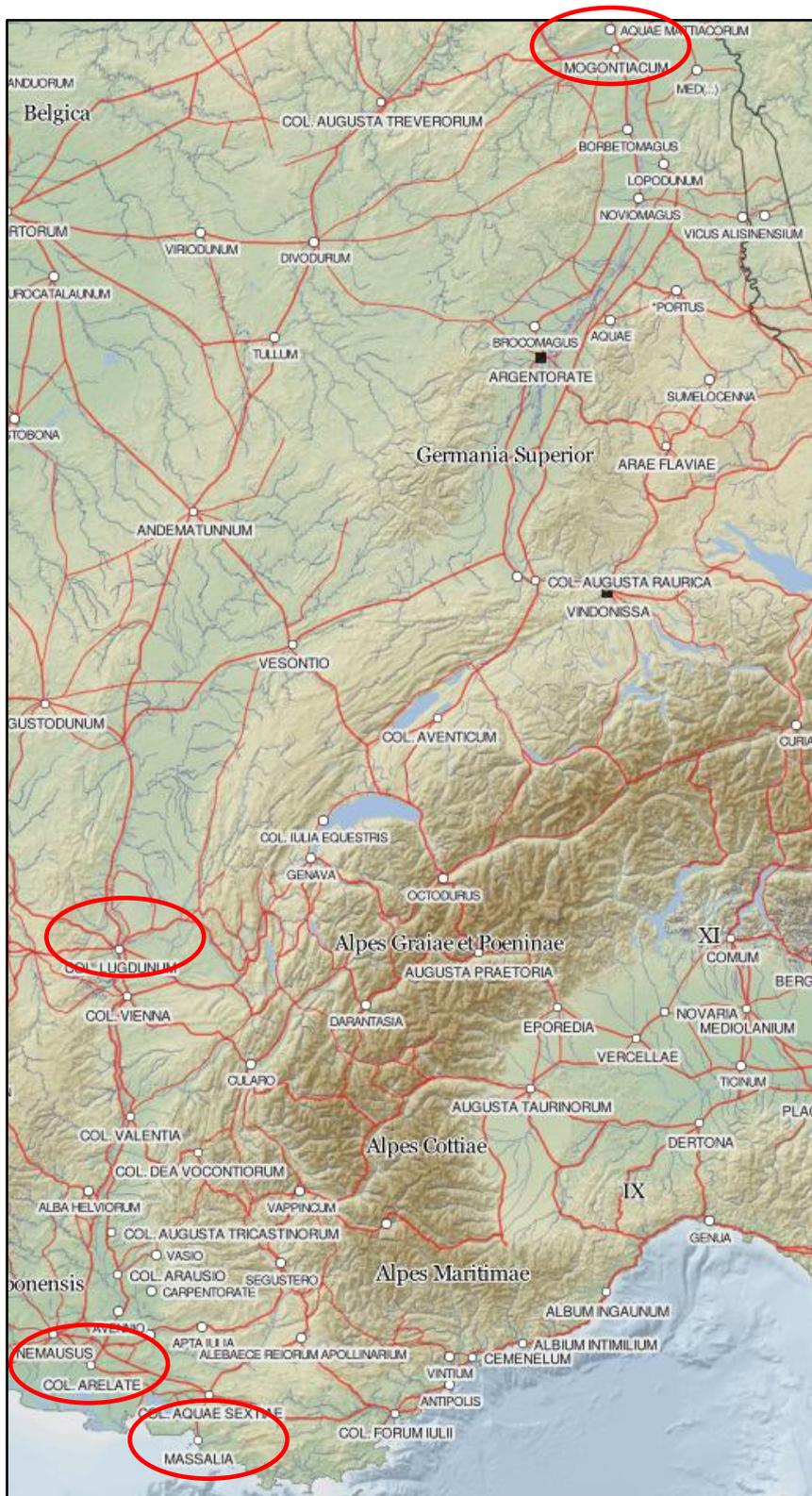


Figure 47. Map of the places where the goods were transhipped according to A. 1091-9, A. 134 (Source: <http://pelagios.org/maps/greco-roman/>)

In areas where the course of rivers was suitable and easily navigable or where transportation by sea was possible, using waterways was usually cheaper and more convenient than land transport.²⁶⁰ Generally speaking, transshipment was a perilous stage in the journey of a cargo and exposed the carrier to potential liability if things went wrong. Indeed, the Digest²⁶¹ mentions more than one case where transshipment led to the loss of the cargo when the river barge onto which the goods had been transferred sank. Proper management of the ship and choice of crew are named as the precautions that the shipper should have considered in order to assure the safety of the transshipment (D. 14.1.1pr.). The nature of the cargo (D. 19.2.25.7) and the way in which it had been transported were also deemed important factors. When contracting a charter, the carrier would have specified the route of the vessel and identified the ship in which the cargo was going to travel (e.g. *FIRA* III .477-9; P. Oxy. 45.3250). The Digest suggests that the carrier should communicate to the customer if the goods were going to be transhipped during the trip so that the likely risks could be assessed.²⁶² Some journeys would have necessitated transshipment, as was the case with Arles, which was considered a “breaking point” of cargoes (Djaoui: 2017, 68). In fact, Djaoui (2017, 80) mentions the existence of some pots whose bases are inscribed with names in the genitive case that could refer to the merchant in charge of overseeing the filling of them with the contents from a bigger container. This made it possible to reallocate the cargo into smaller vessels that could be transported along the river Rhone (Figure 47).

In cases when transshipment was necessary to arrive at the destination, the *magister* was not to be liable even if transshipment had not been agreed in advance (D.19.2.30.2), the practice would still have been avoided whenever possible. D.14.2.10.1 and D.19.2.13.1 states the liability of the *magister* for needlessly transshipping a cargo against the will of the customer, while D.14.2.4pr describes an emergency transshipment performed when the ship was too heavily laden to enter a river.

Being aware of their substantial responsibility, it was in the carrier’s interest to clearly mark that the liability for the cargo had been transferred to a second carrier in the transshipment process. The amphorae found along the Rhine at Cologne, Mainz, and Augst contain an additional inscription that constitutes the F record (Table 10). These consist of abbreviated *tria nomina* that sometimes coincide with the merchant names inscribed in position D on the same amphorae (A. 1092-A.1099). When the names displayed on F and D inscriptions coincide, Martin-Kilcher (2002, 347) proposed that they referred to merchants responsible for a certain port en-route (in this case, Lyon). When D and F inscriptions differ, the cargo was likely to be sold to another merchant who inscribed his name on it and took charge of the shipping from that moment onwards. This hypothesis implies the presence of agents in the port where the cargo was being transferred onto another ship. Table 10 displays the relationship between F and D names and seems to indicate that the *Uritti* had agents in charge of transporting goods until arrival at their destination. Thus, the item was tracked once it was going to

²⁶⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 13, 53; Plin. *Ep.* 10, 41; Ed. Diocl. 17,5

²⁶¹ E.g. D.14.2.10.1; D.14.1.1.12; D.19.2.13.1

²⁶² In fact, the text of D. 19.2.60.8 directly indicates that the route has to be communicated to the person hiring the shipping service as well as the taxes that must be paid.

be transhipped from the first ship, indicating who was taking care of it, and, in the case of the *Uritti*, whether they were part of their network or not. The numbers inscribed next to the names are problematic, but perhaps they could refer to the number of amphorae shipped by a merchant (Martin-Kilcher: 2002, 346).

Item	Inscription D	Inscription F	Main source
A. 1092	PROCVLI ET VRBICI	C.I.S. VII	Martin-Kilcher, 2002, fig. 2
A. 1093	PROCVLI ET VRBICI	L.V.V. XXXV	Martin-Kilcher, 2002, fig. 4
A. 1094	PROCVLI ET VRBICI	L.V.V LXXV	Martin-Kilcher, 2002, fig. 5
A. 1095	L. [V]RITTI VERECUNDI	L.V.V.XVI	Martin-Kilcher, 2002, fig. 6
A. 1096	L. URITTI VERECVNDI	Q.S.L. III	Martin-Kilcher, 2002, fig. 7
A. 1097	L. VRITTI VE[RECVNDI]	M.L.V.VI	Martin-Kilcher, 2002, fig. 10

Table 10. Chart showing D and F inscriptions found on Beltran 2A amphorae.

Other vessels found in the Rhone valley (A. 1090) and in Lyon (A. 194) bear the inscription ARELATE, distinct from other inscriptions on the amphora. Following Poux (2014: 410), it can be proposed that the amphorae travelled via the port of Arles and were marked there, which would suggest the existence of different practices for marking the items passing through the ports of Arles and Lyon.

The reason for the existence of different marking systems could be explained by the nature of the associations involved in commerce that operated at the two ports. While numerous professional associations have been attested at both Lyon and Arles (Tran: 2012, 74 nt. 59), their organisation seems to have differed, with Arles showing a tighter cooperation between different strands of shipping professionals that seem to have operated as one group in charge of the navigation along the Rhone.²⁶³ At Lyon, on the other hand, inscriptions refer to a variety of sailors and shipping associations.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ The Arles' people in charge of transport seem to have formed five distinct groups (*CIL* XII 672; III 14165) of which we know three: the *navicularii* (mentioned in *statio* 27 from Ostia), the *utricularii* (Le Glay: 1964; Kneissl: 1981, 169ff. Deman: 2002, 233-46; Marlier; Djaoui: 2013, 117-24), and the *lemuncularii* (Long: 2008; Christol and Fruyt: 2009). The five groups have been interpreted as subdivisions of one main unified group (De Salvo: 1992, 403), as guilds in general tended to be perceived as multiple components of a unitary set (Tran: 2006, 264-6); cf. *contra* (Christol: 1982, 5-14). Especially, on the *utricularii*, see App. X

²⁶⁴ Lyonnais inscriptions mentioning guilds are *CIL* XII.1921 and 1974, while others refer to sailors of the Saone (*CIL* VI. 29722; XII. 1005) or the Rhone (*CIL* XII. 1797; XIII, 2002; 2494).

without any mention of a professional body such as the *navicularii lugdunensis*, indicating that perhaps they were working separately or as agents of merchants such as the *Uritti*.

6.3.4.2. Products shipped for the Army²⁶⁵

The transport organized around the supplies destined for military camps involved marking barrels, leaving marks such as the ones found at Vindolanda which are not always easy to interpret. The F inscription could have recorded the number of the legion (*legio*) to which a barrel was to be sent (1192; 1195; 2952-3; 3183), or as a distinctive inscription (3004) which indicated that the barrel was addressed to a specific person in the camp (Birley: 2005, 75-89).

Other inscriptions referred to the receivers, whose roles in the camp are unknown (3055-6; 3058-9; 3183; 3000; 3013; 3011; 3722; 1191) except when they refer to members of the imperial family (3722) or even to the emperor himself (3069-3070). Unfortunately, we do not know about the contents of these barrels, but several amphorae identified as containers for fish sauce have been found in the vicinity of the *limes Germanicus* (Broekaert: 2016²). Inscriptions 1191-2 and 3929 refer to the name of a *procurator Augusti* located in the camp of *Augusta Vindelicorum* (Augsburg, Germany), but other inscriptions (3930, 3932) refer to the same subject byname but not his role. The same happens with 3922-3, referring only to the name of the *princeps legionis*. Moreover, Inscription 3929 gives the name of the same *procurator* (C. Saturius Secundus), together with the name of a merchant, in the position that was normally reserved for the name of the merchant (3931-2).

A similar case has been pointed out by Ehmig (1996, 35) for a fish sauce amphora found at Mainz. In the case of 3929, the only name that appears inscribed is that of the *procurator*, written in the place that normally occupied the name of the merchant. Perhaps people involved in the transport of fish sauce along the Rhone were aware of the name of that *procurator* and that may be the reason why only the name is mentioned, since it will be recognised as cargo addressed to the army's official at the *stationes* for the exemption of taxes. Similar is the case of the fish sauce amphorae found at Masada, recording the name of the king Βασιλέως (Cotton: 1996, 229; Berdowski: 2008, 107ff).

6.3.4.3. The use of Samples²⁶⁶

To close this section, I would like to talk about the grain samples which were inscribed with details that reflect traits of shipping contracts. They consist of small vessels, closed with seals, representing quality samples of the grain that had to be transported in a ship in order to prevent manipulation of the grain. These differed from samples used to promote a product to a potential customer. The epigraphic apparatus of the samples holding grain indicates that the sale had been agreed and needed to be completed perfect by sampling the product.

²⁶⁵ All inscriptions quoted in this section can be found in Appendix VIII, 17.5

²⁶⁶ All inscriptions quoted in this section can be found in Appendix VIII, 17.5

As will be appreciated, the samples travelling with a grain cargo also acted as a transport contract which could be invoked for inspection by customs officials on arrival at the port. Five samples have been found and published, one of them (*CIL* IV 9591)²⁶⁷ being subject to diverse critical editions.²⁶⁸ The inscription from *CIL* IV 9591 is held on a small grain amphora found at Pompeii and bearing an inscription that reads as follows²⁶⁹:

(on one side) [Written by one hand]

*Ante exemplar tr(itici) m(odiorum) XVCC/
in n(ave) cumba amp(horarum) MDC de tutela
Iovis et/ Iuno(nis) parasemi Victoria P(ubli)
Pompili Saturi. Mag(ister) M(arcus) Lartidius
Vitalis domo Clupeis*

Sample sent with the cargo of 15.200 *modii* of grain, transported inside the ship *Cumba*, capacity 1600 amphorae, under the protection of Jupiter and Juno, with the distinctive sign of victory, under the orders of *P. Pompilius Satorus, M. Lartidius Vitalis*, domiciled in *Clupea*

(Under the belly) [Written by a second hand]

*Vect(uras) estis rec(epturi) so(ven)do (causa)
(in the margin) gratis m(odios) CC
S(olutio)²⁷⁰ F(acta) Ostis PR(ior) idus Octobr(es)*

You will give the amount of 98 denarii- 200 *modii* are exempted from cost.

Solved at Ostia before the ides of October

(On the opposite side) [written by a third hand]

Rustico ab

To Rusticus from []

The first part of the inscription is the one of interest for this section, while the second will be further analysed in Chapter 7, as it refers to issues about control and transport. Finally, the last section of the inscription, written by a third hand, corresponds to a reuse of the vessel, which was sent to Rusticus by another subject. The epigraphic record reveals that this amphora, coming from Tunisia, was addressed to a private subject (*Rusticus*) who lived in Pompeii, where the sample was found. Inscription *CIL* VI 1785 refers to wine distributed publicly and indicates that the samples have to return to their owner, because they correspond to official measures. The fact that Rusticus kept the sample is a sign that the Pompeian sample was not part of the *annona* supply, despite the fact that it acted as a transport contract.

²⁶⁷ Figure 5. original text in Appendix VIII, 17. 5. 3285-3297

²⁶⁸ For a reference of the different editions of this inscription can be found in section 2.3.1

²⁶⁹ Transcription taken from Andreau *et al.*: 2017, though amended by the author in the reading *S(olutio) F(acta)*

²⁷⁰ Cf. Appendix X

Another small amphora also found at Pompeii (*CIL* IV 5894) was inscribed with similar details [*Ante [e]xemplar tritici / in nave Cn. Senti Homeri / Ti(berii) Claudi Orphei vect(um)*], but, in this case, only the upper part of the amphora has been recovered and consequently the text is fragmentary. Still, it is possible to understand that the master of the ship was named Tiberius Claudius Orpheus and the ship belonged to *Cn Senti Homeri*. Thus, the identification of the ship, its master, and owner were common features of shipping contracts (e.g. P. Oxy. 3250; P. Oxy. Hels.37) and not something only specific to the shipment of grain

On the other hand, an amphora found at Marseille (3299-3301) appears to have been written more succinctly and refers to the receiver (*Rubrius*), the origin (*Cavares*), and the destination (Massalia) of the sample, rather than details of the ship. According to Liou and Morel (1977, 196), Cavares could be a place located in Transalpine Gaul (Fornasier: 2003, 53), indicating that the goods may have arrived at the port by means of river transport. Another way of recording the contract appears on a small sack (3896), now at the Cairo museum, that contains the name of the person sending it (Memphite), the name of the master of the ship, and its destination (Alexandria).

The samples numbered 3894-5 contain not only information about shipping, but also about the control and sealing of the samples by the officers checking the merchandise (Guéraud: 1960). The details allow us to follow the process of loading the grain and mention officials involved in loading and registering it, such as the *epiploos*. These details also appear in papyri that constitute receipts of grain dating to different periods, such as P. Oxy. X. 1259; P. Oxy. XVII. 2125 and P. Oxy. XXXIII, 2670 (Geraci: 2012, 353). The amphora inscription mentions that the ship which transported the grain was publically owned, indicating that this sample accompanied a cargo destined for the *annona*.²⁷¹

From this small set of examples, it is possible to observe that the details provided in the inscriptions could vary, but they always make reference to the destination of the merchandise. The level of detail varied depending on the controls established at the ports of departure and destination, or whether the goods with which it was associated formed part of the *annona*. Providing details of destination could be due to the object being unloaded at an interim stop along a longer route. Finally, detailing the origin of the sample can provide details about the kinds of control to which the product was subject prior to departure of the ship on which it was carried, as in the case of the Massilian amphora. This last sample was then a sort of travel document which certified the quality of the goods or the contract agreed with the shippers for the benefit of the inspection as well as the procurators in charge of the reception of the cargo.

The identification of the ship or its owner appears written on the samples. The recognition of the ship is an important issue in letting and hiring for four main reasons: (1) it appointed the shipper to sail with a specific ship and undertake specific tasks (D. 14.1.1.12), (2) to record the cargo entrusted to the shipper (D. 14.2.10.1), (3) to identify the origin of the ship at the entrance of the port, and (4)

²⁷¹ Some of the papyri attesting to the use of public ships are cpr 17A 7; P.Oxy 1 86; P.Sakaon 29; SB 16 12340; SB 6 9223; SB 24 16270.

to track the ship in case of controversy (D. 5.1.19.1-2). Currently, ship registration is the process by which a ship is documented and it is given the nationality of the country of the company or person who owns the ship. The nationality allows a ship to travel internationally as it is proof of ownership of the vessel. In Roman legal literature, identification of the ship was mentioned despite the fact that no trace of ship registration survives from the Roman times. The sign or insignia of a ship, such as its tutelary god, was displayed on the stern as we can see in the case of the *Isis Geminiana* painting (Figure 19). However, in addition to this, Roman ships had a specified origin, which was essentially the name of a port (Arnaud: 2016, 137). Ancient sources usually name the city²⁷² of a ship as part of her identity together with the *parasemon*,²⁷³ or individual distinctive mark (Casson: 1971, 344-8).

Commonly, ships are also mentioned as being the property of one man²⁷⁴ who, implicitly, sailed on them as captain (*CIL* XIV 4626). The evidence of the sailing contracts mentioned in the previous sections (e.g. P.Oxy.45.3250; P. Oxy. Hels.37) shows that a ship was also identified by the name of its owner (e.g. P.Bing.77). In the contract of TPSulp. 106, a ship is described as belonging to Caius, son of Theodorus, while its capacity (also a common feature in contracts) and the fact that it had the *parasemon* of Sidon was also mentioned. Other contractual examples include a record of the transport of grain from Pompeii (*CIL* IV 9591) in which was detailed the name of the ship and the name of the ship's owner (*CIL* IV 5894)²⁷⁵. The samples loaded in Egypt also refer to these details and were checked upon their arrival at the port (Gueraud: 1950; Geraci: 2012).

Some *navicularii* owned several ships, probably mainly those contracted to the *annona* whose regularity of business and special concessions made returns more attractive (Rathbone: 2003, 205). From the *Codex Theodosianus*, we know that the *navicularii* in the fourth and fifth centuries used to be tied to a *forum*, this being a city and its port (*CTh*.13.5.4). Other evidence, such as the mosaics of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia²⁷⁶ or the epigraphic record, confirm that *navicularii* were associated with the province from which they operated.²⁷⁷ Thus *navicularii* were attached to the province of origin, so their ships and the place of their forum could be identified in the case of controversy (*CIL* III 14165).²⁷⁸ Finally, the epigraphic record on the samples could change depending on whether or not there was an agreement (*CIL* IV 9591) or with the aim of concluding one (O. 006), thereby bridging the gap between state and retail trade.

²⁷² *Acta Apostolorum*. 27.2; *IGUR* II 393; *IG* XII 5; 712; 33

²⁷³ *AE* 2010, 06020; *CIL* III 3; *CIL* XIV, 2028; *CIL* X 3640; *Lucian. Navig.* 5, 171; 314; *Paul.Acts.* 28, 11; *Plut. Temist.* XV, 3

²⁷⁴ D. 19.2.31 *In navem Saufeii cum complures frumentum confuderant.*

²⁷⁵ *Ante (missum?) {e} xenplar tritici in nave Cn(aei) Senti (H)omeri, Ti(beri) Claudi Orp(h)ei vect(or)is*

²⁷⁶ *CIL* XIV, 4549, 3; 10-12; 18-9; 34; 40

²⁷⁷ *AE* 1913, 196; 208; *CIL* 03, 14165, 08; *AE* 1955, 00183, *inter alia*. For the case of Gaul, see Tran: 2006.

²⁷⁸ *Virlouvet*: 2004, 327-70

6.4. Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated how the systematic division of lease and hire into three different agreements (*rem, operarum, and operis*) is a scholastic creation. In reality, the contract appears to have been a unitary scheme in which the object of the lease (the ship, space on it, or the workforce of the shipper) establishes the main feature of the contract. In addition, the roles imply diverse responsibilities and determined liability in case something went wrong. The shipper was in general the person with the main responsibilities in shipping, since he was also in charge of choosing the carrier and establishing the extent of their competence (D. 14.1.1.12). The other tasks carried out by the captain would be his own liability. The shipping was to be performed according to what was agreed between the parties. These schemes defined who was going to be held liable in case of *actio locati* and the right of the lessee to sue for what was due to him according to what was agreed in the contract. At the same time, an *actio conductio* was available for the lessor in case the lessee did not return the ship according to the agreed conditions. However, the jurists had foreseen the possibility of raising *actiones in factum* for cases such as when the agreement was vague or when something happened during shipping that did not feature in the agreement. In the formula *in factum*, the condemnation of the defendant was connected to a fact from which his liability is derived.

Concerning the information provided by the *scripta commercii*, the nature of the cargo implied different precautions to be taken by the carrier when loading, stowing, and unloading the goods. The kind of product traded would influence the way of packaging it and consequently, how it was loaded onto a ship and the space that it occupied. The products loaded in bulk, which had to be weighed or measured out (e.g. grain), would have been subjected to this process and a quality control (with a sample) to check that they had not been altered during the trip. The *scripta* specifying the product, together with those referring to a single merchant, provide data relating to (1) the cargo belonging to a single merchant, (2) the kind of products traded by the single merchant, (3) the sort of distribution the single merchant was performing, and (4) whether the single merchant hired a portion of or the whole vessel. Moreover, the *scripta* reflecting the product and its features were important in differentiating between containers in a mixed cargo, in handling the containers until reaching the final receiver, or, in the case where the crew had been forced to jettison part of the cargo, determining who was due compensation and by whom.

The characterization of each container reflected the assumption by the shipper of the *receptum nautarum* or undertaking carriage. Weight was important for the sale of the product and also for the logistics of transport. Multiple legal texts point to the fact that the carrier was mainly concerned about the capacity of the ship. The enumeration of certain goods as *amphorae* and *metreta* reminds us that the format of the packaging of transported goods and their distribution was closely connected with the capacity of the ship.

In conclusion, *scripta commercii* reveal traits of lease and hire more directly than other sources, as many of the traits of the contract were agreed verbally and only leave traces in merchandise

inscriptions. Data collected for this thesis clearly indicate that while there were some essential traits and boundaries to be respected, the parties could add other clauses to the contract, making each contract a unique case in itself. To the elastic nature of this contract, I should add that the remedies provided by Roman civil law were sometimes sufficient to cover most of the possible events that could occur during sea transport. This aspect was considered by the jurists, who provided remedies such as the *actio in factum* in cases which fell outside the protection provided by the contractual scheme. The study of letting and hiring through the material evidence provides us with a full picture of the contract as a subtle and complex legal entity.

Chapter 7

The Emperor, the Officer and the Traders. Imperial Administration and Control in Mediterranean Ports

7.1. *Scripta commercii* and Port Management

A fragment from Ulpian (3rd cent. AD) which was part of a comment on the edict concerning rivers characterised as public, indicates that the term ‘port’ (portus) (port) designates an enclosed, safe space where the procedures related to the import and export of goods took place. Bearing in mind the context of the fragment and the role of Ulpian in the public administration (Honoré: 2002), Ulpian was probably referring to the infrastructure of a port. These were not only places with a physical layout, but also their related human labour. It was not just the structures of major Mediterranean ports such as Portus that fit within this definition. One also needs to be aware of the notions of “connectivity” and “port system” (Keay: 2012) as well, to better understand the contexts within which ports functioned. In addition, both concepts refer to the development of structures that not only enabled the flow of cargoes throughout the Mediterranean, but also allowed the registration and monitoring of the goods circulating through them, which were key control procedures in the functioning of ports.

What I refer to as control consisted of different procedures for collecting, inspecting, documenting and quantifying distributed merchandise. These suppose a compulsion from one part (the Roman government) over the other (the carrier or the merchant). Control procedures such as tasting, weighing, and registering of the goods were performed as part of contracts. Previous chapters have studied legal contracts by focusing on the agreements themselves, but not the inspection, registration, and taxation of the goods. Thus, this chapter aims to compare the different control procedures performed in public and private supply in order to understand the complex organization of the Roman administration of ports. The *scripta commercii* written on goods distributed throughout the Roman Empire witnessed different aspects of the so-called “la memoire perdue” (Demougin: 1994) of Roman administration and registration, which proved to be a well-organized and dynamic system.

These controls will be described as if following the itinerary of the merchandise, from the departure from the first port until the arrival at the final destination. Control was also embodied in taxation, which was imposed on every vessel leaving from and arriving at a port, except for some exemptions by the Roman government for various reasons. These two manifestations of control will be analysed in this chapter comparing the *scripta commercii* with other documents recording control procedures (e.g. receipts). Thus, I will consider the *scripta* in light of (1) controls performed at the port of departure, (2) controls performed on the journey between ports, and (3) controls carried out at the destination port.

Table 11 details the inscriptions that will be considered in this case study. In Chapter 2, I mentioned the existence of a set of *ostraka* found at the port of Carthage which could not be classified as *scripta commercii*, because they do not refer to distribution. Instead, they record the registration of cargoes in a port, for which reason they have been labelled as “R”.²⁷⁹ These *ostraka* provide evidence as to how the reception and registration of the cargoes arriving at a port were managed.

Type of inscription	Label	Refers to	Comments
Name of the product	Inscription A	Features of the merchandise	
Quality	Inscription B1	Features of the merchandise	
Qualitative	Inscription B2	Features of the merchandise	
Seller	Inscription β	Merchant	This inscription applies only to Dressel 20 amphorae
Quantity	Inscription C	Amount of the merchandise traded	
Quantity	Inscription α	Amount of the merchandise traded	Weight of the empty Dressel 20 amphora
Quantity	Inscription γ	Amount of the merchandise traded	Weight of the oil filling the Dressel 20 amphora
Control	Inscription δ	Data about the product packaged	Only appears in Dressel 20 amphorae
Seller	Inscription D	Merchant	
General inscription	Inscription F	Features of the agreement	
Register	Inscription R	Register of the merchandise	Seals and Carthage <i>ostraka</i>

Table 11. Types of *scripta commercii* relating to control measures

The inscriptions that can be linked with supply on behalf of the state are: (1) Dressel 20 amphorae, (2) marble blocks, (3) Africana IIC amphorae, (4) amphorae from the Pecio Gandolfo shipwreck (Almería), (5) barrels, (6) ingots, and (7) samples. Seals have been found in different contexts related to public supply but they were also associated with private merchants, thus their analysis needs to be dependent on context. Such analysis will help to highlight differences and similarities in the procedures in which they were involved.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ See Chapter 2, section. 2.3.

²⁸⁰ The artefacts from 1 to 4 are listed in Appendix. VIII, 17. 9.

This chapter focuses on four themes: (1) gathering and registering goods, (2) public *versus* private supply and their contractual schemes, (3) port authorities, and (4) taxation. These four topics are interlinked and provide an insight into the day-to-day practices of the imperial administration. The dichotomy between the imperial and local authorities results in complex differences in the management of each port. I define some general traits about ports and note some exceptions, revealing local customs and practices and highlighting the richness of practice across the Mediterranean.

7.2. Preparing the Freight

7.2.1. First Step: gathering and shipping Goods

The goods imported for the public supply of Rome could have been collected in three different ways: (1) from imperial estates,²⁸¹ (2) levied as taxes,²⁸² or (3) bought in the market. The places where goods were gathered could be managed privately either by nature of occurring on private estates or because the imperial bureau leased these services to private individuals (Kehoe: 1988; 1997, 221-3). It is also possible to find *patrimonium* estates managed by the army, as was the case of quarries at Mons Claudianus, Mons Porphyrites, Mons Ophiates, and Tiberiane, where the epigraphic and archaeological evidence point towards the inclusion of these four places within the same organizational unit (Peacock and Maxfield: 2006).

In state supply, the contracts for the distribution of goods were agreed between a private subject and the Roman state (Biscardi: 1960, 425; Boulvert: 1982, 828). The so-called *fragmenta de iure fisci*,²⁸³ as well as some earlier fragments,²⁸⁴ allude to the *fiscus* and the contracts in which it was one of the parties involved. The *fiscus* was represented by a public magistrate who acted *ex officio*, thus in the name of the state (D.44.7.35.1). The fact that one of the parties was representing the Roman people and was not a private subject conferred a different nuance to the contract, since the former was acting as both judge and involved party (Aubert: 2003, 1-4). Besides, these contracts were not agreed by the parties but adjudicated by the Roman authorities, which differentiated them from private ventures formalised by an agreement. These contracts between *redemptores* (contractors) and the Roman state were registered in tablets exhibited to the public (Tab. Her. I. 35-6; Front. Aq. 96.1).²⁸⁵ However, these issues do not imply that the contracts of lease and hire or sale were systematically differentiated when concerning public matters, as Sirks has affirmed, labelling them as *redemptura* (Sirks: 1991, 22).

²⁸¹ E.g. in the case of metal, see Domergue: 1992, 210-11; Hirt: 2010; Biscardi: 1960, 436-7; Kehoe: 1988; Maiuro: 2012; Mladenovic: forthcoming.

²⁸² In Athens during the Hadrianic period, a third of the harvest had to be given to the Roman supply (IG II² 1100). Some epigraphic evidence of the gathering of these taxes can be read in Biscardi: 1960, 428-9.

²⁸³ §5-6. For some notes about this text, see Appendix X

²⁸⁴ *CI.* 7.49.1; D. 3.6.1.3; D. 43.8.2.4; see also title D. 49.14 (*de iure fisci*), specifically, D. 49.14.3.6; D.49.14.6.1 and D. 49.14.47.1

²⁸⁵ The contracts held between private subjects were kept in the archives of the bankers, see. Andreau: 1974, 53-71; 1999, 102; Camodeca: 1999; Jones: 2006. Other places could be temples, as highlighted by the recently discovered the Bloomberg tablets (Tomlin: 2016)

The spheres of private and public were intermingled (Meyer: 2004, 29-30) despite of the differences on the contracts agreed between private subjects and the Roman state face to the contracts agreed between private merchants. Lease and hire contracts with the Roman state closely resembled a form of lease in Roman private law, both in terminology and structure (Cancelli: 1963, 153; Du Plessis: 2004, 287; Jakab: 2014, 339).²⁸⁶ The sources of private law (e.g. D. 19.2.15.6; D. 19.2.51.1) seem to indicate that these contracts implied the same tasks and liabilities (D. 14.3.5.2) as in contracts with the Roman state (Trisciuglio: 1998, 161ff.; Russell: 2014, 48ff.). There is little agreement whether these two forms of lease share the same foundation in law or whether leases in Roman private law developed from leases in public law. Besides, the contracts agreed between the Roman state and private individuals were subject to publicity, register, and the statuses of both parties in the contract were different.

The process of drafting the Roman state contracts was different to that of contracts between private subjects, since the latter were agreed without excessive formality and, if written, would not have been recorded by a magistrate or kept in an official place such as the *tabularium* (Purcell: 1993, 135-42). The registration of public contracts allowed control over which adjudications were provided to privates, but also kept track of them while they were still in progress. Most of the Roman magistracies were annual, thus the magistrates who had presided over the adjudication were often no longer in office by the end of the contract, requiring the incoming magistrates to be made aware of the case and take charge of it. Their knowledge about previous cases was possible thanks to the archives and records maintained by the administrative staff (Brelaz: 2002, 28).

A small number of these contracts is available for study²⁸⁷, but the evidence from epigraphy and papyri reveal additional details about the roles of the subjects who leased their services to the Roman state. For example, the transport of Spanish olive oil was carried out by many subjects who have left us a record of their professions in stone inscriptions. For example, records of a *navicularius*²⁸⁸, a *mercator olei Hispani ex provincia Baetica*²⁸⁹, a *negotiator olearius ex Baetica*²⁹⁰, and three *diffusores olearii*²⁹¹ have been found in stone inscriptions. Similarly, Egypt's grain supply was performed by different subjects working for the Roman state (Frosen: 1983, 168). This was the way of gathering grain supplies from the estates located in the Bagrađa valley in Tunisia (Kehoe: 1988, 122ff.). The concept of "nested commerce" championed by Tchernia (2011, 155)²⁹² comes to mind, as he highlighted the mixed character of the *annona*. In fact, even if the Roman government provided support for transport for the *annona*, the *navicularii* (Broekaert: 2009, 169ff.), *diffusores*, or *negotiatores* were private subjects working for the public supply (Gueraud: 1950, 113).

²⁸⁶ *Contra*, Mateo: 1999, 48

²⁸⁷ E.g. *Lex Ursonensis* (CIL II 959); *Lex parieti faciendo puteolana* (CIL X, n. 178), *Lex Manciana* (CIL VIII 25902)

²⁸⁸ *P. Olitius Apollonius* in CIL XII 4406

²⁸⁹ *L. Marius Phoebus* in CIL VI 1935

²⁹⁰ *D. Caecilius Hospitalis* in CIL II 1474

²⁹¹ *D. Caecilius Onesimus* in AE 1980, 98; *D. Caecilius Abascantus* in CIL VI 1885; *M. Iulius Hermesianus* in CIL II 1481

²⁹² A concept also advanced by Wierchowski: 1982.

This phenomenon can be also appreciated for sectors other than agriculture, such as mining (Vipasca tablet=*CIL* II 5181, and construction (Frontin. *De aq.* 2.96-119, *FIRA* III 153). The employment of private contractors in mineral and stone extraction was a typical practice of the Roman imperial administration and could work in several ways. The administration could lease out the right to mine or quarry a given resource to private contractors in return for a fee or a share or they could hire private contractors to undertake specific work (Fant: 1989, 29-30; Russell: 2013, 46; Hirt: 2015).

7.2.1.1. On Dressel 20 Amphorae and beyond. Analysing Collection and Distribution²⁹³

Baetica was known to have exported huge quantities of oil to Rome from the age of Augustus onwards in Dressel 20 amphorae. The inscriptions written on the amphorae varied over time according to the way that the distribution was organised and financed. This differentiated Dressel 20 from other amphorae used in retail trade. To be able to appreciate the different ways of organising this sort of distribution, it is necessary to consider inscriptions β and δ . The first noted the name of the merchant and the second details of the inspection and the amount of cargo controlled. The evolution of the *scripta*, outlined by Aguilera (2012, 137-9) is summarised in Tables 12 and 13.

Era	Emperor	Text of the <i>scriptum</i>	Example
AD 1-100	Julio-Claudian/ Flavian Dynasty	<i>Q. Conniveriveraci</i>	<i>CIL</i> XV 3652 (A. 1046)
AD 100- 198	Antonine Dynasty	<i>Ocra Odesti et Cassi Olavsti</i>	<i>CIL</i> XV 3972 (A. 1044)
AD 198- 205	Septimius Severus /Caracalla	<i>Dominorum Nostrorum [] Augustorum Severi et Antonini</i>	Rodríguez Almeida: 1972, 35-37; 1979, 3, 4 ^a ; 1989, 6
AD 205- 217	Septimius Severus /Caracalla/ Geta	<i>Dominorum Nostrorum [] Augustorum Severi Antonini et Getae</i>	Rodríguez Almeida: 1972, 33-4; 1979, 5,6,9,10-14; 1989, 7, 16
AD 217- 222	Macrinus / Helagabalus	<i>Fisci Rationis Patrimoni Provinciae Baeticae</i>	<i>CIL</i> XV 4111; 4114; 4116
AD 217- 222	Macrinus / Helagabalus	<i>Fisci Rationis Patrimoni Provinciae Tarraconensis</i>	<i>CIL</i> XV 4135-7
AD 222- 235	Severus Alexander	<i>Fisci Rationis Patrimoni provinciae Baetica + names private merchants</i>	Remesal & Aguilera: 2007, 27-158

Table 12. Chart summarising of the evolution of inscription β (after Aguilera: 2012). Further information on these The amphorae inscriptions referred can be consulted at in Appendix. VIII, 17.7.

²⁹³ Tje *scripta commercii* analysed in this section can be consulted in Appendix VIII, 17.6, 17.7 and 17.9

These tables show that inscription β does not vary until the reign of Septimius Severus, while inscription δ appears to be quite simple until the reign of Hadrian, when it becomes more complex and includes an R/. The simplicity of the inscriptions δ until the Severans indicates that the management of the collection and shipment was left primarily in the hands of private actors.

The continuity of inscriptions β and δ during the Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties indicates that the distribution of oil at this time was a large part of the business for Spanish merchants. However, oil distribution had not yet reached its peak at this moment, as is revealed by the existence of several ships with mixed cargoes of the 1st cent AD,²⁹⁴ compared to the increase of single oil cargoes during the Antonine period.²⁹⁵ Mixed cargoes implied that the Roman authorities acquired the oil amphorae from the cargo, while the rest of the cargo could be sold in the retail market, thus making the venture fully profitable. A clear example of this phenomenon is the Port-Vendres wreck (Colls *et al.*: 1977). A recent discovery in Arles of a jar of olives (Djaoui: 2014) mentioning the famous oil merchant DD Caecilii (Broekaert: 2013, 330-2) contains writing in the same calligraphic style, using the same writing implement and in the same hand, as that used on inscriptions α , β and γ on Dressel 20 amphorae. The previous assertion highlights how a merchant as important as DD Caecilii was distributing products on behalf of the state and for his own sake. The main difference is that the Dressel 20 bear inscription δ , reflecting a state control inscribed using other tools and, consequently, a different calligraphy.

Era	Emperor	Structure <i>scriptum</i>	Example
AD 1-100	August to Hadrian	Name + a + number (pounds)	A. 149-A. 151; <i>CIL</i> XV 3642
AD 117-138	Hadrian	R/ + city of Baetica + name + acc+ name	<i>CIL</i> XV 4091
AD 149-193	Antoninus Pius	R/ + city of Baetica + name + acc+ name + Consular date	<i>CIL</i> XV 3957 (A. 663); 3995 (A. 661)
AD 193 onwards	Septimius Severus onwards	R/ +city of Baetica + arca + p(ondo)+ name in genitive+ actus+ name + consular date	<i>CIL</i> XV 4097 (A. 1102); <i>CIL</i> XV 4100 (A. A.1100); <i>CIL</i> XV 4111 (A. 1105)

Table 13. Chart summary of the evolution of inscription δ (after Aguilera: 2007).²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ E.g. Lavezzi A (AD 25-50); Port-Vendres 2 (AD 42-48); Chiessi (AD 60-85); Sud-Lavezzi 2 (AD 10-30); Ponte d' oro (AD 10-50); Sud-Perduto 2 (AD 1-15). See Parker: 1992. Moreover, the TPSulp. 78=TP 13 refers to P. Attius Severus, who engaged a loan to transport a cargo of oil and garum (see also Rovira: 2007, 1264; Broekaert: 2012, 321).

²⁹⁵ Broekaert: 2011, 611, fig. 11

²⁹⁶ The order of the structure of these inscriptions changes sometimes, is not systematic, as can be appreciated in Appendix VIII, 17.9. This could be due to the length of the formula and the inability of the person controlling the amphora to remember the exact order.

What happened during Hadrian's reign to produce a change in the inscriptions? The interest of the emperor in controlling the oil market is known from the Athenian oil law from AD 131-2, in which the emperor set some guidelines for the distribution of oil and established the contribution for the *Annona* on one third of the harvest from the oil farms. The changes in the inscription R/ during Hadrian's reign (Table 13) can be compared with the changes in the epigraphic formula on marble from Chemtou (Numidia) detailed in Appendix VI, 15.4, indicating that the R/ inscription referred to the fact that the product was gathered by an imperial official in charge of a *ratio*.²⁹⁷ Thus that mark indicated a reorganization of the transport by Hadrian, looking to guarantee that the supply for public consumption was going to be managed by that group of shippers.²⁹⁸

In addition, the Athenian oil law indicated that the subjects exporting oil should complete a declaration indicating to whom they were selling it and where the ship would be moored, which indicates a high level of control. Perhaps the change in the Dressel 20 inscriptions can be also associated with this policy of Hadrian, who systematized the shipping of Baetican oil to Rome. One inscription found at Castulo, near Linares in southeastern Tarraconensis, reads "RESCRIPTVM SACRVM DE RE OLEARIA", which has been associated by the authors with Hadrian (D' Ors, Contreras: 1956, 126).²⁹⁹ The emperor, replying to an oil farmer, established that the farmer's land contributed to the *annona* supply and, with that publicly stated, the farmer's land would be protected from the abuses of the oil collectors,³⁰⁰ who were subjects of a public contract (D. 39.4.9.2; D. 49.14.3.6). Perhaps the mention of the Tarraconensian city in inscription δ would have helped with the registration of the entries coming from areas devoted to furnishing oil for the state supply.

The R/ has been interpreted in different ways, such as *recognitum* (Dressel: 1915), *recensitum* (Rodríguez Almeida: 1972, 126).³⁰¹, or *ratio*.³⁰² (Chic García: 2002, 340). The R/ also appears inscribed on other types of artefacts (Figure 48), such as marble (Christol and Drew-Bear: 1986; Russell: 2014, 46), the late ostraka from the Îlot de l'Amirauté at Carthage (Peña: 1998), and an isolated case of an amphora (AD 75 – 125) found in the Pecio Gandolfo (Liou & Rodríguez Almeida: 2000, 19 fig.7; 22 fig.10). The meaning of R/ is unclear in all cases, but I believe this mark does not need to mean the same thing in every context. The sort of objects on which it is inscribed corresponds to a mark of registration for public consumption.

²⁹⁷ See Appendix X (glossary).

²⁹⁸ The *ratio* of the Arles' *navicularii* is also mentioned in *CIL* III 14165

²⁹⁹ This rescript also points to the existence of a general oil law approved by Hadrian and applied all throughout the empire, Martin: 1994, 184; Purpura: 2012, 603; Rizzi: 2016, 122-3.

³⁰⁰ These rescripts were labelled as *rescripts gracieux* (Coriat: 1997), indicating that they could grant protection from military and financial abuse. See also Hauken: 1998, 304 and SHA. Hadrian. 22.8. For the protection of tax-farmers, D. 39.4.1pr.

³⁰¹ Based on *CIL* II 1180. For descriptions of some protective measures for public contractors, see Du Plessis: 2004.

³⁰² *Ratio* indicates the bureau in charge of administering the different fiscal products. De Martino, F: 1975, 900.

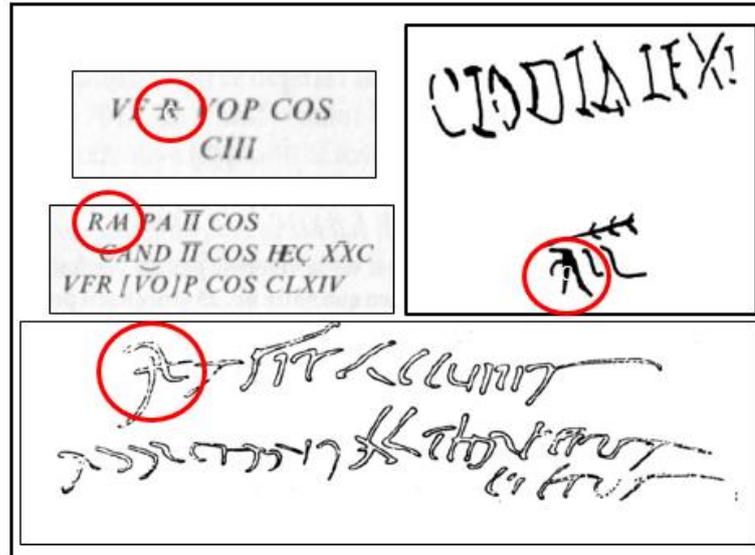


Figure 48. Examples of R/ inscriptions on different artefacts. Clockwise from left to right: two inscriptions on marble from Phrygia (Christol/ Drew-Bear: 1986, 66, 15-6); scripta from Pecio Gandolfo amphora (Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 22, fig.10); and scripta on a Dressel 20 amphora (CIL XV 4091).

The amphora example is difficult to interpret since it constitutes a unique case found only on two amphorae from the same wreck (Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 14 fig.4; 22 fig.10). However, the fact that the R/ has a palm on the top seems to point to a public control, as the palm is a symbol that appears in the both measuring scenes in the *Isis Geminiana* painting (Figure 19) and the *Aula dei Mensores* mosaic (Figure 22) from Ostia. Moreover, palms appear recurrently in other documents related with public measure and registration.³⁰³

The inclusion of the R/ mark during the Hadrianic period can be linked with this reorganization of the olive oil trade, increasing the distributions and providing advantages to the shippers. The R/ could indicate that Hadrian began collecting oil using procurators in charge of a *ratio* and that the notation would relate to administrative issues of the goods arriving in Rome.³⁰⁴ I would like to recall the model of distribution described by Russell (2014, 45-6; 58-60), in which the complex inscriptions present on marble blocks constitute formulae that allowed officials to track the blocks until they reached their destination. He describes how private contractors worked in stone extraction and marked the blocks with the inscription RMA (Figure 48) referring to their role as *rationarii*.

The administration could lease out the right to mine, quarry, crop a resource given to private contractors or hire the services of these private contractors to undertake specific work. These practices correspond to lease and hire contracts with different objectives, as described in Chapter 6. The R/ followed by the rest of the details composed a formula that could be registered and probably helped

³⁰³ Taglietti: 1994, 187; Sagui: 1996, fig. 8; Gatiér: 2014, 148

³⁰⁴ In fact, Hirt: 2010, 301-2 mentions that the inscription R/ accounted for 70% of marble inscriptions at Portus and Rome, indicating that this port acted as a hub for its supply to the city, as argued by Pensabene: 2012: 69-86.

allocate the containers once they arrived at Rome.³⁰⁵ The last novelty in the Hadrianic reform of these fiscal inscriptions is the inclusion of *acc*, which refers to the subject supervising the measurement of the oil filling the container and whose name also appears in the inscription. The reference to *acc*, as in the case of the palm detailed above, would have indicated an official control of the product. Finally, the addition of a consular date by Antoninus Pius was probably a way of completing Hadrian's reform, providing further details for the registration process (Aguilera: 2007, 19).

A comparison with the marble *scripta* collated in Table 27 and the sample of Dressel 20 *scripta* reveals several differences in the contracts agreed for collecting these products. The inscriptions on the blocks would have represented the material that the contractors were obliged to produce, which would then have been credited to their account or ratio (Russell: 2013, 46). The mention of *locchum* or *brachium* in the inscriptions indicated details about the block's extraction, which would help establish the pieces collected by the different contractors in charge of the diverse areas of the quarry. A parallel could be established with inscription δ , which, as I have indicated previously, refers to a ratio; (*Baetican city + name + acc + name*), indicating the areas of extraction within a fiscal district. These epigraphic records would have helped to list the amount of amphorae gathered, as well as establish the amount to be paid to the contractors for their services (D. 39.4.9.2).

The biggest changes in β inscriptions occur with the Severans, when the names were replaced with the formula *Dominorum Nostrorum [...]* *Augustorum*. The name of the *Augusti* (in brackets) changed depending on the period, with *Severi et Antonini*³⁰⁶ used between 198 and 205 and *Severi Antonini et Getae*³⁰⁷ from AD 205 (e.g. 3917-19)³⁰⁸. Around AD 217 (Aguilera: 2012, 138), the inscription is replaced by *Fisci Rationis Patrimoni Provinciae Baeticae*³⁰⁹ or *Provinciae Tarraconensis*³¹⁰, which remained until the middle of the third century AD (Aguilera: 2002, 215). During the reign of Severus Alexander (AD 222-235), the names of private merchants reappear in inscription β together with the inscription *Fisci Rationis Patrimoni Provinciae Baeticae*.

Many scholars have used the SHA (*Sept. Sev.* 12.1-4)³¹¹ to say that Severus, after having put an end to Clodius Albinus' rebellion, confiscated the estates of the allies of his enemy in Gaul and Spain and incorporated them into the *aerarium*, thus acquiring not only large sums of money, but also oil-producing farms, especially in *Baetica*. Rodríguez Almeida (1980, 277-90; 1989, 36) argued that the change in the *tituli* could be connected to the high expenses for maintaining the shipping carried out on behalf of the *annona* and the profits made by the oil merchants, which made the emperor decide to deal directly with the *navicularii* and eliminate the merchants. This supposes a complete

³⁰⁵ Also, the barrels destined for the army were marked as such (B. 001; B.002; B. 084) or referred to receivers who were part of the army (3000; 3071; 3722; 3069; 3070), which helped direct the barrels to the correct destination.

³⁰⁶ Rodríguez Almeida: 1972, 35-37; 1979, 3, 4^a; 1989, 6

³⁰⁷ Rodríguez Almeida: 1972, 33-4; 1979, 5,6,9,10-14; 1989, 7, 16

³⁰⁸ Appendix VIII, 17.9

³⁰⁹ e.g. 2721-2; *CIL* XV 4111; 4114; 4116

³¹⁰ e.g. *CIL* XV 4135-7

³¹¹ Appendix VI 15.1.

reorganisation of the oil supply. This theory was further elaborated by Remesal, who claimed that the Severans not only radically transformed the organisation of oil imports, but also effectively controlled a major part of the trade (Remesal: 1983², 91-111; 1996, 195-221). Broekaert (2008², 201ff; 2011, 591-623) challenged these ideas, arguing that the emperors included their names in order to stimulate merchants and skippers to bring oil to Rome by paying transport costs and taking responsibility for shipping the cargoes.

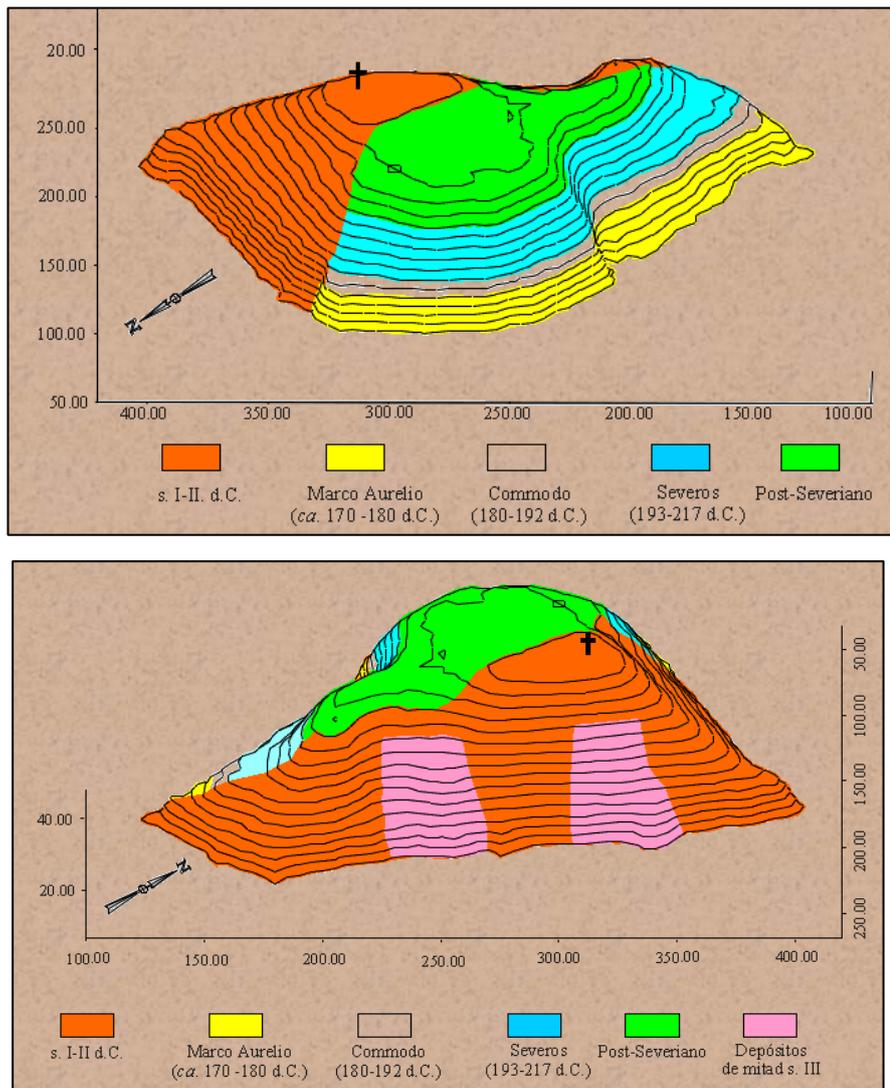


Figure 49. Chronological distribution of pottery by period in the hills of Mount Testaccio. View of the west side of the hill on the (top), and east side of the hill on the (bottom). (http://ceipac.ub.edu/MOSTRA/u_expo.htm)

Despite the fact that many scholars have pointed to Severus as the emperor boosting the oil supply on the basis of a passage in SHA (*Sept. Sev.* 18.3), Broekaert (2011, 591-623) is correct in pointing out that the oil supply reached a peak under the Antonines (Figure 49). However, the interest

of Severus in the food supply of Rome is confirmed by the coinage, which featured an anthropomorphised figure of the *Annona* from 194–201 and 206–207.³¹²

The text of SHA (*Sept. Sev.* 12.3) does not directly mention anything that can be linked to a confiscation of land in Baetica, and in fact, it says that the assets of the assassinated people were auctioned. Besides, even if the emperor owned these estates, it is well known that the owner-emperor was absent from them and his main aim was to receive a permanent income from the estates (Kehoe: 1988, 125; Maiuro: 2012, 183). The β inscription containing the name of the *augusti* could indicate that they were taking charge of the gathering of the product and consequently of the liability that was tied to them for that activity.

These goods would have been shipped by private *navicularii*, who were in charge of transporting that cargo. Broekaert (2008) proposes that the Severans encouraged public oil supply by granting tax exemptions and assuming liability for the risks of navigation.³¹³ However, he presumes that the merchant acquiring the oil was also the shipper transporting it to Rome, based on a paper by Heron de Villefosse (1915), but not all merchants had the economic capacity to be shippers as well. Proof of this are the texts (Table 14) written by Callistratus, a jurist of the Severan era (Liebs: 1976, 321; Puliatti: 1992, 1-23), who established an exemption for subjects performing different roles in public distribution.

Source	Author	Emperor associated	Exempted
D. 50.6.6.5	Callistratus	Hadrian (quoted in text)	<i>Navicularii</i>
D. 50.6.6.8	Callistratus	Hadrian (quoted in text)	<i>Navicularii</i>
D. 50.4.5	Scaevola	Marcus Aurelius	<i>Navicularii</i> and <i>mercatores olearii</i>
D. 50.5.3	Scaevola	Marcus Aurelius	<i>Navicularii</i>
D. 50.6.6.3	Callistratus	Septimius Severus and Caracalla	<i>Negotiatores olearii</i> and <i>navicularii</i>
D. 50.6.6.6	Callistratus	Septimius Severus and Caracalla	<i>Negotiatores olearii</i> and <i>navicularii</i>
D. 50.6.6.9	Callistratus	Pius (quoted in text)	<i>Navicularii</i>

Table 14. Chart detailing the exemptions of *munera* gathered from the Digest

The various imperial attempts to encourage the shipping of oil to Rome by granting advantages for the subjects involved in public distribution can be found in Justinian's Digest (Table

³¹² See BMC, 98, 100, 103, 106. Also, for *ius coeundi*, see Appendix X and Liu: 2009, 104

³¹³ The Severans not only granted exemptions for the *navicularii*, but also for some craftsmen who were also performing duties of *utilitas publica*. See textile guilds: *FIRA* 1²: 444–45 no. 87; D. 50.6.6.12 (Callistratus); D. 27.1.17.2–3 (Callistratus).

16).³¹⁴ *Munera* were described as a means of serving *utilitas publica*. A particular kind of *utilitas* could be transformed into a *munus*, as in the case of the *navicularii*. The idea that the Roman government deliberately created associations to regulate the food supply (Sirks: 1991; De Salvo: 1992) has not found many adherents amongst modern scholars (Broekaert: 2008; Tchernia: 2011).³¹⁵ Once the benefits of contracting with these *collegia* caught the state's attention, granting them the special privilege of exempting them from *munera* due to the public *utilitas*. These exemptions from *munera* could appear in the inscriptions to reflect how these goods were to be treated on arrival. The text of D. 39.4.4.1, belonging to Paulus (Severan era), establishes that the goods destined for public consumption had to be marked to avoid their confusion with other goods which were subject to taxation. We do not have evidence of texts prior to Hadrian that recall these immunities.

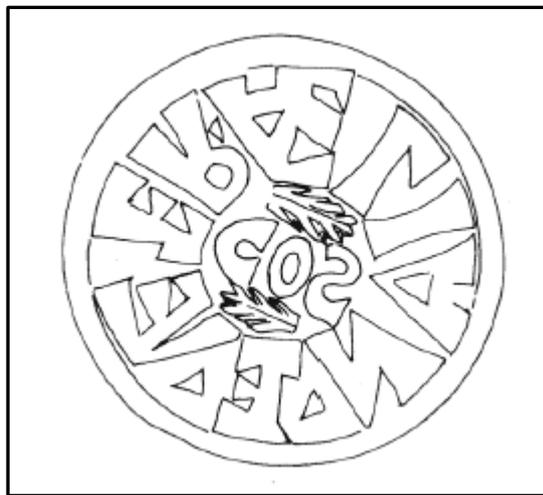


Figure 50. Double wooden seal with consular date from the Tiboulén de Maïre wreck, Marseille (illustration by A. Veleva, Arkaeos) (Djaoui: 2011, 626, fig. 1.)

Associated with these exemptions and touching again upon the issues of distribution, registration, and taxation; I would like to address the seals that have been associated with oil merchants.³¹⁶ These seals are circular in shape (e.g. Figure 50), which has led scholars to identify their use as amphora stopper seals. They provide the name of a *societas* (O. 038; O. 039), consular date (O. 124), or the name of a merchant (O. 140, O. 141). They cover a chronological period from AD 50 to AD 200. Berni and Gorostidi (2013, 185-7) indicate the importance of these seals as proof to ensure the quality of the product, while Taglietti (1994, 191) highlights the importance of the seals in the process of distribution and storage. Finally, Djaoui (2011) affirms that they were used to mark stoppers of containers destined for the *annona*, to be recognised at the *statio* as goods exempt of charges (section. 7.5.1.).

³¹⁴ Previous attempts to encourage shipping of grain were carried out by Claudius (Suet. Claud. 19; G. 1.32; Ulp. Reg. 3.6) and Nero (Tac. Ann. 13.51.2).

³¹⁵ Groups of merchants engaged in the same sort of activity, cf. Tran: 2006.

³¹⁶ Appendix VIII, 17.6

These seals could have been used to indicate the name of those merchants who were able provide large volumes of goods for the state supply. They would also help to register the amount of goods gathered from the estates by the contractors, to demonstrate that they have fulfilled the amount agreed in their contract (D.39.4.9.2). The role of the *diffusor olearius*,³¹⁷ gathering the amounts of oil fixed by the *annona*, might have been linked to such contracts (Rico: 2003, 432). These seals belong to different eras. For example, O. 141.³¹⁸ belongs to a Julio-Claudian or Flavian context, but there is no text attesting to the exemption of taxes in these periods. The rest of the seals belong to contexts in which we start having notice of exemptions, with the inscribed apparatus formed by β and δ providing information that can help identify these exceptions.

The change in inscription β under Severus needs to be linked with the text of the SHA (*Sept. Sev.* 18.3), which refers to the free provision of oil granted by the emperor. The emperors were paying for the oil and its transport to stimulate the *Annona* transport of this product to Rome.³¹⁹ Centralisation of the administration³²⁰ was one of the most characteristic features of Severus and Caracalla's reforms (Jones: 1950, 28; Giangreco Pessi: 1988, 80, 152) and may have coincided with the separation of the *fiscus* and the personal *patrimonio* of the emperor (SHA *Sept. Sev.* 12.3). In addition, Severus consolidated the *fiscus* to the detriment of the *aerarium*, thus strengthen the figure of the *princeps* (holder of the *fiscus*) at the cost of the *populus* (holder of the *aerarium*) in contracts employed to gather goods for public supply (Orestano: 1968, 234-5; 262; Puliatti: 1992, 106ff.).

Moreover, under Severus, *arca* is mentioned in the δ inscription in relation to other details and its use continues into the following periods. Several legal texts (e.g. D. 18.1.71; 35.2.30.4; C. 2.7.26.4) mention *arca* as an object where money was kept, sometimes located in temples. In *CTh.* 14.6.3, the term *arca vinaria* appears, referring to the administrative unit in charge of the payment for the supply of wine in Aurelian's era (Vera: 2006, 305). The mention of *arca* could be related to the place where the money to finance the shipping of oil was kept. Thus, for the Severan era, the relationship between R/ and *arca* completed the formula written on the amphorae, indicating the subjects in charge of the distribution of oil and the institutional unit financing it.

In addition to the inclusion of *arca* in the inscription, there is another change in the epigraphic record on Dressel 20 amphorae in the Severan period. In this case, amphora stamps can provide us with some information about the distribution of Dressel 20 amphorae. Around AD 197 (Remesal: 1996, 201), the Dressel 20 stamps from Monte Testaccio bear the inscription AVGNNN (*augustorum*

³¹⁷ The epigraphic evidence of subjects having these roles, indicates that they were quite wealthy E.g. *CIL* II 1481; *CIL* VI 29722; *AE* 1980, 98. See notes 267-270

³¹⁸ Appendix VIII, 17.6

³¹⁹ The practice of financing supply and transport has been attested previously, first during the Hannibalic wars (*Livy*.XXIII 48.4; 49.4) and subsequently during Claudius' reign (*Suet. Claud.* 18.2; 19.1) when a famine seized Rome.

³²⁰ Similar centralisation also occurred with the organization of the imperial chancellery under the Severans; see for example Honoré: 1994 and Coriat: 1997.

nostrorum triorum).³²¹ instead of the potter's name.³²² Berni (2008: 33-8) provides the most convincing theory about these stamps, emphasizing that the stamping of the amphorae was more common on amphorae involved in public supply, because the demand and the control over these containers was very strict.³²³ In fact, the evidence indicates that the stamps increased noticeably during the Severan era, which fits well with the aim of these emperors to encourage olive oil supply and its financing. Berni points to an increase in production, even detailing the calendar dates (2008: 36 tab. 2). These dates reveal that manufacturing took place throughout the year, at least in the few kilns bearing that stamp.³²⁴ Again, Berni argues that these stamps could have been used to organise the stockage of these amphorae when they arrived in Rome (2008: 37-9). This hypothesis needs to be further studied. These seals, together with the other epigraphic information on the Dressel 20 amphorae, helped with the organization of the storage and registration of the amphorae, which makes sense in the context of the Severan initiative of boosting olive oil distribution.

Another interpretation is that, as occurred with the quarries (Russell: 2013, 46, 53), the emperor leased a *figlina* to produce the containers. This was a mechanism used by merchants and, in this case, it would have been useful in controlling the different stages of the process of oil distribution (Broekaert: 2015, 10). These stamps would have been also useful to control the number of containers produced in these estates.³²⁵ These inscriptions can be compared with the seals bearing the face of the emperor used to identify the stone blocks being directed to public works (Da Spagnoli: 2002, 496; Pensabene: 2014, 49-50).³²⁶ As with the Dressel 20 stamps, these seals helped to register and allocate the cargo once it arrived in Portus/Rome.

Alternatively, the stamp has been interpreted as a mark indicating the confiscation of Baetican estates by Severus (Remesal: 1980; Berni: 2008). Baetican stamps have been compared to three examples on Tripolitanian amphorae.³²⁷ found at Monte Testaccio (Rodríguez Almeida: 1977-1978, 111-3). The Baetican case has been compared to the oil supply from Tripolitania that was furnished by private (Peyras: 1975) and imperial estates (Mattingly: 1995, 95). Grouping the seals by their manufacturing centres allowed the different sealing systems of each of the producing centres to be compared and to show that it is not possible to speak of a single sealing system, but of multiple sealing systems, each being the product of the specifics of each potter's establishment (Berni: 2008).

These stamps reveal a different management of three kilns in the vicinity of Astigi – those known as the *Grumense*, *Ceparia*, and *Barba*. Perhaps these belonged to the *Patrimonium Caesaris*, managed through a *locatio conductio* using slaves from the *Familia Caesaris* (Remesal: 1980, 145ff.;

³²¹ Referring to the three Augusti L. Severus, Geta, and Caracalla. The inscription changed with time following the death of two of the Augusti, see Berni: 2008, 37-38.

³²² For an image of the stamps, see Appendix VI, 15.3.

³²³ Stamping containers as a mandatory practice established in the Hellenistic Thasian law studied by Daux: 1926, 214ss., to control the acquisition of wine and avoid speculation.

³²⁴ Concerning standardisation and mass production, see Wilson: 2008.

³²⁵ Garland: 2013, 235, indicated the fiscal value of stamps

³²⁶ In fact, one of these seals was recently found in the context of the Palazzo Imperiale at Portus (Personal communication: Simon Keay).

³²⁷ In fact, it seems that most of the stamps bear the names of individuals (Mattingly: 1988², 32).

Berni Millet: 2008, 152ff.). Another possibility could be that the estate was leased to *conductores*, who then leased it to *coloni*, with careful regulations under which the *conductores* could lease the estates. In this case, these stamps probably indicate the imperial control over the amphora production at these *figlinae* and they helped to control the amount of containers produced.

Regarding this, I would like to refer to Russell and his model of the management of the quarries (2014, 37ff.).³²⁸ According to Russell, most quarries were probably owned by private individuals or were located on land owned by cities. In almost every way, imperial involvement in stone quarrying was thoroughly out of the ordinary and there were a lot of different ways in which quarries were operated. The administration could lease out the right to mine or quarry a given resource to private contractors or they could hire private contractors to undertake specific works. With respect to this, Russell argues that the inscriptions RMA or R followed by details such as the quarry where the marble block originated indicate that these blocks were destined for public use and directed to Portus/Rome.³²⁹ The management of the stone trade can be compared to that of the olive oil industry, since inscriptions on marble and Dressel 20 amphorae reveal the work of the contractors gathering the product and providing data to be registered at the destination (e.g. Rome, Portus, or Ostia). Another remarkable change in this period was the introduction of the *diffusores olearii* for oil management, thus revealing another organizational change in public oil distribution (Rico: 2003, 19).

During the brief period of the reign of Macrinus,³³⁰ the δ inscription changes again to indicate *fisci rationi patrimoni provinciae* [Baetica or Tarraconensis]. The emperor was thus familiar with the performance and structure of the *fiscus*. This change may reflect that the *fiscus* financed the oil supply from these areas in southern Spain (Broekaert: 2008, 215). Thus, the government would have still been responsible for the gathering and transport, using these *fisci* to gather and pay the *vecturae* to the shipper.

In the reign of Alexander Severus, the names of the merchants appear once again next to the fiscal inscription, probably indicating a joint venture between the Roman government and the merchants who, even if they had to participate in the risks of the venture,³³¹ were exempted from the *aurum negotiatorium* (SHA. *Alex. Sev.* 32.5; 22.1). This is probably the reason why we can find both names written together on the container. Alexander Severus has been attested as the promoter of many *corpora naviculariorum* (SHA. *Alex. Sev.* 33.2), thus it is probable that the *navicularii* preserved their privileges. The stamps with the legend AVGNNN stopped in AD 224 (Berni: 2008, 38) during the reign of Severus Alexander and were therefore likely connected to the new regime of shared liability between merchants and the Roman government. Moreover, we have not yet found any

³²⁸ For another reconstruction of the quarries' organization through the evidence of marble inscriptions for the Byzantine period, see Paribeni: 2004.

³²⁹ See Appendix VI, 15.4

³³⁰ Macrinus was well known for being an *advocatus fisci* (SHA. *Sept. Sev.* 4.4 y 4.6), a role that implied the legal representation of the government in disputes.

³³¹ There is a case of a fish sauce amphora (1st cent AD) found in Augsburg that recalls the name of a Roman procurator of the army and the name of a merchant. I am still unsure if that could mean that they were sharing liability for the trip, see Broekaert: 2016², 70

amphora stopper seal from this era. Perhaps this is a sign of a decrease in the amount of oil required to be supplied by the merchants.

As has been described above, the inscribed apparatus of the Dressel 20 amphorae shapes a detailed formulae that reflected the changes in the administration of the distribution of oil supplies. This formula reflects the features of a specific distribution cycle because of the content of the inscription and not because of the specific calligraphic style that can be appreciated on other items sold in retail trade (Djaoui: 2014). The changes undergone by the Dressel 20 inscriptions indicate that these writings composed a detailed formula which reflects the organisation of the oil supply. By comparing these inscriptions with the *scripta* found on ingots and on marble blocks, despite the inherent differences of these artefacts, it is possible to appreciate that they were distributed via the use of leases of services or *locationes*. The aims of these agreements were to keep imperial involvement in these ventures, but entrusting much of the work to private entrepreneurs or contractors.

Lead ingots (e.g. I. 040-I. 046),³³² coming from mines owned by the emperor, were also distributed using the *locationes*. The weight of the ingots was verified at each stop to confirm the numerical weight written on it, confirming the mark reflecting weight written on the side (Domergue: 1992, 209). Evidence of these practices can be found on the ingots of the Bou Ferrer wreck, marked with inscriptions including the names of different emperors (De Juan and Cibecchini: 2015). This seems to indicate that these ingots were produced many years before the boat wrecked, so it was checked and marked several times. This cargo is similar to the one found on the wreck Sud-Lavezzi 2, composed also of some ingots marked several times (Liou and Domergue: 1990). These ingots suggest that they were probably employed as ballast to balance ships over several years, thus they have been marked and controlled as many times as they changed boat. However, their *scripta* are much simpler than in the case of marble or Dressel 20 amphorae. This could be because, with just these simple inscriptions, the Roman government was capable of checking the ingots or perhaps because most of that lead was sent to private consumption. Perhaps a future study, taking into account the different kinds of metal ingots will help us re-evaluate this hypothesis.

Table 28.³³³ compiles the different lead label inscriptions collated in the database.³³⁴ As mentioned previously (section 2.3.8), these labels were used in the context of the *fullonicae* to indicate the treatment applied and the owner of the treated cloth. These *scripta* reflected traits of the leased contracts of a job, namely fulling,³³⁵ agreed between private individuals. Therefore, the purpose of the contract was different from the case of the *locationes* held with the contractors of quarries, mines, or *figlinae* in which the purpose was to provide the service of distributing the goods gathered at these places. However, there is one main thing to emphasize about the inscriptions concerning public supply (oil, marble, ingots) and these inscriptions, which is that they reveal private *locationes*. As is easily

³³² Appendix VIII, 17.8; 17.8

³³³ Appendix VI, 15.5

³³⁴ Appendix VIII, 17.5; O. 97-O.120; O.168-O.177

³³⁵ E.g. D. 12.7.2; D.19.2.13.6; D.19.2.60.2

appreciated by reading the set of *scripta*, the products associated with public supply were marked with a detailed formulary indicating features such as the supply origin or the name of the individual in charge of the supply. These labels, by contrast, display just a few details such as the completion of the task or the owner, highlighting the fact that the *scripta* on products addressed to public supply reveal a large network which ensured that the tasks agreed were performed through a well-organised administrative machinery. For that reason, the inscriptions on Dressel 20 amphorae should be studied separately from other amphorae such as the Dressel 21-22, which are linked with retail trade. In addition, since they attest to a different distribution cycle, I have classified these inscriptions using a different labelling system.³³⁶ In addition, while the subjects implied in private contracts would have solved any controversies following the procedure of civil law, the trials involving the Roman government and a private individual were probably subject to other kinds of procedures (Bouvert: 1982, 848).

7.3. Setting sail: People and Cargoes leaving a Port

The Mediterranean constituted a complicated system with key centres channelling trade and exchange, as well as controlling the mobility of people entering and setting sail from. Commercial regulations constitute one realm of negotiation between different regions, the more so because economic relations were key causes of mobility. These conventions defined places for legal commerce and facilitated the security of exchanges, generating the creation of customs and controls for the passage of merchandise. So, the Roman Empire was characterized by its “controlled mobility” (Moatti: 2000; 2013) and “controlled spaces” (France: 2012). These are issues that do not appear directly reflected in the *scripta commercii*, but can be gathered from other sources, such as papyri.³³⁷ Upon entry or departure, the passage of merchandise generated a whole series of identity checks,³³⁸ a matter that will be examined in the following sections, relating to registering the import-export of merchandise, docking, taxes, and confiscations.

7.3.1. *Scripta commercii*, Weight, Measurement and Registration

As has been explained previously, the cargoes involved in the supply on behalf of the Roman government were meticulously monitored and registered, from the point of being gathered until they reached their destination. The measurement and registration of retail goods were no less necessary steps to be performed before setting sail (Chapter 5). In retail trade the merchant was in charge of

³³⁶ See Appendix II, 11.1

³³⁷ Clear examples would be Alexandria in Egypt (P. Oxy. 1259, 1271; BGU 1210, 64, 66; Gnomon §. 66; 68 (BGU.5.1210); P. Oxy. X. 1271; see also Purpura: 2002, 135)

³³⁸ The BGU I. 27 refers to the need of receiving a *littera dimissoria* to leave Ostia and go back to Alexandria. The discovery in Telo Martius of a wooden tablet with the name of a *dispensator* has been interpreted by France (1999, 276) as an identification that will indicate that identity checks took place in many areas.

measuring the containers when acquiring them, while in the case of the *annona* that task was carried out by an individual working for the Roman government. The inscriptions written on amphorae, barrels, or samples reflected the operations of measurement performed before shipping.

The Dressel 20 amphorae were weighed at the estate where they were filled and sealed, as evidenced by the characteristic epigraphic style of inscriptions α , β , and γ , written by the same hand and with the same tools. The inscription δ of the Severan era mentions the letters *ap*, which Aguilera (2007, 21) has interpreted as signifying *p(ondit)*. Before that, the subject who appeared mentioned was identified as *acceptor*, indicating the one inspecting and accepting the product. Since the calligraphy of α and γ does not change in that period, I would argue that the subjects weighing the oil were the same, but the *scripta* δ changes referred to an increase of control in that procedure, meaning that this subject not only accepted but also controlled the weighing procedure.

Grain was also a key product for public supply that was carefully controlled and weighed (P. Petaus ll. 4-18; P. Lond. III.1164). The papyri from Egypt describe the process of gathering the grain, storing it in warehouses, and getting it ready for being transported on boats from corporations working for the public supply shipping from the port of Alexandria (Frosen: 1983). The painting of the *Isis Geminiana* (Figure 19) displays the process of measuring the grain, in which an official holding a palm was involved.³³⁹ They would have used official measures (Chankowski & Hasenohr: 2015), and the result of that process was reflected on the inscription of the sample that travelled with the cargo as a warranty for quality and quantity (Geraci: 2004; 2014). Thus, the gathering and weighing of goods for state supply (oil, grain, and wine.³⁴⁰) was closely controlled from the start until the end, unlike the goods for retail trade, for which the only official control would be the controls related with the payment of taxes.

The ostraka from the Ilôt de l'Amirauté (Carthage).³⁴¹ constitute a set of records relating to the registration of artefacts shipped from a port. I have labelled these as inscription R (3320-3546),³⁴² and they constitute two distinct sets of records concerned with the mobilization of oil for the public supply during the course of AD 373 (Peña: 1998). These texts supply interesting information concerning the typology of the amphorae employed in this era and the different measures used in the control procedures by the *ensor olei Fori Karthaginiensis*, who was in charge of registering the oil containers being imported in AD 373. The ostraka also contribute to the understanding of the movements of ships within the port: small vessels brought shipments of 220 amphorae to the port, where they were monitored, registered, and then taken to the storehouse from where they were subsequently transhipped onto larger ships. There are two groups of labelled ostraka (groups 1 and 2), the first one constituting registers of cargoes arriving at the port, and the second group which recorded amounts of oil addressed to public supply weighed in preparation for its export. Thus, I will address the ostraka

³³⁹ See Figures. 22, 48, and 53.

³⁴⁰ *CTh.* 14.15.1; 12.6.24; 14.23.1 and 14.4.9

³⁴¹ See Appendix I, 10.8

³⁴² Inscription 6

of this second group in this section (Table 15), linking their epigraphic apparatus to those of other *scripta commercii*.

Group	Number ostrakon	Recto/ Verso	Element	Example text
2	Group of 5	Just in one of the sides	Date	VII Kal mai ad oct
2		Just in one of the sides	List of entries recording the names of oil weighers and amounts of oil attributed to them, followed by a summation of these figures	7 quintus I/ V P LX 7 victoritanus I/ XX P LXVII 7 bilossus ab ochi I/ II 7 tzelica I/ X P XX 1) XXXVIII P. XLVII
2		Just in one of the sides	List of entries recording quantities of oil containers or the weight of weighed oil being held at an oil weighing facility and a storage facility, followed by an estimate for the total weight of this oil.	Inpletu Vol as a b N XXII I/ XXXVIII P LXXV Fieri In conditZ, ag N CLXVII et KNT LXII fisci et tebelbucitan qz as a b N CCCCXL VI et KNT LXV et macrinenses as a b N LV et KNT CCLXXXV el Vol as a b N o o CLVI oRc as N dCCL VII KNT ooCCXXXII I} VII dCCCLII P LXXV

Table 15. Elements composing the epigraphic record of the second group of ostraka from Carthage (after Peña: 1998)

The inscriptions of the Group 2 ostraka compiled in Table 15 refer to a cargo composed of oil deriving from the same place (*conditorium zeugitanum*), thus it is logical that these ostraka have a similarly abbreviated style. A parallel can be seen with some of the ostraka from Berenike on the Red Sea coast of Egypt, where public records were removed from a nearby customs building sometime before AD 70 and dumped in the dry sandy soil of an ancient rubbish pit (Sidebotham: 2011, 70). These ostraka follow a standard formula used in the correspondence between state officials (McLaughlin: 2010, 15), and only used abbreviated names without dates, a reasonable method as these inscriptions record daily and routine operations well known to the subjects inscribing them (Bagnall: 2003, 292, 294).

In the case of the Carthaginian ostraka, their shape, the information recorded on them, and the clear role that they played in port procedures, may indicate that the information that they bore was of lasting importance, and not simply for the short-term (Godfrey: 2004, 184). Comparable ostraka recording routinary facts have been found at Bu Njem in Lybia (Marichal: 1992, 49-56) in what was clearly a deposit of records from the *tabularium*. Other comparable documents include the *Tab. Vind.* 180, 182, and 343 from northern Britain, since they reflect the register of goods, albeit in a military context. It is important to emphasise that the area in which the tablets were found cannot have been the location of the official record-office of the fort. Sometimes the contents of the record-office will

have been dumped or destroyed, and sometimes moved when the unit which generated them was transferred (Bowman, 1994, 20). The Carthaginian ostraka were found in the colonnaded piazza at the centre of the Îlot d'Amirauté, which, in its fourth century configuration, had an appearance not unlike the Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia (Hurst: 2010, 55). The latter suggests that these ostraka belong to a commercial-administrative context, witnessing the controls performed over the oil cargoes arriving at Carthage.

The written record of these ostraka refers to the warehouses that were intimately connected to shipping (section 4.2.4.1). One of the *scripta commercii* on the ostraka has been interpreted (Peña: 1998, 118) as referring to the *conditorium Zeugitanum*, a storage facility under the control of the provincial administration of Zeugitana which was located at the Ilot de l' amirauté at Carthage. The details on the ostraka indicate where these containers were placed after being inspected and before they were loaded on to a ship. In fact, *CTh.* 11.1.2 indicates that the taxpayers should deposit their goods in the principal warehouses near them, where they would get a receipt.³⁴³ Again, the *conditorium Zeugitanum* appears to be referenced in the ostraka of group 2, indicating how many containers were moved from these warehouses. Alzon (1964, 120) affirmed that even if he thought that there was a register of entries, he could not demonstrate this to be true due to the absence of documents. Contrary to what he indicated, these ostraka witness the existence of accounting practices within the warehouse. In fact, these ostraka could had been contrasted with the warehouse's accountancy kept by the *horrearius*.³⁴⁴ That registration procedure is closely related to the accountancy carried out when measuring the goods, as displayed in the gestures (Minaud: 2004, 437ff.) from both the painting of the *Isis Geminiana* (fig. 19) and the mosaic of the *aula mensores* (fig. 22).

An African amphora (A. 1050)³⁴⁵ found near Monte Testaccio in Rome bears an inscription mentioning the horrea at Hadrumentum (Sousse) in Africa Byzacena. These *horrea* were used for the centralisation of foodstuffs prior to shipping overseas in the half of the 2nd cent AD (Torres Costa: 2007, 311). That *scriptum* referring to a warehouse would had helped officials keep track of the amount of goods being stored in the warehouses or being shipped in and out of a port. These *scripta* helped to organise these amphorae upon arrival, as well as being counted³⁴⁶ and registered in archives that facilitated the administration of the public supplies (Haensch: 1992), despite the fact that these records were not made public (Andreau and Virlouvet: 2002, 1-18).

7.4. The Role of the *Stationes*

This section will briefly address the place where the taxes on imports and exports were collected and the subsequent documentation was archived. In the text by Ulpian quoted at the beginning of this chapter (D. 50.16.59), the term *statio* was defined as an enclosed, walled space.

³⁴³ Eg. SB 14 11562; 11568; SB 22 15758; P.Mich. 11 613

³⁴⁴ D.19.2.60.6; 19.2.56; SB 14 11562; 11568; SB 22 15758; P.Mich. 11 613

³⁴⁵ Appendix VIII, 17.6

³⁴⁶ One clear example of registration on arrival is the *Tab. Vind.* 180, 182, 343-344. See also Pearce: 2002.

Vittinghoff (1953, 378) assumed that *stationes* within the interior of a customs district (usually positioned at important river crossings, crossroads, or near mountain passes) merely exacted tolls for the use of these roads and bridges, and that the full customs duty was paid upon entering the customs district. In a similar way, both Bruun (1991, 257ff.) and Maischerberg (1997, 63). That was established for the collection of taxes, since there was no unified tariff in the Roman Empire, but it depended on the customs district or on the goods to be declared (Kritzinger: 2015², 12; Guther: 2016). Another function of the *statio* would have been to act as centres for the policing or surveying of the surrounding areas where they were located (Fuhrmann: 2012, 201ff.). In fact, *statio* is a terribly polysemic term that could refer to any fixed or stable post where someone stays.

In the context of this research, I understand these fixed places as the ones located in association with a port where the people, their ships and cargoes were controlled and where taxes such as the *portoria* were collected (D.43.12.1.13). For example, the places where the identification documents were controlled in Alexandria might have been the same as that where *portorium* was requisitioned (Purpura: 2002, 11). The collection of these taxes was also allocated through *locationes*, and carried out by *procuratores* who assumed the role of *conductores* to perform that task.³⁴⁷

The *statio* is always mentioned in relation to an area, because the port taxes were perceived territorially through a network of places listed by an official regulation which took the name from the place where it was installed (e.g. CLA II 26–28, §10; 42–45, §17). It seems unlikely that every port had a custom-post (Arnaud: 2011, 66), but the epigraphic record points to the fact that many ports of moderate size hosted one. The existence of three *stationes* in the province of Narbonensis³⁴⁸ is attested from epigraphic evidence. In addition, archaeological evidence points to the existence of more than one *statio* in southern Gaul (Matz: 2015; Long 2016). The Customs Law of Asia (CLA) lists many places where imports and exports could be registered with the tax collector (II.22–26 §9–10), and several papyri mention the *stationes* located along the Nile en route to Alexandria (Rossi: 2015). In addition, archaeological work has revealed the existence of many more *stationes* in different areas such as Pannonia or Moesia, which indicates the existence of tight controls across the whole empire (France & Nelis-Clement: 2014, 117ff).

Both archaeological and textual evidence (e.g. D.19.2.60.8; D.43.12.1pr.; D.43.12.1.17) demonstrate that these customs posts were located in transit places, where the ships needed to pass by when getting in and out of a port. France (2001, 450ff) suggested three possible ways of setting up customs houses. First, they could be organized as a string of *stationes*, as in the case of the *quadragesima Galliarum*. Second, they could form a customs district, as in the case of the *portorium* of Asia (see CLA). Finally, customs houses could be set up in specific areas where crossing was obligatory, as with the *portoria* of Syria and Judaea (De Laet: 1949, 331ff.).

³⁴⁷ A list of epigraphic sources indicating *locationes* of taxes appears in Biscardi: 1960, 416

³⁴⁸ These three places are: Massalia (Hesnard and France: 1995); Lugdunum, *CIL*.XII. 255 (France: 2009) and Arles (*CIL* XII. 717)

The Torlonia relief (Figure 51) displays the actions of the *stationarii* while the cargo of a boat is being unloaded. I believe the building that appears located behind the subjects can be identified as a *statio*. From my point of view, the relief displays representative elements of the function of these agents, such as the building of the *statio*, the accountancy book and the stamp, in order to provide the viewer a clear image of what function they were performing. I think that in large ports such as Portus, there would have been several control points spread along the docks, inspecting and controlling goods to gather taxes efficiently but at the same time allowing a fluid traffic of ships. Cottier (2008: 223), when talking about the different tolls located in Ephesus, highlighted the need of a well-managed internal organization in ports to allow for fluid traffic. Perhaps part of this organization was coordinated through different *lex collegia*, as evidenced by an inscription from Portus (AE 1977, 171) which refers to the organization of the tasks of the *collegii* of the *saburrarii*.



Figure 51. Relief of men unloading a cargo and three *tabularii* controlling the cargoes. Relief from the Torlonia collection. 2nd-early 3rd cent. AD (Hesnard & France: 1995, fig.5, 91)

The *statio* was managed by a number of agents whose tasks were detailed in a leasing contract established by the individual and the Roman state (France and Nelis-Clement: 2014, 225-6; Gunther: 2016). The CLA (Cottier *et al.*: 2008, 37, ll. 29-32, §12) refers to “whoever has accepted the contract for the (exaction of the) *telos*, in whichever cities and places [it is written] in the [lex] of the *locatio*, [to see that whoever] imports or exports by sea or land declares to and registers with the collector”. That text clearly indicates that both the people in charge of collecting the tax, and the goods subject to that tax were a matter to be established in each place. For example, the tax law of Palmyra establishes the conditions by which the contract with the *publicani* should be concluded with the state authorities (Teixidor: 1983). Differently, the tax law of Zraïa in Numidia only establishes the rates for different products (France: 2014², 98), as happens at Lambaesis (*CIL* VIII 18352) and at Coptos (*OGIS* II 674).

It seems that from at least the reign of Nero (Tac. *Ann.* 13.50-51), the *stationes* had to display their tax rates and regulations (Philost. *Vit Apol.* 1.20).³⁴⁹ Doing this helped the shippers entering a port and prevented abuses by the *stationarii*. Regulations were also publicised at ports (e.g. Caunus) and markets (Palmyra), possibly for the benefit of merchants. The discovery of registers (Carthage) and receipts (Marseille, Figure 23) as well as the mention on an inscription from Andriaké (*AE*: 2007, 1503) points to the fact that documents were preserved at the *statio*.

7.4.1. Taxes on Exports

Vectigal was one of the regular revenue sources of the Roman state, and one of its kinds consisting of the duties paid on imported and exported goods.³⁵⁰ By extension and over time, the category of *vectigal* went on to include other categories of taxes, such as the *portorium*. In imperial times, cities normally gathered their own taxes when they had received this right from an emperor (Edelmann-Singer: 2012, 165ff.; Kritzinger: 2015², 37). We have no precise idea of the number of cities that were allowed to collect taxes; it is probable that they were common, and that these constituted a significant part of the cities' revenues (France: 1999, 108; Arnaud: 2015, 126).

The main evidence for these export taxes comes from the various regulations (*leges censoriae*) that the epigraphic record has preserved. The CLA (, ll. 13–15, §4; ll. 22–26, §9; ll. 45–47, §18), the law of the port of Caunus (*SEG* IV 639) and the tax law of Palmyra (*IGR*.III.1056. ll.23-24; 28) refer to the rates applied to different goods being either imported or exported, and that these need to be declared and registered (Lucil. *Sat.* 27). Goods were taxed according to their value (*ad valorem*),³⁵¹ but certain merchandises were taxed according to specific dispositions that appeared in the tax law of the port. For example, the fragment D. 39.4.16.7 (3rd cent AD) indicates a list of products susceptible to *vectigal*, most of which had an exotic origin, such as Persian gum and Indian spice.³⁵² Goods coming from areas such as India and the extremities of Africa were subject to double duties because goods imported into a locality where a customs office was established and then re-exported to another province were taxed twice (Strab. 17.1.1.13). Differently, the Palmyrene tax law established that the same price was to be paid if the goods were imported or exported (*IGR*, III, 1056 § 25; 63).

Inscriptions on products destined for the retail trade do not directly reflect the payment of these taxes. Perhaps these goods were just registered in the account records of the shipper,³⁵³ annotated by the authorities and taxed. However, Domergue (1998: 209) argued that the ingots' *scripta* reading quantities (e.g. Cabrera 5, Cabrera 6, Sud-Lavezzi 2, Sud-Perduto 2, and Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer 1 wrecks) were carved by *mercatores* or, on their orders, by *mensores* in order to comply with customs-regulations. Both the *portorium* officials and the *navicularii* had at their disposal the

³⁴⁹ The same seems to apply to the *fundī*, D. 20.1.31

³⁵⁰ D. 24.1.21pr. D. 39. 4. 13. 1; D. 50. 10. 5. 1; D. 50. 16. 17. 1; France: 2007, 350

³⁵¹ Sijpesteijn: 1987, 80 (case of Egypt)

³⁵² E.g. of a tax list, SB 14 11715

³⁵³ P. Cair. Zen 4.59706; 59753-4

information needed to calculate the total customs payments due for the export and transport of the ingots (Domergue: 1998, 209). The author applied the same principle to the Dressel 20 amphorae, but I think that this logic could also be applied to any merchandize marked with an estimation of quantity. Otherwise, some of the *scripta* written on goods destined for public supply (section 7.2.1.1.) reflect formulae that refer to their inspection, qualify them as goods for the *annona*, and, as such, exempt them from tax. In fact, D. 39.4.4.1 establishes that the goods destined for public consumption have to be marked to avoid their confusion with other goods, which were taxed. In addition, even the inscriptions from some warehouses note the exemption from the payment of tax for goods destined for public supply (*CIL VI 8594*).

The evolution of the epigraphic apparatus of the Dressel 20 indicates the unit in charge of financing the supply of oil (e.g. *fiscus rationi patrimonii provinciae Baeticae*). Consequently, depending on whether private merchants or someone working on behalf of the Roman Empire was mentioned in the inscriptions, the personnel of the custom office would have recognised whether or not the merchandise was susceptible to tax. Frank (1936) believed that the ϵ inscription, located below the handle and displaying a number, indicated the export tax expressed in *asses*. Aguilera (2012, 140), however, points out that its meaning is still unknown, that it appeared in the 2nd cent AD, but that with Commodus it started being commonly written and using the same calligraphy³⁵⁴ as the inscriptions reflecting weight (α and γ). Perhaps it reflects a stock number of the amphora, bearing in mind that the person weighing it wrote it.

The marble blocks were marked differently (Appendix VI, 15.4), depending upon whether they were destined for state or private supply (Russell: 2014, 53), in ways that could reflect tax exemption. Several documents indicate that barrels (B. 001; B.002; B. 084)³⁵⁵ and amphorae (A. 422-3; A. 113)³⁵⁶ destined for the army were marked as such, and reflected exemption from taxes. Another possibility is that the names inscribed on some of the barrels³⁵⁷ (3000; 3071; 3722; 3069; 3070) were those of the receivers, qualifying the containers as marking up army supplies and thus exempt from tax. Another example is the use of inscribed lead labels qualifying the merchandise as *r(ationis) c(astrensis)*, thus addressed to the army (France: 2001, 350-1; Kritzinger: 2015, 195-222). Marking these objects differentiated them from non-exempted goods in consignments intended for retail customers in mixed cargoes transported by civilians.³⁵⁸

Even if the goods exported were exempted from taxes, they generated a record. Cicero describes how the *publicani* at the port of Syracuse sent their superiors a list of the goods exported by Verres without payment of customs dues (Cic. *Verr.* 2.171). The later confirms the obligation to declare all the goods, describing their value or weight (Cic. *Verr.* 1.13.15). That practice would have allowed

³⁵⁴ The so-called “Spanish numbers” (Aguilera & Berni: 1998, 257-282)

³⁵⁵ Appendix VIII, 17. 5

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 13.51

³⁵⁸ See O. Bu Njem, *Tab. Vind.* 180; 182; 343; 344

the Roman administration to have an accurate record of the nature and value of the goods in transit (Nicolet: 1994², 168). It also confirms the role of the *stationes* in preventing the smuggling of merchandise, which must have happened recurrently, given that it is specifically mentioned in the CLA (II. 15). The fragment D. 39.4.16.7 indicates a list of products susceptible of *vectigal*, most of which had an exotic origin, such as Persian gum and Indian spice. The importance of the text is that it belongs to the only book written by the 3rd cent jurist Marcian about informers (*delatores*), who were those who lodged information as to punishable offences, and further, to those who brought a public accusation. That text brings us to the context of public trials, and probably related to smuggling. Since the cargos arriving at Berenike and Myos Hormos were taxed in Coptos (Burkhalter: 2002), there were subjects who acted as receivers at Berenike to register the cargoes and prevent the smuggling of merchandise (Bagnall & Ast: 2015, 184-5).³⁵⁹ This is the view of the Severan jurist Paulus (D. 39.4.11.2=*PS*. 5.1), who establishes liability for the shipowner, passengers and crew for loading unregistered goods on board. Later on, the *CTh*.7.16.3 mentioned the smuggling of merchandise by the barbarians and encouraged the *stationarii* to toughen their surveillance of the coasts.

Myos Hormos or Berenike are two examples of ports where it was possible to find officials controlling the movement of vessels along the Red Sea coast to avoid smuggling (Ast & Bagnall: 2015). The goods were controlled at these ports, however the taxes were not paid there, but at Koptos (De Romanis: 75-101), as attested on a papyrus describing the contract of a maritime loan to Muziris (SB 18. 13167) in southern India. This was probably a quite common practice, since we can find other cases such as taxes for the Arsinoite nome (Fayum) paid at the port of Memphis (P. Duk. Inv. 2), and taxes due to be paid at Memphis being paid at the gate of Karanis (SB 22 15758).

7.5. Arrival at the Destination

The cargoes arriving at a port, either destined for retail trade or public use, had to be examined. The inscription from *CIL* III 14165 suggests the presence of some subjects in charge of receiving cargoes on behalf of the *praefectura annonae*, so having a role between transport and stockage (Corritore *et al.* 2016, 170). The busier and larger ports, such as Ostia, may have offered the shippers the opportunity of paying duty in advance, in order to speed up the traffic of ships (D. 14.1.1.3; Arnaud 2010, 111). We do not have any source acknowledging such a procedure, but we do know that some shippers tried to pay taxes in advance to perform their duties on time, especially in those cases where they had to repay a maritime loan (e.g. D. 45.1.122.1). In this section, I would like to focus on the controls leading to the payment of taxes, and to the acceptance of the goods acquired (e.g. tasting). Taxation implied a general review of all the cargoes, both for public and private supply.

³⁵⁹ The CLA has several dispositions concerning smuggling, such as 48-50 = § 20; 50-53 = § 21; 53-56 = § 22

7.5.1. Taxes on Imports

When a ship arrived in harbour, its cargo had to be inspected and the taxes gathered. The taxes levied on ships entering a harbour were exacted on two grounds: for the use of harbours and their facilities (*vectigal*).³⁶⁰ and for the goods imported. A text from the Digest (D.19.2.60.8) indicates that the merchant should be aware of the route of the boat in order to know the tax that had to be paid for the goods shipped. The rate of such dues probably varied by harbour, depending on the facilities available (e.g. ferry services).³⁶¹ Every port organized the collection of taxes differently, as for example in the case of the custom law of Caunus (*SEG IV. 639, B. 9-13*), which indicated that after the official declaration, if the ship was not staying at the port, the carrier would only pay the tax for the goods imported. Some scholars affirmed that the Caunus law established exemption from payment for ships that used the port while looking for shelter from a storm (Bean: 1954; Purpura: 1985). However, the latter revision of the customs law from Marek (2006, 175-221), has proven that the Caunian law modified a previous law that regulated the entry and exit of goods from the port, with particular respect to the question of the *portorium circumvectionis*.³⁶² To solve the problem, two generous evergetists took charge of the expected tax revenue, in order to authorize the free passage of a certain quantity of goods. The evergetists intended to stimulate the activity of local shippers and merchants, who had had the immunity of ships, imported and exported goods and to attract foreign merchants.

As regards the articles subject to an import duty, it may be stated that in general terms, all commodities that were imported by merchants for selling, were subject to the custom fee. However, things that a person brought with him for his own use were exempted. In Memphis and the Zeugmata in Egypt, the citizens of Antinoopolis had the right to import products for personal use (Teixidor: 1983, 239). Alfenus Varus (D.50.16.203); indicated that the censorial law of Sicily established that the harbour tax was not payable for the slaves being carried home for the owner's use. It is unclear, however, how merchandise destined for personal use would have been marked. Perhaps they marked them with an inscription similar to the *IN USUS*³⁶³ that appears on several amphorae from Pompeii, indicating that these were kept for personal use of the merchant.³⁶⁴

There is scarce evidence about the perception of taxes in the epigraphy of the merchandise, except in some cases detailed above (section 7.4.1 when goods destined for public or army supply were exempted from payment). Again, it is necessary to review the inscriptions displaying port taxes in order to get a general idea of how and which sorts of products were susceptible to payment. As I have mentioned before, the taxes could be collected at a fixed rate *ad valorem* (CLA; *Quadragesima*

³⁶⁰ France: 2007, 350, 364

³⁶¹ Smyrna (IK 24.1, 712); Myra (*OGIS 572*) and Ostia (*CIL XIV 409; 4144*)

³⁶² See Appendix X

³⁶³ *CIL IV 2568; 2583; 5597 (A. 363); 6201; 6218; 9342; 9362*

³⁶⁴ D. 33.9.4.2; Aul. Gell. 4.1.23, these texts correspond to the context of inheritances, one question for further research would be why this evidence just appears in Pompeii

galliarum).³⁶⁵ or product by product (as at Palmyra or Zraïa).³⁶⁶ For the taxes collected *ad valorem*, there must have been a list of products (e.g. *OGIS* 629, 86; 159; *SEG* XIV 639) to standardise their prices. According to Foraboschi (1992), in the case of Egypt, an official tax list was enacted in the 2nd cent. AD, to adjust the basic taxes to substantial price growth and abolish any abstract reference to *ad valorem* percentages. This means that the calculation was not carried out at the local level and at the time of collection, but in advance and at the level of the central administration of each of the customs departments (France: 2014, 98 nt.20). It also justified that the taxes that were due to be paid should be displayed in each *statio*, a provision that limited abuses of power and disputes.³⁶⁷ In both cases, the main question for the *stationarii* may have been how to assess the value or amount of goods present on any one ship. To that aim, as part of a physical inspection, they can use the accountancy record carried out in the ship (Minaud: 2006).



Figure 52. Subject unloading a barrel or an amphora and holding a seal in his left hand. Museum of the Baths of Diocletian *termae*, Rome (France & Nélis Clement: 2014, 223, Fig. 30)

The operations that took place at a *statio* can be reassembled through three kinds of evidence: epigraphic receipts (e.g. P. Customs, SB 6 9004), papyri and iconographic images. France and Nelis Clement (2014, 222-3) offer a reconstruction of the process, which runs as follows. Once the cargo was unloaded, the agents of the *portorium* reviewed, marked, counted, and registered the goods. A relief (Figure 52) found at Rome seems to show precisely this moment, with a subject unloading a cargo and holding a seal in his hand (also Figure 51). The marks made by the agents were helpful in warehouse storage, since they proved that the objects had been checked. Even though I think that this

³⁶⁵ The fortieth part of the imported goods (Suet. *Vespas.* 1; Quintil. *Declam.* 359; Symmach. *Epist.* V.62, 65; Cottier: 2008, 224). Also *SEG* 35, 1985; 1439 (Mira, Lycia) and *OGIS* 629 (Palmyra); Matthews: 1985, 157-80; Zahrt: 1986, 279-93

³⁶⁶ Teixidor: 1983 (Palmyra); France: 2014² (Zraïa)

³⁶⁷ The text of (P. Oxy. 1. 36) makes me think if some lists detailing these customs were distributed among the merchants in this support.

is an accurate description of the custom procedures, I wonder if these inspections always left a record on the merchandise inspected.

For example, several lead seals bearing the face of the emperor have been found in marble blocks at Portus, and one has been discovered in the context of the Palazzo Imperiale (Spagnoli: 2002, 496; Pensabene: 2014, 49-50).³⁶⁸ This building's location as well as the evidence of its lavish marble decoration suggest it was presumably the headquarters of a high-ranking official or potentially the emperor himself.³⁶⁹ I have previously mentioned that standard official weights were kept in official buildings, and this example illustrates that the official seals to mark the marble blocks addressed to public construction were also kept in authorized places (Chankowski & Hasenohr: 2015, 39). Thus, the inscribed marble blocks were probably marked on arrival in order to redistribute them, as commonly happened at Portus (Pensabene: 2012).

The *Tab. Vind.* 643 contains another receipt that reads "Florus to Calavirius, greetings. Give the closed little box and all the things kept inside to the *beneficiarius* he will sign it with his ring". This is the only *Tab. Vind.* that has a similar mention, but that is probably because it is a letter and the other examples that witness inspections are records that would not mention that gesture because it was common practice.

However, the Dressel 20 *scripta* indicated that these amphorae were marked before arriving at Rome,³⁷⁰ and were not re-marked at their arrival. These amphorae were tightly controlled and marked at the point of departure in Hispalis (Seville), and their shape and record was recognisable on arrival. Thus, even if they had been registered on arrival for reasons of storage, this inspection seem not to have left a written record on these vessels. Similarly, I would like to mention the case of the amphora dump from Pompeii (Bernal *et al.* 2014), constituting a considerable sample in which there were many inscriptions on *garum* amphorae, although none of them has any mark indicating the payment of taxes (Bernal *et al.* 2014).

By contrast, the sample from *CIL* IV 9591 (A. 1038)³⁷¹ has an inscription on the belly, written by a second hand that says "*Vect(uras) estis rec(epturi) so(ven)di/(causa) gratis m(odios) CC/S(olutio) F(acta) PR(ior) idus Octobr(es)*".³⁷² This inscription was the outcome of the *solutio* or release from the payment of a debt (payment of the *vectura*), and the exemption of taxes in 200 *modii* out of 15200 of the total cargo. Another sample, (O. 136)³⁷³ also bears a control mark of the authorities. Thus, these samples served as travel documents that certified the different steps in the shipping and control procedures that took place until arrival at the final destination.

³⁶⁸S.J. Keay, private communication.

³⁶⁹<http://blog.soton.ac.uk/portustour/tour/palazzo-imperiale-i/>

³⁷⁰ See the inscription 'checked in Astigi', in *CIL* II 4393, 4486, 4802, 4804.

³⁷¹ Appendix VIII, 17.5

³⁷² Translation: "You will receive the amount of 98 denarii – 200 modii are exempted of taxes/ *Solutio* performed before the ides of October"

³⁷³ Appendix VIII, 17.5

The former revision indicates that even if many goods were marked in order to store them in warehouses, the absence of evidence on significant number of artefacts makes me think that not all of them were marked upon arrival at their destination. That does not mean that these goods were not registered in archives. First, we have the evidence of ostraka with records of goods being inspected and registered on them (e.g. Carthage, Berenike, Mons Claudianus). Secondly, the evidence of the receipt of the *quadragesima galliarum* (Figure 23) found in Marseille (Hesnard, France: 1995), as well as a tax receipt recorded in papyri³⁷⁴ and ostraka,³⁷⁵ which could have been used as proof of the payment.

The study of O.Dios.inv. 480, by Cuvigny (2010, 46) witnessed a declaration of payment from one of the *stationes* on the route from Koptos to Berenike. According to her, that ostraka constitutes a counter-receipt of the payment of taxes, aiming to protect the shipper and payer of taxes from the possible bad faith of the receiver, proving that the taxes had been rightly paid. Thus, I think that the goods were inspected and registered, but that the marks were perhaps only applied to the merchandise that was going to be moved to a warehouse. The rest of the merchandises would have been inspected, registered, and their taxes paid, before being given back to the carrier.

Sometimes these controls could lead to confiscation of the cargo (e.g. *CI*. 4.33.4), due to goods not having been registered and the taxes unpaid. A well-known example is the text from *D*. 14.2.9, in which Eudaemonis sent a rescript to the emperor complaining about the fact that having wrecked near Icaria, the *publicanus* confiscated his cargo. Here the petitioner was asking for the application of an ancient Rhodian disposition that exempted the payment of taxes in case of storm and wreck (Purpura: 1985, 304). This is the case for Digest text *D*. 39.4.16.8, which recalls a rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus that indicated that the cargos dumped overboard in bad weather could not be claimed in confiscation.

Finally, the text of *D*. 19.2.61.1 described how a cargo arriving in Cyrene from Aquileia was detained for nine months and the cargo confiscated. This last case does not indicate whether the taxes had been paid, which could have been one reason for the delay, or whether the merchant tried to smuggle some merchandise illegally (as happened in *D*. 39.4.11.2), which may have been another.

7.5.2. *Mensura, Pondus, Probatio* and their presence in the *Scripta Commercii*

The procedures of weighing and measuring took place again once the cargo arrived at the port, this time connected with another procedure of control: the *probatio* or tasting. These procedures have been explained in Chapter 5, when referring to sale contracts, and here we have to think of it in the same sense, as the final acceptance of a product being sold (*D*. 18.1.34.5; 18.1.35.5). The essential

³⁷⁴ E.g. P. Oslo. 3.116; P. BGU.2.528; P. Fay. 64; P. Fay. 73; P. Fay. 74; P.Gen. 3 145; P. Cair. Isidor. 16; P. Duk. Inv. 2

³⁷⁵ Some examples are O. Mich. 1 179; 187; 191; 199-200; 202-3 (*inter alia*), acknowledging the reception of chaff in an unknown port. There are other *ostraka* in the Michigan collection that witness the reception of other goods such as grain (e.g. O. Mich. 921-6)

difference between retail sale and the sale of goods for public supply is based on who performs these controls and registers them. So, in the case of retail trade, the potential customer checked it, while for public supply, an agent of the Roman state would have carried out the checks. The goods, as the object of the public contract of sale, would not be accepted until all of these procedures had taken place (D. 48.11.7.2).

Anything sold in a port was controlled and protected by the city and imperial authorities, and consequently the official weights were kept and checked by the port authorities, who could destroy them if they were considered to be wrong (D.19.2.13.8).³⁷⁶ The authorities had to ensure that the weights used conformed to official standards to assure the accuracy of these operations, as is demonstrated by the claim made by the *navicularii* from Arles (*CIL* III 14165). In some eastern Mediterranean ports,³⁷⁷ local authorities created weights in local units that were equivalent with the official imperial units. Measurement indicated how much of a particular good had been sold and helped set its price in the retail trade (D.18.1.71); the prices for goods destined for state supply were set at market prices by the authorities (*CTh.* 11.2.2.1; 14.19.1; 14.2.20).³⁷⁸



Figure 53. Details of subjects in charge of measure holding a "palm". From left to right, mosaic from the *Aula Mensores* (Figure 22) and the *Isis Geminiana* painting (Figure 19)

In the case of the western Mediterranean, the scenes of the *Aula Mensores* (Figure 22) or the *Isis Geminiana* painting (Figure 19) which have already been mentioned depict the measurement of perishables such as grain with the help of the *modius*. In both of these images, there is a controversial instrument similar to a palm (Figure 53) that has been interpreted in many different ways. Purpura (2013) argues that it was a wire to which were attached *tesserae frumentariae*, used to establish the amount of grain available in the official granaries. This would suggest that the *mentor* knew much grain was kept inside the warehouses (Virlouvét: 1995, 312). By contrast, Minaud (2004, 447) suggest

³⁷⁶ *Cfr.* Rizzi: 2012, for a study of the fragment and other associated texts

³⁷⁷ As for example in Syria (Aliquot et Badawi: 2013; Gatier: 2014), or at Lepcis Magna (Ioppolo: 1967)

³⁷⁸ *Contra*, Bang: 2011; Temin: 2012

that the instrument was a rope holding wooden pieces on which the *mentor* was marking the number of sacks that had been filled.

The merchandise arriving at the port had already been marked, and could have been measured again on arrival in order to:

(1) Establish the volume and/or weight of the goods received to then calculate the amounts that were going into the warehouses.

(2) Calculate how to divide the merchandise into smaller containers (e.g. wine in dolia or barrels) or determine the portions that corresponded to the receivers. The *Tab. Vind.* 180, for example, indicated the amounts of wheat that had been measured out and distributed amongst the soldiers in the garrison.

(3) Check that the amount loaded onto the ship at the port of departure was the same as that which was unloaded at the port of arrival. In the case of the Dressel 20, the amphorae could have been weighed again on arrival to confirm the control that had been performed at Hispalis in Baetica, register the goods received, and evaluate the amounts to be distributed. The Carthage ostraka (section 7.5.3) were controlled by a *mentor*, which strongly suggests that the Dressel 20 would have been measured again on arrival.³⁷⁹

Some ports established particular procedures concerning the transit of goods through their structures. The process of transporting grain from Alexandria involved multiple procedures³⁸⁰ and the participation of several officials. Some of these were the *sitologos* (official of Egypt in charge of state granaries), and the superintendent of cargo or *epiploos*. The papyrus P. Grenf. II. 46 appears to describe (ll.7-9) the role of the *epiploos*, who was present in the weighing and handling of the grain after unloading. Here, the function of the samples travelling with the cargo was indispensable to check that the cargo had not been adulterated (sections 2.3.1 and 6.3.4.3). They could be useful in revealing fraud, as we know from a papyrus dated to AD 188, which records a cargo of wheat being found to have been adulterated with earth and barley (*P. Oxy.* IV 708).³⁸¹ These sorts of inspections (*CTh.* 14.26.1) and samples were in use into the fifth century AD to prevent fraud at Portus (*CTh.* 14.4.9). The meticulous inspections undergone by these samples is reflected in *P. Oxy.* 708, a letter to a *strategos* complaining that a cargo contained evidence of adulteration which was discovered when the samples were being weighed (Mayerson: 1998, 192).

In that sense, the damages to cargo that could not be ascribed to shipping would have been the responsibility of the *sitologoi* in charge of the warehouses at the port of departure (*SB.* XII. 11082, ll.7-9), who did not fulfill their duty of safekeeping the goods. The *epiplooi* would have been responsible

³⁷⁹ An interesting hypothesis for the reading of these ostraka was advanced by Peña in a talk given in Tallahassee, FL (20/02/2016), indicating that the way of registering the cargoes involved the use of a polynomial equation. This method of abbreviating the information helped include large sets of data.

³⁸⁰ Described tentatively by Frosen: 1983, 170

³⁸¹ See Mayerson: 2002

for any difference in the cargo attested in the loading documentation, since he was in charge of controlling the unloading of the cargo (SB. XII. 11082, ll.13-22). Therefore, the sample had an approbatory function (Philost. *Vita Apoll.* VI, 12), which implies that the liability of the *epiploos* lasted until the product was tasted by the procedure of the tasting (section 4.2.3.2).

As I mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5, tasting happened in retail transactions as well, and sources mentioned it especially in respect to wine sales (*cf.* also Appendix III, 12.3). The inscription *CIL* VI 1785 (Vera: 2006) reveals that samples were also used for the state supply of wine in late antiquity (IV-V cent. AD). I would like to connect the evidence for the existence of samples for wine and grain with the absence of samples for oil. This, I argue, can be related to the fact that transport could affect the quality of wine and the quality and weight of the grain. Thus, these goods had to be tasted at the destination, to check that they had not suffered any alterations. As I affirmed before (section 5.2.1), fish sauces were less subject to fermentation, which is a reason why their tasting within a sale contract was not mentioned in the jurist's sources. However, these sauces were sold in the context of the retail trade, which is not the case for olive oil from Baetica. I would like to mention here a publication of Liou (1990²),³⁸² in which the author thought that he had identified the letters *ag* before the word *accepit* in the inscription δ on some Dressel 20 amphorae from the reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 149- 193). As I mentioned before, from his reign onwards, the inscriptions started including a consular date referring to the moment when the cargo was inspected at the oil estates. Perhaps that inspection included a tasting of some of the oil carried in the amphorae, as Liou affirmed (1990², 183) referencing to some Dressel 20 *scripta* that Rodríguez Almeida discovered in Testaccio.

However, even if tasting did occasionally happen with Dressel 20 amphorae, what I want to point out is that tasting took place before and not after the shipping. That could be connected with the fact that oil, as with fish sauce, preserved its qualities once bottled and was not exposed to further fermentation. The best documents confirming this hypothesis are the ostraka from Carthage that do not mention the tasting of oil upon arrival. Consequently, the inspection of these containers may have involved nothing more than identifying those which had lost their contents through breakage or leakage while at sea.

7.5.3. Registration and Storage³⁸³

The procedures subsequent to the controls described above involved the recording of cargoes at the ports' registers and their storage in warehouses. As mentioned previously (4.2.4.1) storing goods had different functions, such as distributing, selling, or storing waiting for the price to rise (Corritore et al: 2016, 172). Despite that diversity of uses, since this section addresses the function of control, I will just deal with the relation between registration and storage of goods. The only

³⁸² Hypothesis followed by Chic García: 2002, 341-342

³⁸³ All the artefacts indicated in this section can be found in Appendix VIII, 17.5-6 (marble blocks and barrels) and 17.9 (Dressel 20)

surviving evidence for these registers are the ostraka found at places where there was a control point, such as Berenike on the Red Sea, Bu Njem in Numidia and Carthage. Those from Carthage (Table 16.) are inscribed on both sides, in which –following the dates - the earlier text appears on the *recto* and the later on the *verso*.

These ostraka can be related to vessels such as the Dressel 20, and receipts, such as some of the Vindolanda tablets, the Bloomberg tablet 44 or the TPSulp.80. The ostraka of group 1 are written in detail, and a comparison with the content of P. Bing. 77.³⁸⁴ and P. Fay. 104 reveals that the information recorded in the registers is similar, namely: merchant, merchandise, origin, shipper, and/or owner of the ship. The logical conclusion is that the meaningful information to be recorded on arrival was similar, despite the fact that each port had a different system for expressing and recording the information.

Group number/ letter	Number ostrakon in group	Recto/ Verso	Element	Example text
1A	Group of 5	V	Date	pos cons modesto et arinthei XIII Kl mart
1A			Name and title of the presumed author of the document	felix mensor olei fori karthag
1A			Account on the result of the reception/inspection of the group of oil containers	sus [ce] pimus per navicula felicis X[eri] c(a)proreses centenaria levia ducenta et octo et reproba t[re]decim
1A			Additional information of uncertain nature	(string of letters) probably cond(itorium) z(eugitanum)
1A			Date	III Nonas Feb
1A	Group of 5	R	The name of the owner/ operator of the ship that delivered the group of oil containers	n(avicula) Ianuari
1A			Account on the result of the reception/inspection of the group of oil containers	CCVIII v XIII
1B	Sixth	Just in one of the sides	All the elements quoted previously for group 1A recto	

Table 16. Elements composing the epigraphic record of the Group 1 of ostraka from Carthage (after Peña: 1998)

Looking at the data that appear written in the registers of these *ostraka*, which of these details could have been cutted out from the *scripta commercii* Starting with the Dressel 20 amphorae, the δ inscription provided data to be registered at the destination, such as:

- Weight of the oil (from Augustus onwards)

³⁸⁴ Appendix VI, 15.2

- The name of the employee in charge of supervising the loading of the ship or *acceptor* (from Hadrian onwards)
- The name of the person, or *ponderator*, registering their weight (from Severus onwards)
- Record that the oil has been counted by an official *rationalis* in charge of the accounts (from Hadrian onwards)
- The person who controlled the process of filling the containers (from Augustus onwards)
- Date of the inspection (from Antoninus Pius onwards)
- Reference to the *annona* unit in charge of the management of the distribution of the oil (from Septimius Severus onwards)

Up until the reign of Antoninus Pius, the port officers would register the date once the cargo arrived at its destination as is recorded on the *Tab. Vind.* 180, 186, and 193, which formed part of the official records. From Antoninus Pius onwards, the inscriptions included a consular date that referred to the moment when the cargo was inspected at the oil-producing estates. This coincided with an increase in oil distribution under the Antonines, which generated an increase in the number of suppliers and *redemptores* in charge of collecting it. This justified a more detailed inspection that would have eased controlling the cargoes once they arrived at Rome.

The samples of marble analysed indicate that some of those coming from Dokimeion (O. 126-9) display a consular date and the name of *liberti augusti*,³⁸⁵ while others found at Ostia-Portus (O. 138-9) carried the name of imperial officials but not a consular date. Overall, both of these kinds of inscription indicate that these blocks were part of the imperial distribution system, and stand in contrast to information concerning other stone blocks (Appendix VI, 15.4, for example marble *Lunensis*) which do not provide any information about the organization of the quarry (Russell: 2014, 58). These data would have been registered on arrival at Portus in order to establish which blocks were destined for imperial building projects and which ones for the private market (Pensabene: 2012). Some barrels (B. 051-2; 098) bear the name of Germanicus, which Marlière (2002, 64, 86) has identified as a date, a hypothesis that seems unclear, being possible that the inscription identified the emperor's name, identifying him as the receiver of the barrel (Wynia: 1999).

The presence of officials working for the public supply is attested on Dressel 20 amphorae (e.g. *acceptor*) and marble blocks (e.g. O.138) with the notation R/. The details given on the label of the samples were sometimes so comprehensive as to almost form a duplicate receipt for the cargo as a whole (e.g. O. 136; A. 1038-9). These vessels had written on them the name of the captain, the emblem of his ship, and the statement that the container was a sample of one cargo of grain of a specified kind harvested in a specific year, measured out by the granary officials of a certain district, and which formed the tax payable for a certain period. The statement ends with the declaration that the cargo

³⁸⁵ These members of the *familia Caesaris* seem to have been the ones in charge of administering that province and not the *procurator asiae* in Ephesus (Takmer and Vitale: 2015)

had been sealed, indicating the names of the shipper and the shipowner and the date (D.19.2.11.3). They can also record the person who sealed the sample and the date. The reference on the ostraka to the shipper or shipowner can be easily linked to the inscriptions on the sample, since the sample normally refers to the name of at least one if not both of them, as corresponds to a transport contract (Appendix IV, 13.2). These subjects may have been registered, as appears in the verso of the Group 1A ostraka. In the case of the vessels destined for retail trade, the inscriptions on the containers are the indirect witness of control by the merchant who bought them. If the merchant was holding himself liable for the quality of the product sold, it is understood that merchants were the first people to assess the quality of these goods before deciding to buy them.

The Dressel 20 amphorae were shipped by *navicularii* working for the *annona*. An inscription found in Beirut (*CIL* III 14165) refers to a joint complaint raised by the *navicularii* of Arles. They demanded that the *procurator* take appropriate measures relating to the integrity of the accounts register to ensure that the shippers working for the *annona* received what was due to them. In this inscription, they made the claim as a group, probably in an attempt to strengthen their complaint to the authorities. However, it is logical that in the port register these shippers were identified as individuals.³⁸⁶ That would have been the situation in the case of the Spanish shippers, especially bearing in mind that those in charge of transporting the oil were hired by a contract with the state and in that way the performance of their tasks could be controlled (Sirks: 1991, 267).

The registration records of the provinces were archived in the different areas where the controls took place and some copies of these were sent to Rome with the intention to preserve these registers (Minaud: 2005, 349; Andreau: 2007, 82). Comparing these registers of goods destined for state supply with private receipts (e.g. Bloomberg tablet 44; TPSulp.80. BGU. 1.223 and BGU.14.2400) allows three differences to be identified. First, that these registers had an official character and were binding since they were recorded on wax tablets (Meyer: 2004, 10). Secondly, that these registers were also kept in archives managed by private subjects such as bank officers (Jones: 2006, 196). Third, these receipts indirectly witness accounting practices carried out by private subjects involved in maritime trade (D.30.39.1; D.20.4.6.1; *Juv. Sat.* 8. 95-7). Thus, both goods destined for retail and state supply were carefully registered, despite the fact that their accountancy would have been kept in different sorts of archives.

7.6. Conclusions

I would like to conclude this chapter first by addressing the question as to whether the Roman state established the same legal and administrative system of taxation and control in all its territories. As Tchernia affirmed (2011, 13), this question would have an easy answer if we conceive of the state as the master of operations of all the large-scale mass-market stores of consumer goods. However, the

³⁸⁶ On top of that, the members of the *collegia* were also registered and enlisted as the epigraphic evidence indicates (Tran: 2006, 155, 161, 171)

evidence points to a much more limited control and a certain level of autonomous management carried out by the provinces. In fact, the high level of state involvement in the *annona* supply stimulated parallel commercial practices rather than suppressing them with the demands of imperial redistribution, and that was a behavioural pattern that lasted until late antiquity (Johnson: 2012, 23). Arnaud recently asserted (2016, 2), the Roman Empire was not only a distant central state acting for its own sake, but was also an aggregate of cities whose level of autonomy could vary through time and space. In that sense, it is undeniable that the relationship between Roman law and the law from the different areas of the empire was a dynamic two-way process (Czajkowski: 2017, 16).

On the one hand, the role of the state in public supply changed through time, depending on the economic situation and the needs that the state faced. The increase in the control of the supply of olive oil during the Severan period can be compared with measures taken by the state in other crises (e.g. Suet. *Claud.* 18.2). The exemption of taxes was a measure undertaken on different occasions by Roman emperors to encourage and increase trade and shipping. However, these methods should not be identified with a complete reorganisation carried out by the Roman government of the distribution of oil. First, to be exempted from *munera* does not imply that liability for the undertaking of public businesses was avoided. In fact, the example of *lex contractus* that we find at Puteoli publicly indicates the responsibilities and duties of the contractors (e.g. *CIL* X. 1781). Second, evidence such as mixed cargoes indicate that several subjects were both working for the *annona* and carrying out their retail business (Tchernia: 2008; Gianfrotta: 2015). That was the case as well for the army that was supplied partly by the state, and partly by individual traders such as the *homo trasmarinus* mentioned in the *Tab. Vind.* 180. In addition, the evidence from marble quarries indicates that they were sometimes rented out and managed by freedmen belonging to the *familia caesaris*. As happened with other goods destined for state use (e.g. the army, public construction), these kinds of merchandise had an epigraphic apparatus that made it possible for them to be identified as such.

On the other hand, Rome acted as a hub enhancing the distribution and redistribution of merchandise. That assertion does not prevent to also affirm that there were many other ports acting as hubs for distribution and redistribution (e.g. Narbo Martius, Alexandria). This way of operating was partly thanks to its ports that were organised systematically, facilitating the mobilisation of cargoes through different areas (Keay: 2012). Apart from this, the mixing of people working on behalf of the state and in retail trade helped these exchanges, since merchants could take advantage of the benefits of working for the public supply to ship other goods that could have been sold there. It is necessary to think that this was a world of imperfect information, where the merchant had to rely upon agents to find the best place to sell their merchandise. Since Rome and Ostia received cargoes and merchants from all the areas of the empire, it was logical to think that the demand and supply of a diverse set of goods could be satisfied in large cities and busy ports. These networks of redistribution could lead to established networks of trade, as in the case of working for the Roman state, the situation was handled by two parts with different statuses: the individual and the state, which represented the whole of the people of Rome.

In retail trade, the two parties in an agreement had the same status, thus in case of dispute, they would both have had equal access to the resources to make a claim. However, in the case of an agreement held between the Roman government and a private subject, the status of the parties was unequal. The analysis of several *leges* concerning public works (e.g. *lex Irnitana*; *Lex Ursoniana*) reflect that these government-individuals relations were not directly protected by laws (Plessis: 2004, 305). Although this creates the impression that a contractor would have been exposed to corrupt magistrates, there are indications that certain safeguards existed from which the contractor could have benefited from indirectly. For example, the inscription of the *navicularii* from Arles (*CIL* III 14165) indicates that the defence of these subjects is based on the strength of their being a collective when complaining to the magistrate about the fraud on the use of weights. This is another argument in favour of the idea that the creation of these *collegia* was not the initiative of the state, but a natural evolution of the *societas* driven by an increase in the scale of trade, with the aim of protecting and organizing themselves (Rathbone: 2003; Broekaert: 2008).

However, the flow of merchandises and people occurred in controlled spaces where all ships entering and setting sail from ports were cautiously inspected and registered. Procedures such as weighing, measuring, and tasting happened equally in public and retail transport, but the actors and the registration of these activities as recorded on both the artefacts and in the archives differed. The registers were kept both at the ports of departure and the arrival. The evidence of different sorts of record documents used in different areas provides a blurry picture, because initially, looking at the example from Carthage, I would have thought that there were separate records for public and private merchandise. However, the *Tab. Vind.* show that all the products, furnished by the state or private merchants, could appear in the same sort of documents. The evidence of the tax laws of Lambaesis (*CIL* VIII, 18352) and Zraïa (*CIL* VIII, 4508) display the coexistence of regulations that applied to military products and retail goods. These could be differentiated by their epigraphic record, as the *scripta commercii* show in the case of barrels and lead labels. These goods then would have been differentiated at the moment of paying taxes, but it is unclear if they would have been part of another registration record different from the one used for retail goods.

The Dressel 20 amphorae and the marble blocks were inscribed, indicating control procedures, and were then identifiable upon arrival to be addressed to their final destination (e.g. warehouse, *statio marmorum*). The evolution of the δ inscription on Dressel 20 amphorae reveals an increase in the demand of these vessels, as well as an intensification in the control and complexity of the procedures of gathering, shipping, and auditing. Similarly, the procedures for the allocation of risk in the grain and marble trades can be understood from the epigraphic record on the blocks themselves and on the samples accompanying the grain cargoes. The procedures for inspecting these goods were strictly controlled by subjects working on behalf of the Roman state, which again raises the issue of the different statuses of the parties involved in the processes.

All of these elements depict a highly controlled, bureaucratic scenario displayed in the Roman ports of the Mediterranean, where everything being shipped along ports was carefully monitored and

controlled. Even if the subjects inspecting these goods had different roles and statuses, the evidence indicates that the Roman administrative system tried to survey everything crossing its frontiers and ports. However, the evidence of texts indicates that this did not impede individuals from trying to escape that control.

This image of a controlling and bureaucratic state can erroneously give the impression that trade was only addressed by the *annona* and the army, with both of these distribution routes controlled by the state. In fact, the high level of state involvement stimulated parallel commercial practices rather than suppressing them with the demands of imperial redistribution. The analysis of the material discussed in this chapter has revealed that none of these assumptions is actually true, and studies by other scholars confirm the involvement of private subjects in public supply (Rubio Campillo: 2017, 1248-9). Both public and army supply distribution could be carried out by individual merchants and shippers. Thus, when thinking about Roman administration and trade, I think that we should bear in mind the idea of an organization that combined the work of individuals and public officers.

Chapter 8

Final Discussion: Setting Commerce in Context

8.1. The Epigraphy of Merchandise and its Legal Framework

The previous seven chapters have addressed a number of specific issues related to the research questions posed in the introduction. In this final chapter, I will review the argument before turning to a more general discussion. The first four chapters set the background for the three case studies analysed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The Appendix VII indicates different issues which had arisen from this work, and that will be addressed in a future study. These latter chapters have revealed a large number of challenges to be confronted when studying commercial epigraphy in conjunction with Roman legal sources. While many features of Roman ports have been highlighted thanks to the use of interdisciplinary methods, the epigraphy of merchandise needs to be studied within their legal framework in order to be understood in the context of commercial operations.

Throughout this work, it has repeatedly been found that the epigraphic record of the commercial artefacts needed to be reinterpreted in relation to the legal framework of the commercial procedures in which these objects were involved. In addition, the systematic interpretation of the artefacts only in comparison with objects of the same kind has been found to be insufficient to understand their role in Roman trade. To this aim, an essential step is unravelling the knots of commercial itineraries, namely to achieve the full understanding of the various steps that composed them. Achieving a thorough knowledge of distribution and commercial procedures has been a more straightforward matter, for which legal, literary, epigraphic, papyrological, and iconographic sources have been employed. Thus, a multifaceted methodology, by comparing inscriptions and linking them with diverse legal sources, allowed the recognition of those marks that, among the complex bundles of *scripta commercii*, can be grouped as belonging to a writing system.

In that sense, I wondered whether *scripta commercii* followed a system, meaning that they used some repetitive patterns in commercial inscriptions that allowed the subjects involved in long distance trade to understand the features of the agreements in which they were involved. Commercial artefacts are always embedded in a multitude of contexts governing their distribution. In this work, I have underlied the ontological approach to interpreting merchandise. These objects are meaningful only in relation to conflicts, negotiations, and appropriations taking place during their commercial itinerary. Transformations in the significance of these artefacts for the subjects interacting with them can happen when objects change ownership and also because of movement (shipping) that produces inscriptions denoting the different situations through which they passed and the participants involved. I am using here the concept-metaphor of the itinerary, which is necessary to understand the transformations that happened to the object during the commercial path and materialise in the inscriptions.

To understand the inscriptions in the context of trade, I created a model in which I aimed to study the port landscape considering the commercial procedures performed in Mediterranean ports, and the legal framework of them, controlled and protected by the law of the empire. I have labelled this method as “juridical archaeology”, and it proceeds beyond the legal text and begins to investigate explanations and causal connections between the reconstructed facts, the material remains and their outcome in the excavated site. In this case, the cases were the Roman ports of the Mediterranean.

The model of Figure 18 has been created to consider all the structural elements, which can be present at any port (e.g. warehouses, docks) and the commercial operations taking place in them according to the standards of Roman law. When comparing different ports and their commercial procedures, the existence of a model helps reveal the differences within different ports and explain the diversities existing among them. For that reason, generalisations can be used to cope with these differences. Exceptions to these generalizations, whether extreme cases or problematic marginal cases, pose quite different problems. At one level, they helpfully remind us that the world is not so carefully ordered, and not everything fits into a single intellectual scheme. Thus both diversity and exceptions can be used to prove or disprove the reality of one thing.

However, the case studies show that when considering different regions of the Roman world, a number of these distributional procedures can be identified through different sources and materials. The variations lie in the different structures, in the control of the port by the local or Roman authorities, and the agreements established between the parties. Indeed, throughout this thesis it has been noted that there is no such thing as a cargo-type, a sale-type, or an inspection-type. There were some contractual schemes provided by Roman law, and some procedures that needed to be performed in distribution in order to avoid risk and maintain the flow of the goods between and through ports. “It is unsurprising to see the same kinds of information appearing on various types of provincial goods bound for Rome or other corners of the empire. They fulfilled the same commercial and (particularly) administrative needs” (Domergue: 1998, 213).

There is no justification for the commonly held view that the needs of long distance trade lay at the root of Roman authorities and state supply. Instead, this work has demonstrated that Roman imperial trade was formed by a number of individual actors and authorities who, through regulation and customs wanted to ensure that the cargoes reached their destinations.

Scripta commercii suggest that across the Roman Mediterranean, local rules and customs were prominent and had their influence in commerce. I would thus argue that there was one intrinsic system of *scripta commercii* in which the product, owners and prices were determined to establish the essential rights and liabilities of the parties interacting with them. Differences are evident in the positions of the inscriptions and the linguistic cases used, two traits that reveal different roles and events happening during the life-cycle of the objects. Differences in the quantities or in the way of describing the products highlights contrasting practice in different regions of the Mediterranean. *Scripta commercii* were specifically Roman instruments with a legal binding significance. That suggests the existence of an interplay between imperial law and customary practices, in which the subjects involved

used the “universal law of the Romans”³⁸⁷ with the aim of establishing commercial relations. Custom, the most rudimentary but also the most fundamental form of law (Kelley: 1990, 3), together with local practices, complemented the needs of imperial law which was not necessarily enforced or even known in many provinces of the empire (Kantor: 2009, 249-259). Differences between *scripta commercii* highlight the contradiction between the ambitions of the centre and the experience of the periphery. The machinery of administration was juxtaposed to the different cultural frameworks, and the bureaucratic literary communication stands in contrast to unofficial personal and oral communications (Tuori: 2007, 40). In addition, the differences in the techniques used by individuals to sell their products shows how the merchants tried to cope with the limitations of a volatile pre-industrial business world (Broekaert: 2013²).

8.2. The Lessons to be learned from the Case Studies

The aim of the case studies in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 was to develop an alternative approach to understanding *scripta commercii* in the context of broader legal procedures. Therefore, considering the model of commercial operations described in Chapter 4, I determined that there are three main functions that will help us understand interactions between the actors in the distribution of merchandise, as well as their liabilities and obligations. These are sale, transport, and control, and while the first two are represented by the contracts of sale and lease and hire, the third gathers together elements of the previous two, as well as describing the processes of the registration of cargoes and the collection of taxes. Control also applies to the management of the port structures, as it was the result of the work of private parties or control by provincial or imperial authorities.

The first case study addressed the contract of sale, studying the inscriptions individually to gather details about how the information was displayed on the containers. In Chapter 6, I observed that the text referring to lease and hire always refers to the cargo in units reflecting capacity, because that was the way that the shippers were able to establish the price to be paid by the merchants. In addition, I observed that for products that appeared inscribed and were sold in a container, the legal texts about lease and hire referred to them indicating volumetric units. Alternatively, uninscribed oil containers were mentioned in legal texts with reference to a capacity unit, the *metreta*, which probably refers to the large volumes in which the oil was sold and packaged.

In addition, the study of the different *scripta* confirmed that the artefacts were written in order to attain a certain kind of sale. Chapter 5 highlighted that there were many different ways to sell products, and that this was reflected in the inscriptions on the objects in which they were carried. One particularly interesting issue concerns the use of samples, which were used in two different unrelated ways. On the one hand, there were samples that were used to engage a potential customer in a sale,

³⁸⁷ (Ps.) Menander, Treatise, I.III.364; in relation with this text, see: Humfress: 2013, 73-101; Talamanca: 1971, 433ff. For further scholar works relating Roman law and provincial law: Mitteis: 1981; Woolf: 1976; Van den Bergh: 1969; Galsterer: 1986; Ando: 2006; Antti Arjava: 2014

by enabling the goods to be tasted before purchase. This practice was thus intended to produce a sale agreement. On the other hand, we have samples which accompanied grain cargoes and were inscribed with details related to its shipping. In this case, the sale had already been agreed, but lacked the tasting of a sample of the product. These samples were thus an instrument that lessened the potential risk that could be incurred by the grain providers, providing proof that the grain had not been altered. The inscriptions that revealed whether or not the ship in which the cargo was transported was under public ownership or lease, indicated that the same practice was used irrespective of whether or not the cargo was addressed to the *annona*. These latter samples thus effectively acted as a kind of travel document which certified, either to the people in charge of the inspection or the procurators in charge of receipt, the cargo, its quality, and the contract agreed with the shippers.

The diagram in Figure 54 displays the relationship between the *scripta commercii* and the three functions studied in the case studies. . In long distance trade, it is necessary to differentiate between the liability held by the merchant who sold the product and the shipper who transported it, except in those cases where the merchant and shipper were the same person. This point starts the discussion about when the liabilities of one and the other started and ended, especially bearing in mind that one of the duties of the seller was to bring the goods sold to the customer. Essentially, once the goods had been loaded into the ship, the safekeeping of them was the responsibility of the shipper, with the exceptions of pirate attack or storm (D. 4.9.4.1.1).

The different roles implied in transport balanced the risk and liabilities of shipping and established the relationship between the different actors in case something went wrong. At the same time, the registration and tax payment for the products sold and shipped constituted obligations for both merchant and shipper. The merchant had to register the goods leaving a port and paid for the taxes due on the goods, while the shipper paid taxes for the use of the port and customs charges in those cases when they transported their own cargoes. All of these notions are represented in the diagram of Figure 54.

Figure 54 indicates that these inscriptions had multifaceted meanings for the three functions of sale, transport, and control. On the one hand, the systematization and recurrence of the patterns of writing effectively created a code that facilitated communication between the different actors in long distance trade. On the other hand, the repetition of the patterns also reveals that in the early to mid Roman Empire, the procedures for trade, transport, and control had achieved a degree of stability, even if the particularities of certain areas could affect their features to a certain extent. Thus, the existence of these patterns reveals a certain degree of integration in trade between Mediterranean ports.

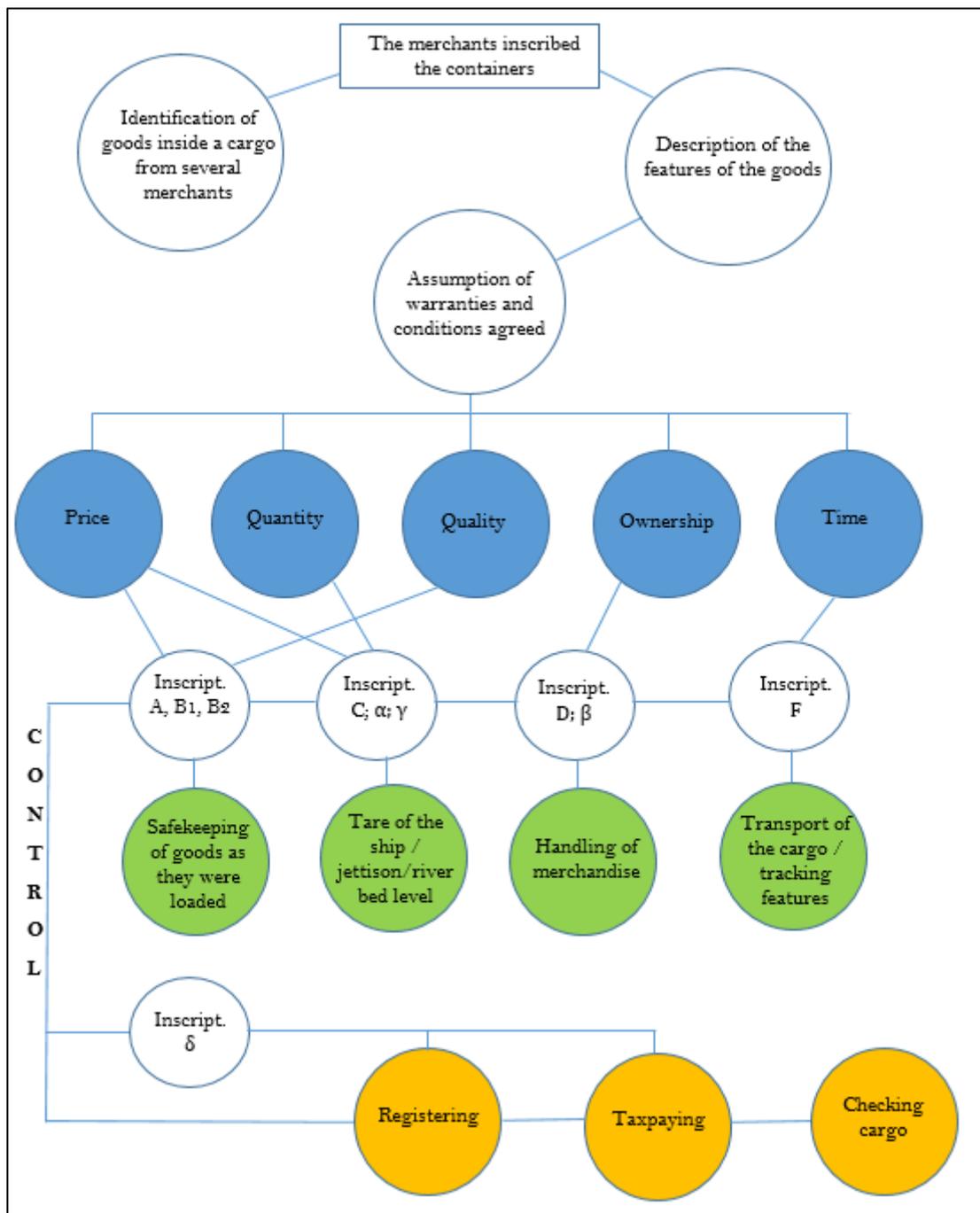


Figure 54. Diagram illustrating the different *scripta commercii* and their implications for the functions of sale (blue circles), transport (green circles) and control (yellow circles)

Figure 54 also shows how the functions of sale, transport, and control bridged the gap between public and private commerce. In addition, I think that we should think of trade on behalf of the Roman state as having involved private individuals working for the *annona*. One of the observations in Chapter 7 is that whether it was the *annona* operations or those of the customs at the ports, the procedures should not have been very different because weight and quality were essential features for the sale contract, as both archaeological and juridical evidence seems to point out. In fact,

even the contracts have the same basic structure, mainly differing on three points for contracts agreed with the Roman state:

- (1) The status of the parties in the contract;
- (2) The subjects working for the Roman state were often grouped in *corporata*, bigger groupings probably formed from *collegia* (that were implied in retail trade) which aimed to mutually support themselves and organize their activity;
- (3) These subjects were granted certain privileges at some point due to their function;

The study of the epigraphic record of the artefacts involved in the *annona* supply reveal certain specificities in the formulae written on the objects (e.g. Dressel 20 amphorae). In addition, the study of olive oil, stone, and grain reveals that the importance of these products led to an increase in the control of their collection and distribution. However, contrary to many scholars interested in the topic of the *annona*, my study of the epigraphic record of these products reveals that public trade should not be considered as a completely different modality of trade. The legal sources did not create a specific, unique contractual form to be applied to these transactions, but they were used to lease the services of individuals to perform certain jobs. In that way, the Roman government kept trade flowing and their intervention to a minimum.

This scenario seems more dynamic if we think that these agreements could be modified by the will of the parties engaged or by the state to achieve a concrete purpose. I mention the state as a distinctive entity, because as I have argued, in a public contract the parties do not have the same status, with the possibility that the state could change some details of the agreements. For example, in the case of the Dressel 20 amphorae, at some point the state assumed the liability for transport, aiming to encourage the shipping of olive oil to Rome. Thus, the state appeared to act as an entity that encouraged public supply by assuming liabilities and granting exemptions to subjects that were involved in it. However, the Roman state controlled trade closely and collected large sums in taxes and duties, which could be interpreted as not being particularly favourable for some merchants. However, both the archaeological and textual evidence point to an intense flow of goods throughout the empire, which indicates that the taxes were not so high as to prevent merchants from engaging in commerce. The intervention of euergetists in the payment of taxes to encourage trade in their local ports³⁸⁸ and the diversification of the commercial activity of some merchants (working for public and retail supply) help to complete this picture of dynamic trade.

What is clear is that the parties involved in long distance trade wanted to get the goods delivered safely and that led to formal agreements that established the responsibilities of the parties involved and their objectives. Consequently, some of the elements that were implicit to these agreements (e.g. obligation, ownership, liability) are reflected in the inscriptions on the traded goods.

³⁸⁸ E. g. Caunus, see *SEG* XIV 639

In addition, the inscriptions provided information required to be considered by the Roman state that controlled the flow of cargoes moving between the ports of the Mediterranean. The different *scripta commercii* provided information related to the political economy, monopolies, property, and liability that originated in the agreements. The codes and abbreviations employed on the inscriptions imply an awareness by merchants and traders of the legal processes that underpinned maritime commerce.

8.2.1. Implications for Roman Archaeology and Law

The first achievement of this work has been to approach Roman archaeology and law in conjunction, a necessary step in order to achieve a better understanding of the sources of both disciplines. In his book, David Johnston indicated that “to write history using the legal sources alone is inadvisable; whenever possible other evidence should be employed too” (1999, 29). While the *scripta commercii* provide an important source of evidence, they must be seen in context, especially in the case of commerce in the Roman Empire, where different individuals were trying to trade and be protected in case something went wrong in the transaction. Classical archaeologists have sometimes understood trade as if it was a science, quantifying it, and establishing statistics and networks. These methods provide important information, but this must be understood within their human context. It is necessary to place the data in a scenario where we can see not just how many containers travelled from one place to the other, or which places were connected, but also the steps taken to ship goods from one place to other, the risks and liabilities assumed, etc. If we follow this approach, then suddenly the subjects involved in these processes appear visible, and it is possible to imagine ports in a different way.

The same problem occurs with the jurists who look only at the legal sources. Among these, it is possible to find laws that apply to the whole of the population, while there are others sources such as papyri or jurists’ advice that reflect concrete, individual situations. All of them reflect something of the society, the politics, the administration, and the subjects embedded in the Roman legal system. However, contrasting these sources with the material evidence is how we get to fill in gaps in the texts, which are not mentioned by the jurists because they considered them obvious or because it was not of interest to the author.

In that sense, the literature review (Chapter 2) highlighted the voids in the research on commercial epigraphy and the multiple functions of *scripta commercii* as understood in the framework of Roman law and their commercial context. That chapter also highlighted the need to get beyond systematic typologies of artefacts to see what the people who were involved in their production and distribution thought they were doing with them. Chapter 3 aimed to present the objects from an ontological perspective: as artefacts reflecting the procedures of sale, transport, and control. The methodology presented in Chapter 3 implied an ontological conception of the epigraphic texts, identifying the different procedures that underpinned the distribution process. That perception evidenced the existence of a model of procedures, taking place from the point of departure of the

merchandise until reaching its destination. In terms of their legal scope, that association could seem oversimplified, but it is necessary to bear in mind that the Roman jurists encouraged principles because they wanted to provide practical solutions for common issues in trade.

Chapter 4 presented a model of the procedures taking place in the cycles of distribution of merchandise between Roman imperial ports. This model implied not just the conception of space in a different way, but also concerning the procedures taking place in these locations. This evokes the notion of juridical archaeology that allows the viewing of trade in a different perspective, through the different interactions of the subjects employed in it. That conception goes together with the idea of “controlled trade”, since the import and export of goods was supervised and registered by the state with the aim to collect taxes and monitor the flow of goods moving between ports. These elements depict a scenario whereby the imperial authorities controlled maritime space, and used the law as a tool in the different ports which acted as Mediterranean nodes. These theoretical frameworks allow us to see commerce as the traders saw it: a series of procedures and steps that had to be taken before attempting to sell, buy, or transport goods throughout the Mediterranean.

Overall, the three case studies which lie at the heart of this thesis have assembled materials and sources, gathering together the perspectives of the jurists and the material traces of the records left by the merchants. The jurists provided practical solutions that created the legal framework of commercial law, whilst the merchants carried out their activity within that framework and coped with the practical problems of everyday commercial activities. That in turn motivated the jurists to create new remedies in response to new problems that arose in the course of daily practice. In this sense, therefore, the case studies provide a completely new approach to Roman trade and commerce, allowing the understanding of activities and procedures in the same way as the practitioners themselves.

8.3. Conclusions

One of the elements that speaks most strongly about a relatively high level of integration of the Roman Mediterranean is the commerce that was performed along its coasts. Commerce in the Roman Empire of the first three centuries AD operated within a well-established legal framework provided by Roman law. This framework was the product of both legal theory and practice. Thus, long distances and cultural differences point to the fact that common practices were developed to ensure that commercial networks could function effectively. The effective distribution of merchandise required the creation of an elaborate symbolic system that promoted legitimacy and commercial customs across the empire. Thus, the contrast between systemic commercial traits and those differing from them reveals that there were different levels in the integration of the distribution of traded goods around the Mediterranean. Consequently, a metapragmatic revision of what these inscriptions mean in a particular context helps us to understand many commerce activities, such as buying, selling, and controlling cargoes, because these are the actions of exchange that survive in these texts. The analysis of the combined datasets has led to the creation of a model of the procedures that took place along the

shipping routes that criss-crossed the Mediterranean. The analysis of the material and textual sources according to this model has revealed the different kinds of sales and transport that underpinned these distributions. This approach has made it possible to trace a better defined picture of the activities of the people who travelled these routes, selling, controlling, transporting, and acquiring goods in different parts of the Mediterranean. In this way, we edge closer to understanding, along with their role in commerce, the perception of merchants in the empire and the influence of imperial identity upon different trade routes.

Delivery itineraries started at one port of origin and ended at the port of destination where cargoes were unloaded. Two centres of demand stand out from the retail commercial routes channelled through networks of ports: the city of Rome and the army. The latter was located at various points along the Roman *limes*. Ships, people, and goods moved along the routes in which these two elements constituted key nodes, with certain ports prospering because of their location in relation to them. Merchants who specialised in certain products followed a regular route and a certain way of distributing goods (retail or wholesale). The different procedures taking place along routes of distribution have been reconstructed in a model (Figure 18). It described the itinerary of *scripta commercii* by tracking the different procedures in which the artefact was involved from its place of departure until delivery to the final customer. The actions which took place along the route included sealing, loading, controlling, weighing, measuring, and tasting, unloading, registering, and tax-paying; they ended with the storage of the goods. These actions were performed through legal agreements concluded by the parties that defined their respective rights and liability and through the warranties that the customer could expect from the merchants.

Three main functions can be gathered from the paths of distribution: sale, control, and transport. It is from the study of the material and legal sources with these three functions in mind that wider issues emerge. The functions were embodied in two contracts employed in distribution (sale and lease and hire), and in the various controls performed by Roman authorities over the cargoes moving through the ports. Thus, they speak strongly about the people working in the ports, individuals who are otherwise largely invisible to scholarship. Along these lines, inscriptions will tell us about how sale contracts were agreed and performed; what boundaries, rights and risks in navigation can be inferred from them; and how control procedures were applied to cargoes. These functions talk about the relationship between private subjects and imperial authorities in the creation of patterns for the sale and distribution of goods.

Inscriptions related to quantity have revealed a general lack of standardisation, at least on objects not involved in state supply. Even if several dispositions concerning the standardisation of weights and measures were enacted, and that lately the material evidence points to the fact that these containers were inscribed reflecting weight (Bernal et al 2014, 227), the features of the sale of goods depended largely on agreements, customs at the port, and other similar variables. Different kinds of inscriptions on containers, or their absence, reveal different patterns in trade and transport, depending on the nature of the product, the container employed, or if the merchandise was quantified at the port

of origin or that of its destination. In general, the higher the volume of goods sold, the less likely it was that the traits of the product were inscribed on the container. This probably correlates with the fact that the containers were recognisable by their size, and that products of higher quality were sold in smaller quantities and at a different price. Small quantity items would have had their features detailed in several inscriptions on the container. Thus, the two main varieties of sale, retail and in bulk, and their specific characteristics are reconstructed through inscriptions and sources, revealing a series of possible variations on the standard contract that were adapted to the situation of the individuals and consumers.

The study of lease and hire has revealed that even if the practical needs of navigation forced the shipper to consider the weight of the goods when loading, the legal sources were more concerned about the space occupied in the ship, because that was the basis for how the shippers charged the merchants for use of cargo space. However, that did not mean that weight was not important in the eyes of the law, since there are many texts that considered the risks of navigation and a heavy cargo, especially the well-known Rhodian sea law (D. 14.2.9). In addition, different cargoes revealed the different risks that the shipper had to bear in mind when accepting certain types of merchandise on board his vessel. Again, this case study, as the preceding one concerning sale, revealed the existence of some essential features in these contracts that could be adapted to fit within the particular circumstances of each case.

The study of the diverse *scripta commercii* concerning control has bridged the gap between private and retail trade, revealing that the mechanisms of inspection and the contracts employed were similar, and that the differences in the *locationes* depended upon the status of the parties involved. The latter implied a different procedure in case of trial and the registers applied to the merchandise. That case study also gave the impression of the existence of a highly bureaucratic control over trade by both the authorities and private individuals.

Scripta commercii indicate to us the existence of a heterogeneous empire, in which local rules and customs influenced commerce. Differences can be seen in the positions of the inscriptions on the vessels which bore them and the linguistic cases used in their composition, two traits which reveal different roles and events happening during the lives of the objects. Differences in the units of measure used to define quantities, or in the way the features of a product were described, highlight the differences between areas in the Mediterranean. *Scripta commercii* were specifically Roman instruments with a legally binding significance. This suggests the existence of an interplay between imperial law and customary practices, in which the subjects involved used the “universal law of the Romans”.³⁸⁹ with the aim of establishing commercial relations. Custom, the most rudimentary and fundamental form of law (Kelley: 1990, 3), together with local practices, complemented the needs of imperial law which was not necessarily enforced or even known in many provinces of the empire (Kantor: 2009,

³⁸⁹ (Ps.) Menander, Treatise, I.III.364; in relation with this text, see: Humfress: 2013, 73-101; Talamanca: 1971, 433ff. For further scholar works relating Roman law and provincial law: Mitteis: 1981; Woolf: 1976; Van den Bergh: 1969; Galsterer: 1986; Ando: 2006; Antti Arjava: 2014.

249-259). Differences between *scripta commercii* highlight the contradiction between the ambitions of the centre and the experience of the periphery. The machinery of the administration was juxtaposed with the elusive transmissions of culture, and the bureaucratic literary communication stands in contrast to personal and unofficial oral communication.

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Archaeology

Volume 2 of 2

**Explaining the commerce of Roman Mediterranean Ports: the evidence from
scripta commercii and law**

by

Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz

VOLUME II. APPENDICES

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of philosophy

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10. Appendix I. Epigraphy of merchandise in the scholarly record

Criteria of Sample Selection

10. 1. Amphorae and Samples

The amphorae sample chosen for this thesis consists of inscribed vessels of which the epigraphic record is complete enough to provide relevant information. In addition, my intention has been to collect a varied sample of amphorae coming from different contexts (e.g. shipwrecks, disposals); holding different products (e.g. fish sauce, oil); involved in different markets (public distribution *vs* free market), and finally, that are representative of the diverse areas of the Mediterranean.

However, the problem is that some areas had an enormous amount of material (e.g. Mount Testaccio), and other areas barely have material or was even inexistent (e.g. Syria, Libya). I decided to collect all the evidence coming from the areas where it was scarce (generally areas from the eastern Mediterranean, see Figure 2), while making a selection in which the quantity of available material made some of it redundant. This meant that once I collected a significant sample of vessels providing information about one kind of trade (e.g. oil for the *Annona*), I did not add any other inscription into the sample, excepting the cases when an item provided new details not yet highlighted with the sample. The sample of amphorae collected can be consulted in Appendix VIII (items labelled as A.), on which the different inscriptions are compiled according to their meaning (e.g. merchant, product).

The material record has just provided five samples and all of them have been included and studied in this work (detailed in sections 2.3.1.1 and 6.3.4.3). These items are also mentioned in several papyri that I detail in Chapter 6. The samples' inscriptions can be found in the Appendix VIII, 17.5, labelled as A. 1038-1040; O. 006 and O. 136-7.

Finally, it is necessary to indicate that I have used the commonest labelling used in the website "the amphora project", from the university of Southampton.³⁹⁰

10.1.1. Methodological Criteria for the Selection of Amphorae

The theoretical statements included in chapter 2 indicate that the artefacts and their inscriptions will be studied according to their material and social context, and giving secondary importance to the issue of typology in the case of the amphorae. I am interested in comparing writing, and find the systematic traits of these inscriptions on merchandise. The labels applied to the inscription and how they have been collated in the databases are detailed in Appendix II.

³⁹⁰ http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/info_intro.cfm

10. 2. Amphorae Stoppers

This thesis has just considered only the inscribed stoppers found along the Mediterranean. For the purpose of comparison I have also used some examples found in Myos Hormos in the Red sea (Thomas: 2011) and some pouzzolana stoppers (Gianfrotta: 1994) dated back to the 1st cent. BC. The sample of stoppers can be consulted in Appendix VIII (17.7), labelled as S. 3038-40; 3180-1; 3551-3; 3558 and 3560-85.

10. 3. Barrels

The sample of barrels collated in this thesis constitutes a complete assemblage of the inscriptions found on barrels that supersedes the work of Marliere (2002), which formed the starting point of my own data collection. Since new evidence is still being recovered in the excavations of Vindolanda, I have quoted some of their discoveries to complete the inscribed record (tables 4 and 7). The sample of barrels collected can be consulted in Appendix VIII (items labelled as B.), on which the different inscriptions are grouped according to their meaning (e.g. merchant, production).

10. 4. Lead Ingots and Iron Bars

Ingots are very numerous in the archaeological record of the imperial period. The small sample collated here reflects the different types mining work organization attested in the Roman Empire. As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, the land of the mines was owned by the state, but the management of their services could be either entrusted to imperial magistrates, or to contractors who will lease the exploitation of these places. The organization of mines had a reflection on the inscriptions held on the ingots, thus I have collected a sample of lead ingots belonging or found in Spain, Italy, Britain, Germany and Gaul. I have chosen lead because the evidence of these sort of ingots was abundant and so was their epigraphic record, reflecting diverse management situations. In addition, I am interested in the fact that these mines were owned by the emperor but managed by private contractors. That scheme is similar to the one studied for the case of marble or the Dressel 20 amphorae (7.2.1), thus it will help to compare between both distribution models.

The Spanish ingots collated were found in wrecks (Sud-Perduto 2, Cabrera 5, Bou Ferrer), while the others were found in excavations inland. That choice responds to the fact that the epigraphic record of the ingots reflects the different stages of the itinerary of distribution in which they were involved. The differences among the location of the inscription, the information inscribed, as well as the writing technique used help trace the different stages on the distribution of the ingot and the subjects involved. The Figure 55 displays a model of the different locations and techniques written on the ingots, which can be summarized as follows:

- Stamps made on the top (moulded in panel) of the ingot when it was being smelted, reflecting the name of the producer.
- Cold stamped seals made after the ingot was smelted, located on the sides or next to the stamps moulded in panel. These can be identified with merchants who, at one time or the other, owned the ingot by purchase. These marks can be numerous in one ingot if the object has been acquired by different merchants through its distribution.
- Many ingots bear graffiti on their sides, consisting of numbers carved with a pointed instrument. These figures record their weight or the number of pounds by which it exceeded the standard weight for the calculation of payable duties or *portoria* (Parker: 1974, 147-9; Domergue: 1998, 203)

The superposition of the different marks sometimes permits to establish a relative chronology of the itinerary of the ingot. My choice just aims to provide an example of the organization of mines in a broad way, and this model would need to be reassessed for concrete case studies involving metals such as gold or silver. The sample of ingots collected can be consulted in Appendix VIII (items labelled as I), on which the different inscriptions are compiled according to their meaning (e.g. merchant, product).

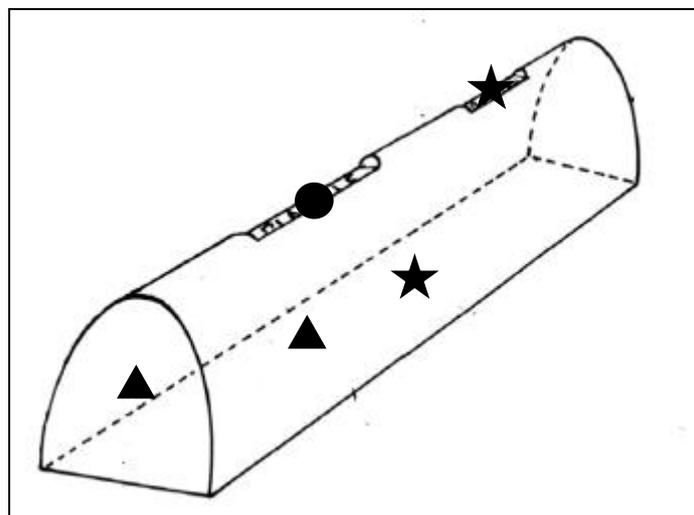


Figure 55. Epigraphic record of an ingot (drawing from Colls et al: 1986, 40 pl. 3) Circle: producer(s), Triangle: number(s), Stars: merchant (s)

The iron bars chosen for the sample are the assemblages found in the French wrecks of Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (Long: 1998-99; Pages *et al.* 2008), and the Plemmirio B wreck found in Siracusa (Gibbins & Parker: 1986). The evidence of iron bars is scarce they are normally part of a mixed cargo of bars and ingots. I have chosen the Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer wrecks because these bars add details to the ingots sample concerning the distribution of metals from Spain, Gaul and Sardinia. In addition, the fact that these bars have been also found in a cargo also composed of lead

ingots in the case of one of the French wrecks (Liou & Domergue: 1995) is of particular interest to understand the different marks of the objects and the distributing of these two classes of metals.

10.5. Marble

Inscribed marbles are, like ingots, very numerous in the archaeological record, and the different *formulae* inscribed on the blocks reveal traits about the management of the quarries, distribution of the marbles, and the control of these activities. These quarries could be managed by the empire's officers, leased to contractors, or a combination of the the systems could be used. Most of the samples collated in Appendix VIII ³⁹¹ come from the quarries pf Phrygia (Dokimeion, Upper Tebris valley, Bakacale), chosen because the formulae written on these blocks reflect changes in the organization of the quarries over time. The table 27 (Appendix VI, 15.4) displays the changes in the inscriptions on marble, which will be used to explain the changes on the management of quarries, and to compare to the distribution of other items destined to state supply, such as oil (Chapter 7). Portus and Ostia (and their *statio marmorum*) provided the bulk of the evidence for the distribution and redistribution of marble in the Mediterranean

Other samples studied come from Africa (Chemtou, Mauritania), and have been selected because of its links with Rome and *Mons Claudianus*. The latter is chosen as an example of place completely managed by the Roman army, of which we have an exceptional documentation in the form of *ostraka* found in that quarry (Bulow-Jacobsen: 2009). In addition, I have included one example from Luna in Italy, known as *lapis salvioum* (CIL XI 1356). This source reveals a mixed administration between private contractors and imperial institutions, which allows to differentiate between the management of that area and others. I have mainly excluded from the sample marble from the quarries of Aphrodisias, Karystos, Teos, Chios and Paros, with the exception of one single sample of Teos. The reason for their omission is that the epigraphic record of these blocks is not very well attested, as highlighted also by Fant (2010, 309-313). The only example included from Teos.³⁹² is an exceptional sample of procedures taking place when personal circumstances of those involved in a lease contract have changed. The epigraphic record of these marbles will be further addressed in Chapter 7, and succinctly referred in Chapter 6.

10. 6. *Signacula* (Seals)

Seals constitute another numerous category of items found not just in the archaeological record, but also in museum collections. The latter often lack clear finds context and are thus sometimes difficult to date. The seals compiled in my sample are seals that were used to mark merchandise and identified one merchant. The latter implies that the seals collated are made of different materials, such

³⁹¹ See 17.5, items labelled as O. and indicated as marble blocks

³⁹² See Appendix VIII, 17.5, item labelled as 3948

as wood, lead or iron. However, for the selection I have chosen some seals that reflect by their inscription that they were used by merchants who were trading with large quantities of merchandise, and/or worked for the *Annona*. Further details about these seals will be explained in Chapter 7. The artefacts can be found in the Appendix VIII (17.6), identified as ‘seal’ and as O. [number] and covering a range of numbers such as 3600-3609.

Since the seals are tools used to mark merchandise, and consequently act as an instrument for tracking and registration of goods, I have labelled them as inscription R, indicating registration, because these inscriptions might have been used by the authorities of the port when elaborating the account of stocks setting sail and arriving there. Same approach applies to the *ostraka* that I will describe in section 10.8.

10.7. Labels

The sample compiled is represented by lead labels coming from *fullones* located in the areas of Feltre and Altino in Italy, and Merida in Spain. There is abundant evidence of these artefacts, attesting the activity of the *fullonica* and the strong textile industry of these areas (Buonopane: 2003; Bernal *et al.*: 2016). These inscriptions reflect the terms of the contracts of leasing of services agreed by the owner of some clothed face to the *fullo* workers, and consequently, the inscriptions reflect details such as the treatment of the cloth or the name of the owner of the cloth. The high number of labels has forced me to nuance my choice of labels just collecting a sample which can give a general perspective of these activities.

The different labels can be found in the Appendix VIII, 17.6, labelled as ‘labels’ and O. [number] and a range of labels such as O. 097-O. 118, among others.

10.8. *Ostraka*

The sample chosen for this work is rather specific, comprising only the *ostraka* found in the ilot de l’ Amirauté in the ancient port of Carthage. The reason for that choice is that these are a key and unique sample to understand registration of cargos arriving and setting sail from a port. In fact, these *ostraka* are dated in a chronological period slightly posterior to the one covered in our study, but the importance of that assemblage forced me to include them in the sample as an essential source of study.

The sample can be found in the Appendix VIII, 17.6, thus labelling these items as tools used for registering the cargoes of oil arriving and setting sail from Carthage. They will be further studied in Chapter 7, dedicated to the study of the control procedures performed in ports.

11. Appendix II. The Entanglements of *Scripta Commercii*: Methodology of Analysis

11.1. An Interdisciplinary Tool for Analysing Inscriptions: the *Scripta Commercii* Database

The *scripta commercii* database aims to fill the gap by collecting inscriptions from a wide range of commercial objects previously recorded in isolated publications or in the *CIL* (volumes IV and XV). It allows us to compare inscriptions in search for systematization, a part of a process of relating them to legal sources. Three main criteria were followed in choosing the objects: (1) they needed to contain inscribed *instrumentum domesticum*, (2) be involved in commerce, and (3) found in the Mediterranean shorelines or connected areas.³⁹³

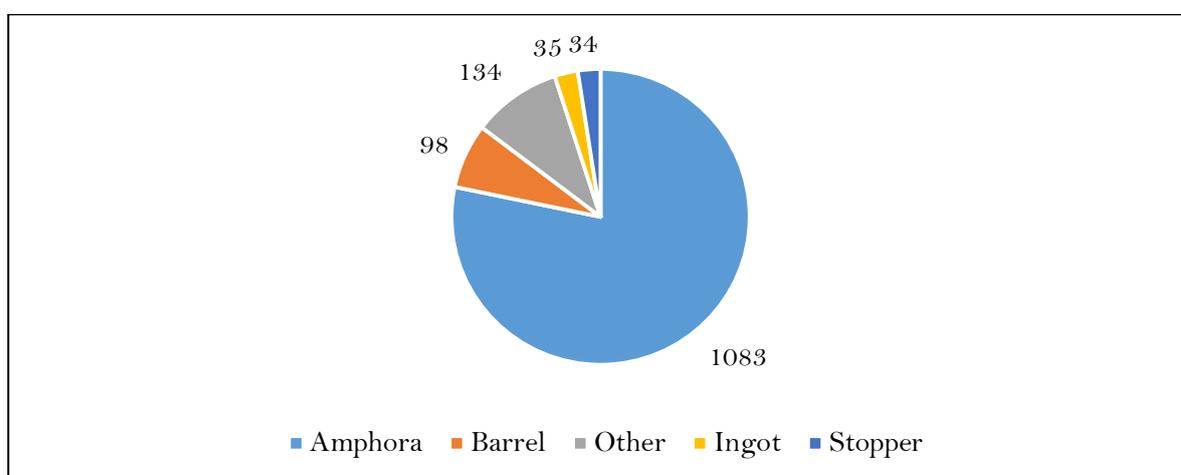


Figure 56. Chart indicating the diverse amounts of artefacts collated in the database used for this thesis

The number of objects collated in the database represent only a sample from of the totality of materials actually published (Figure 56). I have resolved to choose a sample of artefacts because the number of artefacts published is too large (e.g. Dressel 20), and not all of them are significant for building the model of Roman trade. In this process I have relied on the principal publications of commercial inscribed artefacts³⁹⁴ and amongst them, to select the most representative objects inscribed. By “most representative”, I mean objects with readable inscriptions that provide new data about the sample of objects selected. Thus, some objects have been discarded because their inscriptions were so fragmentary that their interpretation was problematic, and others because they repeated information from other artefacts already collated. Even though these objects have not been indexed in the database that does not mean that they have not been considered before being discarded.

Each inscription has been recorded in a separate register aiming to explain its function. However, all of these individual inscriptions are linked to the object on which they are written through another

³⁹³ For example, the barrels are normally found inland, but are included as they were connected with maritime trade and provide comparanda for other objects.

³⁹⁴ All referred to in Chapter 2.

inventory number assigned to that artefact. Because of that, each inscription has an individual number (e.g. 0001, 0002), related to an inventory number given to each of the artefacts (e.g. A. 001). The inventory number also contains a letter identifying the type of object: A=amphora; B=barrel; I=ingot; O=other (jars, ostraka, metal bars and labels);³⁹⁵ S=stopper.

The technique used for labelling inscriptions follows the system developed by Martin-Kilcher (1994) and later taken up by Laubenheimer (2004) (Figure 28). Though developed for amphorae I have employed the system across the board, as it is based on text only and allows one to cover all aspects which regularly appear on objects (such as product; weight; or merchant name), independently of the support. So the inscriptions have been labelled as follows:

- *Name of product.* Refers to the name of the good with which the container is filled, identified as inscription A (e.g. *mulsum*, *liquamen*, etc.)
- *Quality.* Invokes a main aspect of the good traded, labelled as inscription B1 (e.g. *excellens*, *flos*, etc.)
- *Qualitative.* Recalls a complementary trait of the good, as the producer or the place of provenance. It is labelled as inscription B2 (e.g. Baeterrense, *massicum*).
- *Quantity.* Inscription C (all the items except the Dressel 20). In the case of the Dressel 20 amphora, I can find inscription α (tare weight of the empty amphora), and inscription γ (tare weight of the amphora filled).
- *Merchant.* Inscription D (all the items except the Dressel 20) or β (Dressel 20)
- *Date.* Inscription E. It often refers to a consular date.
- *General inscription.* Inscription F. This inscription contains different data, and generally mixes numbers and words. Some clues, such as the case employed (genitive, accusative) can provide information about the role of the person mentioned (merchant, person in charge of performing a task). In other occasions, the inscription indicates a place, so maybe it was referring the place of delivery. These inscriptions can be related to different functions, such as control, transport or to some features of the agreement. I will revise each of them in a case-by-case basis, establishing differences amongst them.
- *Control inscriptions,* being the mark designed as δ by Dressel (1899, 530). This inscription is composed by numbers and words, and has been traditionally related to the controls realised in the framework of the *annona*. The inscription can contain numbers, names, or consular dates.
- Other inscriptions that rarely appear on Dressel 20 amphorae are the ones labelled as ϵ , θ and ζ . While the meaning of ϵ and ζ is still mysterious (Aguilera Martín: 2012, 140-1), θ has been identified as some quantity of liquid taken from the amphora for the cult to the Gods (Remesal

³⁹⁵ As for example, *ostraka*, lead labels, anchors, and seals, among others

Rodriguez: 2003, 245-252). Some are composed by numbers (ϵ and ζ), the other by numbers and letters (θ).

- *Inscription P*. These inscriptions are related to the production marks made in the artefact before distribution. Production marks will just be considered to gain a better understanding of the inscriptions related to distribution, that are part of the epigraphic record held in the artefact (e.g. barrels).
- *Inscription R*. These inscriptions are related to control procedures, but since they just identify *scripta* from tools used for commerce (seals and *ostraka*), I have labelled them with a different letter to highlight that difference.

Additionally, I have kept the classification proposed by Heinrich Dressel of inscriptions for Dressel 20 amphorae as (Table 17). This was done out of necessity, as the Dressel 20 were embedded in a distribution circle different from the products addressed to retail trade (section 7.2.1.1). The correlation of the two systems based on equating concepts that the inscriptions are reflecting (e.g. Inscription A=product) proves that these amphorae were marked differently, highlighting the diversities of their distributive cycles. As can be appreciated in table 17, the inscriptions relating to the product, or its quality, do not appear written in Dressel 20, which in fact underlines one feature of the Dressel 20 amphorae inscriptions, which do not refer to the product or its qualities.³⁹⁶ In addition, the control inscriptions δ do not have equivalence for containers different from Dressel 20, what underlines the tight controls that these containers had to support.³⁹⁷

ID Dressel 20 amphorae	ID amphorae not Dressel 20
No correspondence	A
No correspondence	B1
No correspondence	B2
α	C
β	D
γ	C
δ	No correspondence
ϵ	No correspondence

³⁹⁶ That trait will be further analysed in Chapter 5

³⁹⁷ That trait will be further analysed in Chapter 7

θ	No correspondence
ζ	No correspondence

Table 17. Equivalences between *tituli picti* classified by Dressel (1915) and Martin –Kilcher (1994)

In order to contextualize the inscriptions, the following Table 18 is the model of the information collected for every artefact in the *scripta commercii* database.³⁹⁸

Title of field	Code employed	Comments
ID	Inventory number assigned to the object (0001, 0002...)	
ID Support	Individual inventory number given to each of the inscriptions written on the object. They are identified by the initial letter of the object + number (A=amphora, B=barrel, I=ingot, S=stopper, O=other) E.g.: A. 527	Each of the individual inscriptions are related to the inventory number of the object, in this way, it is possible to analyse them individually and together in relation with the object
Site ID find-spot	ID number of the find-spot of the object, taken from the database "Sites" of the Portus Limen project (e.g. Isola sacra=001_003)	The number is assigned when the site is one of the places classified in the database as being part of the project. If the site is not included, this row is left blank
Harbour system find-spot	ID number of the harbour system find-spot, taken from the database "Harbour Systems" of the Portus Limen project (e.g. Arelate=005)	The number is assigned when the harbour system is one of the places classified in the database as being part of the project. If the harbour system is not included, this row is left blank
Site ID origin	ID number of the place of origin of the object, taken from the database "Sites" of the Portus Limen project (e.g. Portus=001_004)	The number is assigned when the site is one of the places classified in the database as being part of the project. If the site is not included, this row is left blank
Harbour system origin	ID number of the harbour system of origin of the object found, taken from the database "Harbour Systems" of the Portus Limen project (e.g. Narbo Martius=028)	The number is assigned when the harbour system is one of the places classified in the database as being part of the project. If the harbour system is not included, this row is left blank

³⁹⁸ See also the Figures. 57-58

Number of <i>tituli</i> on support	Number of inscriptions that can be found on the object	Each of this inscriptions has an individual number that can be found in the "ID support" row
Support	General name of the object (Amphora/ Anchor/Barrel/ Brick/ Ingot / Flagon/ jug/ Label / Marble/ Ostrakon/ Seal/ Stopper/ Vase)	
Support type	Particularity of the object (material, typology, part of the object where it is inscribed)	E.g. Amphora (Dressel 20, Ostia LIX)
Size and weight	Metrics of the object	
Estimated date (early)	Average range of early date (e.g. 200BC-150BC, 149BC-100BC...)	
Estimated date (late)	Average range of late date (e.g. 200 BC-150 BC, 149 BC-100 BC.)	
Chronological indicator	Element which allows to date the object (amphora type, material, inscription, consular date, archaeological context, merchant name)	The mention "inscription" refers to the style of the writing that allows to identify the chronology of the object
Origin	Place where the item comes from	Sometimes can be coincident with the sites classified in "Sites" database, sometimes not. A glossary of places is provided on the Portus Limen webpage
Context of finding	Physical environment where the object has been found (disposal, surface, excavation, museum, private collection, wreck)	If the place has not been detailed in the publication, the row is left blank
ID <i>tituli picti</i>	Identification of the inscription following the codes detailed in Chapter 3. The system follows the one created by Martin-Kilcher: 1994	(A=Product; B1=Quality; B2=Qualitative; C=Quantity, D=Merchant, E=Date, F=General inscription)

ID Dressel	Identification of the inscription following the codes detailed in Chapter 3. The system follows the one created by Dressel: 1899	α : Tare weight of the empty amphora, β : Name of the merchant, γ : Tare weight of the amphora filled, δ : Control inscription, ϵ : Still unknown meaning. Numbers, θ : Still unknown meaning. According to Remesal Rodriguez and Aguilera Martín (2003), percentage of liquid taken for divinity cults, ζ : Still unknown meaning. Dressel (1899) thinks must be interpreted as the inscription ϵ
Lecture	Original reading of the inscription	It follows the Leiden conventions for the epigraphic records
Interpretation	Reconstruction of the inscription	
Type of <i>tituli picti</i>	Meaning of the inscription according to the codes detailed in ID <i>tituli picti</i> and ID Dressel	E.g. Inscription A=Product
Prosopography	Name that appears in the inscription	E.g.: DD Caecilii
Notes	General description of the object, personal comments	
Technique	Method employed or material used to inscribe the object	E.g.: chiselled, painted, burnt, or if the ink is of a special kind (<i>rubrum, atramentum</i>) etc.
Situation	Place of the object where the inscription is located	
Frequency	Number of times that the inscription appears inscribed on the object	
Main Source	Main bibliographic reference for the inscription	
Primary Sources	Other related primary references (literary, epigraphic, legal)	
Bibliography	Bibliographic references	Linked to Zotero

Table 18. Codebook created to classify the inscriptions in the *scripta commercii* database

Successfully signed in

Scripta commercii (3767)

Search: [] [Go] [25]

CSV import CSV export Add new item

Miuda	ID	ID Support	Site ID place of finding	Harbour system place of finding	Site ID origin	Harbour system origin	Number of tituli on support	Support	Support type	Size and weight	Estimated date (early)	Estimated date (late)
Edit	2022	A. 723		Rome			4	Amphora	Dressel 20		AD 145	AD 145
Edit	2023	A. 723		Rome			4	Amphora	Dressel 20		AD 145	AD 145
Edit	2025	A. 724		Rome			5	Amphora	Dressel 20		AD 154	AD 154
Edit	2027	A. 724		Rome			5	Amphora	Dressel 20		AD 154	AD 154
Edit	2028	A. 724		Rome			5	Amphora	Dressel 20		AD 154	AD 154
Edit	2029	A. 724		Rome			5	Amphora	Dressel 20		AD 154	AD 154
Edit	1980	A. 707		Rome			3	Amphora	Dressel 20		AD 154	AD 154

Figure 57. Capture of the *scripta commercii* database

portus.amen.erc

Sites

Interfaces

Harbour System

Instrumentum

Harbours

Inscriptions

Iconography

Structures

Occupational Phases

Books

Passages

Words

Sea levels

Juridical

Geofeatures

Geostrati Dating

Place of finding

Arles

Context of finding

disposal

ID tituli picti

Inscription F?

Lecture

DOL. CXXX. SEXSAGENARIA

Interpretation

Dolia centum quadraginta sexsagenaria

Type of tituli picti

General inscription?

Prosopography

Valerius Proculus

Notes

The flagon constitutes a sample, this is why I can find this unusual inscription mentioning that the content of the jar belongs to a bigger cargo. The Roman urn is more or less 13l. So a dolium sexagenarium will correspond to a jar of 780l, while the capacity of the flagon is of 1100hl.

Figure 58. Capture of the *scripta commercii* database (2)

All the data included in Table 18 help contextualizing the inscriptions, and provides a reading of the fragmented text, including comments. The textual reconstructions follow the Leiden

conventions.³⁹⁹ All the data concerning the archaeological context (including the chronology of the inscription) are drawn out of the original publication. My main contribution is thus to classify all the data in the entry, label the inscriptions, and try to find systematization or general traits across the dataset.

As it is possible to appreciate in Figures. 57-58, the *scripta commercii* database also contains information that allows us to relate objects to other general and archaeological databases of the project, primarily related to the inventory of the sites and harbours involved in the project (Figures. 59-61). In addition, content of the cells referring to the “place of origin” and “place of finding” are part of a glossary of keywords employed in the project and are geo-referenced via the Pleiades database, used to locate ancient sites (<http://pleiades.stoa.org/>). The glossary (Appendix X) also contains other words referring to the techniques, such as if the ink is classified as *atramentum*, *rubrum*, etc. This allows the reader who is not familiar with these inscriptions to understand their main traits.

The screenshot shows a web interface for the 'portus athena' ERC project. The main content area displays a table titled 'Harbour System (36)'. The table has four columns: ID, Name, Country, and Type. The data rows are as follows:

ID	Name	Country	Type
004	Ephesus	Turkey	
007	Carthago	Tunisia	Maritime
013	Gades	Spain	
028	Narbo Martius	France	River / Lagoon / Maritime
1001	Corinth	Greece	
1002	Byzantium	Turkey	
1003	Cyrene	Libya	
1004	Lilybaeum	Italy	
1006	Aegina	Greece	Island
1007	Olbia	France	
029	Baelo Claudia	Spain	
001	Rome	Italy	River / Maritime
005	Arelate	France	River / Maritime

Figure 59. Harbour system database. Author: Nicolas Carayon

³⁹⁹<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195336467.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780195336467-appendix-036>

portus amen erc

Successfully signed in

Harbours (33)

Search [] [Go] 25 []

Id, Harbour	Name of the Harbour	Phase	Beginning of the phase	End of the phase	Comments on phase	Harbour system	Nature of the waterbody	Modern state	Became
HA_0000	Open sea								
HA_003_002_001	Cantharus					Athens			
HA_test_02									HA_test_01/
HA_001_003_001	Claudius Harbour	Early Imperial	AD 42		First phase of the artificial basin of Claudius	Rome			
HA_001_003_002	Trajan basin	Early Imperial	98 AD		First period of the basin. Beginning means beginning of the reign of Trajan	Rome			
HA_028_000_001	Rubresus	Late Republican / Late Imperial			Lagoon of Narbonne called Rubresus by ancient sources	Narbo Martius	Lagoon	Prograding	
HA_028_001_001	Waterway within the city	Late Republican / Late Antiquity	118 BC	AD 500		Narbo Martius	Undetermined		
HA_028_042_001	Bay of Karantes	Late Republican / Late Antiquity			Waterbody related to the occupation of the site 028_042	Narbo Martius	Bay	Silted	

Figure 60. Harbours database. Author: Nicolas Carayon

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Successfully signed in

Sites (253)

Search [] [Go] 25 []

Site ID	Name	Part of the Project	Modern municipality	Harbour System	Country	Type of occupation	Type of investigation	Description	Area covered	Beginning of the occupation (early)	Beginning of the occupation (late)
028_146	Vergeli	Yes	Port-la-Nouvelle	Narbo Martius	France	rural settlement	archaeological evaluation		400 m²	AD 1	
028_147	Vieille-Nouvelle	Yes	Port-la-Nouvelle	Narbo Martius	France	undetermined settlement	archaeological evaluation	Some isolated fragments of amphorae which date from roman period have been observed on the shore.	unknown	100 BC	
028_148	Vigne-Mjéa	Yes	Narbonne	Narbo Martius	France	rural settlement	archaeological evaluation	Site characterised by fragments of dolla, amphorae, tegulae and other ceramics		118 BC	100 BC
001_003	Isola-Sacra	Yes		Rome	Italy						
028_065	Le-Castellas	Yes	Bages	Narbo Martius	France	villa	archaeological evaluation	Remains of a luxury villa, potentially a villa maritima: terrace wall with buttresses, walls, mosaic floors, painted plaster, basement of an aqueduct, fragments of	unknown	27 BC	

Figure 61. Sites database. Author: Nicolas Carayon

11.2. The Juridical Database

The legal texts considered for this database will not be just the writings of the Roman jurists or other texts coming from compilations, but also sources that directly represent legal facts (e.g. wax tablets, papyri). In this case, the way of representing these data follows the exegetical method indicated in section 3.2. The sources are classified in the juridical database considering the features that can be acknowledged in the following table 19 and Figures 62-63:

Title of field	Code employed	Comments
ID	Number assigned to the text (ex.0001, 0025)	
Main source	Name of the source where the fragments comes from	
Type of support	Source where the fragment is recorded (legal compilation, inscription, wax tablet, etc)	The model is especially implemented for the texts coming from Justinian's Digest, because these compose the main <i>corpus</i> of legal texts compiled for this study.
External Link	Webpage where the fragment can be found	
Author Name	Author of the fragment (e.g. jurist, emperor, magistrate)	
<i>Titulus</i> Name	Name of the title that contains the item in a compilation	This cell allows to compare amongst a range of texts coming from the same title inside a compilation.
Book Name	Name of the book that contains the fragment of the author	
Text	Text in the original language	
Translation	English translation	
Type of Main Source	Kind of juridical source	See table 20
Procedure	Juridical procedures related to the case described in the text	In the case of the procedures, the terms used consist on keywords with a technical background that requires some knowledge on Roman law, see glossary (Appendix X).
Aims	what the text intends to improve	

Affects in port/commercial relations	Port operations that the text affects	
Earliest date	Earliest date of the text quoted	
Latest date	Latest date of the text quoted	
Chronological indicators	How the text is dated	
Consequences of non-compliance	Juridical and practical consequences of not compliance	This cell involves the philological and legal analysis of the case study, indicating the liability of the people involved in case of having acquired an obligation. Despite of that, sometimes the texts established principles of behaviour or just advice of a jurist, not implying any repercussion.
<i>Scripta commercii</i> related	Inscriptions to which this procedures are related (indicate ID support; e.g. A.133; B.0002, etc.)	
Other juridical sources related	Other juridical cases related (indicate number as e.g. 200, 0054, etc.)	
Type of Imperial Constitution	There are four types of imperial constitutions and each of it worth for one different thing	See table 20
General Area	Main area of performance	
Country related	Country of performance	
Toponymy	Place mentioned on the text	
Official Function	Imperial magistracy related	
Palingenesia / Interpolation	Alteration and analysis of the following the work of Otto Lenel (1889; 1927) see sect 3.2	This space will be just filled in the case of the texts coming from the Digest. For other texts, the possible alterations can be described in the cell designed as “notes”.
Prosopography available	Bibliography available	
Comments (interpolations, etc.)	General notes	
References	Bibliography related	Link to Zotero

Table 19. Codebook created to classify the inscriptions in the juridical database

What does this database offer in relation to other juridical databases? It is possible to find other juridical databases available online.⁴⁰⁰ or by previous download,⁴⁰¹ but these ones just serve as a record of the texts in their original language. In the *scripta commercii* database, the sources are selected and analysed concerning their relation to maritime commerce. In addition, the novelties that this database provides to the current knowledge are five:

- (1) Translation to English of all of these sources.⁴⁰²,
- (2) Compilation of different sorts of legal texts concerning commerce (codes, wax tablets, papyri),
- (3) Exegetical & critical analysis of these sources,
- (4) Relation of the texts amongst others, following the casuistic methodology characteristic of Roman law,
- (5) Link of the legal text to the *scripta commercii* related.

The exegetical analysis of these Roman legal sources will also provide help to other studies about Roman commerce. In addition, the system of classifying and relating the sources (both material and textual) can be exported for other uses. In sum, the juridical database presents several advantages that will be increased with the interdisciplinary connection within these texts and the materials.

⁴⁰⁰ Like for example, we can find: The Roman law library (<http://droitromain.upmf-grenoble.fr/>); Iuscivile (<http://www.iuscivile.com/materials/sources/>); The Latin library (<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/>); Iustinian Code translated and annotated by Bluhme (<http://www.uwyo.edu/lawlib/blume-justinian/>); Droit romain (<http://local.droit.ulg.ac.be/sa/vinitor/>)

⁴⁰¹ The newest is: Amanuensis (<http://www.riedlberger.de/amanuensis/answer.html>); but we can still find older ones as: Biblioteca Iuris antiqui (http://bia.lex.unict.it/default_en.htm); FIURIS (Archivio elettronico per l'interpretazione delle fonti giuridiche romane); DRANT (<http://lib.ulg.ac.be/fr/eresources/droits-antiques-drant>); ROMTEXT (<http://www.jku.at/roemrecht/content/e51026>)

⁴⁰² Mix of self-translation and the translation available in the volumes edited by Alan Watson: 2009 (4 vols.)

portus erc E.Mataix-Ferrandiz@soton.ac.uk

General
Archaeological
Ancient sources
Ancient Literature
Scripta commercii
Inscriptions
Iconography
Juridical
Geodatabase

Successfully signed in

Juridical (343)

Search: Go 25 CSV import CSV export Add new item

Muuda	ID	Main source	Type of support	External Link	Author Name	Titulus Name	Book Name	Text	Translation	Type of Main Source	Procedure	Aims	Affects in portuary
	0001	D. 12. 1. 22	legal compilation / Digesto	http://droitromain.upmf-grenoble.fr/Corpus/d-12.htm#1	Salvius Iulianus	De rebus creditis si certum	libro quarto ex Minicio	Vinum, quod mutuum datum erat, per iudicem petitum est: quaesitum est, cuius temporis aestimatio fieret, utrum cum datum esset an cum litem contestatus fuisset an cum res iudicaretur. Sabinus respondit, si dictum esset quo tempore redderetur, quanti tunc fuisset, si	The wine that had been given in mutual agreement was judicially asked, and he asked, in relation to which time the estimation could be made, in relation to when it was given, or when demand was answered, or if the thing was judged? Sabinus answered, that if he had said at what time it would be returned, then	Responsa prudentium	Mutuum, stipulatio, formulary procedure, cognitio extra	Accord the time and the place to estimate the price that has to be given due to the	Portuary operations prices, pondera put

Figure 62. Juridical database records. Author: Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz

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Juridical

[View](#) [Revisions](#)

ID: 0092

Main source: D. 18. 6. 4. 1

Type of support: Legal compilation / Digest

External Link: <http://droitromain.upmf-grenoble.fr/Corpus/d-18.htm#6>

Author Name: Ulpian

Titulus Name: De periculo et commodo rei venditae.

Book Name: libro 28 ad Sabinum

Text: Si aversione vinum venit, custodia tantum praestanda est. Ex hoc apparet, si non ita vinum venit, ut degustaretur, neque acorem neque mucorem venditorem praestare debere, sed omne periculum ad emptorem pertinere: difficile autem est, ut quisquam sic emat, ut ne degustet. Quare si dies degustationi adiectus non erit, quandoque degustare emptor poterit et quoad degustaverit, periculum acoris et mucoris ad venditorem pertinebit: dies enim degustationi praestitutus meliorem conditionem emptoris facit.

Translation: If a quantity of wine be sold for a lump sum, the vendor is liable only for its safekeeping. It will be apparent from this that if the wine be not sold with a provision of tasting, the vendor has no liability for acidity or mustiness and that all risk is on the purchaser. At the same time, it is hard to believe that anyone would buy wine without a proviso that is to be tasted. Hence, if a period for tasting be fixed, the purchaser may taste when he can and, until he does taste, the risk of sourness and mustiness is on the vendor; for a specified period for tasting redounds to the purchaser's advantage.

Type of Main Source:

Figure 63. Juridical database records (2). Author: Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz

Table 20. Catalogue describing the types of Legal Sources analysed in this work

Name of the period	Chronology	Historical events associated	Legal sources	Description	Example	Bibliography associated
Archaic	VIII cent. BC-367 BC	Foundation of Rome – enactment of the <i>leges Liciniae Sextae</i> ⁴⁰³	<i>Mos maiorum</i>	Customs of the forefathers, tradition of ideas, usages, customs. An edict of the censors (Suet. <i>De rhet.</i> 1) mentions them.	In 92 BC, Suetonius (<i>de rhet.</i> 1) said : "all new that is done contrary to the usage and customs of our ancestors, seems not to be right."	Linke: 2000
			Kings' laws	Laws attributed to the kings of Rome, Romulus, Numa Pompilius and their successors. They are primarily concerned with sacral law. Their existence is somehow questionable, despite the fact that some sources mention them, and the so-called <i>ius Papirianum</i> is supposed to have been a collection of <i>leges regiae</i> .	(Pomponius <i>Enchiridion.</i> 2, line 10) "Thus he (Romulus) proposed to the people some <i>leges curiatae</i> . The following kings proposed other laws. All these laws are recorded together in Sextus Papirius's book, who lived at the time of Demaratus of Corinthus's proud son, among the most illustrious men. This book as we have said is called <i>Ius Civile Papirianum</i> ".	Franciosi : 2003 ; Riccobono : <i>FIRA II</i> 1941

⁴⁰³ On the plebeian consulship and the creation of the praetorship, that granted the plebeians one of the two consulships and established the office of praetor accessible only to patricians (Rotondi: 1966 , 218)

Archaic	VIII cent. BC- 367 BC	Foundation of Rome – Enactment of the <i>leges Liciniae Sextae</i>	Interpretation of the priests	The laws governing the life and activity of the pontiffs of which they are both creators and guardians. In their activity the pontiffs dealt often with questions of the <i>ius civile</i> .	Digest: <i>libri de iure pontificio</i> (Labeo and Capito) Cic. <i>De leg.</i> 2.19.47, “no one can be a good pontiff without knowledge of the <i>ius civile</i> ”	Purpura, Cerami <i>et al.</i> 2010
			Law	Statute, law, passed in the way legally prescribed by the competent legislative organs (<i>comitia centuriata</i>)	<i>Lex Valeria I de provocatione</i> (509 BC)	Livius, II, 8; Livius, III, 20; Livius, X, 9
			Plebiscites	Statute, passed in the way legally prescribed by the competent legislative organs (<i>concilia plebis</i>)	<i>Lex Canuleia de conubio patrum et plebis</i> (445 BC)	Liv. IV, 1-6; Cic. <i>De Rep.</i> II, 63
			XII tables	Set of rules enacted in 450 BC, taking influence of the Solonian constitution. They set some of the basic principles of Roman law. Unfortunately, they were burned in the sack of Rome (390 BC), and we just know about their content through the work of later authors.	Gaius <i>ad legem XII tabularum</i> (e.g. D. 47.9.9.)	Crawford: 1996; Diliberto: 1992

Pre-Classic	367 BC-27 BC	Enactment of the <i>leges Liciniae Sextae</i> - Foundation of Augustus' Principate	Law	Statute, law, passed in the way legally prescribed by the competent legislative organs (<i>comitia centuriata</i>)	<i>Lex Saufeia Agraria</i> (91 BC)	<i>CIL</i> VI, n. 1312
			Plebiscites	Statute, passed in the way legally prescribed by the competent legislative organs (<i>concilia plebis</i>)	<i>Plebiscitum Claudianum</i> (218 BC)	Livius, XXI, 63
			Jurists' interpretation	We identify as such the interpretative activity of the jurists of the law. In particular, with the establishment of the Process for formulas jurists found themselves in the role of greatly increasing the <i>ius civile</i> , thanks to the consultancy conducted by judges, in wording of the formula suited to the case in question	Q. Mucius Scaevola (<i>De iure civili libri XVIII</i>)	Huschke: 1886, 13-17
			<i>Senatusconsultum</i>	Decisions, decrees of the senate issued in response to requests for advice from one of the high magistrates (<i>consul, praetor, tribunus plebis</i> , under the Principate the <i>praefectus urbi</i>) who after	SC <i>de corruptione iudicis</i> (74 BC)	Cicero, <i>Pro Clu.</i> XLIX, 136 ; Bourne, Coleman-Norton & Johnson : 1961, 70 n. 72

Pre-Classic	367 BC-27 BC	Enactment of the <i>leges Liciniae Sextae</i> - Foundation of Augustus' Principate		presenting the matter asked the senators for their individual opinions.		
			Edicts of the magistrates	Edicts issued by magistrates on the basis of their <i>ius edicendi</i> , at the beginning of their term of office, and containing rules by which they would conduct their judicial activity "in order to make the citizens know what law they would apply in the jurisdiction" (D.1.2.2.10).	Edict of the <i>aediles curules</i> (2 nd cent BC)	Lenel: 1927, 554ff
			Custom	<i>Consuetudo</i> constantly observed through a long period is the source of the so-called customary law, generally observed by the people (De invent. 2.22.67).	Cic. <i>De off.</i> I.17.53	Bove: 1971
			Law	Law and Plebiscite were equated by the <i>Lex Hortensia</i> (286 BC), this they both passed to be called "law"	<i>Lex Irnitana</i> (AD 91)	D' Ors: 1988, 13-87

Classic	27 BC- AD 284	Foundation of Augustus' Principate - Ascension to power of Diocletian (Dominate)	Imperial constitutions	<i>Constitutiones</i> is a general term which embraces all types of imperial enactment as the <i>decreta, mandata, rescripta, edicta</i>	<i>Edictum imperatoris Hadriani de certa olei portione rei publicae Vendenda</i> (AD 124)	Kirchner: 1913-16, n. 1100
			<i>Senatusconsultum</i>	As to the legislative force of the, about the middle of the 2 nd cent AD, they acquired the legal force of statutes, as attested by Gaius (1.4): " <i>Senatusconsultum</i> is what the senate orders and decrees; it has the force equal to that of a law." This remark suggests that under the Republic and the early Principate the Senate had no legislative power.	SC <i>de collegiis</i> (before AD 136)	<i>CIL</i> XIV 2112, II, 10- 13
			Jurists' interpretation	With the Principate of Augustus lawyers obtained the <i>ius respondendi ex auctoritate principis</i> , what means that the advice of the jurists deigned by the emperor had the force of law	<i>Aemilii Papiniani quaestionum fragmentum</i> (3 rd cent AD)	Girard: 1895, 311 n.5

Classic	27 BC- AD 284	Foundation of Augustus' Principate - Ascension to power of Diocletian (Dominate)	Edicts of the magistrates. ⁴⁰⁴	The custom of issuing edicts was also followed by the prefects in imperial times. Of greatest importance in the development of Roman law were the edicts of the praetors and aedils. There is no doubt, however, that the real authors of most praetorian edicts were the jurists, acting in their capacity as legal advisers of the magistrates and as initiators of new forms of action and creative ideas in daily legal life	<i>Edictum praefecti Aegypti</i> (AD 41-54)	<i>SB XIV, 11346</i>
			Custom	Classical jurists speak of a silent consent of the people	D. 1.3.32; D. 8.4.13.1; D.22.1.11; D. 39.4.4.2; D.50.2.11, etc	Gallo: 1993; 2013

⁴⁰⁴ Compiled in a code by Hadrian in AD 130. *Contra*: Guarino: 1950, 623ff.

Post-Classic	AD 284-AD 565	Ascension to power of Diocletian (Dominate)-Death of Justinian	Compilations of <i>Iura</i> ⁴⁰⁵ et <i>leges</i>	Collection of sources that correspond to multiple texts: advice of jurists, jurisprudence, etc.	<i>Codex Theodosianus; Pauli Sententiae</i>	Matthews: 2000; Pharr: 1952; Levy: 1969
			Imperial constitutions ⁴⁰⁶	<p><i>Constitutiones</i> is a general term which embraces all types of imperial enactment as the <i>decreta, mandata, rescripta, edicta</i>.</p> <p>They have the status of law. At this time, they constitute the only source of law, being as well considered as law. In the later empire a new distinction arises.</p> <p>Imperial laws are opposed, as <i>leges</i> to <i>iura</i> (the laws originating from other sources). But the term <i>leges</i> often refers to the law as a whole without respect to its sources</p>	<i>Edictum anastasio de vectigalia</i> (AD 492)	Mordtmann: 1879, 307-11
			Custom	<i>Consuetudo</i> , or practices performed repeatedly through time.	<i>I. 1.2.9</i>	Humfress: 2011

⁴⁰⁵ Sometimes compiled in Codes.

⁴⁰⁶ Sometimes compiled in Codes.

12. Appendix III. Framing Research into Roman Commerce: Port Context

12.1. Sekomata (plates)



Figure 64. Sékoma from Maresha, Israel (Finkielsztejn: 2010, 194 Fig. 9.1; scale 1:5)

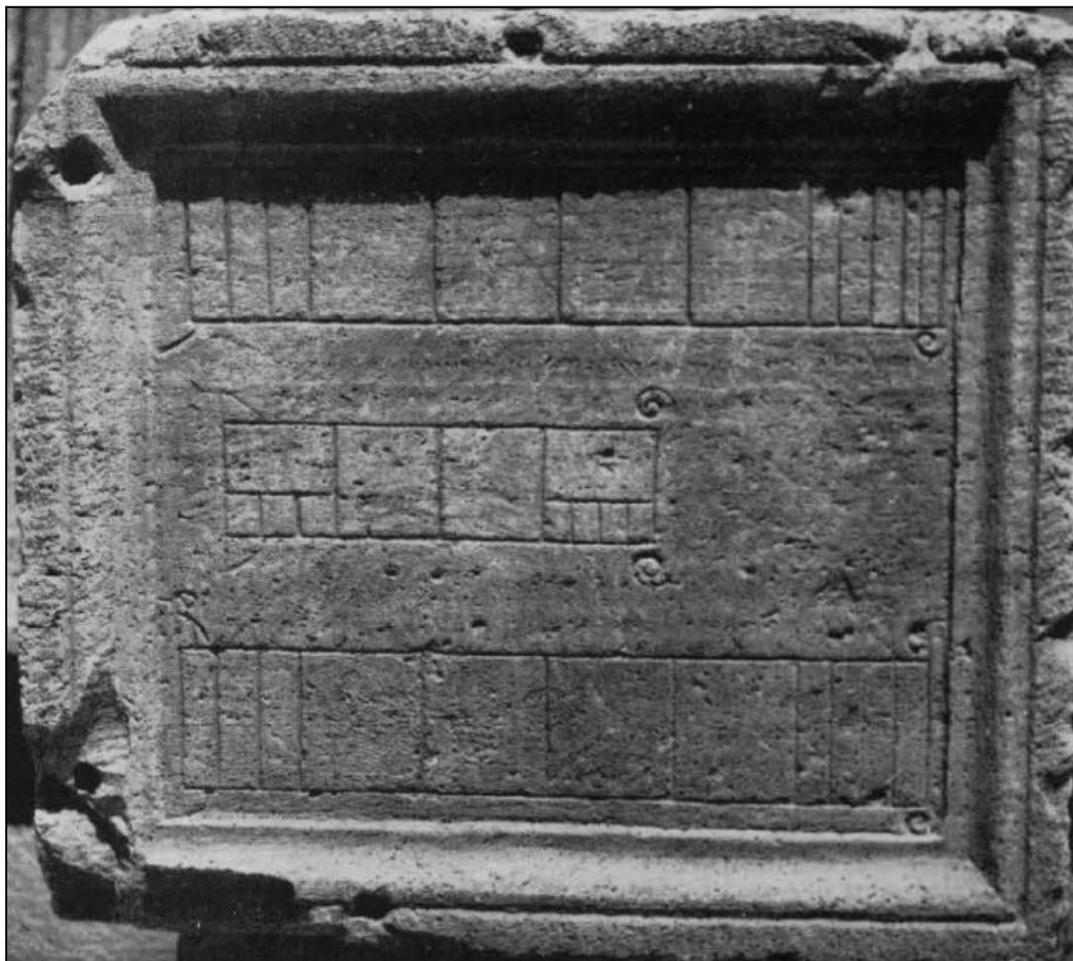


Figure 65. Table of conversion of measures from the Augustan market of Leptis Magna (Ioppolo: 1967, 90. Fig.1)

12.2. Text of Philostratus. Life of Apollonius of Tiana

Philostratus. *Vita Apollonii*.VI. 12. ὅθεν ὁ Θεσπεσίων 'εἰ δὲ ἔμπορος' εἶπεν ἢ ναύκληρος ἦσθα καὶ τινα ἡμῖν ἀπῆγες ἐκεῖθεν φόρτον, ἄρα ἂν ἠξίους, ἐπειδὴ ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν οὗτος, ἀδοκίμαστον αὐτὸν διατίθεσθαι καὶ μήτε γεῦμα παρέχειν αὐτοῦ μήτε δεῖγμα; ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος 'παρειχόμεν ἂν' εἶπε τοῖς γε χρήζουσιν, εἰ δ' ἦκων τις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν καταπεπλευκυίας ἄρτι τῆς νεῶς ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῷ φόρτῳ καὶ διέβαλλε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς ἦκοντα ἐκ γῆς, ἢ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φέρει [Whereupon Thespesion said: "Suppose you were a merchant or captain importing some cargo to us from there. Would you expect to dispose of it unexamined, just because it was from India, and not give out a taste or a sample? "To those who wanted one" replied Apollonius, "I would provide it. But suppose somebody came down to the sea when my ship had just put in, and denounced my cargo, maliciously claiming that it came from a land that had no decent products] [Transl. Christopher P. Jones]

12.3. Studying *Periculum* in Context: the Case of the Arles' Jars.⁴⁰⁷

Recent excavations on the Rhone-Arles have revealed a number of jars bearing the names of merchants inscribed on the bottom of these jars. These jars were made of local fabric and could just hold a small amount of liquid (around 3-4l). Being Arles a well-known breaking point for the cargoes coming up along the Rhone, these jars have been interpreted as recipients in which wine transported in bigger containers such as amphorae or barrels was repackaged. As I mentioned in sections 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.3.2, measuring or tasting were features that, in case of being added as conditions to the contract, indicated the moment when the sale was deemed perfect, and the risk for the product sold was transferred from buyer to seller. Thus for the case of the Arles' jars, I have described the route to the final destination (Figure 66).

Tasting should normally take place in two moments to convey the responsibility: when the wine was repacked, and after when the merchant sold the wine in the jars. The diagram of Figure 66 summarizes the responsibilities involved up to the tasting. So as it can be seen, basically the risk or *periculum* stays with the seller until the wine has been tasted, except that another condition has been established between the parties or for the price set by the parties. If a quantity of wine was sold for a lump sum, the seller in good faith is not responsible for its quality even if the product has not been delivered. It is clear from this that if the wine is not sold with a provision for tasting, the seller would not be liable for the acidity and that any risk is on the buyer. At the same time, it is hard to believe that everyone would buy wine without planning to taste it.

⁴⁰⁷ Forthcoming publication by Djaoui & Mataix Ferrándiz. Photos unavailable.

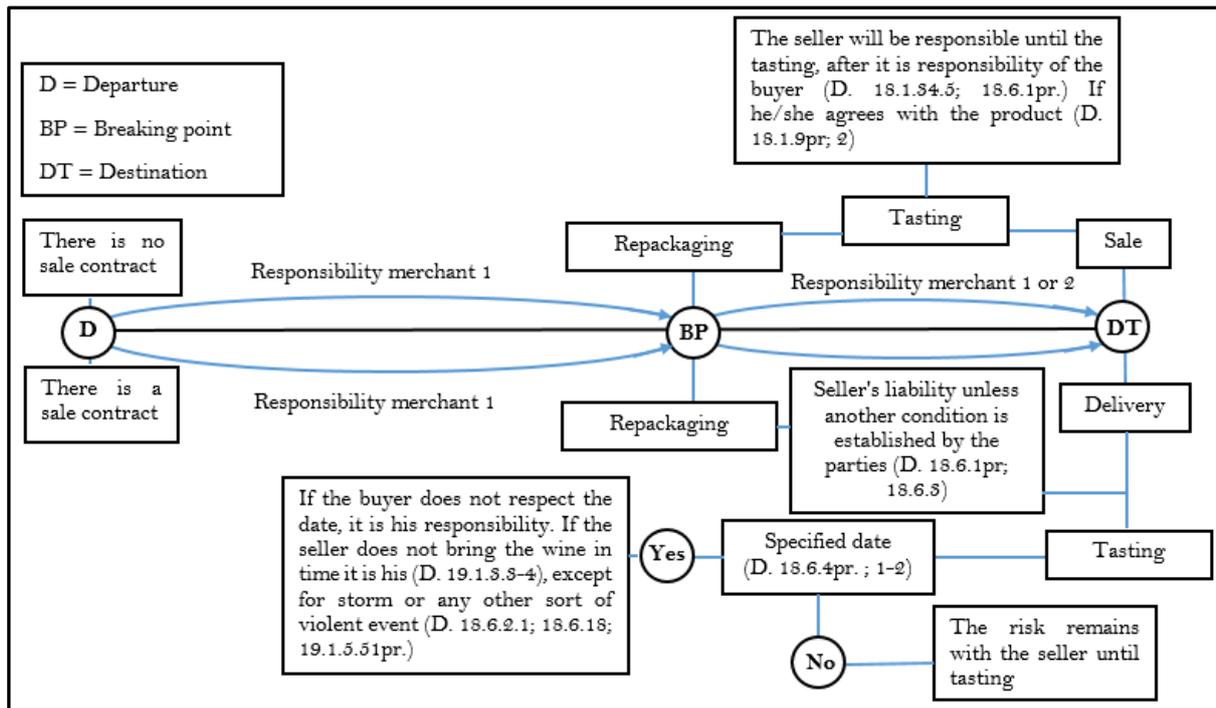


Figure 66. Diagram indicating the liability for the sale of wine subject to the condition of tasting. The case of the Arles' jars

Figure 66 describes the route to the final destination, that the tasting should normally take place in two moments to convey the responsibility: when the wine was repacked, and after when the merchant sold the wine in the jugs. Likewise, it may be considered that the merchant transporting wine in bulk might have been the same person whom, by himself or among agents, reconditions the wine in jugs. In this case, even if the agent can try the wine to confirm its good state of preservation, this tasting will not have a value of perfection of the contract. Otherwise, if one imagines the case of one merchant transporting wine in bulk and another who approached the breaking point of load to buy the contents of the barrels or amphorae, and should also repackage them to transport them by the river, the situation changes a little. In this case, we understand that tasting took place before pouring the contents of the barrel or amphora in the jar. So, in this moment the liability for the sale would pass to the buyer, who would be responsible in turn against another customer. If we take into account that the jugs bear the name or initials of the merchant, it is understood that name indicates that the pot belongs to the merchant until the wine was tasted and transmitted to the buyer. Likewise, this name will help to differentiate its pots from others into a cargo.

12.4. Models of Commercial Production and Distribution of Lead from Baetica (Domergue: 1998)

The section 10.4 (Appendix I) indicated that there were different marks on ingots and how these relate to the different stages of their distribution cycle. To sum up, these marks were stamped when the ingot was smelted, reflecting the producer, cold marks indicating the names of the merchants acquiring the ingots, and finally graffiti expressing numerals that are linked that indicate the weight of the ingot. In addition to these inscriptions, ingots present holes pierced on their sides, what indicate that they were attached to the ship and being used as ballast.

These holes have nothing to do with distribution and they should have been made before shipping the cargo. Some ingots have stamps which have been impressed in different moments, graffiti, and nail holes, which occasionally allow to establish a certain account of the events in which the object was involved. Taking as starting point the papers of Domergue (1998, 206), and Rico (2011: 42ff.), who used the evidence of Spanish lead ingots from the wrecks such as Cabrera 5 or Sur –Perduto 2, I would like to propose the following one model of distribution for ingots (Figure 67).

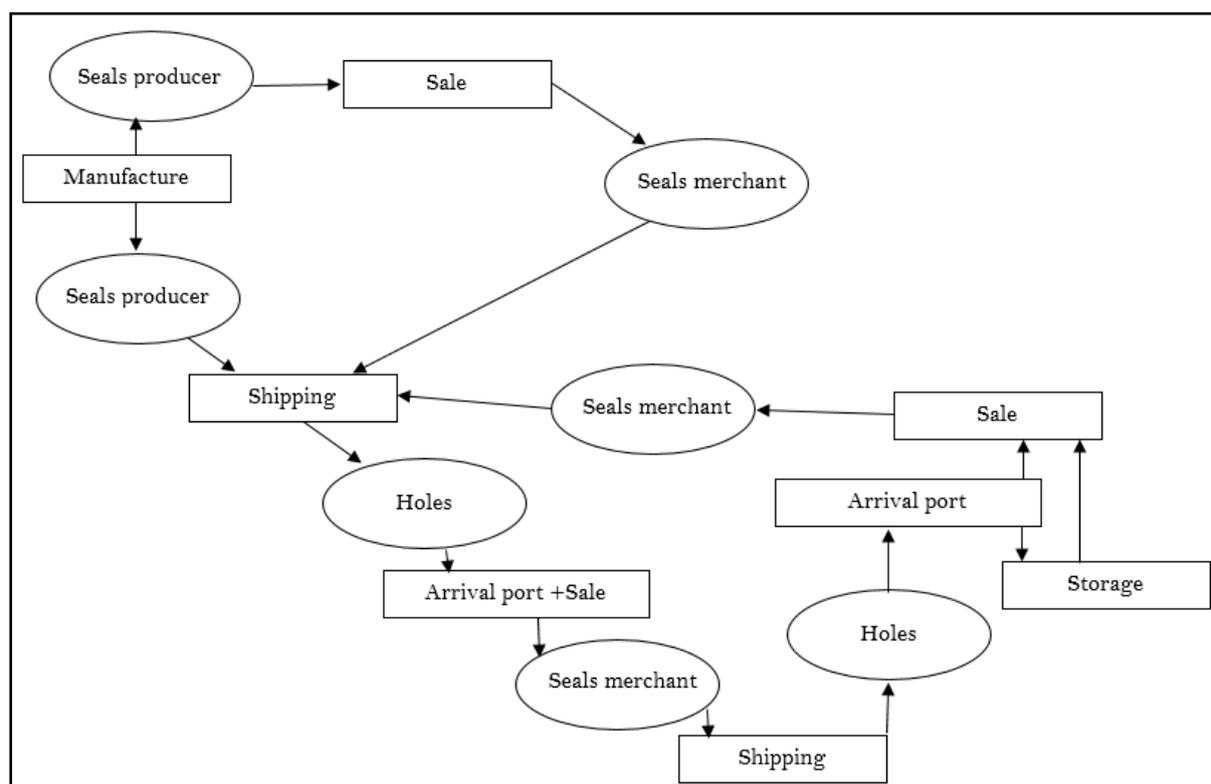


Figure 67. Model describing the distribution cycle of ingots and their marks. After Domergue (1998) and Rico (2011)

Thus ingots were marked indicating the name of the producer, and then they could be shipped to a port where they were sold, as highlighted by Domergue (1998), for the case of the ingots of Sierra Morena, being shipped to Hispalis, or Rico (2011) for the Montagne noire' s ingots and Narbo. The

ingots shipped could be pierced with holes to be attached to the ship. Then the ingots were sold and the merchant sealed them with their marks, shipping them and perhaps piercing them again. I have also included the storage phase in the diagram, because ingots were sometimes kept in warehouses until they were purchased again by other merchant, and the marks were over imposed on the ingot. I have also included in the diagram the possibility that these ingots were directly acquired at the mine and marked by the merchant, instead of being shipped to a port. However, this option also implied shipping, piercing and marking the ingots.

However, the practice of storage may have been specific only to a few ports, those that were close to the mining areas and acted as centres for grouping products from the province or their hinterland before they were distributed (Rico: 2011, 64). Storage therefore was a necessary step in the long-range of commercial diffusion of metals rather than as a widespread practice. Probably, the storage of metals probably did not obey a specific commercial strategy of the speculative type. It was not a matter of stocking up to play on market prices. However, this procedure indicates the importance and the role of storage in the distribution itinerary of the ingots. The different models for that distribution are summarised in Figure 68 and constitute three different models.

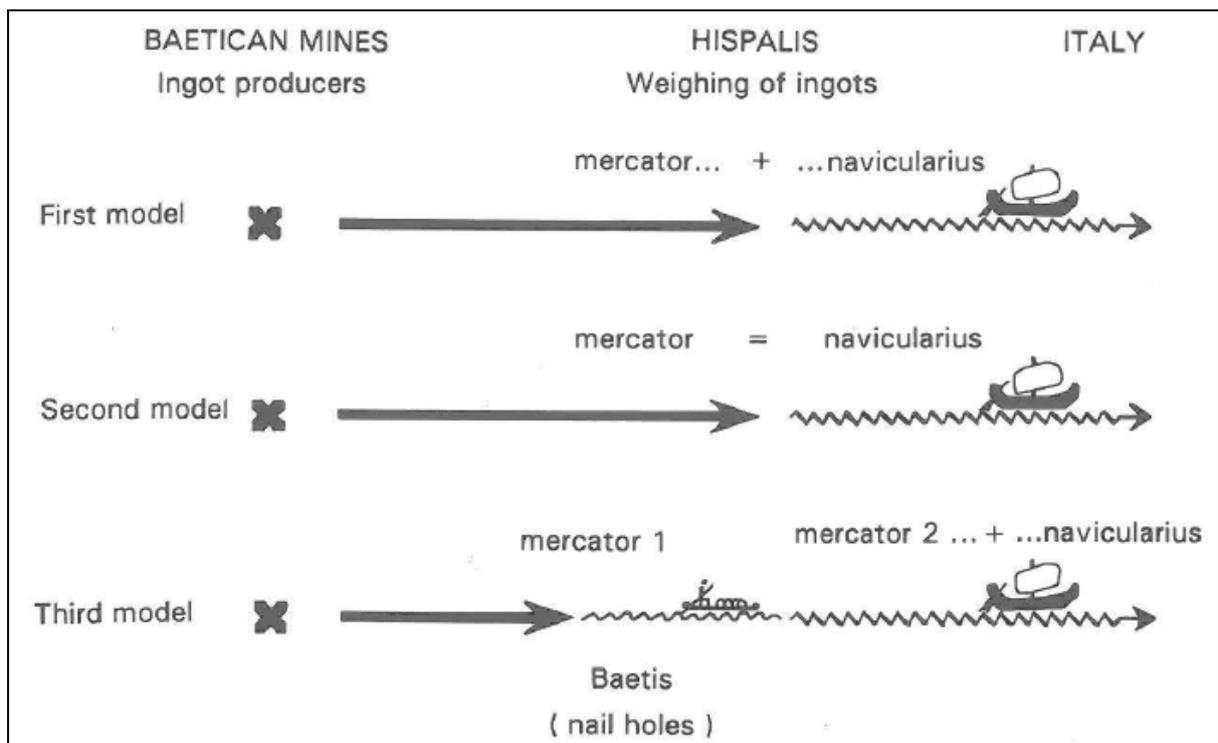


Figure 68. Models describing the distribution of Baetican lead ingots (Domergue: 1998, 207 fig. 4)

Model 1

This model consists of one stage. The *mercator* did not need a middle-man to collect the ingots he purchased. He marked them with his own seal and entrusted them to the ship-owner. The 17 ingots

recovered from the Cabrera 4 wreck provide examples. They bear the name of only a single *mercator* on two seals: *L. Licinius Mf II Ausua*.

Model 2

In some ways, this is a condensed version of Model 1. The *mercator* of the ingots is also the *navicularius*, or owner of the transport-vessel. The 95 ingots produced by the Minucii and found in the Sud-Lavezzi 2 wreck exemplify this model. They bear two seals with the name *Ap. Junius II Zethus*, a name also found on the ship's lead anchors. This individual was thus both the *mercator* of the lead ingots and the boat-owner. But, as inscriptions on the 235 copper ingots forming part of the cargo show, he was also in charge of carrying goods for other *mercatores*.

Model 3

This model is the most complex and was defined above using the wrecks of Sud-Perduto 2 and Cabrera 5. A local merchant (*mercator 1*) toured the Sierra Morena mining area, collecting ingots. He bought them from the producers, marked them with his name, and transported them to the shipping port, either directly by mule or, if the distance was too great, using the small boats which plied ports along the Baetis (Castulo, Isturgi, Corduba, Detumo, Celtis, etc.). Once at the loading port, they were probably stockpiled, waiting to be resold to *mercator 2*. They were then weighed (the carved numbers) and marked with the name of this second merchant. Finally, the latter entrusted them to a *navicularius* who carried them to Italy in exchange for the corresponding cost of transport. The wrecks Sud-Perduto 2 (48 ingots from an apparently complete cargo) and Cabrera 5 (47 ingots from a probably incomplete cargo) provide examples. The lead ingots from the Lavezzi 1 wreck must have also been traded following this pattern, as we can infer by the carved mark (*L.A VR = mercator 1*), nail-holes, and finally a seal (*M.B.A. = mercator 2*).

13. Appendix IV. Linking Material Evidence and tracing Sale Contracts in Roman Mediterranean Ports

The study of the different amphora shapes constitute a discipline by itself, labelled as “amphorology”. In this section, I will provide some examples to show some of the varieties of study. However, it must be considered that the typologies are sometimes labelled differently depending on the scholars.

13.1. Plates and Figures illustrating Case Study 1

Figure 69. Olives/ oil amphorae with *scripta commercii*

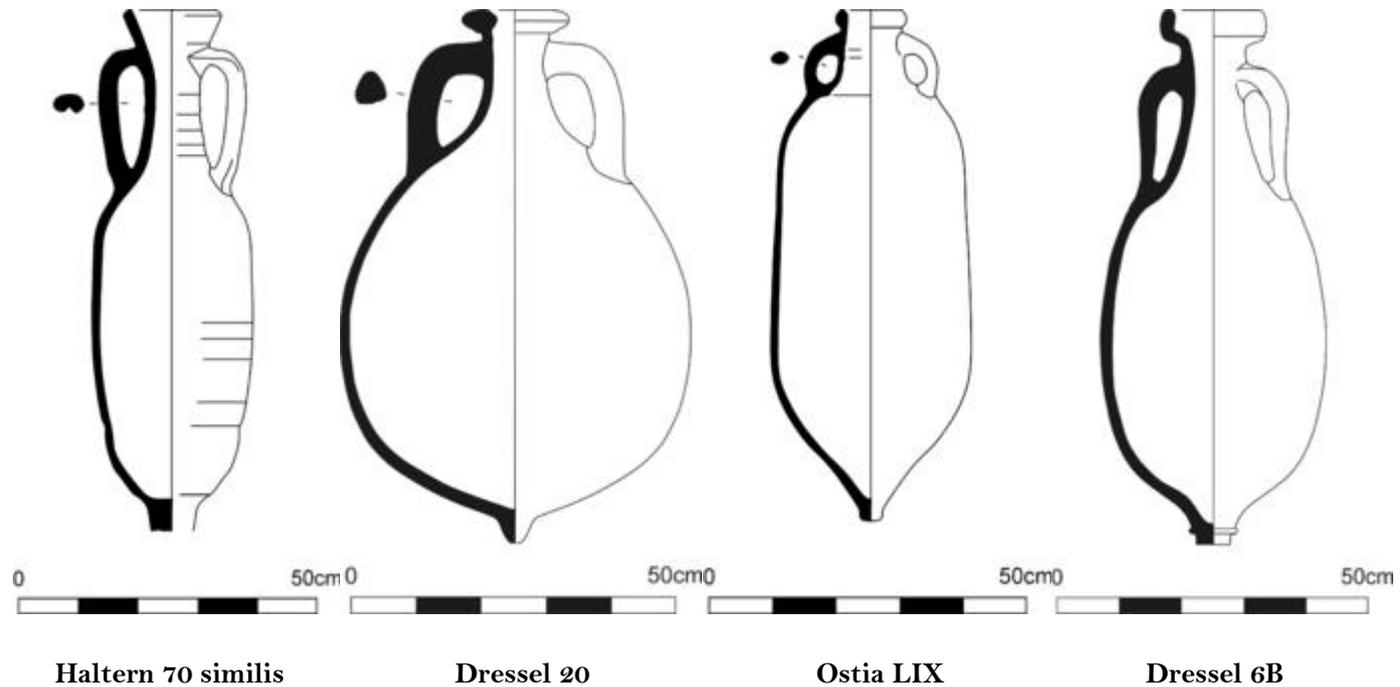


Table 21. Olives/ oil amphorae with *scripta commercii*

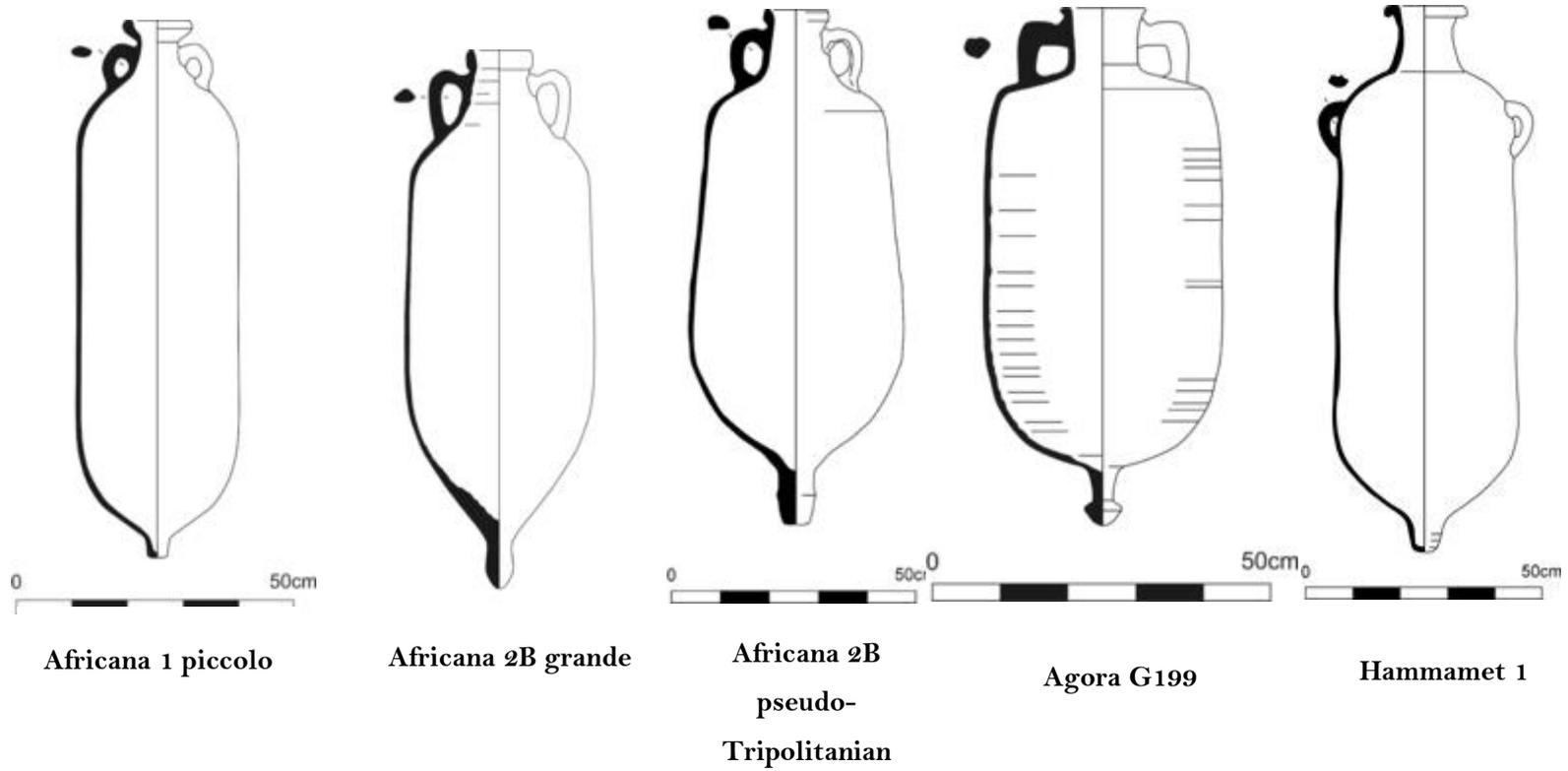
Name	Date Range	Origin	Distribution	Inscribed	Capacity	Bibliography
Haltern 70	80 BC – AD 180	Southern Spain	Western provinces and North Atlantic	Yes	30-35 litres	Carreras: 2003
Ostia LIX	AD 50- AD 150	Tunisia	Western Mediterranean	Normally not	Nearly 40 l	Panella: 1982
Dressel 20	AD 14-AD 250	Baetica	Western Roman provinces	Yes	70-75 litres	Blázquez Martínez, Remesal Rodríguez, Rodríguez Almeida: 1994
Dressel 6B	AD 5-1D 150	Istria and Northern Italy	Northern Italy, Rhaetia, Noricum and Pannonia	Yes	35 litres	Bezeczky: 2016; Egger: 1950; Tassauz: 2001; Degrassi: 1962

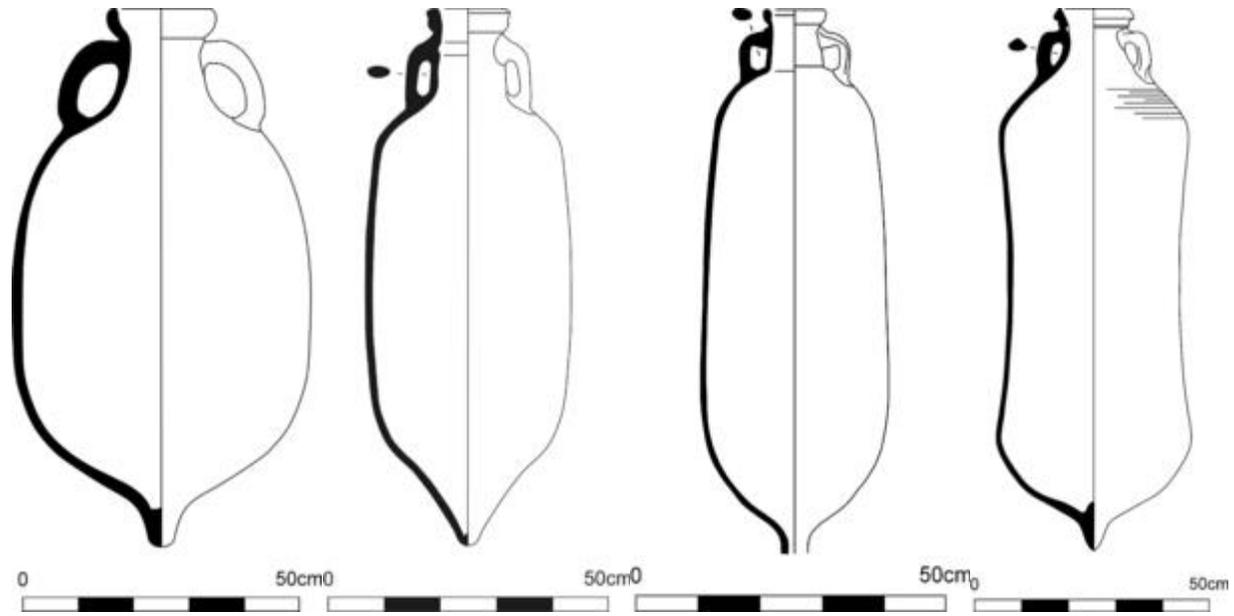
Table 22. Olive oil amphorae generally uninscribed (1st-3rd cent AD)

Name	Date Range	Origin	Distribution	Inscribed	Capacity	Bibliography
Africana 1 Piccolo	AD 150-AD 299	Carthage, Hadrumentum, Leptiminus	Western Mediterranean	No	39-42 litres	Bonifay: 2004
Africana 2B Grande	3 rd cent AD	Tunisia, Hadrumentum	Ostia, South France, Lusitania, Catalonia	No	Unsure but more than 30 litres	Bonifay: 2004
Africana 2B Pseudo- Tripolitanian	3 rd cent AD	Tunisia	Tarraco and eastern Spain	No	Unsure, but big capacity	Bonifay: 2004
Agora G199	AD 25-AD 350	Cilicia	Cyprus	No	15-20 litres	Abadie-Reynal, C: 1999

Hammamet 1	AD 101-AD 220	Northern Hammamet gulf	Northern Hammamet Gulf, some in Italy	No	Around 50-60 litres	Bonifay: 2004
Oberaden 83	27 BC-AD 14	Baetica	German limes	No	Unsure but supposedly similar to Dressel 20	Martin-Kilcher: 1983
Tripolitanian 1	AD 1-AD 100	Tripolitania	Western Mediterranean	No	42-50 litres	Arthur: 1982
Ostia XXIII	AD 80 – AD 290	Tunisia (probably)	Western Mediterranean	No	38-39 litres	Panella: 1982
Tripolitanian 3	AD 101-AD 270	Tripolitania	Western Mediterranean	No	80-85 l	Bonifay: 2004

Figure 70. Olive oil amphorae generally uninscribed (1st-3rd cent. AD)





Oberaden 83

Tripolitana 1

Ostia 23

Tripolitana 3

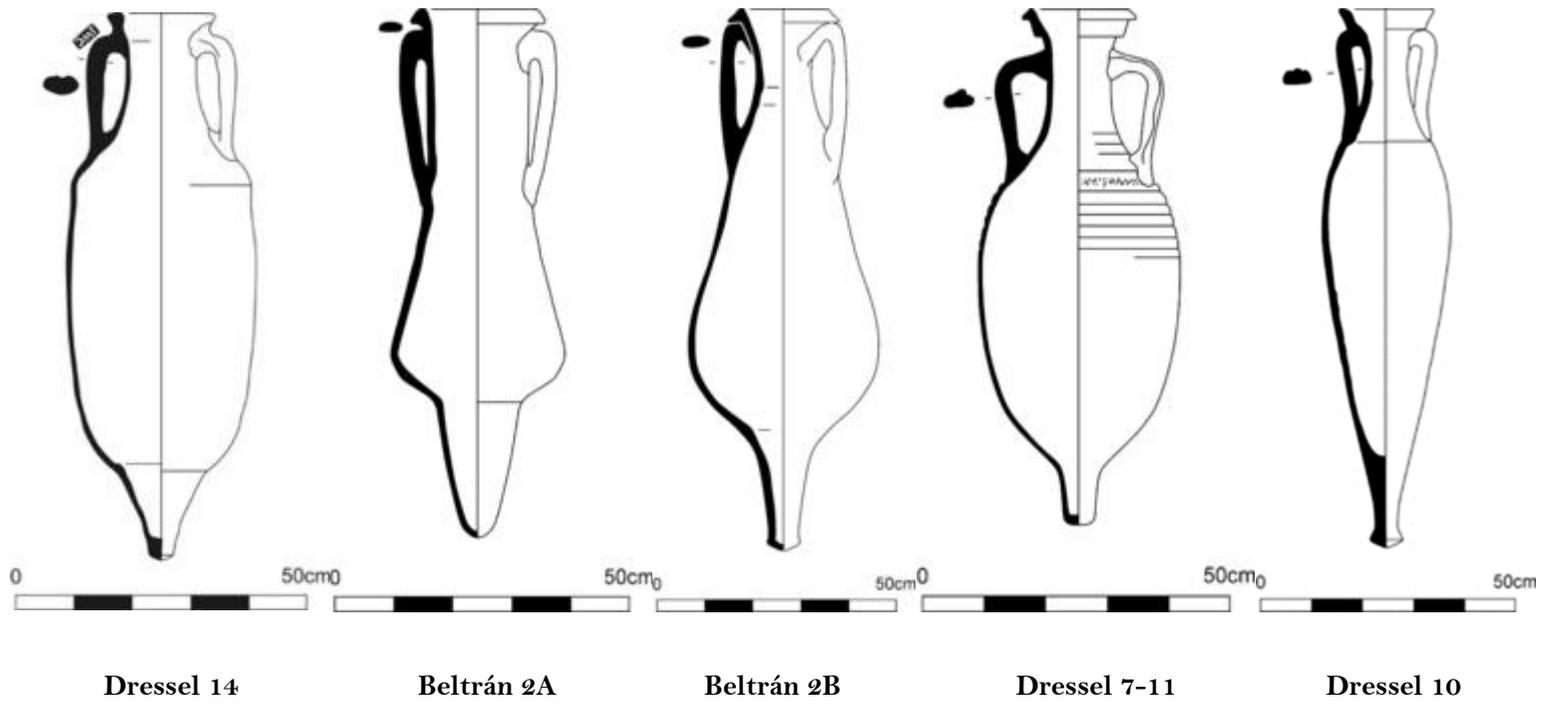
Table 23. Fish sauce amphorae with *scripta commercii*

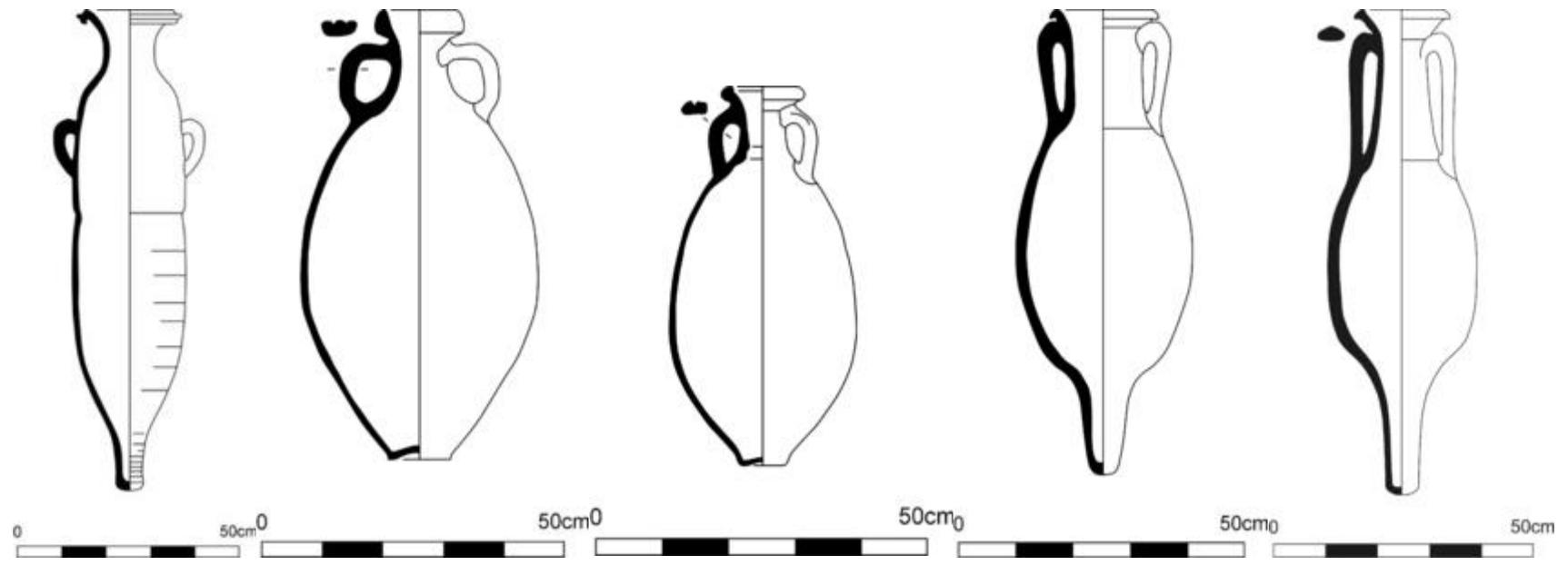
Name	Date Range	Origin	Distribution	Inscribed	Capacity	Bibliography
Dressel 14	1st – 3rd cent AD	Portugal	Western provinces	Yes	30-35 litres	Fabião: 2004
Beltrán 2A	AD 5 – AD 150	Southern Spain	Western provinces, German limes, North Africa, eastern Mediterranean	Yes	Unsure	Liou: 1992
Beltrán 2B	AD 14 - AD 150	Southern Spain	Western provinces	Yes	Unsure	Peacock: 1974
Dressel 7-11	AD 30 - AD 75	Southern Spain	Western provinces, German limes, eastern Mediterranean	Yes	Unsure	Lagostena Barrios: 2001
Dressel 10	AD 1 – AD 96	Southern Spain	Western provinces	Yes	Unsure	García Vargas: 1998
Van der Werff 1	150 BC – 50 BC	Carthage	Western provinces	Yes	Unsure	Martin-Kilcher: 1999
Augst 34	AD 69-AD 200	Fréjus (Forum Iulii)	Augst, Nyon, Lenzburg, Vindonissa, Wiesbaden, southern France	Yes	40-45 litres	Martin-Kilcher: 1994

Augst 17	AD 50 – AD 150	Lyon	France and Switzerland	Yes	Unsure	Desbat: 2003
Dressel 7	30 BC - AD 75	Southern Spain	Western provinces	Yes	Unsure	Martin-Kilcher: 2003
Dressel 12	50 BC – AD 80	Southern Spain	Spain and Italy	Yes	Unsure	Peacock: 1974
Dressel 8	15 BC – AD 96	Southern Spain	Western Roman provinces, north Africa; eastern Mediterranean	Yes	Unsure	Lagostena Barrios: 2001
Dressel 11	AD 50- AD 100	Southern Spain	Western provinces, German limes, eastern Mediterranean	Yes	Unsure	Beltrán Lloris: 1970
Dressel 9	AD 50- AD 100	Southern Spain	Western provinces	Yes	Unsure	Liou: 1993
Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC- AD 150	La Mulette (France)	France and Switzerland: Lyon, Augst, Vidy, Avenches, Neuss	Yes	Unsure	Desbat: 1987
Dressel 10	AD 50- AD 100	Gades	Western provinces	Yes	Unsure	García Vargas: 1998

Dressel 43	AD 50-AD 250	Crete, Herakleion, Knossos, Dermatos and Tsoutsouros	Crete, Italy, France and Britain	Yes	10-15 litres	Bezeczky: 1994
Dressel 6B	AD 10 – AD 138	Istria and Northern Italy	Northern Italy, Noricum and Pannonia	Yes	Unsure	Carré: 1985

Figure 71. Fish sauce amphorae with *scripta commercii*





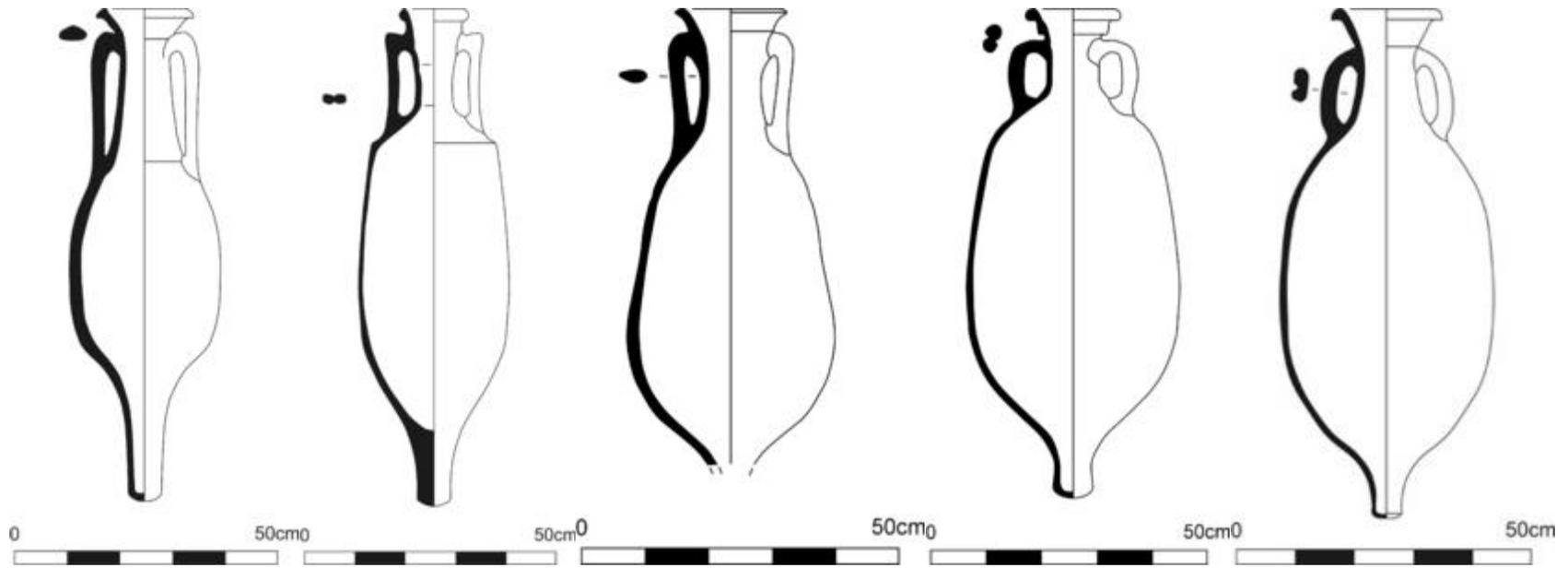
Van der Werff 1

Augst 34

Augst 17

Dressel 7

Dressel 12



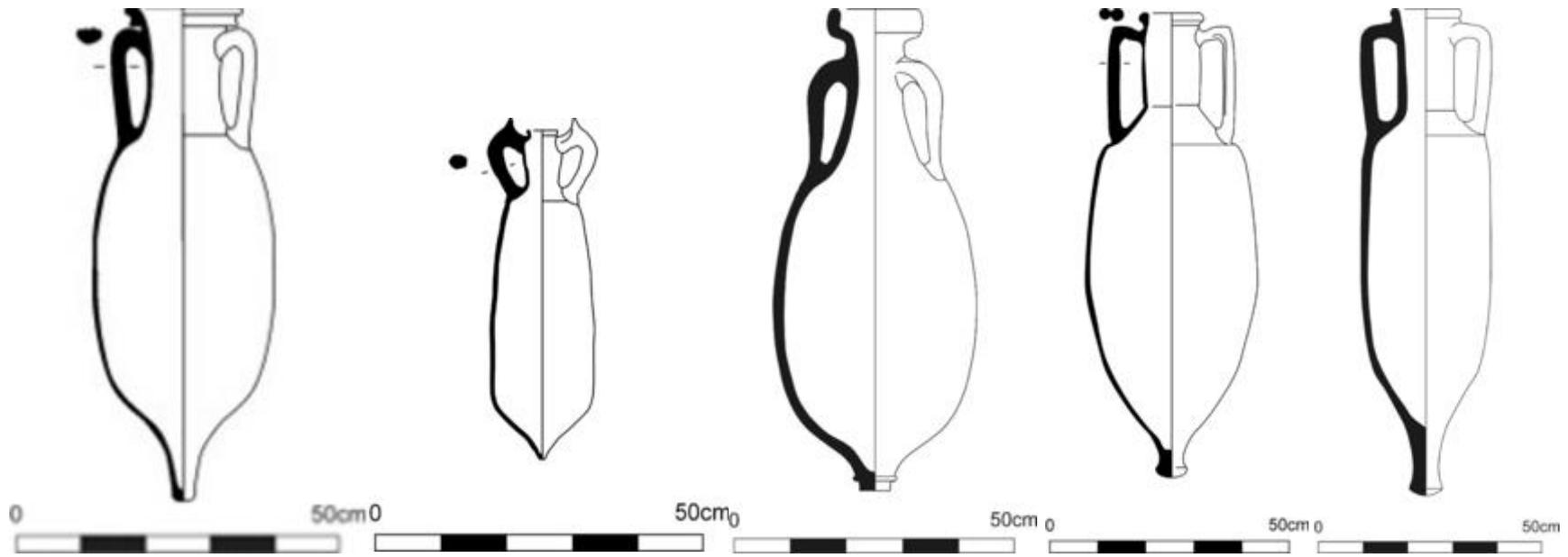
Dressel 8 (also Beltrán 1)

Dressel 2-4 (Baetican)

Dressel 11

Dressel 9

Dressel 9 & 10 similis



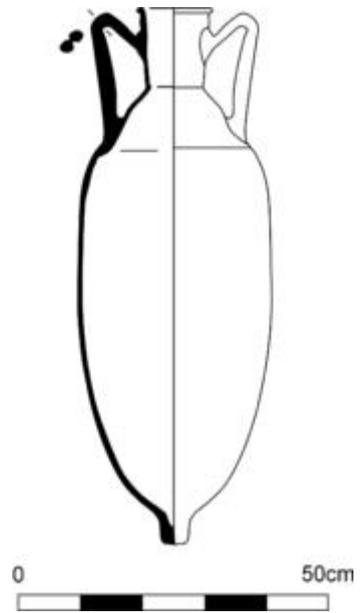
Dressel 10

Dressel 43

Dressel 6B

Dressel 2-4 (African)

Dressel 2-4 (Italian)



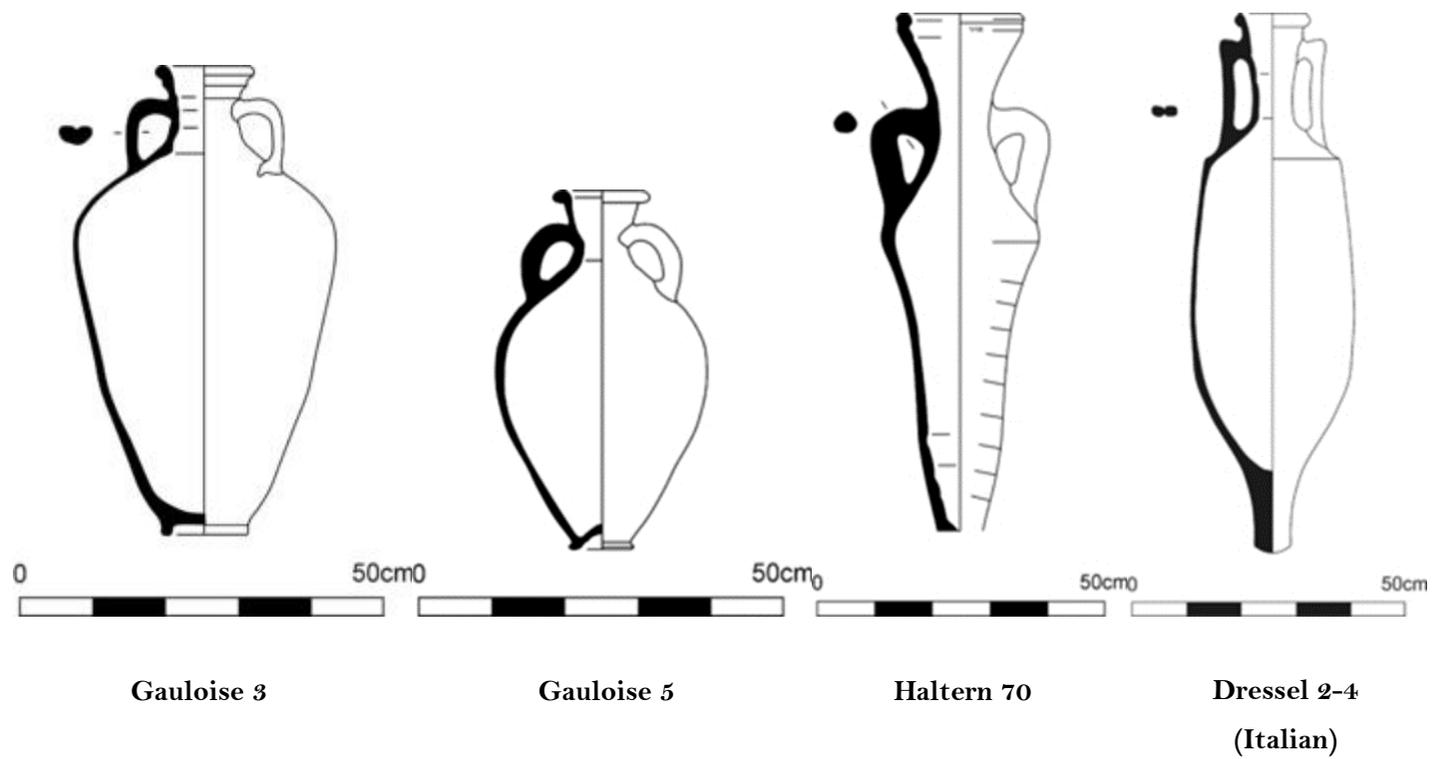
Dressel 2-4 (Lyon 2)

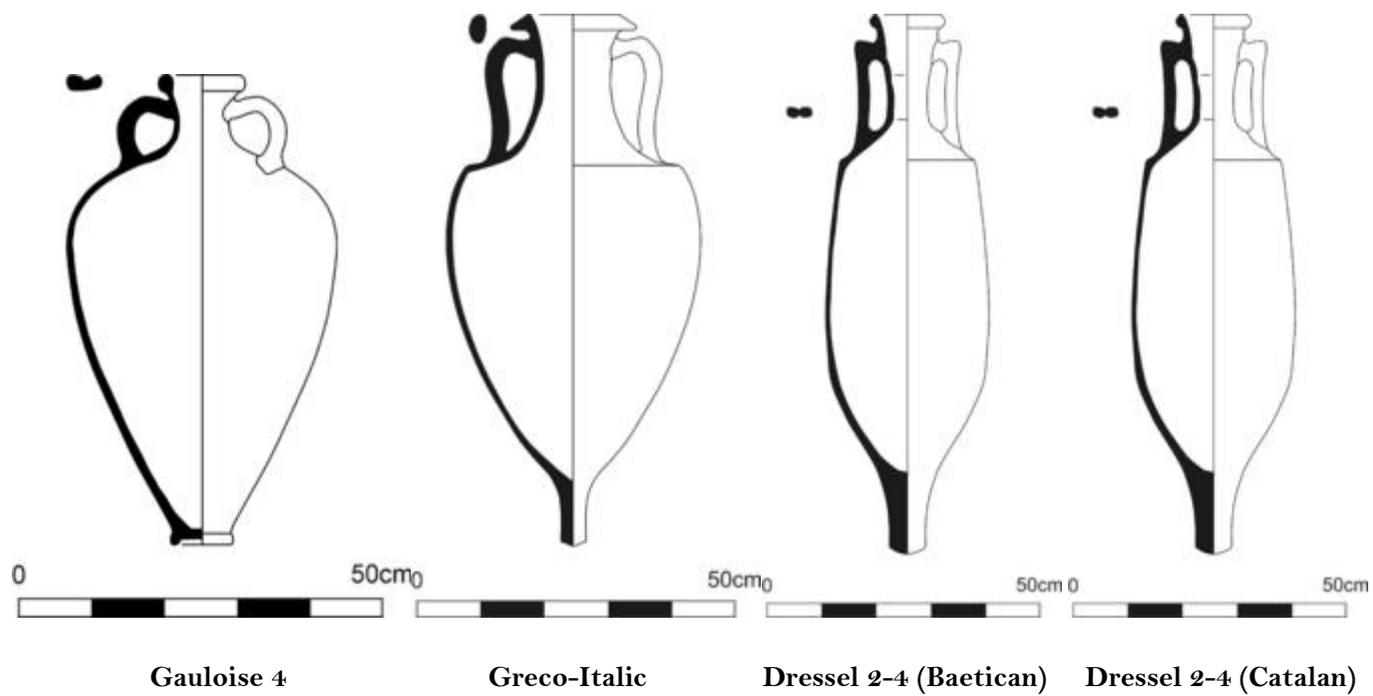
Table 24. Wine Amphorae with *Scripta Commercii*

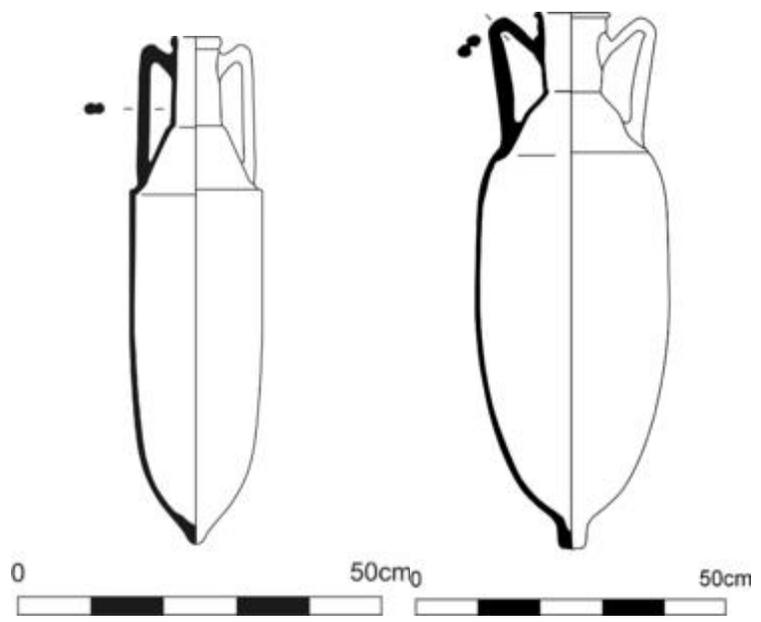
Name	Date Range	Origin	Distribution	Inscribed	Capacity	Bibliography
Gauloise 3	AD 1 – AD 100	Gallia Narbonensis	Gallia Narbonensis	Yes	25-30 litres	Laubenheimer: 1985
Gauloise 5	50 BC – AD 150	Gallia Narbonensis	Rhone valley, Britain, Alexandria, Ostia	Yes		Laubenheimer: 1985
Haltern 70	80 BC – AD 180	Southern Spain	Western provinces and North Atlantic	Yes	30-35 litres	Carreras: 2003
Dressel 2-4 (Cos)	100 BC – AD 200	Cos (Aegean sea)	Eastern Mediterranean, western provinces	Yes	25-30 litres	Whitbread: 1995
Dressel 2-4 (Italian)	70 BC – AD 100	Campania	Western provinces	Yes	20-25 litres	Panella: 2002
Gauloise 8	50 BC-1 BC	Gallia Narbonensis	Gallia Narbonensis	Yes	Unsure	Laubenheimer: 1985
		Tyrrhenian and Adriatic Italy, including Magna Graecia, southern				

Greco-Italic	200 BC-150 BC	Latium, Campania, Ischia, Etruria, Taranto, Salento, Spina/Adria and Aquileia	Western provinces	Yes	20-25 litres	Empereur, J-Y. & Hesnard, A. : 1987
Dressel 2-4 (Baetican)	AD 14 – AD 190	Southern Spain	Western provinces	Yes	30-35 litres	Beltrán Lloris: 1970
Dressel 2-4 (Lyon 2)	27 BC – AD 50	Lyon	France, Switzerland, Germany and Britain	Yes	Unsure	Desbat: 2003
Dressel 2-4 (Catalan)	AD 14 – AD 96	Tarraconensis coast	Western provinces	Yes	30-35 litres	Tchernia: 1986
Dressel 2-4 (Italian)	70 BC – AD 100	Campania	Western provinces	Yes	20-25 litres	Panella: 2002
Dressel 2-4 (African)	50 BC – AD 150	The islands of Jherba and Zitha	Tunisia at Jerba and Zarzis	Yes	Unsure	Bonifay: 2004

Figure 72. Wine Amphorae with *Scripta Commercii*







Dressel 2-4 (Cos)

Dressel 2-4 (Lyon 2)

Figure 73. Honey Amphorae with *Scripta Commercii*

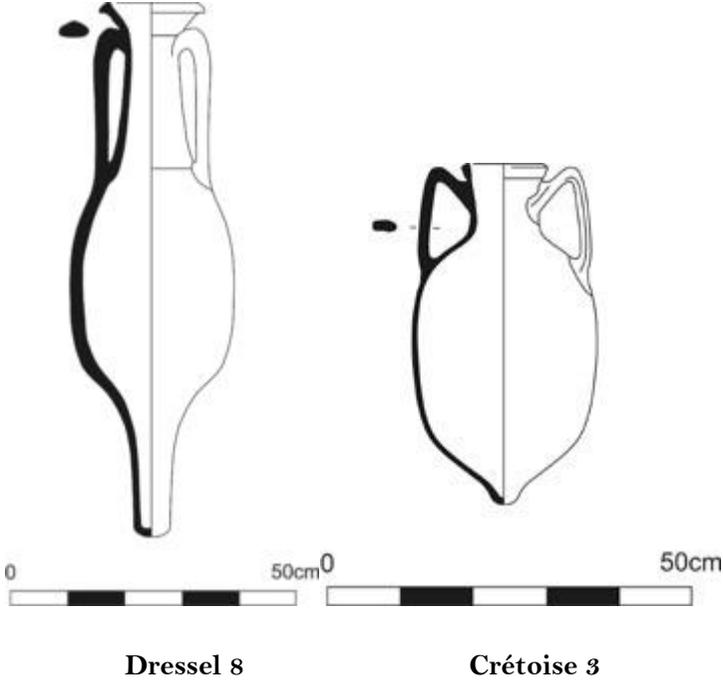


Table 25. Honey Amphorae with *Scripta Commercii*

Name	Date Range	Origin	Distribution	Inscribed	Capacity	Bibliography
Dressel 8	15 BC – AD 96	Southern Spain	Western provinces, North Africa	Yes	Unsure	García Vargas: 1998
Cretoise 3	AD 50 – AD 350	Crete	Crete, Athens, Alexandria, Pompeii, Frejus, Narbonne	Yes	Unsure	Marangou-Lerat: 1995

13.2. Sale with Samples⁴⁰⁸

The samples included in Chapter 5 were part of a specific type of sale, so these aim to provide a taste to a potential customer, thus the sale was not completed until tasting was performed (see Appendix III, 12.3). Samples were always used to provide a taste of a product, so they were loaded with a cargo, of which they contain a small amount to be tasted at the destination. Other use of these containers was to use them to convince a potential customer to buy a product, and so they were sent to them to give a taste of that product. The latter samples could identify in their inscriptions the ship carrying them as state-leased (e.g. O. 136)⁴⁰⁹ or private ship (A. 1038). Thus when the goods arrived to their destination, the person tasted the sample to check the quality of the goods loaded in the ship. Chapter 5 refers to the samples sent to a potential customer, while the samples loaded with a cargo of good will be further referred in Chapters 6 and 7. In both cases, the act of tasting had a value of either establishing a contract, either formalising a contract already agreed. To sum up, these lines detail summarily some of the features of the sale with samples, issue that needs further exploration in the future.

One of the samples referred to in Chapter 5 (A. 194) was addressed to STAIIO REGILLO (Poux *et al.*: 2014), and the other (O. 006) just referred the merchant owner of the wine estate of origin and the amount of production of that estate. The differences between these inscriptions referred two different features of sale. As has been asserted by Djaoui and Tran (2014, 2ff.), the wine belonged to a big and known estate, thus the name should not have been that unknown to the regular wine customer of the port of Arles. However, the sample O. 006 was not addressed to anyone, thus in case of being tasted, the potential customer needed to know what was the amount of production of the estate to decide the amount to be bought. That corresponds to the sale of things, being necessary to state the amount to be bought by the parties (D.18.1.8pr.), what was indicated by the inscription DOL · CXXXX · SEXSAGENARIA (Dolia with the capacity of 140 *sexsagenaria* jars).

Differently, in the case of A. 194, the sample was addressed to a customer presumably known by the merchant who wanted to show him a new product, but with no need of detailing features about the production, probably already known by the customer. These details shed light through the mysterious jar found in Arles and the use of samples in sale. It would be interesting to know if in the western Mediterranean markets existed any place as the *deigma* of Athens, where the samples were exposed to convince potential customers to buy the products offered (Gofas: 1993, 79-85; Bresson: 2008, 80). When the customer wanted to buy a product they kept the sample as a sign indicating that they will buy the product as agreed. That practice has its origin on the institution of the *arrha* that was a down payment, a warranty of the would-be buyer (Yaron: 2004).

⁴⁰⁸ All the inscriptions indicated in this section can be found in Appendix VIII, 17.5

⁴⁰⁹ Appendix VIII, 17.5, in which can be appreciated the difference with A. 1038, grain sample that does not identify the ship as state-leased or owned, and indicates the name of the recipient of the cargo that the sample was accompanying

14. Appendix V. Between Materials and Texts: new Perspectives on Sea Transport and Lease and hire

14.1. Translation of sample O. 136 (3894-5), compiled in Appendix VIII, 17.5

O. 136 (3894-5)	Transl. french Guéraud: 1950, 113 [self-translation into english]
<p>Νομοῦ ὀξ(υρυγχιτου) Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμονίου κυβερνήτης πλοίου δημοσίου οὐ ἐπίσημου Λουκίου Οὐκλατίου σταρατιώτου λεγεῶνος κβ σπείρησ β κεντεπωνέας Μαξίμου Στολτίου, καὶ Ἐπώασ Πετάλου κυβερνή(τησ) ἐτέπου πλοίου οὐ ἐπίσημοφ Αἴγυπτος, δι' ἐπιπλόου Λουκίου Καστρικίου στρατιώωω λεγεῶνος κβ σπείρησ δ' κεντερουονέας Τίτου Πομπηίου. Ἐστιφ δ[ε] ἴγμα οὐ ἐμβεβλήμεζα ἀπὸ γενη(ματει) κη (ἔτους) Καίσαπος, ὁ μὲν Ἀμμώνιος εἰς παράφραγμα (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) υλγδ ὁ δὲ Ἐπνίας ὁμοίωσ (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) υλγδ (γίνονται) αἰ πᾶ(σαι) αἰ ἐμπεβλημένοι διὰ Λερφίδου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου σιτολ(όγων) ἀπηλιώ(του) μεπίδος κάτω[ι] τοπαρχ(ίας) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) οξσ[] καὶ προσμεμετρήμεζα ταῖσ ἑκατὸν ἀρτάβ(αισ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβησ) (ἡμισυ). τὲν δὲ ἐμβολὴν πεποιήμεζα ἀπο β τοῦ Ἀζυρ ἕωσ δ τοῦ ἀδ(τοῦ) μηνός, καὶ συνεσφραγισμεζα τῆ ἀμφο(τέρων) σφραγιδι, τοῦ μὲν Ἀμμω(νίου) ἡσ εικων Ἀμμωνος τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμίου ἡσ [ε]ἰξὼν Ἀρποξράτησ. (Ἐτους κζ Καίσαπος Ἀζυρ δ</p>	<p>Ammonios, son of Ammonios, master of a state-leased ship with the emblem of A(), having Lucius Oclatius as epiploos, soldier of the 22 legion, 2nd cohort, Maximus Stoltius cohort, from the centuria of Maximus Stoltius, and Hermias, son of Petalos, pilot of other ship with the emblem of Egypt, having Lucius Castricius as epiploos, soldier of the 22 legion, 4th cohort, from the centuria of Titus Pompeius: this is a sample of the cargo that we have received and consign, in the harvest of the 28 year of August, and being formed by: Ammonios, until the rail, 433 1/4 artabs of grain, and Hermias similarly, 433 1/4 artabs of graon, plus a supplement of 1/2 artabs in total. We have proceed to load 2 Hathyr in the 4th of the same month, and we have marked it with our two respective seals, the one of Ammonios which the subject is an image of Ammon, and the one of Hermios which the subject is Harpocrate.</p>
<p>Ἐπμίας καὶ Ἀ[μ] μώνι[ο] σ' ἐσφραγισμ[ε]ζα τὰ δ[ε] ἴγματα. (Ἐτους) [κζ] Καίσαρος Ἀζυρ ιζ</p>	<p>Hermias and Ammonios have seal the samples. In the 29 year of Augustus, 19 Hathyr</p>

14.2. Some *Essentialia* in Shipping Contracts

The evidence provided in Chapter 6 has encouraged me to try to reconstruct the essential elements of a shipping contract. This study will evidence what could have been a the model contract employed in shipping. These model contracts are attested for different issues, such as sales or loans (Rathbone: 2003; Abatino: 2012), or also leases of warehouses (Rowe: 2014). To Roman law, shipping contracts did not need to be written, and the *scripta commercii* provided essential data that would partly correspond with the sale and partly help the goods arrive at their destination. Grain samples were marked with elements of the shipping contract that could be checked upon arrival. The *scripta commercii*, the legal sources and the shipping contracts that I have compiled from papyri, help reconstructing some elements that would have been part of a shipping contract. It is necessary to bear in mind the essential elements that the Digest recalls to reach agreement in this contract: the object of the lease, rent and how it would be paid, and the term of the contract. Further to that, the parties in the contract should also be identified, since the name inscribed on the containers corresponded to the merchant (responsible for the sale), and it was necessary to establish the actors liable for the transport. The Table 26 compiles different examples of shipping contracts, not distinguishing between their object (lease of a ship or of space in it), but recalling the clauses to which they refer. The elements which appear most recurrently cited in the documents are the following:

- Identification of the owner of the ship (*PS.5.7.2*)
- Identification of the master of the ship (*D. 14.1.1.12*)⁴¹⁰
- Identification of the customer (*PS.5.7.2*)
- Identification of the ship (*parasemon*) (*TPSulp.106*)
- Identification of the cargo loaded/ capacity of the ship (*D.14.2.10.2*; *TPSulp.106*);
- The price *D. 14.2.2pr*; *D. 4.9.3.1*; *D. 19. 2. 15. 6*; *FIRA III 155*;
- Details concerning the route of the ship (*D.14.2.10.1*; *D.19.2.13.1*)

As can be seen, all these elements are mentioned in legal sources. The price written in *CIL IV 9591* (Appendix VIII, 17.5), corresponds to the sale of grain and not to lease and hire of the ship in charge of shipping the grain cargo. In the contract recorded in *FIRA III 477-9*, neither the owner nor the *parasemon* are mentioned which does not forbid that in other contracts both charter parties could appear identified. That could be because the parties considered that their identification was probably enough for the agreement. In a different way, *SB.14.11552 = SB6, 9212* (Oxyrhynchus, 221 AD) is a lease of a ship, reason which is why it is understandable that the name of the *magister* does not appear.

⁴¹⁰ The ostraka of the ilot de l' Amirauté (Carthage) indicate that these masters were also registered with their name and cargos (Peña: 1998, 123ff). Some papyri display declarations of the shippers at their arrival at the destination (e.g. P. Oxy. 49. 3481; P. Giss. 285)

This contract established the time when the ship was used, when the lessors would have it ready for the customer, as well as the route that it would follow.⁴¹¹

Another element of the contract concerned the fate of the cargo once it arrived at its destination. A fragment of the Digest (D.19.2.11.3), the Muziris papyrus (SB XVIII 13167),⁴¹² and TPSulp. 45-6 mention that the goods should be stored once they arrived at the port. These documents are part of loans, which normally pledge (*pignus*)⁴¹³ the cargo as warranty. For that reason, it was normal to store that cargo once arrived to the port, to ensure the security of that pledged cargo. On the one hand, P. Bad. 2.43 and TPSulp. 80 reflect individuals collecting their cargoes at the port, while other papyri also indicate that the shipper should store his goods once they arrived at the port.⁴¹⁴ Thus, storing the goods pledged on arrival seems to be a natural practice,⁴¹⁵ while in the other cases, it should be stipulated by the merchant when loading the cargo.⁴¹⁶ Jakab (2014, 334) refers to the Grain law of Athens when mentioning that in a transport contract, the carrier fulfils his contractual obligations when he releases the cargo on land (obligation of result). In the case of Roman law, one should think in a case-by-case basis, depending on what the parties had agreed in the contract. However, the customs receipt released on arrival was a necessary proof of the merchandise reaching its destination (Terpstra: 2017, 50), which could have been the result aimed for some contracts (e.g. loans).

Features such as the provisions established for the case of jettison were probably not included because they were assumed as general terms applying to all navigation issues. The practice of jettison was ruled by the Lex Rhodia assumed by the Romans (D.14.2.9), the *receptum nautarum* when receiving a cargo on a ship (D.4.9.1pr.-1), or the *exceptio labeoniana* (D.4.9.3.1). These dispositions established how to deal with the consequences of jettison and were part of the customary practices in navigation (Aubert: 2012; Mataix Ferrándiz: 2017). This could be the reason why that disposition did not need to be explicitly included in the contract. In connection with that, sometimes the parties sometimes agreed that the carrier would navigate safely and in good weather conditions, what can be linked to a wish the interest of to avoiding jettison.

The term agreed in the contract for delivery is reflected in the contracts in which the subject leases a ship (*FIRA* III 155; P. Koln. III. 147). A concrete term was not necessary unless the object of the lease was immovable. However, to have been meaningful, the lease had to have had a start date, one reason why we can appreciate the date of the signing of many of these documents (Frier: 1980, 60-1). Papyri concerning the transport of grain (Table 26) belong to three well-defined documentary types: (1) shipping orders; (2) carriers' declarations of cargo shipped, and (3) accounts drawn up by

⁴¹¹ That helped establish the amount to be paid in taxes by the merchant. Domergue: 1998, 209

⁴¹² Rathbone: 2000, 39ff.

⁴¹³ Appendix X

⁴¹⁴ P.Lond. II 256; P.Oxy. XLV 3250; P.Oxy. LXVI 4526; P.Lond. II 301; SB XIV 11552; P.Lond. III 948; SB VI 9212; P.Oxy. LXVI 4526.

⁴¹ P.Lond. III 948; P.Ross.Georg. II 18; SB VI 9212; P.Lond. III 948

⁴¹⁵ In case of a loan of money, the money should be given back once arrived to the port (D.45.1.122; CI4.33.4)

⁴¹⁶ As appears in some shipping contracts from Roman Egypt, CPR XVJJA 7; CPR VIII 34

the *sitologi* or other officials like the *nomes* (Rossi: 2015). Probably, the shipper gave the customer an estimated date of arrival, as happened with maritime loans, especially bearing in mind that the goods needed to be collected by someone at the destination port. Using regular sea routes would have provided the shippers with an estimated idea of duration of the trip (Phil. Vit Apol. 7.16). Elements such as who was in charge of providing the crew, generally responsibility of the *magister* and shipper as mentioned by the texts of the jurists,⁴¹⁷ is sometimes referred to in the *naulotiké* (e.g. P.Oxy.45.3250; P.Oxy.Hels.37 (Oxyrhynchus, 176 CE). That may reflect regional differences in navigational customs and performance of contracts in different parts of the Mediterranean.

In addition, SB.14.11552, *FIRA* III. 477-9 and P.Oxy.43. 3111 include an enforcement clause (so called *κύρια* clause) indicating, “the *naulotiké* (shipping contract) is a binding authority”.⁴¹⁸ Why do they explicitly establish that the contract was binding? These contracts come from different areas of Egypt and were concluded in different years, but there is one thing they have in common: they specify that the ship should navigate under good weather conditions. It is generally assumed that this clause, is a more or less direct quotation of a “general law of contracts” (Phillips 2009), which in this view was enacted precisely to establish that whatever one party agreed with another – especially, it would seem, in patrimonial matters – was legally valid (Avilés: 2015, 38). As has been recently affirmed for Ptolemaic Egypt (Kramer & Sánchez-Moreno Ellart: 2017), and was affirmed for the Hellenistic period (Pringsheim: 1950, 157; Biscardi: 1989, 161), Greek law lacked a concept of obligation derived from contract. Obligation was a legal tie that consisted in binding the parties to do something and covered events such as wrongdoings or damages caused by the misbehaviour of one of the parties. The absence of this concept in Greek law may have caused the customer to establish the binding nature of the *naulotiké*, because in the case of a sailor deciding to sail under these bad weather conditions, then they could be forced to respond for the damage caused to the ship, cargo or crew.

The actions available do not appear in the contracts preserved in papyri. This is probably because if parties wanted to sue the carrier in the event of something going wrong, they would turn to a specialist to achieve the best solution for their dispute.

⁴¹⁷ D. 14.1.1.2-3

⁴¹⁸ Other papyri that contain that clause are: P. Laur. i. 16; P. Lond. 3948; P. Lond. 51851; P. Oxy. 43. 3111; P. Wisc. 2. 65,

Table 26. Some examples of shipping contracts and their clauses

Contract and date	Owner of the ship	Customer or lessee	Master	Ship identification	Cargo	Price	Route	Weather conditions	Term	Enforcement clause
3894-5 (BC 2) ⁴¹⁹			X	X	X					
P. Koln. III. 147 (30 BC- AD 15)						X			X	
P. Lond 3 948 = <i>FIRA</i> III 155 (AD 236)			X		X	X	X			
P.Oxy.45.3250 (AD 63)	X	X	X		X		X	X		
<i>CIL</i> IV 9591 (AD 50-1D 75)	X		X	X	X					
<i>CIL</i> IV 5894 (AD 50-1D 75)	X		X		X					

⁴¹⁹ Appendix. VIII, 17.5

	X									
SB. XII 11262 (AD 139)	X		X		X	X				
P.Oxy.Hels.37 (AD 176)	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	
SB.14.11552 = SB6, 9212 (AD 221)	X	X			X	X	X		X	X
<i>FIRA</i> III, 477-9 =P. Lond. III, 948 r = M. Chr. 341 = Jur. Pap. 43 (AD 236)	X	X			X	X	X		X	X
3299-3301 (AD 150-AD 250) ⁴²⁰					X		X			
P. Lond. III. 1164 (AD 212)	X			X	X	X				

SB. XIV. 11552 (AD 221)	X	X			X	X	X	X		
P. Lond. III. 948 (AD 236)	X		X	X	X					
P. Oxy. 43. 3111 (AD 257)	X		X		X	X	X			
3896. ⁴²¹	X		X							

⁴²⁰ Appendix VIII, 17.5

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

15. Appendix VI. The Emperor, the Officer and the Traders. Imperial Administration and Control in Mediterranean Ports

15.1. Source from the *Historia Augusta*⁴²²

SHA. Sept. Sever. 12.1-4. *Interfectis innumeris* Countless persons who had sided with Albinus *Albini partium viris, inter quos multi principes* were put to death, among them numerous leading *civitatis, multae feminae inlustres fuerunt, omnium* men and many distinguished women, and all their *bona publicata sunt aerariumque auxerunt; tum et* goods were confiscated and went to swell the *Hispanorum et Gallorum proceres multi occisi sunt.* 2 public treasury. Many nobles of the Gauls and *denique militibus tantum stipendiorum quantum nemo* Spains were also put to death at this time. 2 *principum dedit.* 3 *filiis etiam suis ex hac proscriptione* Finally, he gave his soldiers sums of money such *tantum reliquit quantum nullus imperatorum, cum* as no emperor had ever given before. 3 *magnam partem auri per Gallias, per Hispanias, per* Yet as a *Italiam, imperatoriam fecisset.* 4 *tuncque primum* result of these confiscations, he left his sons a *privatarum rerum procuratio constituta est.* fortune greater than any other emperor had left to his heirs, for he had made a large part of the gold in the Gauls, Spains, and Italy imperial property. 4 At this time the office of steward for private affairs was first established.

15.2. Text and translation P. Bing. 77⁴²³

<p>[-ca.?-] [-ca.?-] [-ca.?-] ἐλ(αίου) Ἀτταλίου τῆς Κρήτης [-ca.?- τ] οὔ Σωζομένου [Ἐρι] νύες Τύχη Ἀσκληπι() (ἀρτάβαι) [ἄγει -ca.?-] ἐλαίο(υ) ἡμικ(άδια) [] Σερήνων ἐλ(αίου) ἡμικ(άδια) μα [-ca.?-] ς 5Αιγέων κ Διοδώρου τοῦ Ἀθηνοδότου ἄκατο(ς) Σάρ(α) πικς Τύχη Ἀρποκ(ρατ-)</p>	<p>.,oil. From Attalion of Crete [the ... (ship) of NN], son of Sozomenos, "Furies(?) and Fortune". Asklep() ... art. [transported for NN x] demi-jars of oil, and for Serenos, 41 demi-jars of oil. 26?;From Aigeai. 20. The ship of Diodoros, son of Athenodoros, "Sarapis and Fortune". Harpokrates. 2000 artabae. Transported for the naucleros 700 jars of red wine.;From Aigeai. 20. The ... of Demetrios, [son of NN], "Philometor". Similarly. x artabae. Transported for the naucleros, x jars of red Aigean wine.;From Ostia, 1 []. [The ship] of Lucius Pompeius Metrodoros,</p>
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⁴²² Translated by David Magie, Loeb Classic library

⁴²³ http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.bingen;77?rows=2&start=0&fl=id%2Ctitle&fq=idno_led_path%3A77%3BP.Bingen%3B*%3B*&sort=series+asc%2Cvolume+asc%2Citem+asc&p=0&t=0

(ἀρτάβαι) Β ἄγει ι τῷ ναυκλήρῳ οἴ ν (ου) [()] α τ ι κ(οῦ) μέ λ α [(νος)] ψ ["(name of the ship)"; 22.500 artabae. To sail in.; From Lib(), 5. The ship of Publius Aelius Ann..., "Ele..."; 2000 artabae. To sail in.; Oil. From the Canal. 26. The ship of Basilon, son of Libus(?), "Athena R..."; 1000 artabae. Transported for Caesar the lord, x semi-jars of oil.; From Paltos. [ἀρτάβαι] ἄ γ ε ι τ ῷ ν α υ κ λ ῆ ρ ο ῖ ν 20. [The ship] of Zenon, son of Protos, "Dragon"; 2500 artabae. Transport for Heliodoros 500 jars of wine.; From Laodike, 18. The ship of Kassianos, son of Kyros and of Dominios, son of Agathokles, "Elpis and ...". Isi(); 2000 artabae, transported for Dominios [x jars] of wine.; From Gagai. 6. [The ship] of Neon, son of Varos, "Asklepios and Sarapis". Harpok(rat--); 1500 artabae. Transported for Claudius Crispinus 300 jars of first quality Sidean wine et figs ...; From Side, 7. The ship of Gaius Ulpus Iason, "Elpis and Ourania"; 7000 artabae. Transported for the Caesar the lord 32 (?) of pine and for Numerios alias Kallistratos 216 demi-jars of Aspendian oil .; From Anemourion. 13. the ship of Ninos, son of Tounis, "Zeus, Aphrodite and Selene"; arta Transported for the naucleros 2500 jars of Sidean wine .

χρ() Ὡστείων(*) α [] Λ ουκίου Πομπείου Μητροδόρου [-ca.?-] Α α λ () [-ca.?-] β ἐφ' ἄρματο(ς)(*) X ρ () Λιβ() ε Πουπ λίου Αι λίου Ἄννι [] υ ω ν ο ς [ἄκ] τ ο ς Ἐλε [-ca.?-] [] () (ἀρτάβαι) Β ἐφ' [ἄ] ρ [ματο] (*) ἐλ(αίου) Διώ ρ υ γ ο (ς) κς Βα σίλωνος τ οῦ () Λ ι β ἄ κ [α] τ ο ς Ἀθ η ν ᾶ Ρ [-ca.?-] () υ σ η () (ἀρτάβαι) Α ἄγει τῷ κυρίῳ Καίσα [ρι ἐλ(αίου)] ἡ μ ι κ(άδια) () 15 Πά λ τ ο υ κ Ζ ή ν ω ν ο σ τ οῦ Π ρ ῶ τ ο υ [-ca.?-] κ () Δ ρ ᾶ κ ω ν () ω τ () (ἀρτάβαι(?)) Β φ ἄγει Ἡλιοδώρῳ οἴν(ου) Λε [] [] [-ca.?-] φ [] Λαδικ(ειας)(*) ιη Κασ ιανοῦ τοῦ Κύρου καὶ Δόμν[ου τοῦ Ἀγ]α θοκλέους ἄκ (ατος) Ἐλπις [-ca.?-] Ἴ σ ι () (ἀρτάβαι) Β ἄγει Δόμνῳ οἴν(ου) [] ταμ() Γ α γ ῶ ν ς Νέωνος τοῦ Οὐάρου [] Ἀσκλήπιος Σαράπι ς Κ [()] ι

20(άρτάβαι)Αφ ἄγει Κλ αυδίω [Κ]ρ εισπείνω
οἶν(ου) ἀρί σ το(υ) Σιδη(τικοῦ) τ , σύκ ω (ν)
ι γ() φλ() ρ ν ()

ρ γ() Σ ίδης ζ Γαίου Οὐλπίου Ἰά σονος
ἄκατο(ς) Ἐλπὶς Οὐρανία Ἀ ρ πο κ (ρατ-)

(άρτάβαι) Ζ ἄγει τῶ κυρίω Καίσαρι πευ κ() γ δ
λβ, Νουμηνίω τῶ κ(αὶ) Καλλιστ ρ άτ ω [ἐ]λ α
ί [ο(υ)]

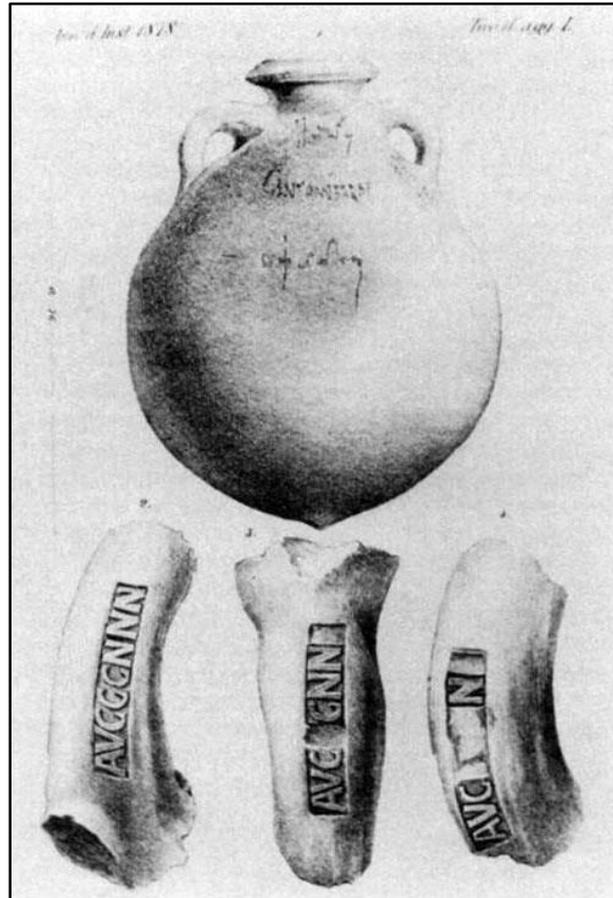
Ἀσπ ενδ(ίου) ἡμικ(άδια) σις

Ἄνεμο(υρίου) ιγ Νίνου τοῦ Τουνεους(*)
ἄκατο(ς) Ζεὺς Ἀφροδείτη(*) Σελ ήν η λ()

25(άρτάβαι) ὄσων ἐάν () ἄγει τῶ ναυκλήρω
οἶν(ου) Σιδη(τικοῦ) Βφ

15.3. Dressel 20 seal impressions and inscriptions from Severan times (second half 2nd cent. AD and first half 3rd cent. AD)

Figure 74. Dressel 20 seal impressions and inscriptions from Severan times (Second half 2nd to the first half 3rd cent. AD), Dressel: 1878, 118, fig.1



15.4. Changes on the Epigraphic Record of the Marble Samples used in this Work⁴²⁴

Table 27. Changes on the epigraphic record of the marble samples used in this work

Place	Date	Inscription	Notes	Sources
Phrygia	Prior to AD 136	<i>loco IV b(racchio) III / Sur(a) III</i> <i>co(n)s(ule) II (ad 107)j</i> <i>CCXXXVIII/ RMA Pal(ma) II</i> <i>co(n)s(ule) (ad 109) / VFR</i> <i>Vop(isco) co(n)s(ule) (ad 114) /</i> <i>b(racchio) tert(io)</i>	<p><i>Brachia</i> might reflect the movement of quarried stones from one <i>brachium</i> to the next, in order to clear the access to the quarry sections, or the rearrangement or stockpiling areas.</p>	Fant: 1989, num 40; Hirt: 2010, 292; 302
			<p>The term <i>locus</i> starts to appear in the first decades of the 2nd cent AD, and is a fixed element in the inscribed formula. <i>Locus</i> is a designation of the site where a block was freed, and later, of the block itself acting as an annual serial number.</p>	
			<p>The <i>caesura-officina</i> system used from 136 AD onwards replaced the older system of inscriptions, that displayed a</p>	

⁴²⁴ The meaning of the terms written in italics (e.g. *caesura*, *locchi*) can be found in Appendix X

			consular date, a number and marks such as RMA, R/, HE, VFR, ANT, etc	
Phrygia	After AD 136	<i>Te[rt]ullo et Sacerdote co(n)s(ulibus) / ex officina Andaev(i) caesura j Alex(andri) / loco XCIX b(racchio) R</i>	<p>The term <i>caesura</i> one probably delimited an area of extraction or a quarry within a quarrying district. It may have been introduced around AD 136 and appears a fixed element in the labels after 147 AD</p>	Fant 1989: no. 127; Hirt: 2010, 293
			<p><i>Officina</i> is a term that describes a workshop and, combined with a name in the genitive case, is also introduced in ad 136, although not regularly used until after ad 157. It is important because it designates where the marble did where cut and produced.</p>	
Ostia	AD 96	<i>L [] CR/ / ex r(atione) Olyp(i?) Caes(aris); c) Ve(tere) e(t) [Val(ente)] co(n)s(ulibus</i>	<p>The mark <i>ex ratione</i> is not found in blocks found in Dokimeion, but on the ones from the origin and found at Rome, Lepcis Magna and Ostia. The exact meaning of ratio is still unknown, but broadly speaking, it refers to the</p>	Baccini Leotardi 1989: no. 40; Hirt: 2010, 301

			management of the distribution of goods destined for state supply	
Chemtou	Prior to AD 137	<i>Sura III et Senici(one) II co(n)s(ulibus) ex rat(ione) Felicis Aug(usti) ser(vi)j d(e) n(umero) DCXII XXX j (officina) Tilaris</i>	The inscription indicates the name of the workshop (<i>officina</i>) where the stone was cut, and also indicate by the mention <i>ex ratione</i> that the stones were cut on behalf of an imperial official in charge of a <i>ratio</i> .	<i>CIL VIII 14560</i>
Chemtou	After AD 137	<i>Imp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) pii d(omini)j n(umero) vac. off(icina) Cerii j Stloga et Severo co(n)s(ulibus)j su(b) cura Agathae[—]</i>	The mention of the emperor in the genitive case indicates that he owed the stone. Replacement of the mark <i>ex ratione</i> for the mark <i>sub cura</i> , and the name of the procurator apparently mirrors a change in administrative procedures.	<i>CIL VIII 14573</i>
Mons Claudianus	AD 100-AD 300	<i>RACLP / XXXIII / III</i>	<i>Mons Claudianus</i> was a quarry completely managed by the army, and that probably is the reason for the simplicity of the marks on the blocks.	Peacock & Maxfield 1997: 218, quarry 22, no. 10

			The low number on the blocks seem to refer to the amounts of blocks extracted in one quarry.	
Luna	AD 1-AD 100	<i>T(i)b(urtni?) lo(co)</i> <i>CXLIII / Er(otis)</i> <i>C a e s (aris servi?)</i>	That private individuals controlled part of the extractive procedures in the Carrara quarries through slaves and freedmen is recorded in the epigraphic evidence from Luna. Depending on the name associated to the slaves, these could be public slaves, part of the <i>familia Caesaris</i> , or slaves working for a contractor.	<i>CIL XI 6723/2a</i>
Luna	AD 1-AD 100	C]ol(oniae) CXVIIIhI	That <i>curatores</i> hired private contractors for building projects is well documented in Rome and there is no reason why this should have been limited to the city of Rome itself. It therefore appears possible that the <i>colonia Lunensis</i> , or members of this community, quarried the marble in their own right or had	<i>CIL XI 6723/15</i> ; Hirt: 2010, 136

			contracted out work and sold the produce to the <i>curatores</i> in Rome.
			The numbers on the marble can refer to the stock number identifying each block extracted from the quarry.

15.5. Inscriptions on Lead Labels reflecting *Locatio Conductio Operis* (Lease of Jobs realised in the *Fullo*)⁴²⁵

Table 28. Inscriptions on lead labels reflecting *locatio conductio operis* (lease of *fullo* services)

ID	ID Support	Place origin	Place finding	Date (early)	Date (late)	Reading	Interpretation	Main Source
3686	O. 097	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	L. CALIDIVS / AEMA	Lucius Calidius / Aematius	Buonopane, 2005
3687	O. 098	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	L. FIRMECVS TOPAS TOPASI	Lucius Firmecus topazin topazin	Buonopane, 2005

⁴²⁵ Inscriptions compiled from Appendix VIII, 17.5

3688	O. 099	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	M. FIRMIVS SERVILIUS		Buonopane, 2005
3689	O. 100	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	T. FVFIUS		Buonopane, 2005
3690	O. 101	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	GAVIVS SECVNDVS		Buonopane, 2005
3691	O. 102	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	IVCVN	Iucundus	Buonopane, 2005
3692	O. 103	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	IVNIUS		Buonopane, 2005
3693	O. 104	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	P. LASSINIVS		Buonopane, 2005
3694	O. 105	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	T. LELIVS		Buonopane, 2005
3695	O. 106	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	MATVRUS TVRIONI / AEMA	Maturus Turioni / aema(tius)	Buonopane, 2005
3696	O. 107	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	PROCVL		Buonopane, 2005

3697	O. 108	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	SAVFEIA	Saufeia Marci filia	Buonopane, 2005
3698	O. 109	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	COLOR		Buonopane, 2005
3699	O. 110	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC `	AD 50	COLORES		Buonopane, 2005
3700	O. 111	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	NOSTRUM AEMA	Nostrum aematus	Buonopane, 2005
3701	O. 112	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	BALAN	balanatus	Buonopane, 2005
3702	O. 113	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	CAERV	Caeruleus	Buonopane, 2005
3703	O. 114	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	MERV	meruleus	Buonopane, 2005
3704	O. 167	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	Turai / lucn(ic-)		Bernal et al: 2016, 224
3705	O. 115	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	M	Mantus or mantellum	Buonopane, 2005

3706	O. 116	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	P AEMA	Pondo aematius	Buonopane, 2005
3707	O. 117	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	30 BC	AD 50	V	Vestis	Buonopane, 2005
3708	O. 168	Mérida	Mérida	AD 14	AD 37	F ?]abi / Nigri o nigri		Bernal et al: 2016, 224 fig.6
3709	O. 118	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	AD 50	AD 180	Attici arge	Aticci lana argentea	Bizzarrini, 2006, 126
3710	O. 118	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	AD 50	AD 180	P XIIX v XLII	Pondera XIIX vellera XLII	Bizzarrini, 2006, 126-127
3711	O. 119	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	AD 1	AD 100	L VINV PRO LAC	Lucius Vinus Pro lac	Bizzarrini, 2006, 128
3712	O. 119	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	AD 1	AD 100	P III ga XX	Pondera III Gausapa XX	Bizzarrini, 2006, 127-128
3713	O. 120	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	AD 1	AD 100	P IX d XXX	Pondera IX lana dibappa XXX	Bizzarrini, 2006, 129
3714	O. 120	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	AD 1	AD 100	P IV XIV ello	Pondera IV XIV vello	Bizzarrini, 2006, 129
3984	O. 176	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	Am (- - -) ferru(gini)? / IS LIII		Bernal et al: 2016, 230-1 fig.13
3985	O. 176	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	LA·LIIIIIS		Bernal et al: 2016, 230-1 fig.13

3986	O. 177	Merida	Merida	AD 1	AD 100	PAVLA / LP	Bernal et al: 2016, 232, fig. 16
3987	O. 177	Merida	Merida	AD 1	AD 100	ROBRA	Bernal et al: 2016, 232 fig. 16
3973	O. 169	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	Placidus · / colore · lucni-/co tunicam I / LOLO	Bernal et al: 2016, 223
3974	O. 169	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	[[] / [[I]]VX[[V]] [[IC]]DIX	Bernal et al: 2016, 223. fig.3
3975	O. 170	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	Caesiae / lucn(ic-)	Bernal et al: 2016, 225, fig.5
3976	O. 171	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	Soricis / fer(r)ucini	Bernal et al: 2016, 226
3977	O. 172	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	CABITON / CIRISII	Bernal et al: 226, fig. 8
3978	O. 172	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	IS · RV(---) IIII	Bernal et al: 2016, 226. fig. 8
3979	O. 173	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	Macri / R(h)odiaku(-)	Bernal et al: 2016, 228 fig. 9
3980	O. 174	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	Rufae / mur(---)	Bernal et al: 2016, 228, fig. 10
3981	O. 174	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	CXXX / III	Bernal et al: 2016, 228, fig. 10
3982	O. 175	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	At] Rustici	Bernal et al: 2016, 229. fig.11

3983	O. 175	Merida	Merida	AD 14	AD 37	mur(---) / X	Bernal et al: 2016, 2016, fig. 11
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16. Appendix VII. Suggestions for future Work

16.1. The Epigraphic Habit

As mentioned in section 2.2.2, inscriptions can be considered in light of a nuanced conception of the epigraphic habit theory. According to that, scholars argue that in the high Roman Empire, the number of inscriptions grew, but then dropped, because of a close relationship between the act of inscribing and cultural change. The inscriptions would therefore be closely associated with Roman practices. As I have manifested along this study, the recurrence of some patterns on inscribed artefacts, as well as the techniques used in different moments and positions of the artefacts makes me think of the existence of a system and a habit.

I would like to connect the *scripta commercii* (again, excluding inscriptions related to production) with their background of Roman law, to understand if the influence of Roman law could have had an impact on the epigraphy of merchandise in the different regions of the Mediterranean. Merchandise was linked with the influence and importance of Roman law throughout the Mediterranean, because they reflected elements of the agreements held between parties, which were protected and enforced through the law of the empire. They would therefore be closely associated with Roman legal practices, and will provide information about how merchants managed agreements and trade practices. This introduces the question of the interaction within Roman law and other legal systems (e.g. Hellenistic, Hebraic, custom) in trade, and if that had an impact on the inscriptions and the procedures affecting them. These artefacts reflect a connection to Roman law but could travel throughout the Mediterranean, particularly into zones where other legal frameworks of commercial practices predominated. Therefore, I argue that their distribution arises from their Roman associations: the legal regime they represent and the epigraphic customs the Romans especially promoted. Thus this field of research is connected with the assumption or hybridization of western Roman law in the provinces, as well as with the persistence of local laws and customs in different areas.

In that sense, the map included the introduction (Figure 1) indicates the difference places where inscribed artefacts have been found. As can be appreciated, only a few inscribed artefacts have been found in the eastern Mediterranean, and the ones that have been located there came from the west. In addition, inscribed merchandise coming from the east was part of the supply destined for the *annona* or public buildings in the case of building materials. However, some inscribed stoppers have been found in Myos Hormos (Red Sea), which points to the fact that perhaps there are more inscriptions in the east that need to be studied and published. It is possible to find some inscribed objects from the west in the east, such as in Cesarea (Ameling et al: 2011, 657-600) or Masada in Israel (Cotton *et al.*: 1996) or Ephesos in Turkey (Gonzalez Cesteros: 2012), and some Greek inscriptions have been found both in and outside of Greece (Lang: 1976; Liou : 1987 ; 1987²). The absence of written objects in the eastern Mediterranean can be explained by the existence of:

- (1) Different trade routes based on supply and demand;
- (2) An absence of evidence due to the predominance of different commercial practices;
- (3) A different epigraphic culture for what concerns the merchandise, what could be in connection with a pre-existing Hellenistic trade system that remained unaffected by the new Roman one. In contrast, the East did not have an established trade model and so had one imposed on it under the unification of the Roman Empire;
- (4) An absence of publications (e.g. the cases of Alexandria or Beirut);
- (5) The existence of local internal trade routes which did not flow to the West (as happened in some places of the Red Sea),⁴²⁶ or because some of the goods exported to the west were perishable materials such as silks or spices (Young: 2003) which have not survived.

The presence of many inscriptions in the western empire could be linked with an epigraphic habit associated with a major influence of the law of the empire on commercial transactions. The absence of these systematic inscriptions on the containers could be a sign of a less binding importance of imperial law or the hybrid character of Roman law in these areas, or perhaps the presence of different commercial practices.⁴²⁷ The five reasons asserted above raise questions of key importance to understanding trade throughout the empire, and the influence of the Roman legal system in the eastern provinces. The comparison of east and west will help define the features of that epigraphic habit and assess its importance for Roman commerce and law.

16.2. The Models of Sale and Transport

The general model presented in Chapter 4 allowed the understanding of distribution according to the procedures which took place in a distribution itinerary. The key to move beyond that general model will be to apply it to concrete areas of study and begin to identify the idiosyncrasies of individual routes and cargo types within the evidence base. The juridical landscape of distribution is also composed of the shipwrecks which can illuminate the distribution in a very precise manner. Shipwrecks with a cargo of Lusitanian amphorae can reveal inaccessible elements from the remnants of terrestrial archaeology. Some scholars (Boetto: 2012; Rice: 2016) have underlined that through the cargoes of different wrecks, different scenarios of production, sale, and transport can be distinguished. These researchers base their arguments on the existence of cargoes composed of products of various kinds or of a single product, but leave out completely the legal approach of the procedures involved in the purchase of the products or their transport. Likewise, it is true that the idea of mixed or compound cargoes of a single product can, in conjunction with the model detailed in Chapter 4, explain the flow of cargoes and how they were sold.

⁴²⁶ Places such as Berenike or Myos Hormos, mostly connected with the same Egypt and the Indian sea trade routes. Peacock, and Blue: 2011

⁴²⁷ As for example the practice of the *arrha*; Yaron: 2004.

Chapters 5 and 6 detailed the different techniques of sale and lease and hire used depending on the merchant, the product, and especially the packaging of that merchandise. These practices could assess some elements about the warranties assumed by the seller and establish the boundaries between the sale and transport. To that aim, the model using the evidence of the wrecks will be crucial, together with the material evidence found on land and in the documents. This analysis will provide a deeper insight to some of the issues already highlighted in Chapters 5 and 6. In addition, I would like to establish a clearer model or scheme of the contracts performed for gathering goods by the Roman government. Comparing these different models will help to assess the similarities and differences between public and private trade. The evidence of these different operations will show the coexistence of models accommodating a wide variety of economic and social factors, such as investment, profit, manpower, local customs, and so on, all likely to change through time and location.

The quantitative analysis of shipwrecks with cargoes can be interesting, but overall I would like to focus on a qualitative analysis of the cargoes themselves. Concerning transport, the essential elements to be considered will be mainly the boat rental contract or the nautical contract, the navigation routes taken, the structures of the port systems, and obviously the wrecks. The material being transported, along with the route chosen for navigation, defines how the product will be transported in the vessel and also the risks involved in navigation. For example, with regard to the contract of carriage, Arles is a particularly interesting case as this port is connected to the sea by the Rhone, which implied a mixed sea-river navigation and sometimes the transshipment of the cargo from one boat to another. Transshipment increased the risks assumed in a transport contract and consequently the liability of the parties involved in it. The risks incurred by the vessels were therefore very different, which necessarily implied a different responsibility for the parties involved in the contract (e.g. D. 14.2.10.2; D. 19.2.60.8).

In addition to that, this model needs to include the evidence that can be found concerning the (1) actors in shipping, and (2) the financial tools used for that. On the one hand, the model to study agency that Broekaert (2016) proposed will allow me to understand how agency held between merchants and agents (sometimes being *dominus* and *servus*) worked. For creating that model, the author used the social status of the merchant, the geographic range of the business, and the nature of the merchandise traded. I think that this model can be overlapped with the shipwreck evidence, as well as commercial (e.g. amphora inscriptions) and monumental epigraphy to better appreciate the behaviour of the commercial subjects in these transactions. With these models overlapped, it is possible to go further and to propose a distinction between the different techniques of sale, the contracts of transport used, and the risks faced by the shippers.

On the other hand, the scale of commerce in the Roman Empire was enormous and unprecedented, requiring correspondingly extensive and complex financing (Rathbone: 2003, 225). As has been shown through this work, most commerce was carried out by independent small-scale shippers and merchants, but the major trade routes encouraged the formation of associations of shippers and merchants, and attracted investment by individuals. Hence maritime loans remained a common and

vital element in the financing of Roman maritime commerce and was interlocked to a network of banks (e.g. the case of the *Sulpicii*). Through the study of some financial documents, such as the *Sulpicii* archive, and the different transport models achieved with the evidence highlighted above, it would be possible to complete these transport models from the point of first departure until the arrival to the destination.

16.3. Juridical Archaeology

The discussion held in this work benefits from the field labelled as *Rechtsarchäologie*, and it proceeds beyond the legal text and begins to investigate explanations and causal connections between the reconstructed facts, the material remains, and their outcome in the excavated site. In that sense, I previous works as the one signed by Farber (2014) have served to sustain my view that any physical location in which the administration of law is conducted and experienced is influenced by the scale for such venues ranges and their locations. So this work has focused on archaeological sites where legal activities (contracts, control by the authorities of the empire, trials, taxation) took place, and it attempts to analyse and explain the causal links between the legal facts reconstructed through the material remains. Consequently, it implies a way of describing and characterizing space according to the subject's interactions, these ones being regulated and protected by Roman law.

It will also concern itself with the analysis of the social actors and the practices of establishing the lines of demarcation between the knowledge established by the law and the practical necessities of commerce. This method can be applied to different Roman sites where legal transactions took place (e.g. markets, cities) once the materials and sources are gathered and studied. Thus one of the aims is to apply that methodology to understand key areas. For example, it could be used to trace the itinerary of a cargo from its departure until its arrival, assessing the different steps that it has to pass through until reaching a specific destination. In sum, for the case of transport, it will apply the model in Chapter 4 to concrete sailing routes, understanding the legal operations and official institutions implied throughout the journey.

To these aims, the use of other complementary theoretical frameworks such as the assemblage (Van Oyen: 2016; 2017) or the actor-network theory (Brughmans et al: 2016) will be key to understanding the links between trade actors and the ontologies of the artefacts.

16.3.1. The role of ports as places to solve disputes

Ports were not only places of departure and locations for the distribution of goods, but also areas where individuals and groups interacted, lived, and resolved possible disputes arising from trading practices. Contact with foreign territories in the Mediterranean basin that were gradually conquered, commercial relations with those nations, and the necessity of considering their legal

customs in Roman courts when transactions were concluded in Rome would be key to answering this question. This was the case for Nabatean agents established at Puteoli (Terpstra: 2015).

I would like to gain a better understanding of the competent jurisdiction and area to settle the dispute depending on the features of the transaction, the regulation of each port, and the relationship between Roman and local law. For that aim, it will be crucial to understand the role of *scripta commercii* as proofs in trials, the different possibilities of resolving controversies, the roles of Roman law versus local customs in the resolution of disputes, and the access to justice for the different individuals (Ando: 2011, 20; Bryen: 2012). In addition, that will imply a revision of the sources of law available, such as laws enacted for concrete areas, referring to issues concerning jurisdiction for disputes (e.g. CLA; Kantor: 2011)

Reading the texts of the Digest, it is possible appreciate that Roman law provided very sophisticated solutions for daily commercial issues. However, trade during the Roman Empire developed under conditions of imperfect government enforcement in private contracting. The Roman government did not use their policing power to coerce private contracts made under the rules of its legal system. Thus a big part of jurisdiction will rely on non-imperial institutions, which appear as essential for the resolution of controversies and issues. Cities provided part of this institutional protection that created trust through certified weights and measures that could vary throughout the empire. The port should provide speedier and more than only legal procedures to resolve the controversies arising, in order to attract their trade (Xenoph. *On revenues*, 355). The presence of authorities (controlling, attending controversies) guaranteed the security of trading operations, and consequently, that the port would appear more attractive for merchants and customers. In essence, this issue tackles the interplay between trust and legal mechanisms established for trade.

16.4. Evolution of Roman Commercial Maritime Law. Practices, Policies, Knowledge and Information.

The current work has established a general set of procedures used in the distribution of goods throughout the Roman Mediterranean. So, what about the evolution of these practices? That question implies a study based on analysing the evolution of commercial practices through textual sources and comparing them to the *scripta commercii*. This research is not only the study of the sources and materials from the high empire, as I have done so far, but also considers Republican and late antique sources and materials. The formalism of ancient law had to be sacrificed in favour of the development of trade and the *peregrines* had to be admitted into Roman institutions. The chronology to study this issue corresponds with the period from the 2nd cent. BC, period of development of these practices, in the 3rd cent. AD. In fact, at the end of the 2nd century BC, Rome established its hegemony in the Mediterranean and began to develop legal mechanisms of trade management, which continued to be used during the high empire. The choice of this period is based on the evolution of *scripta commercii* and the legal sources. The analysis of the evolution of the techniques used to produce *scripta commercii*

under the Republic and during the high empire makes it possible to identify and follow the social and political changes in the organisation of trade. This research is therefore part of the so-called classical period of Roman law (130 BC - 230 AD), when the law reached its highest level of sophistication.

Three basic questions arise: (1) what is the nature of the links between legal texts, which reflect an interaction between theory and practice, and the use of objects in everyday commercial life? (2) To what extent did commercial actors know the legal procedures established by lawyers? (3) Conversely, to what extent were lawyers aware of what was happening to traders in the practice of their trade? Some sources (e.g. D. 19.2.31; Plin. Ep. X. 96-7) indicate that there was a communication breakdown between the jurists and the merchants and between Roman and provincial administration. I would like to look into this issue to gain a better understanding of how information and knowledge of the law were widespread at different levels. It would be interesting to address the case of the merchants and the case of provincial magistrates, to analyse the different levels of transmission of information, and to get an insight into Roman administration policies in provincial areas.

17. Appendix VIII. Catalogue of *Scripta Commercii*

17.1. Product, Quality and Qualitative (A, B1 and B2)

Table 29. Product, quality and qualitative (A, B1 and B2)

ID	ID Support	Number of tituli on support	Support type	ID <i>Scripta commercii</i>	Reading	Interpretation	Type of product	Main Source
439	A. 191	6	Dressel 2-4	Inscription A	SVM		Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
440	A. 191	6	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B1	VET	Vet(us)	Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
441	A. 191	6	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B2	BAETERR	Baeterr(ense)	Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
445	A. 192	2	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B1	ALB	Alb(ae)	Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
446	A. 192	2	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B2	BAETERR	Baeterr(ense)	Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
447	A. 193	3	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B1	CRET	Cret(ense)	Wine	Liou: 1987, 112
448	A. 193	3	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B2	AVCAMI	Avcami	Wine	Liou: 1987, 112
451	A. 194	3	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B2	ARELATE		Wine	Poux: 2014, 408-9
453	A. 195	1	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B2	LAUR VET	Laur(onense) vet(us)	Wine	Liou: 1987, 112
454	A. 196	1	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B1	VF COTI	V(etus) (flos) coti	Wine	Liou; Desbat; Lequement: 1987, 150
455	A. 197	1	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B1	AMIN	Amin(neum)	Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168

456	A. 198	2	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B1	FAL .A.IX	Fal(ernus). A(nnum) IX	Wine	Liou; Desbat; Lequement: 1987, 162
459	A. 200	6	Beltran 2A	Inscription A	GARUM		Fish sauce	Cotton, Lernau & Goren: 1996, 229
460	A. 200	6	Beltran 2A	Inscription B1	symbol			Cotton, Lernau & Goren: 1996, 229
461	A. 200	6	Beltran 2A	Inscription B2	Δ			Cotton, Lernau & Goren: 1996, 229
465	A. 201	3	Beltran 2A	Inscription B1	E CEL	E[<u>X</u>]CEL[<u>LENS</u>]	Fish sauce	Cotton, Lernau & Goren: 1996, 230
466	A. 201	3	Beltran 2A	Inscription B2	Li.Hie M.Fe r ocis		Fish sauce	Cotton, Lernau & Goren: 1996, 230
468	A. 202	1	Beltran 2A	Inscription A	Mu	Mu[<u>ria</u>]	Fish sauce	Cotton, Lernau & Goren: 1996, 230
469	A. 203	5	Dressel 2-4	Inscription A	SC A	SC[<u>...</u>] A[<u>...</u>]		Liou : 1993, 133
470	A. 203	5	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B1	VE	Vetus	Wine	Liou : 1993, 133
477	A. 206	3	Dressel 2-4	Inscription A	Amin	Amin[<u>nneum</u>]	Wine	Liou: 1993, 135
484	A. 209	4	Dressel 2-4	Inscription A	Nat Gavian MPXLVI	[<u>Vinum</u>] Nat[<u>um</u>] Gavian[<u>o fundo</u>] MPXLVI	Wine	Liou: 1990, 206
494	A. 214	1	Dressel 7- 11	Inscription A	COD PORT VET	CO(R)D(ULA) PORT(UENSIS) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Liou: 1987, 66
495	A. 215	3	Dressel 7- 11	Inscription A	DO	DO[<u>...</u>]		Liou: 1987, 69

498	A. 216	2	Dressel 7-11	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC[ELLENS]	Fish sauce	Liou: 1987, 69
500	A. 217	2	Dressel 7-11	Inscription A	M VET	[GARU]M VET[US]	Fish sauce	Liou: 1987, 69
502	A. 218	2	Dressel 7	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207,
504	A. 219	2	Dressel 7	Inscription A	G SC	G(ARUM) SC(OMBRI)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207,
506	A. 220	2	Dressel 7	Inscription A	LIQ	LIQ(UAMEN)	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> XV 4713
508	A. 221	3	Dressel 7	Inscription A	MUR	MUR(IA)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios:2004, 218,
509	A. 221	3	Dressel 7	Inscription B1	F	F[LOS]	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> XV 4721
511	A. 222	3	Dressel 7	Inscription A	M R F	M[U]R[IA] F[LOS]	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> XV 4722
512	A. 222	3	Dressel 7	Inscription B2	LAC	LAC(ATTUM)	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> XV 4722; Djaoui: 2016, 117-25
514	A. 223	4	Dressel 7	Inscription A	M R Arc	M[U]R[IA] Arc[...]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
515	A. 223	4	Dressel 7	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC(ELLENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
516	A. 223	4	Dressel 7	Inscription B2	FLOS	FLOS	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
518	A. 224	5	Dressel 7	Inscription A	COD	CO(R)D(ULA)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
519	A. 224	5	Dressel 7	Inscription B1	po Dom	Po[...] Dom[...]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
520	A. 224	5	Dressel 7	Inscription B2	AIII	AIII[A]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
523	A. 225	5	Dressel 7	Inscription A	LACAT	LACCAT[UM]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207; Djaoui: 2016, 117-25

524	A. 225	5	Dressel 7	Inscription B2	AIII	AIII[A]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
528	A. 226	5	Dressel 7	Inscription A	C A V	C[O(R)D(ULA)] A[RG](UTA) V[ET](US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
529	A. 226	5	Dressel 7	Inscription A	P	P[ENNUAR](IUM)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
530	A. 226	5	Dressel 7	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
533	A. 227	3	Dressel 7	Inscription A	M	M[URIA]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
536	A. 228	6	Dressel 7	Inscription A	CC XXIX	CC[C]XXIX	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> IV 4740
537	A. 228	6	Dressel 7	Inscription B1	PoR Q RE	PoR Q[...] RE[...]	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> IV 4740
538	A. 228	6	Dressel 7	Inscription B2	SIG Percet	SIG[NINUM] PERCET[US]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
544	A. 230	7	Dressel 7	Inscription A	COD	CO(R)D(ULA)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
545	A. 230	7	Dressel 7	Inscription B1	EXCEL	EXCEL(LENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
546	A. 230	7	Dressel 7	Inscription B2	PENVAR	PENVAR(IUM)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
547	A. 230	7	Dressel 7	Inscription B2	SUMM U	SUMM[A]U[R]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
548	A. 230	7	Dressel 7	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
552	A. 232	2	Dressel 8	Inscription A	Gari Flos SCOMBR	GARUM FLOS SCOMBR[I]	Fish sauce	Desbat; Liou & Lequemet: 1987, 164
554	A. 233	3	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
557	A. 234	3	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
558	A. 234	3	Dressel 8	Inscription B2	LVCR	LVCR(etianum)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207

560	A. 235	3	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
561	A. 235	3	Dressel 8	Inscription B2	L.A.H	L.A(NNI),H(YMNUM)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
563	A. 236	2	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
565	A. 237	2	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
567	A. 238	4	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
568	A. 238	4	Dressel 8	Inscription B1	P. A.S	P. A.S	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> XV 4703
569	A. 238	4	Dressel 8	Inscription B2	RIM A	RIM A	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> XV 4703
571	A. 239	2	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
573	A. 240	2	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
575	A. 241	2	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
577	A. 242	3	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
580	A. 243	3	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
581	A. 243	3	Dressel 8	Inscription A	Liq	Liq(uamen)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
583	A. 244	4	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G S F	G(ARUM) S(COMBRI) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
588	A. 245	7	Dressel 8	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC(ELLENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
608	A. 253	4	Dressel 9	Inscription A	G HISP	G[ARUM] HISP(ANUM)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
612	A. 254	3	Dressel 9	Inscription A	GAR	GAR[UM]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
613	A. 254	3	Dressel 9	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC(ELLENS)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167

615	A. 255	4	Dressel 9	Inscription A	GAR	GAR[UM]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
619	A. 256	2	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR	MVR(IA)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
621	A. 257	1	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR AA	MVR(IA) AA[+AA]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
622	A. 258	3	Dressel 9	Inscription A	M HISP	M[URIA] HISP[ANA]	Fish sauce	Laubentheime: 2004, 167
623	A. 258	3	Dressel 9	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC(ELLENS)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
625	A. 259	4	Dressel 9	Inscription A	M HISP	M[URIA] HISP[ANA]	Fish sauce	Laubentheime: 2004, 167
629	A. 260	3	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR	M[URIA]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
632	A. 261	4	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR	M[URIA]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
633	A. 261	4	Dressel 9	Inscription B2	ISP	M[URIA] [H]ISP[ANA]	Fish sauce	Laubentheime: 2004, 167
636	A. 262	5	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR	M[URIA]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
637	A. 262	5	Dressel 9	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC(ELLENS)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
641	A. 263	5	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR	MVR[IA]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
642	A. 263	5	Dressel 9	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC(ELLENS)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
643	A. 263	5	Dressel 9	Inscription B2	ANTI	ANTI[POL](ITAN A)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
646	A. 264	3	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR	MVR(IA)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
649	A. 265	3	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR	MVR(IA)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
650	A. 265	3	Dressel 9	Inscription B2	XTANI	[+++]XTANI	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167

652	A. 266	2	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR	MVR(IA)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
653	A. 266	2	Dressel 9	Inscription B2	HIS	MVR(IA) HIS[P](ANA)	Fish sauce	Laubentheime: 2004, 167
654	A. 267	4	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR	MVR(IA)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
658	A. 268	2	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR	MVR(IA)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
660	A. 269	1	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MVR	MVR(IA)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
662	A. 271	2	Dressel 9	Inscription B1	VE	VE[T](US)	Wine	Liou: 1993,137
665	A. 272	5	Dressel 9	Inscription A	COD PORT ARG	CO(R)D(ULA) PORT(UENSIS) ARG(UTA)	Fish sauce	Liou: 1993, 140
666	A. 272	5	Dressel 9	Inscription B1	VE	VE[T](US)	Wine	Liou: 1993, 140
670	A. 273	3	Dressel 9	Inscription A	LVMP	LVMP[A]	Fish sauce	Liou: 1993, 143
671	A. 273	3	Dressel 9	Inscription B1	VE	VE[T](US)	Wine	Liou: 1993, 143
674	A. 275	3	Dressel 9	Inscription B2	III	[A]III[A]	Fish sauce	Liou: 1993, 144
677	A. 276	3	Dressel 9	Inscription A	G FL	G(ARUM) FL[OS]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
678	A. 276	3	Dressel 9	Inscription B1	LICINIO	LICINIO[RUM]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
680	A. 277	3	Dressel 9	Inscription A	G S	G(ARUM) S(COMBRI)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
680	A. 277	3	Dressel 9	Inscription A	G S	G(ARUM) S(COMBRI)	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> IV 4698
683	A. 278	2	Dressel 9	Inscription A	LIQ	LIQ(UAMEN)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
684	A. 278	2	Dressel 9	Inscription B1	FLOS	FLOS	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208

685	A. 279	3	Dressel 9	Inscription A	MUR	MUR(IA)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
686	A. 279	3	Dressel 9	Inscription B1	F	F[LOS]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
688	A. 280	3	Dressel 9	Inscription A	LIMP VET	L[U]MP[A] VET[US]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
689	A. 280	3	Dressel 9	Inscription B2	III	[A]III[A]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
691	A. 281	6	Dressel 9	Inscription A	ABD		Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
697	A. 282	3	Dressel 9	Inscription B2	AIIIA		Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
703	A. 285	4	Dressel 9	Inscription A	RB		Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
710	A. 288	3	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	I	[L]I[Q](UAMEN)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
711	A. 288	3	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription B2	ANT	ANT(IPOLITANA)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
713	A. 289	1	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	MVR	MVR(IA)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
717	A. 292	3	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) FL[OS]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
720	A. 293	2	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) FL[OS]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
722	A. 294	4	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	SC	SC(OMBRI)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
723	A. 294	4	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription B2	A()	A[+++]		Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
726	A. 295	3	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	G F P	G(ARUM) FL[OS] P[ORT](UENSIS)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166

729	A. 296	2	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	G F M I	G(ARUM) FL[OS] M(ODII) I	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
731	A. 297	2	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) FL[OS]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
733	A. 298	2	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) FL(OS)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
735	A. 299	3	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	G SC	G(ARUM) SC(OMBRI)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
738	A. 300	3	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	G F SC	G(ARUM) FL[OS] SC(OMBRI)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
741	A. 301	3	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	Inscription A	G F SC	G(ARUM) FL[OS] SC(OMBRI)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
763	A. 309	4	Dressel 10	Inscription B2	I /	I[+++]	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> XV 4749
772	A. 312	2	Dressel 10	Inscription A	M R	M[U]R[IA]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
773	A. 312	2	Dressel 10	Inscription B2	L	L		Lagostena Barrios; 2004, 210
774	A. 313	3	Dressel 10	Inscription A	HA S	HA[LLEC] S[COM](BRI)	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> XV 4731
784	A. 316	2	Dressel 10	Inscription B1	Flos	FLOS	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
790	A. 319	2	Dressel 10	Inscription A	MNO	MNO	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
799	A. 325	5	Dressel 14	Inscription A	SAXITANI VET	SAXITANI VET(US)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 14-15
800	A. 325	5	Dressel 14	Inscription B1	EXCEL	EXCEL(LENS)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 14-15

801	A. 325	5	Dressel 14	Inscription B2	A III A vel A III A	AIII A	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 14-15
804	A. 326	1	Dressel 14	Inscription A	LIQ FLOS	LIQ(UAMEN) FLOS	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 17
805	A. 327	1	Dressel 14	Inscription A	LIQ F	LIQ(UAMEN) F[LOS]	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 18
806	A. 328	5	Dressel 14	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 18-19
807	A. 328	5	Dressel 14	Inscription B1	SCOMB	SCOMB(RI)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 18-19
808	A. 328	5	Dressel 14	Inscription B2	EXCEL	EXCEL(LENS)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 18-19
811	A. 329	4	Dressel 14	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 20
812	A. 329	4	Dressel 14	Inscription B1	SCOMB	SCOMB(RI)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 20
813	A. 329	4	Dressel 14	Inscription B2	EXCEL	EXCEL(LENS)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 20
815	A. 330	5	Dressel 14	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 21
816	A. 330	5	Dressel 14	Inscription A	L F	L[IQ](UAMEN) F[LOS]	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 21
817	A. 330	5	Dressel 14	Inscription B1	SCOMB	SCOMB(RI)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 21
818	A. 330	5	Dressel 14	Inscription B2	EXCEL	EXCEL(LENS)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 21
822	A. 332	2	Dressel 14	Inscription B2	PENVAR	PENVAR	Fish sauce	Liou: 1987, 116
824	A. 333	3	Dressel 14	Inscription A	LIQ	LIQ(UAMEN)	Fish sauce	Liou; Marichal: 1978, 141
825	A. 333	3	Dressel 14	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC(ELLENS)	Fish sauce	Liou; Marichal: 1978, 141

827	A. 334	4	Dressel 14	Inscription A	LIQUAMEN	LIQUAMEN	Fish sauce	Martin-Kilchner: 1994, 417
828	A. 334	4	Dressel 14	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC(ELLENS)	Fish sauce	Martin-Kilchner: 1994, 417
829	A. 334	4	Dressel 14	Inscription B2	ANTIPOL	ANTIPOL(ITANA)	Fish sauce	Martin-Kilchner: 1994, 417
831	A. 335	4	Dressel 14	Inscription A	LIQ	LIQ(UAMEN)	Fish sauce	Martin-Kilchner: 1990, n.14,
832	A. 335	4	Dressel 14	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC(ELLENS)	Fish sauce	Martin-Kilchner: 1990, n.14,
833	A. 335	4	Dressel 14	Inscription B2	ANTI	ANTI[POL](ITANA)	Fish sauce	Martin-Kilchner: 1990, n.14,
835	A. 336	3	Dressel 14	Inscription A	MURI	MURI[A]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
836	A. 336	3	Dressel 14	Inscription B1	FL	FL[OS]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
838	A. 337	3	Dressel 14	Inscription A	MUR	MUR[IA]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 1992, 19;
839	A. 337	3	Dressel 14	Inscription B1	FLOS	FLOS	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 1992, 19;
840	A. 337	3	Dressel 14	Inscription B2	NTIPOL	[A]NTIPOL(ITANA)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 1992, 19
841	A. 338	4	Dressel 14	Inscription A	M F	M(URIA) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Liou, 1993, 144, 146.
842	A. 338	4	Dressel 14	Inscription B2	ANTIPOL	ANTIPOL(ITANA)	Fish sauce	Liou: 1993, 144, 146.
845	A. 339	2	Dressel 14	Inscription A	G ANT	G(ARUM) ANT(IPOLITANUM)	Fish sauce	Martin-Kilcher: 1990, 179
846	A. 339	2	Dressel 14	Inscription B1	FLOS	FLOS	Fish sauce	Martin-Kilcher: 1990, 179
847	A. 340	2	Dressel 14	Inscription A	M	M[URIA]	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
848	A. 340	2	Dressel 14	Inscription B2	ANTIPOL	ANTIPOL(ITANA)	Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166

855	A. 346	5	Dressel 43	Inscription A	CRET	CRET(ENESE)	Wine	Liou: 1987, 91
856	A. 346	5	Dressel 43	Inscription B1	VIII		Wine	Liou: 1987, 91
857	A. 346	5	Dressel 43	Inscription B2	MCT	MCT		Liou: 1987, 91
883	A. 359	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LIQ F	LIQ(UAMEN) F[LOS]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
884	A. 359	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXCL	EXC(E)L(LENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
885	A. 359	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	SCOM	SCOM(BRI)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
891	A. 362	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	COVM ARNDVA	COVM ARNDVA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
892	A. 362	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	LECT	LECT	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
897	A. 363	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	R V a r	VIN(UM) R[UBR]UM	Wine	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
898	A. 363	5	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	VET IIII	VET(UM) [A]IIII[A]	Wine	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
902	A. 364	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	Q POST	Q POST(UMIUS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
903	A. 364	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LUM VET	LUM(PA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
904	A. 364	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
908	A. 365	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	Q POST	Q POST(UMIUS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
909	A. 365	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LUM VET	LUM(PA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
910	A. 365	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA		Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
914	A. 366	4	Beltran 1	Inscription A	Q POST	Q POST(UMIUS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
915	A. 366	4	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

918	A. 367	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	Q POST	Q POST(UMIUS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
919	A. 367	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LUM VET	LUM(PA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
920	A. 367	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
924	A. 368	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	Q POST	Q POST(UMIUS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
925	A. 368	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LUM VET	LUM(PA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
926	A. 368	5	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
929	A. 369	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMPAE	LYMPAE	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
930	A. 369	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	A A	A[III]A	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
935	A. 370	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMPAE	LYMPAE	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
936	A. 370	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	A A	A[IIII]A	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
941	A. 371	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMPAE	LYMPAE	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
942	A. 371	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	A A	A[IIII]A	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
951	A. 373	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMPAE	LYMPAE	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
952	A. 373	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	A A	A[IIII]A	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
957	A. 374	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMPAE	LYMPAE	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
962	A. 375	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYM V	LYM[PAE] V[ET](US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
967	A. 376	4	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMp.VET	LYMP[AE] VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
968	A. 376	4	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

971	A. 377	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMp.VET	LYMP[AE] VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
972	A. 377	5	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
976	A. 378	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMp.VET	LYMP[AE] VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
977	A. 378	5	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
981	A. 379	7	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMp.VET	LYMP[AE] VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
982	A. 379	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
988	A. 380	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	YYMP. VE	[L]YMP[AE] VE[T](US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
989	A. 380	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	A A	A[IIII]A	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
994	A. 381	7	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LI VE	L[YMPAE] VE[T](US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
995	A. 381	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	PENVAUR	PENVAUR	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
996	A. 381	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXSCCELL	EXSCCELL(ENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
997	A. 381	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	SVMMVR	SVMM[A]VR	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
998	A. 381	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	XXXX	[A]XXXX[A]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1001	A. 382	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMP VES	LYMP[AE] VES(UBIANAE)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1002	A. 382	5	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1006	A. 383	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMp.VET	LYMp.VET	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214

1007	A. 383	5	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIIA	AIIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1011	A. 384	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMp.VET	LYMP[AE] VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1012	A. 384	5	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIIA	AIIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1016	A. 385	4	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMp.VET	LYMP[AE] VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1017	A. 385	4	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIIA	AIIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1020	A. 386	4	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LYMp.VET	LYMP[AE] VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1021	A. 386	4	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	AM	AM	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1024	A. 387	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LUMP(a) VE(tus)	LUMP(A) VE[Γ](US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1029	A. 388	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	COD LIX VET	CO(R)D(ULA) LIX(ITANA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1030	A. 388	5	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIIA		Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1034	A. 389	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	CODLIA	CO(R)D(ULA) LI[XITAN]A	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1035	A. 389	5	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXCEL	EXCEL(ENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1039	A. 390	4	Beltran 1	Inscription A	COD LIX VET	CO(R)D(ULA) LIX(ITANA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1040	A. 390	4	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXCEL	EXCEL(ENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1041	A. 390	4	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	SUMMA	SUMMA[UR]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

1043	A. 391	7	Beltran 1	Inscription A	COAIFV	CO(R)D(ULA)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1044	A. 391	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	SUMMA	SUMMA[UR]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1045	A. 391	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXCEL	EXCEL(ENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1046	A. 391	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	XIIITA			Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1050	A. 392	7	Beltran 1	Inscription A	CODULA	CO[R]DULA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1051	A. 392	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	SUMMA	SUMMA[UR]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1052	A. 392	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXCEL	EXCEL(ENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1053	A. 392	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIII[I]A	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1057	A. 393	7	Beltran 1	Inscription A	EL VE	[EXC]EL[ENS] VE[TUS]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1058	A. 393	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	SUMMAR	SUMMAR	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1059	A. 393	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXCEL	EXCEL(ENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1060	A. 393	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIIA	Annorum quattorum	Fish sauce	<i>CIL IV 5635</i>
1064	A. 394	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	COD LIX VET	CO(R)D(ULA) LIX(ITANA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1065	A. 394	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC(ELLENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1066	A. 394	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	SUMMA	SUMMA[UR]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1067	A. 394	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIIA	AIIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1070	A. 395	7	Beltran 1	Inscription A	COD TING VET	CO(R)D(ULA) TING(ITANA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214

1071	A. 395	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	SVMAVR	SVM[<u>M</u>]AVR	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1077	A. 396	7	Beltran 1	Inscription A	COD VET	CO(R)D(ULA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1078	A. 396	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXCEL	EXCEL(LENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1079	A. 396	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	PENNUAR	PENNUAR	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1080	A. 396	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	SUMMAUR	SUMMAUR	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1081	A. 396	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1084	A. 397	7	Beltran 1	Inscription A	CORDULA VE	CORDULA VE[<u>TUS</u>]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1085	A. 397	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXCELL	EXCELL(ENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1086	A. 397	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	SUMMAUR	SUMMAUR	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1091	A. 398	7	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LACCATUMDE	LACCATUMDE	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213; Djaoui: 2016, 117-25
1092	A. 398	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXCELLE S	EXCELLE[<u>N</u>]S	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1093	A. 398	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	SUMM	SUMM[<u>AUR</u>]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1098	A. 399	9	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LACCAT TINC	LACCAT[<u>UM</u>] TINC[<u>TUM</u>]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214; Djaoui: 2016, 117-25
1099	A. 399	9	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	A	A	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1100	A. 399	9	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	SUMM	SUMM[<u>AUR</u>]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1107	A. 400	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LACCARG VE	LACC[<u>...</u>] ARG(UTUM) VE[<u>T</u>](US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214; Djaoui: 2016, 117-25

1108	A. 400	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	PENVAle	PENVA	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1109	A. 400	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	SUMMAR	SUMMA[U]R	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1113	A. 401	7	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LACCARG VE	LACC[...] ARG(UTUM) VE[T](US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4; Djaoui: 2016, 117-25
1114	A. 401	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	VENUM	VE[TUS] NUM	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1115	A. 401	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	EXCELL	EXCELL(ENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1116	A. 401	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	SUMM	SUMM[AUR]	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1120	A. 402	8	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LACBESLIXVE	LAC(CATUM) BES LIX(ITANIM) VE[T](US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4; Djaoui: 2016, 117-25
1121	A. 402	8	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	SVMMAUVR	SVMMAUVR	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1122	A. 402	8	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	Annorum quattorum	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1128	A. 403	5	Beltran 1	Inscription A	MURIA		Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1129	A. 403	5	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	Annorum quattorum	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1133	A. 404	7	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	SUMMA[UR]	Summaur	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1140	A. 405	9	Beltran 1	Inscription A	[G](ARUM) SOC(IORUM)	Garum Sociorum	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1143	A. 405	9	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	ID		Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1144	A. 405	9	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	AIIIA	Annorum quattorum	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1149	A. 406	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	S LEX VE	S[...] L{E}[I]X(ITANA) VE[T](US)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214

1150	A. 406	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXCELL	EXCELL(ENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1151	A. 406	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	SUMMAUR	SUMMAUR	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1157	A. 408	6	Beltran 1	Inscription A	COP	CO(R){P};[D](ULA)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1158	A. 408	6	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	CVM	CVM	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1163	A. 409	4	Beltran 1	Inscription A	LIQ F	LIQ(UAMEN) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1164	A. 409	4	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	EXCL	EXC(E)L(LENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1165	A. 409	4	Beltran 1	Inscription B2	SCOM	SCOM(BRI)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1167	A. 410	3	Beltran 1	Inscription B1	FLOS	FLOS	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1182	A. 420	4	Pompei VII	Inscription A	BESPOR	BESPOR	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> IV 9367
1183	A. 420	4	Pompei VII	Inscription B1	FEXCEL SVMAVR	F(LOS)EXCEL(LENS) S) SVMAVR	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> IV 9367
1186	A. 421	4	Beltran 2A	Inscription A	COD PORT LIX VET	CO(R)D(ULA) PORT(UENSIS) LIX(ITANA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Liou; Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 192-193
1187	A. 421	4	Beltran 2A	Inscription B1	EXCEL	EXCEL(LENS)	Fish sauce	Liou; Marichal: 2000, 12-13
1188	A. 421	4	Beltran 2A	Inscription B2	SUMMUR	SUMM[A]UR	Fish sauce	Liou; Marichal: 2000, 12-13
1189	A. 421	4	Beltran 2A	Inscription B2	A III A	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Liou; Marichal: 2000, 12-13
1190	A. 422	3	Beltran 2A	Inscription A	O D	[C]OD(ULA)	Fish sauce	Bezczky: 1996, 329-330
1201	A. 426	6	Beltran 2A	Inscription A	G V	G(ARUM) V(ETUS)	Fish sauce	Liou: 1992, 89

1202	A. 426	6	Beltran 2A	Inscription B1	FLO CELL	FLO[S] [EX]CELL(ENS)	Fish sauce	Liou: 1992, 89
1203	A. 426	6	Beltran 2A	Inscription B2	SVMAVR	SVM[M]AVR	Fish sauce	Liou: 1992, 89
1207	A. 427	4	Beltran 2A	Inscription A	MISCELL POR	MISCELL(AE) POR(TUENSIS)	Fish sauce	Liou: 1992, 90
1208	A. 427	4	Beltran 2A	Inscription B1	MVS EXCEL	MVS(TELA) EXCEL(LENS)	Fish sauce	Liou: 1992, 90
1211	A. 428	4	Beltran 2A	Inscription A	LIQVMVLLI	LIQV[A]M(EN) V(ETUS) [MU]LLI	Fish sauce	Liou: 1992, 91-2
1212	A. 428	4	Beltran 2A	Inscription B1	VMAVR CXXXV	[S]V[M]MAVR CXXXV	Fish sauce	Liou: 1992, 91-2
1213	A. 428	4	Beltran 2A	Inscription B2	FLOS		Fish sauce	Liou: 1992, 91-2
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1219	A. 431	4	Beltran 2A	Inscription A	LIQAR	LIQ(UAMEN)AR(G UTUM)	Fish sauce	Liou: 1992, 93
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1227	A. 433	5	Beltran 2B	Inscription A	MVR	MVR(IA)	Fish sauce	Liou; Marichal: 1978, 136-7
1228	A. 433	5	Beltran 2B	Inscription B1	FLOS	FLOS	Fish sauce	Liou; Marichal: 1978, 136-7

1229	A. 433	5	Beltran 2B	Inscription B2	EXCEL	EXCEL(LENS)	Fish sauce	Liou; Marichal: 1978, 136-7
1231	A. 434	4	Beltran 2B	Inscription A	VAR. Atx	VAR. Atx		Liou; Marichal: 1978, 137
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1241	A. 437	5	Beltran 2B	Inscription B1	EX L	EX[CEL](LENS)	Fish sauce	Liou; Gassend; Roman:1990, 209
1245	A. 438	1	Beltran 2B	Inscription A	CP	CP	Fish sauce	Liou; Gassend; Roman:1990, 209
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1304	A. 481	1	Gauloise 3-5	Inscription A	AMINNEVM	AMINNEVM	Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1305	A. 482	2	Gauloise 3-5	Inscription A	AMIN	AM[M]IN[EUM]	Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1306	A. 482	2	Gauloise 3-5	Inscription B1	VET	VET(US)	Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1307	A. 483	4	Gauloise 3-5	Inscription B1	MAS	MAS(SICUM)	Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170

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1320	A. 486	2	Gauloise 3-5	Inscription B1	VET	VET(US)	Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1321	A. 487	4	Gauloise 3-5	Inscription B2	VET	VET(US)	Wine	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
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1530	A. 582	4	Dressel 7-11 similis	Inscription B1	Fl	FL[<u>OS</u>]	Fish sauce	Desbat; Liou; Lequement: 1987, 154
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1534	A. 583	4	Dressel 7-11 similis	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Liou: 1993, 140
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1551	A. 592	2	Haltern 70 similis	Inscription A	OLI	OLI[VAE]	Olives	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1552	A. 592	2	Haltern 70 similis	Inscription B1	DVL	[EX] DVL[CI]	Olives	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
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1562	A. 597	2	Augst 17	Inscription B1	Excellens		Fish sauce	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
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1569	A. 601	3	Van der Werff 1	Inscription B1	Coc	COC[TIVA]	Fish sauce	<i>CIL</i> XV 4730
1571	A. 602	2	Van der Werff 1	Inscription A	VIN	VIN(UM)	Wine	García Vargas: 1998, 68, 397
1572	A. 602	2	Van der Werff 1	Inscription B1	D	D[ULCE]	Wine	García Vargas: 1998, 68, 397
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1574	A. 603	6		Inscription B1	EXCL	EXC(E)L(LENS)	Fish sauce	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208,
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3162	B. 074	2	Barrel stave	Inscription B2	SENTIOR	SENTIOR	Wine	Marliere: 2002, 78; 87
3163	B. 074	2	Barrel stave	Inscription A	VM	V[INU]M	Wine	Marliere: 2002, 78; 87
3173	B. 078	1	Barrel stave	Inscription B2	SENTIOR	SENTIOR	Wine	Marliere: 2002, 80; 88
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3185	A. 1017	3	Gauloise 4	Inscription B1	VET	VET(US)	Wine	Revilla: 2000-2001, 209-210
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3206	A. 1019	3	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B2	GRAVIS	GRAVIS	Wine	Liou: 1998, 92
3213	A. 1022	2	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B1	AM	AM[MIN](EUM)	Wine	Liou: 1998, 92-94
3214	A. 1023	2	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B1	LAVR	LAVR(ONENSIS)	Wine	Liou: 1998, 94
3216	A. 1024	2	Dressel 2-4	Inscription B1	LAVR	LAVR(ONENSIS)	Wine	Liou: 1998, 94
3226	A. 1029	3	Dressel 8	Inscription A	G. F.	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Liou: 1998, 98
3229	O. 006	2	Jug	Inscription B2	ALB.VALERI.PROCULI	ALB(ANUM).VALE RI.PROCULI	Wine	Djaoui & Tran: 2014, 3
3263	A. 1031	2	Dressel 2-4	Inscription A	V	V(INUM)	Wine	<i>CIL</i> XV 4627

3265	A. 1032	3	Dressel 10	Inscription A	L F	L(IQUAMEN) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	<i>CIL XV 4720</i>
3268	A. 1033	4	Dressel 7	Inscription A	M R ARC	M[U]R(IA) ARG(UTA)	Fish sauce	<i>CIL XV 4723</i>
3269	A. 1033	4	Dressel 7	Inscription B1	EXCEL	EXCEL(LENS)	Fish sauce	<i>CIL XV 4723</i>
3270	A. 1033	4	Dressel 7	Inscription B2	FLOS	FLOS	Fish sauce	<i>CIL XV 4723</i>
3272	A. 1034	6	Dressel 7	Inscription A	COD PO	CO(R)D(ULA) PO[RTUENSIS]	Fish sauce	<i>CIL XV 4732</i>
3273	A. 1034	6	Dressel 7	Inscription B1	DOM	DOM[ESTICUS]	Fish sauce	<i>CIL XV 4732</i>
3274	A. 1034	6	Dressel 7	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	<i>CIL XV 4732</i>
3279	A. 1035	3	Dressel 6B	Inscription A	LIQ FLOS	LIQ(UAMEN) FLOS	Fish sauce	Auriemma & Pesavento: 2009, 278-9
3282	A. 1036	2	Dressel 6B	Inscription A	LIQ FLOS	LIQ(UAMEN) FLOS	Fish sauce	Auriemma & Pesavento: 2009, 278-9
3283	A. 1037	2	Dressel 6B	Inscription A	LIQ FLOS	LIQ(UAMEN) FLOS	Fish sauce	Auriemma & Pesavento: 2009, 278-9
3284	A. 1037	2	Dressel 6B	Inscription B1	SQ	[...]SQ[...]	Fish sauce	Auriemma & Pesavento: 2009, 278-9
3659	A. 1048	9	Beltran 2A	Inscription A	Co d arg uet	CO(R)D(ULA) ARG(UTA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Martinez Maganto & Hillairet: 1994, 62
3660	A. 1048	9	Beltran 2A	Inscription B1	excell	EXCELL(ENS)	Fish sauce	Martinez Maganto & Hillairet: 1994, 62

3661	A. 1048	9	Beltran 2A	Inscription B2	SUMMAUR	SUMMAUR	Fish sauce	Martinez Maganto & Hillairet: 1994, 62
3662	A. 1048	9	Beltran 2A	Inscription B2	AAAA	Annorum quattorum	Fish sauce	Martinez Maganto & Hillairet: 1994, 62
3668	A. 1049	6	Beltran 2A	Inscription A	ARG LIX VET	[CO(R)D(ULA)]AR G(UTA) LIX(ITANA) VET(US)	Fish sauce	Martinez Maganto: 2007, 395
3669	A.1049	6	Beltran 2A	Inscription B1	EXCEL	EXCEL(LENS)	Fish sauce	Martinez Maganto: 2007, 395
3671	A. 1049	1	Beltran 2A	Inscription B2	AIIIA	AIIIA	Fish sauce	Martinez Maganto: 2007, 395
3733	A. 1057	2		Inscription A	λι ιδ'	λι ιδ'	Wine	Lang: 1976, 74
3735	A. 1058	1		Inscription A	πασσον	πασσον	Wine	Lang, 1976, 74
3771	A. 1062	5	Dressel 12	Inscription A	G F	G(ARUM) F(LOS)	Fish sauce	Mongardi: 2013
3772	A. 1062	5	Dressel 12	Inscription B2	HIS	HIS(PANI)	Fish sauce	Mongardi: 2013
3773	A. 1062	5	Dressel 12	Inscription B1	EXC	EXC(ELLENS)	Fish sauce	Mongardi: 2013
3776	A. 1063	6	Dressel 12	Inscription A	Garum Flos	GARUM FLOS	Fish sauce	Mongardi: 2013, 434
3777	A. 1063	6	Dressel 12	Inscription B1	OPT	OPT[IMI]	Fish sauce	Mongardi: 2013. 434
3778	A. 1063	6	Dressel 12	Inscription B2	HISPANI	HISPANI	Fish sauce	Mongardi: 2013, 434
3795	A. 1065	2	Ostia LIX	Inscription B2	MAP	MAP[...]	Oil	<i>CIL</i> IV 9435
3796	A. 1065	2	Ostia LIX	Inscription A	OLEUM	OLEUM	Oil	<i>CIL</i> IV 9435
3797	A. 1066	2		Inscription A	OLIVAALBA	OLIVAALBA	Olives	<i>CIL</i> IV 9437
3799	A. 1067	3	Pompei 10	Inscription A	MEA	MEA	Honey	Bortolin: 2008, 178

3800	A 1067	3	Pompei 10	Inscription B1	ΓAY	ΓAY		Bortolin: 2008, 178
3801	A. 1067	3	Dressel 8	Inscription B2	M	M	Fish sauce	Bortolin: 2008, 178
3802	A. 1068	2	Pompei 10	Inscription A	Mel Thymimum av	Mel Thymimum av	Honey	Bortolin: 2008, 178
3803	A. 1068	2	Pompei 10	Inscription B1	Gaviae Sever	Gaviae Sever	Honey	Bortolin: 2008, 178
3806	A. 1070	2	Ostia LIX	Inscription A	DEST	DEST(RICTA) [OLIV](AE)	Olives	<i>CIL IV 9442</i>
3808	A. 1071	3	Ostia LIX	Inscription A	VIR	[OLIVAE] VIR(IDES)	Olives	<i>CIL IV 9442</i>
3811	A. 1072	1	Ostia LIX	Inscription A	MOL	MOL[LES]	Olives	<i>CIL IV 9442</i>
3813	A. 1073	3	Ostia LIX	Inscription A	TAVR	TAVR(ONENSIS)	Olives	<i>CIL IV 9442</i>
3814	A. 1073	3	Ostia LIX	Inscription B1	A	A[...]	Olives	<i>CIL IV 9442</i>
3816	A. 1074	4	Dressel 12	Inscription A	Mel	Mel(lis)	Honey	Bortolin: 2008, 63
3817	A. 1074	4	Dressel 12	Inscription B1	O ata	O[...] [.]ata	Honey	Bortolin: 2008, 63
3820	A. 1075	5		Inscription A	Q Pompei mellis	Q Pompei mellis	Honey	Bortolin: 2008, 63
3829	A. 1077	1		Inscription A	Mel Corsicu p II	Mel Corsicu[m] p(ondo) [librae] II	Honey	Bortollin: 2008, 63
3830	A. 1078	2		Inscription A	MEL	MEL(IS)	Honey	Bortollin: 2008, 121
3831	A. 1078	2		Inscription B1	BON	BON(A)	Honey	Bortollin: 2008, 121
3832	A. 1079	3		Inscription A	MEL	MEL(IS)	Honey	Bortollin: 2008, 121
3833	A. 1079	3		Inscription B1	Flos	Flos	Honey	Bortollin: 2008, 121
3834	A. 1079	3		Inscription B2	RUN	[P]RUN[I]	Honey	Bortollin: 2008, 121

3835	A. 1080	2		Inscription A	MEL	MEL(IS)	Honey	Bortollin: 2008, 121
3837	O. 130	1	Fish jug	Inscription A	OLIV	OLIV(AE)	Fish sauce	Djaoui; Botte & Piques, 2014, 183
3838	O. 131	1	Fish jug	Inscription A	SARDI	SARDI[NAE]	Fish sauce	Long <i>et al.</i> 2009, 588
3853	A. 1084	4	Dressel 6B	Inscription A	Olei Histr	Olei Histr[ici]	Oil	Egger: 1950
3854	A. 1084	4	Dressel 6B	Inscription B1	Flos	Flos	Oil	Egger: 1950
3857	A. 1085	3	Dressel 6B	Inscription A	Olei Hist	Olei Hist[rici]	Oil	Piccottini: 2000-2001
3858	A. 1085	3	Dressel 6B	Inscription B1	flos Olei Hist	flos Olei Hist	Oil	Piccottini: 2000-2001
3860	A. 1086	2	Dressel 12	Inscription A	G SCOM	G[ARUM] SCOM[BRI]	Fish sauce	González Cesteros: 2012, 115
3862	A. 1087	2	Beltran IIB	Inscription B1	COM	[S]COM[BRI]	Fish sauce	Bernal Casasola: 2016
3870	A.1089	4	Dressel 7- 11	Inscription A	SAR	SAR[DINAE]	Fish sauce	Djaoui: 2016, 120
3872	A.1089	4	Dressel 7- 11	Inscription A	LAC	LAC(...)	Fish sauce	Djaoui: 2016, 120
3874	O. 135	2	Jug	Inscription A	LOMENTUM FLOS		Cosmetic product	<i>CIL</i> IV 5738

17.2. Quantity (C)

Table 30. Quantity (C)

ID	ID Support	Support type	Date (early)	Date (late)	Reading	Interpretation	Unities considered weight/ volume	Translation kg	Translation litres	Main Source
467	A. 201	Beltran 2A	30 BC	1 BC	XIII	XIII	Pound/ Sextarius	4.251	6.942	Cotton; Lernau & Goren: 1996, 230
478	A. 206	Dressel 2-4 Tarraconensis	AD 20	AD 100	C X	C[V]X	Pound	39.24	71.73	Liou: 1993, 135
481	A. 208	Dressel 2-4 Tarraconensis	AD 20	AD 100	CXX	CXX	Pound	39.24	64.08	Liou: 1993, 135
496	A. 215	Dressel 7-11	31 BC	AD 75	LXXXV	LXXXV	Pound/ Sextarius	27.795	46.495	Liou: 1987, 69
521	A. 224	Dressel 7	AD 1	AD 50	LXX	LXX	Pound/ Sextarius	22.89	38.29	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
525	A. 225	Dressel 7	AD 1	AD 50	CCCCXXV	CCCCXXV	Pound	138.0327	252	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
531	A. 226	Dressel 7	AD 1	AD 50	CXXV	CXXV	Pound	40.875	74.72	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
549	A. 230	Dressel 7	AD 25	AD 79	XXXX	XXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	13.08	21.88	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
589	A. 245	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 50	CXL	CXL	Pound	45.78	83.69	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208

590	A. 245	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 50	CXL	CXL	Pound	45.78	83.69	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
594	A. 246	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 125	XIIXS	XIIXS	Pound/ Sextarius	6.0495	10.1195	<i>CIL</i> XV 4780
599	A. 249	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	LXXI	LXXI	Pound/ Sextarius	23.217	38.837	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
603	A. 251	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	LXX	LXX	Pound/ Sextarius	22.89	38.29	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
606	A. 252	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	LX	LX[X]	Pound/ Sextarius	22.89	38.29	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
609	A. 253	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	LXXI	LXXI	Pound/ Sextarius	23.217	38.837	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
616	A. 255	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	LXIII	LXIII	Pound/ Sextarius	20.928	35.008	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
624	A. 258	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	XXIII	XXIII	Pound/ Sextarius	7.521	12.581	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
626	A. 259	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	LXXII	LXXII	Pound/ Sextarius	23.544	39.384	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
634	A. 261	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	LX	LX[X]	Pound/ Sextarius	22.89	38.29	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
638	A. 262	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	LXX	LXX	Pound/ Sextarius	22.89	38.29	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
644	A. 263	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	XX	[L]XX	Pound/ Sextarius	22.89	38.29	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167

647	A. 264	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	XX	[L]XX	Pound/ Sextarius	22.89	38.29	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
655	A. 267	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	LXX	LXX	Pound/ Sextarius	22.89	38.29	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
659	A. 268	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	L	L[XX]	Pound/ Sextarius	22.89	38.29	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
704	A. 285	Dressel 9	AD 1	AD 100	LXXVI	LXXVI	Pound/ Sextarius	24.852	41.572	Lagostena Barrios, 2004, 209,
707	A. 286	Dressel 9	AD 150	AD 180	CCX	CCX	Pound	68.67	125.539	Lagostena Barrios, 2004, 210;
715	A. 291	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	LXIII	LXIII	Pound/ Sextarius	20.601	34.461	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
718	A. 292	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M III	M(odii) III	Modius		25.68	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
721	A. 293	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M III S III	M(odii) III S(extarii) III	Modius / Sextarius		28	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
724	A. 294	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M	M(odii)	Modius			Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
727	A. 295	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M III, S I	M(odii) III S(extarii) I[I]	Modius / Sextarius		25.68	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
732	A. 297	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M III	M(odii) III	Modius		25.68	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
734	A. 298	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M III	M(odii) III	Modius		25.68	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
736	A. 299	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M III	M(odii) III	Modius		25.68	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166

739	A. 300	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M IV	M(odii) IV	Modius		34.48	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
742	A. 301	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M III S III	M(odii) III S(extarii) III	Modius / Sextarius		28	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
744	A. 302	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M III	M(odii) III [Sextarii III]	Modius		25.68	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
746	A. 303	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	LXX M III	LXX M(odii) III	Modius / Sextarius	38.29	25.68	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
748	A. 304	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	XXI		Pound/ Sextarius			Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
760	A. 308	Dressel 10	AD 40	AD 40	C	C[++]				<i>CIL</i> XV 4750
764	A. 309	Dressel 10	AD 40	AD 40	cap VL	CAP VL				<i>CIL</i> XV 4749
767	A. 310	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 50	CAP	CAP				<i>CIL</i> XV 4751
779	A. 314	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 100	XLVIII	[SEXTARII] XLVIII	Sextarius		26.803	<i>CIL</i> XV 4726
781	A. 315	Dressel 10	AD 25	AD 79	III	III				<i>CIL</i> XV 4744
843	A. 338	Dressel 14	AD 101	AD 150	N.XV	N[...] XV				Liou: 1993, 144, 146.
858	A. 346	Dressel 43	AD 1	AD 150	CCC	CCC	Pound	164.1	304	Liou: 1987, 91,

863	A. 349	Dressel 43	AD 1	AD 150	I	I			10	Liou: 1987, 92
866	A. 350	Dressel 43	AD 1	AD 150	sextari	sextari				Liou: 1987, 92
868	A. 351	Dressel 43	AD 1	AD 100	Γ	Γ			3	Liou; Marichal: 1978, 162
878	A. 356	Dressel 43	AD 1	AD 100	Γ	Γ			3	Liou; Marichal: 1978, 164
905	A. 364	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LXIII	LXIII	Pound/ Sextarius	17.985	30.085	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
911	A. 365	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LV	LV	Pound/ Sextarius	17.985	30.085	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
916	A. 366	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LV	LV				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
921	A. 367	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	AVII C	AVII C				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

927	A. 368	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LX	LX	Pound/ Sextarius	19.62	32.82	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
931	A. 369	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	VI	VI				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
937	A. 370	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	VI	VI				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
943	A. 371	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	VI	VI				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
953	A. 373	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	VI	VI				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
963	A. 375	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	V	V				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
969	A. 376	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	V	V				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
973	A. 377	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	X	X				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
978	A. 378	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	VIIIS	VIIIS	Pound/ Sextarius	2.7795	4.6495	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
983	A. 379	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	VIIIS	VIIIS	Pound/ Sextarius	2.7795	4.6495	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

990	A. 380	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	[]IIS	[V]IIS	Pound/ Sextarius	2.7795	4.6495	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
999	A. 381	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	CXXC	CXXC	Pound	58.86	107.6	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1003	A. 382	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XVIIIIS	XVIIIIS	Pound/ Sextarius	6.213	10.393	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1008	A. 383	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	V	V				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1013	A. 384	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	P VIII	P(ondo) VIII	Pound	2.616		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1018	A. 385	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XX	XX	Pound/ Sextarius	6.54	10.94	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1031	A. 388	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	XXXX	XXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	13.08	21.88	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1032	A. 388	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	CXX	CXX	Pound	39.24	71.74	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1042	A. 390	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XXXX	XXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	13.08	21.88	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1047	A. 391	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XXXX	XXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	13.08	21.88	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1054	A. 392	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LXXV	LXXV	Pound/ Sextarius	24.525	41.025	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1061	A. 393	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LXXX	LXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	26.16	43.76	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1068	A. 394	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LXXV	LXXV	Pound/ Sextarius	24.525	41.025	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

1072	A. 395	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LXXX	LXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	26.16	43.76	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1073	A. 395	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XX	XX	Pound/ Sextarius			Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1082	A. 396	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XXXX	XXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	13.08	21.88	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1087	A. 397	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XXXX	XXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	13.08	21.88	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1088	A. 397	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LXXXV	LXXXV	Pound/ Sextarius	27.795	46.495	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1094	A. 398	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	Αλλ	Αλλ				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1101	A. 399	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	CXXII	CXXII	Pound	39.894	72.93	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1102	A. 399	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	CLX	CLX	Pound	52.32	95.7	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1110	A. 400	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XXXX	XXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	13.08	21.88	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1111	A. 400	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	CCC	CCC	Pound	98.1	179.34	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1117	A. 401	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	λ	λ				Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1118	A. 401	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LXXXV	LXXXV	Pound/ Sextarius	27.795	46.495	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1123	A. 402	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	CXL	CXL	Pound/ Sextarius	45.78	83.7	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4

1130	A. 403	Beltrán 1	AD 25	AD 79	LXXX	LXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	26.16	43.76	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1134	A. 404	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XXXX	XXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	13.08	21.88	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1135	A. 404	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LXX	LXX	Pound/ Sextarius	22.89	38.29	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1141	A. 405	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	IX	IX	Pound/ Sextarius			Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1142	A. 405	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XXX	XXX	Pound/ Sextarius	9.81	16.41	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1152	A. 406	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XXXX	XXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	13.08	21.88	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1153	A. 406	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LXXX	LXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	26.16	43.76	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1155	A. 407	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	T.CXCV	T CXCV	Pound	63.765	116.572	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1159	A. 408	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	LIII	LIII	Pound/ Sextarius	17.331	28.991	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1168	A. 410	Beltrán 1	15 BC	AD 100	XV	XV	Pound/ Sextarius	4.905	8.205	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1179	A. 418	Dressel 8	15 BC	AD 100	LXXI	LXXI	Pound/ Sextarius	23.217	38.837	Liou:1977, 79
1184	A. 420	Dressel 8	15 BC	AD 100	CXX	CXX	Pound	39.24	66.25	<i>CIL</i> IV 9367
1193	A. 423	Beltran 2A	AD 69	AD 96	P CIX	P(ondo) CIX	Pound	35.643	65.16	Bezeczky: 1996, 330-331

1196	A. 424	Beltran 2A	AD 146	AD 147	XXS	XXS	Pound/ Sextarius	6.54	10.94	<i>CIL</i> XV 4046
1200	A. 425	Beltran 2A	AD 69	AD 96	LX	LX	Pound/ Sextarius	19.62	38.82	Liou: 1992, 89
1204	A. 426	Beltran 2A	AD 147	AD 147	CXXV	CXXV	Pound	40.875	74.72	Liou: 1992, 89
1209	A. 427	Beltran 2A	AD 69	AD 96	LXXX	LXXX	Pound/ Sextarius	26.16	43.76	Liou: 1992, 89
1214	A. 428	Beltran 2A	AD 69	AD 96	LVIII	LVIII	Pound/ Sextarius	18.966	31.726	Liou: 1992, 89
1216	A. 429	Beltran 2A	AD 69	AD 96	LXXVI	LXXVI	Pound/ Sextarius			Liou: 1992, 89
1242	A. 437	Beltran 2B	AD 14	AD 125	LXV	LXV	Pound/ Sextarius	21.255	35.555	Liou; Gassend & Roman:1990, 209
1254	A. 443	Ostia LIX	AD 60	AD 70	III	III	Pound/ Sextarius			Desbat; Liou & Lequement: 1987, 159
1289	A. 470	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	LIII	LIII	Pound/ Sextarius	17.331	28.991	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1298	A. 475	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	LX	LX	Pound/ Sextarius	19.62	32.82	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1301	A. 478	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	IIS V	IIS V	Modius / Sextarius		29.5	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170

1323	A. 487	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	CCCC	CCCC	Pound	130.8	239.122	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1326	A. 488	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	LX	LX	Pound/ Sextarius	19.62	32.82	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1344	A. 495	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	DCL	DCL	Pound	212.55	388.57	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1356	A. 502	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	LIII	LIII	Pound/ Sextarius	17.33	28.991	Liou: 1987, 87
1389	A. 516	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	D	D	Pound/ Sextarius	163.5	273.5	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1391	A. 517	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	LV	LV	Pound/ Sextarius	17.985	30.085	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1403	A. 522	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	CC	CC	Pound	65.4	119.56	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1406	A. 523	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	CC	CC	Pound	65.4	119.56	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1410	A. 524	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	CCC	CCC	Pound	98.1	164.1	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1415	A. 525	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	CCC	CCC	Pound	98.1	179.341	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1431	A. 529	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	III		Pound/ Sextarius			Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1439	A. 534	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	CCC	CCC	Pound	98.1	179.341	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1456	A. 545	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	LXIa	LXIa	Pound/ Sextarius	19.947	33.367	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169

1460	A. 547	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	CI	CI[++]	Pound			Liou; Marichal: 1978, 155,
1463	A. 548	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	CLVVI	CLVVI	Pound	55.917	93.537	Liou; Marichal: 1978, 157
1474	A. 554	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	CC	CC	Pound	65.4	109.4	Liou; Marichal: 1978, 179
1489	A. 561	Gauloise 5	AD 50	AD 150	CCC	CCC	Pound	98.1	164.1	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1497	A. 565	Africana piccolo 1	AD 150	AD 300	CXXX	CXXX	Pound	42.51	71.11	Liou: 1987, 120
1504	A. 570	Rhodian type	AD 100	AD 200	α	α	Pound/ Sextarius			Desbat; Léquement & Liou: 1987, 152
1509	A. 573	Rhodian type	AD 100	AD 200	α	α	Pound/ Sextarius			Liou: 1992, 94
1512	A. 575	Rhodian type	AD 100	AD 200	α	α	Pound/ Sextarius			Liou: 1992, 94
1516	A. 577	Cretoise 3	AD 1	AD 250	EIIIMH	EIIIMH				Liou: 1992, 95
1531	A. 582	Dressel 7-11 similis	25 BC	AD 50	M III	M III	Modius		25.86	Desbat; Liou & Lequement: 1987, 154
1539	A. 586	Dressel 7-11 similis	25 BC	AD 50	X	X	Pound/ Sextarius			Liou: 1993, 144
1547	A. 590	Haltern 70 similis	AD 30	AD 100	CCL	CCL	Pound	81.75	150	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1560	A. 596	Augst 34	AD 50	AD 150	M S VIII.	M [...] S VIII.	Sextarius		4.376	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168

1564	A. 598	Augst 17	AD 69	AD 150	XXI	XXI	Pound/ Sextarius	6.867	11.487	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
1565	A. 599	Augst 17	AD 69	AD 150	III	III	Pound/ Sextarius			Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
3078	B. 054	Barrel	AD 200	AD 250	MMMM	MMMM	Modius	34.92		Marliere: 2002, 65; 86
3161	B. 073	Barrel	11 BC	7 BC	XC	XC	Pound	29.52		Marliere: 2002, 76; 87; 107; 114
3204	A. 1019	Dressel 2-4 Italian	AD 16	AD 16	S/ XXXVI	S/ XXXVI	Sextarius		19.7	Liou: 1998, 92
3221	A. 1027	Dressel 7-11	AD 25	AD 70		XXIIX	Pound/ Sextarius	9.156	15.316	Liou: 1998, 96
3224	A. 1028	Dressel 7-11	AD 25	AD 70	XXIIX	LXI	Pound/ Sextarius	19.947	36.61	Liou: 1998, 98
3249	I. 007				LXI	XLVII	Pound	66	120.65	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 125, 195
3275	A. 1034	Dressel 7	AD 1	AD 50	XLVII	LXX	Pound/ Sextarius	22.89	38.29	<i>CIL</i> XV 4732
3663	A. 1048	Beltran 2A	AD 50	AD 100	LXX	LXXXV	Pound/ Sextarius	27.795	46.495	Martinez Maganto & Hillairet: 1994, 261
3672	A. 1049	Beltran 2A	AD 75	AD 125	LXXXV	λIIIλ	Pound/ Sextarius			Martinez Maganto: 2007, 395
3710	O. 118		AD 50	AD 180	λIIIλ	P XIIX v XLII	Pound	7.194		Bizzarrini: 2006, 126-127

3712	O. 119		AD 1	AD 100	P v XIX XLII	P III ga XX	Pound	1		Bizzarrini: 2006, 127-128
3713	O. 120		AD 1	AD 100	P III ga XX	P IX d XXX	Pound	3		Bizzarrini: 2006, 129
3714	O. 120		AD 1	AD 100	P IX d XXX	P IV ello XIV	Pound	1.308		Bizzarrini: 2006, 129
3720	A. 1050	Africana IIC	AD 250	AD 300	P IV ello XIV	CXXX	Pound	42.51	77.71	Torres Costa: 2007, 9-17
3728	A. 1052	Unknown type	AD 1	AD 100	CXXX	υδριαι με `ημ(ισυ) / κεράνια				Lang: 1976, 60
3729	A. 1053	Unknown type	AD 75	AD 125	υδριαι με `ημ(ισυ) / κεράνια	με λα`				Lang: 1976, 61
3730	A. 1054	Unknown type	AD 1	AD 50	με λα`	μν ια`				Lang: 1976, 66
3736	A. 1059	Unknown type	AD 1	AD 50	μν ια`	λιτ ηη`				Lang: 1976, 77
3738	A. 1059	Unknown type	AD 1	AD 50	λιτ ηη`	θ				Lang: 1976, 77
3767	I. 035	Lead ingot	AD 40	AD 75	θ	CCIIX	Pound	68	124.314	De Juan <i>et al.</i> : 2014
3769	A. 1061	Africana IIC	AD 240	AD 300	CCIIX	CXXX	Pound	42.51	77.51	Marliere & Torres Costa: 2007, 305
3774	A. 1062	Dressel 12	AD 50	AD 100	CXXX	X	Pound			Mongardi: 2013, 434

3780	A. 1063	Dressel 12	AD 1	AD 50	X	XX	Pound			Mongardi: 2013, 434
3825	A. 1076		AD 1	AD 79	XX	Mel p(ondo) CXXXIII L(ibrae)	Pound	44		<i>CIL IV 5740</i>
3826	A. 1076		AD 1	AD 79	Mel p() p() CXXXIII	dat XXXXXIX s(emissem) [uncias]	Pound	20		<i>CIL IV 5740</i>
3827	A. 1076		AD 1	AD 79	dat XXXXXIX s	T(esta) P(ondo) XXVIII	Pound	9.156		<i>CIL IV 5740</i>
3836	A. 1080		AD 1	AD 100	T P XXVIII	p(ondo) l(ibras) CLXXVI	Pound	58	106	Bortollin: 2008, 121
3840	A. 1081	Dressel 28	AD 14	AD 150	p() () CLXXVI []	T(esta) P(ondo) XXIII P	Pound	7.5		Corti: 2015, 164
3842	A. 1082	Dressel 6B	AD 14	AD 150	TP XXIII P	T(esta) P(ondo) LXVIS	Pound	21.74		Corti: 2015, 164
3843	A. 1082	Dressel 6B	AD 14	AD 150	TP LXVIS	T(esta) P(ondo) XCIVS	Pound	30.9		Corti: 2015, 164
3844	A. 1083	Lamboglia 2	150 BC	50 BC	TP XCIVS	T(esta) P(ondo) CXVIII	Pound	38.913		Corti: 2015, 164

3847	O. 133	Jar	AD 100	AD 200	TP CXVIII	Vas p(ondo) l(ibras) II s(emissem) [uncias]	Pound			Bortollin: 2008, 121
3848	O. 133	Jar	AD 100	AD 200	Vas p s II	M[elis] vel m[ulsi] p(ondo) l(ibras) VII	Pound	2.289		Bortollin: 2008, 121
3849	O. 134	Jar	AD 1	AD 100	m vel m p VII	Ur[ceus] p(ondo) l(ibras) V s(emissem) [uncias]	Pound			Bortollin: 2008, 121
3850	O. 134	Jar	AD 1	AD 100	Ur p V s	Urceus et mel(is) p(ondo) XXVII	Pound	8.829		Bortollin: 2008, 121
3855	A. 1084	Dressel 6B	AD 50	AD 150	Urceus et mel p XXVII	P(ondo) V	Pound			Egger: 1950
3859	A. 1085	Dressel 6B	AD 50	AD 150	P V	P(lena) P(ondo) C	Pound	32.7		Piccottini: 2000-2001

17.3. Weight Container (α) and oil Dressel 20 Amphorae (γ)

Table 31. Weight container (α) and oil Dressel 20 amphorae (γ)

ID	ID Support	Date (early)	Date (late)	Id <i>Scripta commercii</i>	Reading	Interpretation	Number tituli picti	Main Source
417	A. 186	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	desideratur	[CCVIIS]	208.5	<i>CIL</i> XV 3940
423	A. 188	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	S		0.5	<i>CIL</i> XV 3973
426	A. 188	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	[CCXV]		215	<i>CIL</i> XV 3973
431	A. 189	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription α	S		0.5	<i>CIL</i> XV 3977
433	A. 189	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription γ	[CXCVIIS]		197.5	<i>CIL</i> XV 3977
1619	A. 612	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XCI	CXCVII	197	<i>CIL</i> XV 3773
1626	A. 613	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	SXXC		80.5	<i>CIL</i> XV 3774
1629	A. 613	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CXCVIIIIS		199.5	<i>CIL</i> XV 3774
1632	A. 614	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	X		10	<i>CIL</i> XV 3775
1642	A. 616	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCS		200.5	<i>CIL</i> XV 3777
1654	A. 619	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XX		20	<i>CIL</i> XV 3780a
1657	A. 619	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL</i> XV 3780a
1658	A. 620	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XX		20	<i>CIL</i> XV 3780b
1661	A. 620	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL</i> XV 3780b

1662	A. 621	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	S		0.5	<i>CIL XV 3780c</i>
1665	A. 622	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XXC		80	<i>CIL XV 3780d</i>
1668	A. 622	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3780d</i>
1671	A. 623	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CXCIIIS		193.5	<i>CIL XV 3780e</i>
1672	A. 624	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCI		201	<i>CIL XV 3780f</i>
1673	A. 625	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XXX IIS		32.5	<i>CIL XV 3804</i>
1675	A. 625	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCX		80	<i>CIL XV 3804</i>
1676	A. 626	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XC		90	<i>CIL XV 3805</i>
1685	A. 628	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCVIIIIS		209.5	<i>CIL XV 3807</i>
1689	A. 629	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	S		0.5	<i>CIL XV 3808</i>
1691	A. 629	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL XV 3808</i>
1694	A. 630	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	LXXVS		75.5	<i>CIL XV 3809a</i>
1696	A. 630	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	C			<i>CIL XV 3809a</i>
1697	A. 631	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	LXXVII		77	<i>CIL XV 3809b</i>
1699	A. 631	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCXI		211	<i>CIL XV 3809b</i>
1700	A. 632	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XXCIIIS		83.5	<i>CIL XV 3809c</i>
1702	A. 632	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCV		205	<i>CIL XV 3809c</i>
1703	A. 633	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XXCS	[S]XXCS	80.5	<i>CIL XV 3809d</i>

1704	A. 634	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XX	XXCIIS	83.5	<i>CIL XV 3809e</i>
1706	A. 634	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CXCII		192	<i>CIL XV 3809e</i>
1707	A. 635	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XX		20	<i>CIL XV 3809f</i>
1709	A. 635	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3809f</i>
1710	A. 636	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XCS		90.5	<i>CIL XV 3809g</i>
1712	A. 636	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CC		200	<i>CIL XV 3809g</i>
1713	A. 637	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	S		0.5	<i>CIL XV 3809h</i>
1715	A. 637	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	cXcVS		195.5	<i>CIL XV 3809h</i>
1719	A. 639	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CXCV		195	<i>CIL XV 3809j</i>
1721	A. 640	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCIS		201.5	<i>CIL XV 3809k</i>
1722	A. 641	AD 140	AD 149	Inscription α	S		0.5	<i>CIL XV 3978</i>
1724	A. 641	AD 140	AD 149	Inscription γ	CXCVIIS		197.5	<i>CIL XV 3978</i>
1729	A. 642	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription α	XXCS		80.5	<i>CIL XV 3974</i>
1731	A. 642	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription γ	CXVS		115.5	<i>CIL XV 3974</i>
1733	A. 643	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription α	XXC S		80.5	<i>CIL XV 3975a</i>
1735	A. 643	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription γ	CCIIS		202.5	<i>CIL XV 3975a</i>
1737	A. 644	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription γ	C		100	<i>CIL XV 3975b</i>
1739	A. 646	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XCVIIS		98.5	<i>CIL XV 3943</i>

1741	A. 646	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription γ	V	[CCX]V[S]	215.5	<i>CIL XV 3943</i>
1747	A. 647	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCVIIS		98.5	<i>CIL XV 3944</i>
1751	A. 648	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XCIS		91.5	<i>CIL XV 3945</i>
1753	A. 648	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCXII		212	<i>CIL XV 3945</i>
1757	A. 649	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCVIS		86.5	<i>CIL XV 3946</i>
1759	A. 649	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription γ	IS	[CCX]IS	211.5	<i>CIL XV 3946</i>
1763	A. 650	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	X S	X[XCIII]S	84.5	<i>CIL XV 3947</i>
1765	A. 650	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription γ	XCVIIS	[C]XCVIIS	198.5	<i>CIL XV 3947</i>
1768	A. 651	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCIIIIS		84.5	<i>CIL XV 3948a</i>
1770	A. 651	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3948a</i>
1771	A. 652	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	XX S	XXCIIIIS	84.5	<i>CIL XV 3948b</i>
1773	A. 652	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCVI		206	<i>CIL XV 3948b</i>
1774	A. 653	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	XCV	XCVS	95.5	<i>CIL XV 3948c</i>
1776	A. 653	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	CC	CCVI	200	<i>CIL XV 3948c</i>
1789	A. 657	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	LXXVIS		76.5	<i>CIL XV 3951</i>
1792	A. 657	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	V	[CC]V[IS]	207.5	<i>CIL XV 3951</i>
1797	A. 658	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	XCS		90.5	<i>CIL XV 3952</i>
1800	A. 658	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCIIS		202.5	<i>CIL XV, 3952</i>

1804	A. 659	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	S		0.5	<i>CIL XV 3953</i>
1807	A. 659	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	VS			<i>CIL XV 3953</i>
1810	A. 660	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XCIHS		94.5	<i>CIL XV 3954</i>
1813	A. 660	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	XVS	[CC]XVS	15.5	<i>CIL XV 3954</i>
1817	A. 661	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	IS			<i>CIL XV 3955</i>
1825	A. 663	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	cexiis		212.5	<i>CIL XV 3957</i>
1832	A. 664	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCX		210	<i>CIL XV 3958</i>
1835	A. 665	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3959a</i>
1838	A. 665	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3959a</i>
1839	A. 666	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3959b</i>
1842	A. 666	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCVVVS			<i>CIL XV 3959b</i>
1843	A. 667	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	XXC	XXC[IIIS]	84.5	<i>CIL XV 3959c</i>
1849	A. 668	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCX		210	<i>CIL XV 3959d</i>
1853	A. 669	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	CCS			<i>CIL XV 3959e</i>
1856	A. 670	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCXIV		214	<i>CIL XV 3959f</i>
1862	A. 673	AD 146	AD 146	Inscription γ	V	[C]V[IIIS]		<i>CIL XV 3863</i>
1867	A. 674	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCVIS		206.5	<i>CIL XV 3864</i>
1872	A. 675	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ				<i>CIL XV 3865</i>

1876	A. 676	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	IS			<i>CIL XV 3866</i>
1878	A. 676	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CXCVI		196	<i>CIL XV 3866</i>
1883	A. 677	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	XIIIS		14.5	<i>CIL XV 3867</i>
1887	A. 678	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	VIII			<i>CIL XV 3868</i>
1889	A. 678	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3868</i>
1893	A. 679	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3869</i>
1895	A. 679	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription γ	XVS	[C]XVS	115.5	<i>CIL XV 3869</i>
1899	A. 680	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3870</i>
1901	A. 680	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription γ	VIIS		7.5	<i>CIL XV 3870</i>
1906	A. 682	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCIIIS		84.5	<i>CIL XV 3872</i>
1908	A. 682	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription γ	XVS		15.5	<i>CIL XV 3872</i>
1912	A. 683	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCI		91	<i>CIL XV 3873a</i>
1914	A. 683	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCV		205	<i>CIL XV 3873a</i>
1915	A. 684	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCI		91	<i>CIL XV 3873b</i>
1917	A. 685	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	XCIIIS		94.5	<i>CIL XV 3873c</i>
1919	A. 685	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL XV 3873c</i>
1920	A. 686	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	XCIIIS		94.5	<i>CIL XV 3873d</i>
1922	A. 687	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	XCII S	XCII[II]S	94.5	<i>CIL XV 3873e</i>

1924	A. 688	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	XCVIS		96.5	<i>CIL XV 3873f</i>
1926	A. 689	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	XCVI		96	<i>CIL XV 3873g</i>
1928	A. 690	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	XCVI		96	<i>CIL XV 3873h</i>
1930	A. 690	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCXVI		216	<i>CIL XV 3873h</i>
1931	A. 691	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	XC		90	<i>CIL XV 3873i</i>
1933	A. 692	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	XC		90	<i>CIL XV 3873k</i>
1935	A. 692	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3873k</i>
1936	A. 693	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	X S	X[XCIII]S	84.5	<i>CIL XV 3873l</i>
1938	A. 693	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription γ	X S	X[++]S		<i>CIL XV 3873l</i>
1939	A. 694	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3873m</i>
1941	A. 694	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCXV		215	<i>CIL XV 3873m</i>
1942	A. 695	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3873n</i>
1944	A. 696	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3873o</i>
1946	A. 696	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3873o</i>
1948	A. 697	AD 146	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCIS		201.5	<i>CIL XV 3873p</i>
1949	A. 698	AD 180	AD 180	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3876</i>
1952	A. 698	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL XV 3876</i>
1953	A. 699	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XX VIIS	XX[C]VIIS	87.5	<i>CIL XV 3897</i>

1955	A. 699	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CVVVS			<i>CIL XV 3897</i>
1956	A. 700	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3852</i>
1958	A. 700	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCV		115	<i>CIL XV 3852</i>
1959	A. 701	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCIIIIS		84.5	<i>CIL XV 3693</i>
1961	A. 701	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	XVS	[CC]XVS	215	<i>CIL XV 3693</i>
1963	A. 702	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CXCVIIS		197.5	<i>CIL XV 3694a</i>
1964	A. 703	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	X S	X[XCIII]S	84.5	<i>CIL XV 3694b</i>
1966	A. 703	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CC		200	<i>CIL XV 3694b</i>
1967	A. 704	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3694c</i>
1969	A. 704	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	XXCVIIS	[C]XXCVIIS	87.5	<i>CIL XV 3694c</i>
1972	A. 706	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3894</i>
1974	A. 706	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCVIIIIS		209.5	<i>CIL XV 3894</i>
1978	A. 707	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3895</i>
1980	A. 707	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL XV 3895</i>
1981	A. 708	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCIII			<i>CIL XV 3901</i>
1988	A. 710	AD 160	AD 160	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3692</i>
1990	A. 710	AD 160	AD 160	Inscription γ	XVS		15.5	<i>CIL XV 3692</i>
1994	A. 711	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XCI S	XCI[+]S		<i>CIL XV 3695a</i>

2000	A. 712	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3695b</i>
2002	A. 713	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription γ	CXCII		192	<i>CIL XV 3696</i>
2003	A. 714	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XXCII			<i>CIL XV 4804a</i>
2006	A. 715	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	X V			<i>CIL XV 4084b</i>
2011	A. 720	AD 100	AD 250	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3698</i>
2013	A. 720	AD 100	AD 250	Inscription γ	CVII		107	<i>CIL XV 3698</i>
2016	A. 721	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3699a</i>
2017	A. 722	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription α	XXCVIIS		84.5	<i>CIL XV 3699b</i>
2019	A. 722	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription γ	CCX		210	<i>CIL XV 3699b</i>
2021	A. 723	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	CCXV		215	<i>CIL XV 3700</i>
2025	A. 724	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	IS			<i>CIL XV 3711</i>
2030	A. 725	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCVIS		86.5	<i>CIL XV 3712</i>
2037	A. 727	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	V			<i>CIL XV 3714</i>
2039	A. 727	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CVS		105.5	<i>CIL XV 3714</i>
2042	A. 728	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCIS		81.5	<i>CIL XV 3715a</i>
2043	A. 728	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCS		200.5	<i>CIL XV 3715a</i>
2044	A. 729	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCIIS		83.5	<i>CIL XV 3715b</i>
2046	A. 729	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCXV		215	<i>CIL XV 3715b</i>

2048	A. 731	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	CVS			<i>CIL XV 3716</i>
2050	A. 731	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCS		200.5	<i>CIL XV 3716</i>
2057	A. 733	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXC		80	<i>CIL XV 3718</i>
2059	A. 733	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CXCIIIS		193.5	<i>CIL XV 3718</i>
2063	A. 734	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XX V	XX[C]V		<i>CIL XV 3719</i>
2066	A. 735	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XX			<i>CIL XV 3720</i>
2068	A. 735	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXVI		216	<i>CIL XV 3720</i>
2072	A. 736	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCIH			<i>CIL XV 3721</i>
2074	A. 736	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3721</i>
2078	A. 737	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XC			<i>CIL XV 3722</i>
2080	A. 737	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3722</i>
2081	A. 738	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXCV S	XXCV[+]S		<i>CIL XV 3723a</i>
2083	A. 739	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXC S	XXC[++]S		<i>CIL XV 3723b</i>
2085	A. 739	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CXCVIS		196.5	<i>CIL XV 3723b</i>
2086	A. 740	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XX[++]S			<i>CIL XV 3723c</i>
2088	A. 741	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XC			<i>CIL XV 3723d</i>
2090	A. 742	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3723e</i>
2092	A. 742	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXS		210.5	<i>CIL XV 3723e</i>

2093	A. 743	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3723f</i>
2096	A. 742	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CC		200	<i>CIL XV 3723g</i>
2097	A. 743	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XVS			<i>CIL XV 3724</i>
2099	A. 743	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCX	CCX[$\overline{\text{HIS}}$]	213.5	<i>CIL XV 3724</i>
2103	A. 744	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXCVIS		86.5	<i>CIL XV 3725</i>
2105	A. 744	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	XXCVS		85.5	<i>CIL XV 3725</i>
2108	A. 745	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3726</i>
2110	A. 745	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCVS		105.5	<i>CIL XV 3726</i>
2114	A. 746	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XX			<i>CIL XV 3727</i>
2116	A. 747	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XX S	XX[$\overline{+}$]S		<i>CIL XV 3728a</i>
2118	A. 747	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	C		100	<i>CIL XV 3728a</i>
2119	A. 748	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XX			<i>CIL XV 3728b</i>
2121	A. 748	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	C		100	<i>CIL XV 3728b</i>
2122	A. 749	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3728c</i>
2124	A. 750	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3728d</i>
2126	A. 751	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCXVI		216	<i>CIL XV 3728e</i>
2127	A. 752	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription α	XXCVIII		88	<i>CIL XV 3729a</i>
2130	A. 752	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3729a</i>

2131	A. 753	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription α	XXCVIII		88	<i>CIL XV 3729b</i>
2134	A. 753	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3729b</i>
2137	A. 755	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCS		90.5	<i>CIL XV 3731</i>
2139	A. 755	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCIIS		203.5	<i>CIL XV 3731</i>
2143	A. 756	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCIS		91.5	<i>CIL XV 3732</i>
2145	A. 756	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CXCIS		191.5	<i>CIL XV 3732</i>
2150	A. 757	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXCVIIS		88.5	<i>CIL XV 3733</i>
2152	A. 757	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3733</i>
2154	A. 758	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXCV		85	<i>CIL XV 3734a</i>
2156	A. 759	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XX		20	<i>CIL XV 3734b</i>
2158	A. 759	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CXCVIS		196.5	<i>CIL XV 3734b</i>
2160	A. 760	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCIIS		203.5	<i>CIL XV 3734c</i>
2162	A. 761	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXI S	CCXI[+]S	211.5	<i>CIL XV 3734d</i>
2164	A. 763	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXCI		81	<i>CIL XV 3735</i>
2166	A. 763	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCIIS		202.5	<i>CIL XV 3735</i>
2172	A. 764	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3736</i>
2176	A. 765	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	LXXVII		77	<i>CIL XV 3737</i>
2179	A. 766	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	X S	X[+++]S		<i>CIL XV, 3738</i>

2185	A. 768	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3739b</i>
2187	A. 768	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	XC I			<i>CIL XV 3739b</i>
2190	A. 771	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription α	XC		90	<i>CIL XV 3741a</i>
2193	A. 772	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription γ	CC		200	<i>CIL XV 3741b</i>
2194	A. 773	AD 220	AD 225	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3742</i>
2196	A. 773	AD 220	AD 225	Inscription γ	LLCVVVI			<i>CIL XV 3742</i>
2197	A. 774	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XCVIII		98	<i>CIL XV 3743</i>
2202	A. 775	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XXCS		80.5	<i>CIL XV 3744a</i>
2205	A. 776	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XCS	[X]XCS	80.5	<i>CIL XV 3744b</i>
2208	A. 777	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XCIIS		93.5	<i>CIL XV 3744c</i>
2211	A. 778	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XC	[X]XC[S]	80.5	<i>CIL XV 3744d</i>
2214	A. 779	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XC	[X]XC[S]	80.5	<i>CIL XV 3744e</i>
2216	A. 780	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	S	[XXC]S	80.5	<i>CIL XV 3744f</i>
2222	A. 783	AD 175	AD 180	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3746</i>
2224	A. 783	AD 175	AD 180	Inscription γ	LLC			<i>CIL XV 3746</i>
2226	A. 784	AD 175	AD 180	Inscription γ	LLCV			<i>CIL XV 3747</i>
2228	A. 785	AD 154	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCX			<i>CIL XV 3748</i>
2234	A. 789	AD 145	AD 154	Inscription α	XCIHI		94	<i>CIL XV 3751</i>

2239	A. 790	AD 145	AD 154	Inscription γ	S	[CCIV]S		<i>CIL XV 3752</i>
2243	A. 792	AD 145	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCVIII		89	<i>CIL XV 3753a</i>
2245	A. 793	AD 145	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCVIIIS		89.5	<i>CIL XV 3753b</i>
2247	A. 793	AD 145	AD 154	Inscription α	XVS	[CC]XVS	215.5	<i>CIL XV 3753b</i>
2248	A. 794	AD 145	AD 154	Inscription α	IS			<i>CIL XV 3753c</i>
2251	A. 795	AD 145	AD 154	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3753d</i>
2253	A. 796	AD 145	AD 154	Inscription α	V			<i>CIL XV 3753e</i>
2255	A. 798	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription α	S C	S[++]C		<i>CIL XV 3754</i>
2257	A. 799	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription α	XCIIIS		92.5	<i>CIL XV 3755</i>
2259	A. 800	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription α	XCS		90.5	<i>CIL XV 3756</i>
2267	A. 802	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCIIIS		83.5	<i>CIL XV 3758</i>
2269	A. 802	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCXIIIS		214.5	<i>CIL XV 3758</i>
2273	A. 803	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription α	IS	[++]IS		<i>CIL XV 3759</i>
2275	A. 803	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription γ	VIIS			<i>CIL XV 3759</i>
2277	A. 804	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3760</i>
2281	A. 805	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCVIS		86.5	<i>CIL XV 3761a</i>
2283	A. 805	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription γ	XCV	[C]XCV	195	<i>CIL XV 3761a</i>
2284	A. 806	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCVIS		86.5	<i>CIL XV 3761b</i>

2286	A. 807	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription α	XXC IS	XXC[.]IS		<i>CIL XV 3761c</i>
2288	A. 807	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3761c</i>
2289	A. 808	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription α	II			<i>CIL XV 3761d</i>
2291	A. 809	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription α	X IS	X[.]IS		<i>CIL XV 3761e</i>
2293	A. 810	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3761f</i>
2295	A. 810	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCVI		206	<i>CIL XV 3761f</i>
2296	A. 811	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3761g</i>
2298	A. 811	AD 153	AD 154	Inscription γ	CC		200	<i>CIL XV, 3761g</i>
2303	A. 813	AD 145	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3781</i>
2304	A. 814	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XX			<i>CIL XV 3765</i>
2306	A. 814	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CXCV	CXCV[IIS]	198.5	<i>CIL XV 3765</i>
2310	A. 815	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCS			<i>CIL XV 3766</i>
2312	A. 815	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	C C IIS	C[X]C[V]IIS	198.5	<i>CIL XV 3766</i>
2318	A. 817	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	IS			<i>CIL XV 3768a</i>
2321	A. 818	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3768b</i>
2324	A. 820	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	XCIIS		93.5	<i>CIL XV 3768d</i>
2325	A. 821	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3782</i>
2327	A. 821	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	IIS	[CCX]IIS	212.5	<i>CIL XV 3782</i>

2332	A. 823	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	C			<i>CIL XV 3783b</i>
2334	A. 825	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XXCVIIIS		88.5	<i>CIL XV 3785</i>
2336	A. 825	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCVS		205.5	<i>CIL XV 3785</i>
2337	A. 826	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	SXXC			<i>CIL XV 3786a</i>
2339	A. 827	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XXC	[S]XXC		<i>CIL XV 3786b</i>
2341	A. 828	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XX	[S]XX[C]		<i>CIL XV 3786c</i>
2343	A. 829	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XCVIIIS		98.5	<i>CIL XV 3786d</i>
2346	A. 830	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	CC		200	<i>CIL XV 3786e</i>
2348	A. 831	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3786f</i>
2349	A. 832	?	?	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3787</i>
2351	A. 832	?	?	Inscription γ	CX		110	<i>CIL XV 3787</i>
2352	A. 833	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3788</i>
2354	A. 833	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL XV 3788</i>
2356	A. 834	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	VIS			<i>CIL XV 3789</i>
2359	A. 835	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3790</i>
2365	A. 837	AD 25	AD 100	Inscription γ	CCXVI		216	<i>CIL XV 3792a</i>
2367	A. 839	AD 25	AD 100	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3793</i>
2369	A. 839	AD 25	AD 100	Inscription γ	IIIS			<i>CIL XV 3793</i>

2371	A. 840	AD 25	AD 100	Inscription α	XCVI	XCVI	96	<i>CIL XV 3794a</i>
2373	A. 841	AD 25	AD 100	Inscription α	XCVI	XCVI	96	<i>CIL XV 3794b</i>
2378	A. 845	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCVIS		96.5	<i>CIL XV 3797</i>
2381	A. 845	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3797</i>
2385	A. 846	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCII		92	<i>CIL XV 3798</i>
2388	A. 846	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3798</i>
2389	A. 847	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3799a</i>
2392	A. 847	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXIIS		212.5	<i>CIL XV 3799a</i>
2396	A. 849	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	S			<i>CIL XV 3800</i>
2398	A. 850	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3801</i>
2400	A. 850	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCX		210	<i>CIL XV 3801</i>
2403	A. 853	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXCIII		83	<i>CIL XV 3813</i>
2405	A. 853	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL XV 3813</i>
2410	A. 854	AD 153	AD 153	Inscription γ	IIS	[.]IIS		<i>CIL XV 3814</i>
2414	A. 854	AD 153	AD 153	Inscription α	XXCS		80.5	<i>CIL XV 3815</i>
2416	A. 854	AD 153	AD 153	Inscription γ	CCIS		201.5	<i>CIL XV 3815</i>
2423	A. 856	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	XCIIIS		92.5	<i>CIL XV 3817</i>
2426	A. 857	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	XX S			<i>CIL XV 3818a</i>

2429	A. 858	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3818b</i>
2435	A. 861	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XCVS		95.5	<i>CIL XV 3810</i>
2437	A. 861	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CVVVS			<i>CIL XV 3810</i>
2442	A. 862	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	X V	[C]X[C]V		<i>CIL XV 3811</i>
2443	A. 863	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3812</i>
2445	A. 863	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	X V	X[.]V		<i>CIL XV 3812</i>
2453	A. 867	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	CIS			<i>CIL XV 3822a</i>
2456	A. 868	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCX		210	<i>CIL XV 3822b</i>
2457	A. 869	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXCIII		84	<i>CIL XV 3823</i>
2462	A. 870	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3824</i>
2463	A. 870	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3824</i>
2465	A. 870	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL XV 3824</i>
2469	A. 871	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCIII		84	<i>CIL XV 3825</i>
2471	A. 871	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCVS		205.5	<i>CIL XV 3825</i>
2475	A. 872	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCV		85	<i>CIL XV 3826</i>
2477	A. 872	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3826</i>
2481	A. 873	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription α	VS	[CCX]VS		<i>CIL XV 3827</i>
2483	A. 873	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription γ	CXXCIS		181.5	<i>CIL XV 3827</i>

2486	A. 874	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCIIS		82.5	<i>CIL XV 3828a</i>
2488	A. 874	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription γ	CXXCIS		181.5	<i>CIL XV 3828a</i>
2489	A. 875	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription α	XXC	XXC[<u>IIS</u>]	80	<i>CIL XV 3828b</i>
2491	A. 876	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3828c</i>
2493	A. 876	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription γ	X VII	[<u>C</u>]X[<u>C</u>]VII	197	<i>CIL XV 3828c</i>
2494	A. 877	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCVIIIIS		99.5	<i>CIL XV 3830</i>
2496	A. 877	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CC		200	<i>CIL XV 3830</i>
2500	A. 878	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	VIIIS	[<u>CLXX</u>]VIIIS	178.5	<i>CIL XV 3829</i>
2504	A. 879	AD 200	AD 250	Inscription α	XXCVIII		99	<i>CIL XV 3831a</i>
2507	A. 880	AD 200	AD 250	Inscription α	XXCVIII		99	<i>CIL XV 3831b</i>
2510	A. 881	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXCVI		86	<i>CIL XV 3832</i>
2524	A. 884	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XCS		90.5	<i>CIL XV 3835</i>
2529	A. 885	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription α	XCIH		93	<i>CIL XV 3836a</i>
2531	A. 885	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription γ	CX		110	<i>CIL XV 3836a</i>
2532	A. 886	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCIIS		93.5	<i>CIL XV 3836b</i>
2534	A. 886	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3836b</i>
2535	A. 887	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCI	XXCI[<u>IIS</u>]	83.5	<i>CIL XV 3836c</i>
2537	A. 887	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3836c</i>

2538	A. 888	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription α	X IS	X[XCII]IS	83.5	<i>CIL XV 3836d</i>
2540	A. 888	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription γ	CX		110	<i>CIL XV 3836d</i>
2541	A. 889	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCIII	XXCIII[S]	83.5	<i>CIL XV 3836e</i>
2544	A. 890	AD 149	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCXV		215	<i>CIL XV 3836f</i>
2547	A. 893	AD 100	AD 250	Inscription α	XXCIII	XXCIII[S]	83.5	<i>CIL XV 3837</i>
2549	A. 893	AD 100	AD 250	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL XV 3837</i>
2551	A. 894	AD 100	AD 250	Inscription γ	LLCXV			<i>CIL XV 3838</i>
2552	A. 895	AD 254	AD 257	Inscription α	XCVIIS		83.5	<i>CIL XV 3839</i>
2554	A. 896	AD 254	AD 255	Inscription α	XC		90	<i>CIL XV 3840</i>
2556	A. 896	AD 254	AD 255	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL XV 3840</i>
2564	A. 898	AD 254	AD 257	Inscription α	XCVI		96	<i>CIL XV 3843</i>
2566	A. 898	AD 254	AD 257	Inscription γ	LLCV			<i>CIL XV 3843</i>
2567	A. 899	AD 1	AD 100	Inscription α	CIIS		104.5	<i>CIL XV 3844</i>
2569	A. 899	AD 1	AD 100	Inscription γ	LLCV			<i>CIL XV 3844</i>
2579	A. 902	AD 191	AD 191	Inscription α	XC		90	<i>CIL XV 3847a</i>
2581	A. 903	AD 191	AD 191	Inscription α	CV		105	<i>CIL XV 3847b</i>
2583	A. 903	AD 191	AD 191	Inscription γ	CCVV			<i>CIL XV 3847b</i>
2584	A. 904	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3848</i>

2586	A. 904	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3848</i>
2592	A. 907	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XCVIS		96.5	<i>CIL XV 3850</i>
2594	A. 907	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ				<i>CIL XV 3850</i>
2596	A. 908	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	CC		200	<i>CIL XV 3851</i>
2598	A. 909	AD 200	AD 250	Inscription γ	CCV		205	<i>CIL XV 3853</i>
2603	A. 912	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XX S	XX[.]S		<i>CIL XV 3856</i>
2605	A. 912	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3856</i>
2609	A. 913	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCI		91	<i>CIL XV 3857</i>
2613	A. 914	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCVII		97	<i>CIL XV 3858</i>
2615	A. 914	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3858</i>
2620	A. 915	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXCVIIIS		89.5	<i>CIL XV 3859</i>
2622	A. 915	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CVI		106	<i>CIL XV 3859</i>
2626	A. 916	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CVI		106	<i>CIL XV 3860</i>
2630	A. 917	AD 149	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCIIS		82.5	<i>CIL XV 3861a</i>
2632	A. 917	AD 149	AD 154	Inscription γ	CXCV		195	<i>CIL XV 3861a</i>
2633	A. 918	AD 149	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCII		82	<i>CIL XV 3861b</i>
2635	A. 918	AD 149	AD 154	Inscription γ	C			<i>CIL XV 3861b</i>
2636	A. 919	AD 149	AD 154	Inscription α	XCIS		91.5	<i>CIL XV 3861c</i>

2638	A. 919	AD 149	AD 154	Inscription γ	CXXCIHS		183.5	<i>CIL XV 3861c</i>
2639	A. 920	AD 149	AD 154	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3861d</i>
2641	A. 920	AD 149	AD 154	Inscription γ	CVIII		108	<i>CIL XV 3861d</i>
2643	A. 921	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription γ	CXCS		190.5	<i>CIL XV 3862</i>
2644	A. 922	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XCVII		97	<i>CIL XV 3874</i>
2649	A. 923	AD 200	AD 260	Inscription γ	VVV			<i>CIL XV 3875</i>
2651	A. 924			Inscription γ	XCS		90.5	<i>CIL XV 3877</i>
2652	A. 925			Inscription α	XXC		90	<i>CIL XV 3878</i>
2654	A. 925			Inscription γ	CX		110	<i>CIL XV 3878</i>
2656	A. 926	AD 200	AD 260	Inscription γ	X		10	<i>CIL XV 3879a</i>
2659	A. 928			Inscription γ	XVS		15.5	<i>CIL XV 3880</i>
2660	A. 929	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XCIHS		93.5	<i>CIL XV 3881a</i>
2662	A. 930	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XCIHS		93.5	<i>CIL XV 3881b</i>
2664	A. 931	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XCIHS		93.5	<i>CIL XV 3881c</i>
2666	A. 932	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XX S			<i>CIL XV 3882</i>
2669	A. 933	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3883</i>
2674	A. 934	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCIHS		203.5	<i>CIL XV 3884</i>
2677	A. 935	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription γ	IHS			<i>CIL XV 3885</i>

2679	A. 935	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription γ	CXXCIIIS		184.5	<i>CIL XV 3885</i>
2683	A. 936	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription γ	XCVIII		98	<i>CIL XV 3886</i>
2687	A. 937	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription α	XX S			<i>CIL XV 3887</i>
2689	A. 937	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription γ	CXXCIIIS		108.5	<i>CIL XV 3887</i>
2692	A. 938	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription α	XXCI		81	<i>CIL XV 3888a</i>
2694	A. 939	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription α	XXCVI		86	<i>CIL XV 3888b</i>
2696	A. 940	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription α	XX S			<i>CIL XV 3888c</i>
2698	A. 940	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription γ	CCVII		207	<i>CIL XV 3888c</i>
2699	A. 941	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription α	XCS		90.5	<i>CIL XV 3888d</i>
2701	A. 942	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription α	XC		90	<i>CIL XV 3888e</i>
2703	A. 943	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription α	XCII		92	<i>CIL XV 3888f</i>
2705	A. 943	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription γ	CCVVV			<i>CIL XV 3888f</i>
2706	A. 944	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription α	XCII		92	<i>CIL XV 3888g</i>
2708	A. 944	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3888g</i>
2709	A. 945	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription α	XCVII		97	<i>CIL XV 3888h</i>
2711	A. 945	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription γ	CCXVI		216	<i>CIL XV 3888h</i>
2713	A. 946	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3888i</i>
2715	A. 947	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription γ	CCXV		215	<i>CIL XV 3888k</i>

2717	A. 948	AD 154	AD 156	Inscription γ	CCVVVI			<i>CIL XV 3888l</i>
2719	A. 949	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCVI		206	<i>CIL XV 3889</i>
2720	A. 950	AD 218	AD 218	Inscription α	XC		90	<i>CIL XV 4141</i>
2726	A. 951	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCVIIS		87.5	<i>CIL XV 3890</i>
2728	A. 951	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription γ	S			<i>CIL XV 3890</i>
2732	A. 952	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XCVIS		96.5	<i>CIL XV 3891</i>
2734	A. 952	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription γ	CXC		190	<i>CIL XV 3891</i>
2735	A. 953	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XXCIS		96.5	<i>CIL XV 3892</i>
2737	A. 953	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3892</i>
2738	A. 954	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	XXCVII		87	<i>CIL XV 3893</i>
2740	A. 954	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CVIII		108	<i>CIL XV 3893</i>
2741	A. 955			Inscription α	CIIII		104	<i>CIL XV 3896</i>
2743	A. 956	AD 246	AD 252	Inscription α	XC		90	<i>CIL XV 3898</i>
2745	A. 957	AD 180	AD 180	Inscription α	XCIS		91.5	<i>CIL XV 3899</i>
2747	A. 957	AD 180	AD 180	Inscription γ	CCX		210	<i>CIL XV 3899</i>
2749	A. 958	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCVIIS		208.5	<i>CIL XV 3900</i>
2750	A. 959			Inscription α	XXCVII		87	<i>CIL XV 3900</i>
2754	A. 960	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	LX		60	<i>CIL XV 3902</i>

2757	A. 961	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XCIIIS		92.5	<i>CIL XV 3904</i>
2759	A. 961	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	CC		200	<i>CIL XV 3904</i>
2763	A. 962	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCII		82	<i>CIL XV 3905a</i>
2765	A. 963	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XXCVS		85.5	<i>CIL XV 3905b</i>
2767	A. 963	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3905b</i>
2768	A. 964	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	XCI		91	<i>CIL XV 3905c</i>
2770	A. 964	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	CC		200	<i>CIL XV 3905c</i>
2771	A. 965	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	X S	X [..]S		<i>CIL XV 3905d</i>
2773	A. 965	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	CCXS		210.5	<i>CIL XV 3905d</i>
2775	A. 966	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	CXCIIIS		194.5	<i>CIL XV 3905e</i>
2777	A. 967	AD 161	AD 161	Inscription α	CCXV		215	<i>CIL XV 3905f</i>
2778	A. 968	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3907</i>
2780	A. 968	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	CCVIIS		207.5	<i>CIL XV 3907</i>
2784	A. 969	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	CC		200	<i>CIL XV 3908</i>
2785	A. 970	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription α	XCV		95	<i>CIL XV 3909</i>
2790	A. 971	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription α	XXCVIS		86.5	<i>CIL XV 3910a</i>
2792	A. 972	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription α	XXCVIII		89	<i>CIL XV 3910b</i>
2794	A. 973	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription α	XXC		80	<i>CIL XV 3910c</i>

2796	A. 974	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription α	XCII		92	<i>CIL XV 3910d</i>
2798	A. 975	AD 147	AD 147	Inscription α	CI		101	<i>CIL XV 3910e</i>
2801	A. 976	AD 200	AD 250	Inscription γ	XV	[CC]XV	215	<i>CIL XV 3911</i>
2805	A. 977	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XXCVI		86	<i>CIL XV 3912</i>
2807	A. 977	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	X S	[C]X[CV]S	195.5	<i>CIL XV 3912</i>
2811	A. 978	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCI		91	<i>CIL XV 3913a</i>
2814	A. 979	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXIII		214	<i>CIL XV 3913b</i>
2817	A. 981	AD 140	AD 160	Inscription γ	X			<i>CIL XV 3915</i>
2818	A. 982	AD 145	AD 160	Inscription α	X			<i>CIL XV 3916a</i>
2821	A. 982	AD 145	AD 160	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL XV 3916a</i>
2824	A. 983	AD 145	AD 160	Inscription γ	CCVIIS		208.5	<i>CIL XV 3916b</i>
2827	A. 984	AD 145	AD 160	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3916c</i>
2830	A. 985	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXV		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3917</i>
2838	A. 986	AD 145	AD 160	Inscription γ	V	[+]V[++]		<i>CIL XV 3918</i>
2841	A. 987	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCS		90.5	<i>CIL XV 3920</i>
2846	A. 988	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	S	[...]S		<i>CIL XV 3921</i>
2849	A. 988	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCVI		206	<i>CIL XV 3921</i>
2854	A. 989	AD 145	AD 160	Inscription α	XCVIS		96.5	<i>CIL XV 3922</i>

2858	A. 990	AD 145	AD 160	Inscription α	XCVS		95.5	<i>CIL XV 3923a</i>
2862	A. 991	AD 145	AD 160	Inscription α	XCV	XCV[S]	95.5	<i>CIL XV 3923b</i>
2866	A. 992	AD 145	AD 160	Inscription α	CIII		103	<i>CIL XV 3923C</i>
2869	A. 993	AD 145	AD 160	Inscription α	X	X[CVS]	95.5	<i>CIL XV 3923d</i>
2879	A. 998	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XCVIS		96.5	<i>CIL XV 3925</i>
2881	A. 999	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCVIS		96.5	<i>CIL XV 3926</i>
2886	A. 1000	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	X S	X[CVI]S	96.5	<i>CIL XV 3927</i>
2888	A. 1000	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCX		210	<i>CIL XV 3927</i>
2892	A. 1001	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	CIII		104	<i>CIL XV 3928</i>
2897	A. 1002	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XXC		80	<i>CIL XV 3929a</i>
2900	A. 1003	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	XX	XX[C]	80	<i>CIL XV 3929b</i>
2902	A. 1004	AD 200	AD 250	Inscription α	S			<i>CIL XV 3930</i>
2904	A. 1004	AD 200	AD 250	Inscription γ	V			<i>CIL XV 3930</i>
2907	A. 1006	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	X	[++]X[++]		<i>CIL XV 3932</i>
2909	A. 1006	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	CXCIIIIS		194.5	<i>CIL XV 3932</i>
2911	A. 1008	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	LXXVIS		76.5	<i>CIL XV 3934</i>
2913	A. 1008	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXIS		211.5	<i>CIL XV 3934</i>
2917	A. 1009	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	LXXVIS		76.5	<i>CIL XV 3934</i>

2919	A. 1009	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXIS		211.5	<i>CIL XV 3934</i>
2923	A. 1010	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	LXXVIS		76.5	<i>CIL XV 3934</i>
2925	A. 1010	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXIS		211.5	<i>CIL XV 3934</i>
2929	A. 1011	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCVIHS		98.5	<i>CIL XV 3935</i>
2931	A. 1011	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	CCXVS		215.5	<i>CIL XV 3935</i>
2935	A. 1012	AD 153	AD 153	Inscription α	XXCV		95	<i>CIL XV 3936</i>
2940	A. 1013	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription α	X S	X[.]S		<i>CIL XV 3937</i>
2945	A. 1014	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XXXCVIII		78	<i>CIL XV 3960</i>
2947	A. 1014	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CXVS		115.5	<i>CIL XV 3960</i>
2949	A. 1016	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription α	CVIHS		108.5	<i>CIL XV 3962</i>
2951	A. 1016	AD 145	AD 145	Inscription γ	CCXV		215	<i>CIL XV 3962</i>
3034	O. 001	AD 101	AD 200	Inscription α	X IIII	[]X[+]IIII		Djaoui: 2014, 698
3034	O. 001	AD 101	AD 200	Inscription γ	CC VIIIH	CC[X]VIIIH	220	Djaoui: 2014, 698
3302	A. 1041	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	LXXVIII		79	<i>CIL XV 3965</i>
3308	A. 1043	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription α	XXCVII		87	<i>CIL XV 3971</i>
3310	A. 1043	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	X V			<i>CIL XV 3971</i>
3313	A. 1045	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription α	XCVVS			<i>CIL XV 3976</i>
3315	A. 1045	AD 149	AD 149	Inscription γ	LLCXIS			<i>CIL XV 3976</i>

3547	A. 1046	AD 80	AD 90	Inscription α	LXXXIII		83	<i>CIL XV 3652</i>
3549	A. 1046	AD 80	AD 90	Inscription γ	CLXXXXIIS		192 1/2	<i>CIL XV 3652</i>
3595	A. 1047	AD 246	AD 246	Inscription α	LX	[] LX []		<i>CIL XV 4066</i>
3597	A. 1047	AD 246	AD 246	Inscription γ	L	L[X]		<i>CIL XV 4066</i>
750	A. 305	AD 40	AD 40	Inscription α	LXXII		72	<i>CIL XV 3642</i>
751	A. 305	AD 40	AD 40	Inscription γ	CLXXI		171	<i>CIL XV 3642</i>
754	A. 306	AD 40	AD 40	Inscription α	LXXXII		82	<i>CIL XV 3644</i>
756	A. 307	AD 40	AD 40	Inscription α	LX		60	<i>CIL XV 3645</i>
757	A. 307	AD 40	AD 40	Inscription γ	CCXXV		225	<i>CIL XV 3645</i>

17.4. Relation Weight Oil (γ) and General Control inscription Dressel 20 Amphorae (δ)

Table 32. Relation weight oil (γ) and general control inscription Dressel 20 amphorae (δ)

ID	ID Support	Date (early)	Date (late)	Dressel ID	Reading	Interpretation	Main Source
1680	A. 627	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription γ	CCXVI		<i>CIL XV 3806</i>
1681	A. 627	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription δ	orfo et isco	orfo et [pr]isco	<i>CIL XV 3806</i>
1682	A. 627	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription δ	R/ astigi p vii cex	R/ astigi p(ondo) vii cex	<i>CIL XV 3806</i>

1683	A. 627	AD 150	AD 150	Inscription δ	anni calisti bacchicu		<i>CIL XV 3806</i>
1813	A. 660	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	XVS		<i>CIL XV 3954</i>
1814	A. 660	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription δ	R/ XXIIII CCXVS car	R/ XXIIII CCXVS car[...]	<i>CIL XV 3954</i>
1832	A. 664	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCX		<i>CIL XV 3958</i>
1834	A. 664	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription δ	CCXIIS		<i>CIL XV 3958</i>
328	A. 168	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription γ	CXCVI		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
331	A. 168	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription δ	excui anice	excui anice[tus]	Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
334	A. 169	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription γ	X C I I I I	[C] X C I I I I	Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
337	A. 169	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription δ	exciiii anice	exciiii anice(tus)	Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
340	A. 170	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription γ	C X C V I I I		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
343	A. 170	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription δ	excuiii anicet	excuiii anicet(us)	Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
346	A. 171	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription γ	C C III		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173

349	A. 171	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription δ	cciii anicet(us)	cciii anicet(us)	Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
355	A. 173	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription γ	C X C I I I I		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 185
358	A. 173	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription δ	martialcxciiii	martial(is) cxciiii	Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 185
361	A. 174	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription γ	C C X I I I I		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 185
364	A. 174	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription δ	Martial iii	martial(is) [ccxi]iii	Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 185
373	A. 176	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription γ	C X C V I		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 189
376	A. 176	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription δ	Martial excui	Martial[is] excui	Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 189
398	A. 182	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription γ	CCIIS		<i>CIL</i> XV 4174
399	A. 182	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription δ	R/ XXXV CCIIS		<i>CIL</i> XV 4174
411	A. 185	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription γ	ccVS		<i>CIL</i> XV 4280
412	A. 185	AD 100	AD 200	Inscription δ	R/ CCVS accep a	R/ CCVS accep[it] a[++]	<i>CIL</i> XV 4280
426	A. 188	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CCXV		<i>CIL</i> XV 3973
427	A. 188	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription δ	R/ HISPAL X CCXV	R/ HISPAL[IS] X CCXV	<i>CIL</i> XV 3973

1781	A. 655	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription γ	CCXXIS		<i>CIL XV 3949</i>
1784	A. 655	AD 145	AD 161	Inscription δ	LASCIVS CCXXIS RT		<i>CIL XV 3949</i>
1878	A. 676	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription γ	CXCVI		<i>CIL XV 3866</i>
1880	A. 676	AD 154	AD 154	Inscription δ	R/ CXCVI		<i>CIL XV, 3866</i>

17.5. General Inscription (F)

Table 33. General Inscription (F)

ID	ID Support	Place origin	Place finding	Support type	Date (early)	Date (late)	Reading	Interpretation	Main Source
449	A. 193	Oriental Mediterranean	La-Nautique	Dressel 2-4	AD 100	AD 200	AM□		Liou: 1987, 112

451	A. 194	Marseille	Lyon	Dressel 2-4	AD 15	AD 20	STAI0 REGILLO		Poux: 2014, 408-9
452	A. 194	Marseille	Lyon	Dressel 2-4	AD 15	AD 20	ARELATE		Poux: 2014, 408-9
462	A. 200	Southern Spain	Massada	Beltran 2A	30 BC	1 BC	Βασιλέως		Cotton: 1996
490	A. 212	Southern Spain	Pompei	Dressel 7	30 BC	AD 75	D.C.F	D. Caprasio Felici	Poux: 2014
527	A. 225	Baetica	Roma	Dressel 7	AD 1	AD 50	CCVIIS		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207,
535	A. 227	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 7	AD 1	AD 50	domesticus		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207,
541	A. 228	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 7	AD 1	AD 50	CCCCXIIX		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207,
543	A. 229	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 7	AD 25	AD 79	XXIII		Lagostena Barrios: 2004 207
556	A. 233	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 25	M.L		Lagostena Barrios: 2004 207
562	A. 235	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 25	S d C		Lagostena Barrios: 2004 207

574	A. 240	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 125	Insequenti Velinorum		Lagostena Barrios: 2004 207
582	A. 243	Baetica	Roma	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 125	D V		Lagostena Barrios: 2004 207
586	A. 244	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 50			Lagostena Barrios: 2004 207
592	A. 245	Baetica	Roma	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 50	CCCXXXIII		Lagostena Barrios: 2004 208
593	A. 245	Baetica	Roma	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 50	CO		Lagostena Barrios: 2004 208
597	A. 247	Baetica	Roma	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 125	LVRIO P		Lagostena Barrios: 2004 208
598	A. 248	Baetica	Roma	Dressel 8	AD 1	AD 125	IVLI. CLEMENT		Lagostena Barrios: 2004 208
601	A. 249	Lyon	Augst	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	MASCVLIV		Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
602	A. 250	Lyon	Augst	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	EX I	[S]EX[ti] I()	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
605	A. 251	Lyon	Augst	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	G.P C II	G.P[.] C[] II()	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
611	A. 253	Lyon	Augst	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	FRONTINVS V		Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
618	A. 255	Lyon	Mainz	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	L. V.F.X.		Laubenheimer: 2004, 167

620	A. 256	Lyon	Lyon	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	VI		Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
628	A. 259	Lyon	Augst	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	MASCVL. V		Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
631	A. 260	Lyon	Augst	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	M. T. M		Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
635	A. 261	Lyon	Augst	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	SEX IV.	SEX[<u>TI</u>]. IV	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
640	A. 262	Lyon	Augst	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	C.P. F IIII		Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
648	A. 264	Lyon	Augst	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	Q. S. L		Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
651	A. 265	Lyon	Augst	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	.R.S II	(.)R.S II()	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
657	A. 267	Lyon	Augst	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	M. E R IIII	M. E()R() IIII	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
661	A. 270	Lyon	Mainz	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	LEG	LEG(ionis)	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
676	A. 275	Baetica	La-Nautique	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	veri rotis	veri [<u>e</u>]rotis	Liou: 1993, 144
694	A. 281	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	ABDO	ABDO(mina).	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
695	A. 281	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	M C	M(embratim) C(aesa)	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208

696	A. 281	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 9	AD 50	AD 100	XXVIS		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
699	A. 282	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 9	AD 1	AD 50	Lucil S	Lucil S(ervi)	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
701	A. 283	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 9	AD 1	AD 50	L.P.FEL		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
702	A. 284	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 9	AD 1	AD 100	C.VALERIO BARBAE		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
706	A. 285	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 9	AD 1	AD 100	III vir		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
709	A. 287	Lyon	Strasbourg	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	C IVL RNT XVI		Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
712	A. 288	Lyon	Vindonissa	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M. V. P. VIII		Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
716	A. 291	Lyon	Vindonissa	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	MVR	MVR	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
719	A. 292	Lyon	Lyon	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	RVSTICL.IV		Laubenheimer: 2004, 166

730	A. 296	Lyon	Mainz	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	M.A.F.L XXXX		Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
740	A. 300	Lyon	Mainz	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	XX C I G	XX C(). I(). G().	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
743	A. 301	Lyon	Mainz	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	T.H.XV	(+++)T.H.XV	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
745	A. 302	Lyon	Mainz	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	C A C X	C(+++) A(+++) C(+++) X	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
747	A. 303	Lyon	Mainz	Dressel 9 & 10 similis	27 BC	AD 15	A P III XV	A() P() III XV	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
762	A. 308	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 40	AD 40	Domestici		<i>CIL XV 4750</i>
766	A. 309	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 40	AD 40	Domesticus		<i>CIL XV 4749</i>
771	A. 311	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 50	Lucam		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
776	A. 313	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 50	Asimini		<i>CIL XV 4731</i>

788	A. 317	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 50	Iun[ci]a[no]	Iun[ci]a[no]	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
791	A. 319	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 100	FAL	FAL(ernum)	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
792	A. 320	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 100	LCP		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
793	A. 321	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 100	PHILET		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
794	A. 322	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 100	CHRESIMUS		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
795	A. 323	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 100	L PEDIANI		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
796	A. 323	Baetica	Roma / Castro pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 100	MARTIALIS		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
874	A. 353	Greece	Saint- Gervais	Dressel 43	AD 1	AD 100	KOC		Liou; Marichal: 1978, 162
876	A. 354	Greece	Saint- Gervais	Dressel 43	AD 1	AD 100	MI P		Liou; Marichal; 1978, 164
887	A. 359	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	M		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4

888	A. 359	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	DE DOM	DE DOM[itiis]	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
896	A. 362	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	ARNDUA		Lagostena Barrios, 2004: 214
900	A. 363	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	IN USUS		<i>CIL XV 5597</i>
907	A. 364	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	SDM VIC		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
913	A. 365	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	SDMLIC		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
923	A. 367	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	UONOH		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
933	A. 369	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	L.I.C		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
934	A. 369	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	CLARIOSSONOO		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
939	A. 370	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	L.I.C		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
940	A. 370	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	CLARIOSSONOO		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
945	A. 371	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	L.I.C		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
946	A. 371	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	CLA IOSSONOO		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
949	A. 372	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	L.I.C		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

950	A. 372	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	CLA RIO	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
955	A. 373	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	L.I.C	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
956	A. 373	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	CLARI	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
959	A. 374	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	HR	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
960	A. 374	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	L.I.C	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
961	A. 374	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	CLARI NO	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
965	A. 375	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	HR	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
966	A. 375	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	L.I.C	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
975	A. 377	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	CORNELIA	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
980	A. 378	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	CORNELIA	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
985	A. 379	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	HYMN	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
986	A. 379	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	ANR	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

987	A. 379	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	XIIXS		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
992	A. 380	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	CROCO		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
993	A. 380	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	SALARA		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1005	A. 382	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	MATERNI XX		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1010	A. 383	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	LIBERALIS AA		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1015	A. 384	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	LIBERALIS AA		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1023	A. 386	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	FABAIIV		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1026	A. 387	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 50	AD 60	FELIX		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1027	A. 387	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 50	AD 60	C		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1028	A. 387	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 50	AD 60	NI CST	NI()CST	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1037	A. 389	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	H A	H()A	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1038	A. 389	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	HMXX		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214

1049	A. 391	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	NACTVI II	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1056	A. 392	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	XA	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1063	A. 393	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	VALERI	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1075	A. 395	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	CEF	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1076	A. 395	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	METIS	Lagostena Barrios, 2004, 214
1090	A. 397	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	d. Hermetis	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1097	A. 398	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	Domit	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1104	A. 399	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	SOD.CAES	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1105	A. 399	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	IIXX	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1106	A. 399	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	DCM PAC	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1125	A. 402	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	CINNIO FORT	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1126	A. 402	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	IXXXIVS	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4

1127	A. 402	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	ATIM		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1132	A. 403	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	AD 25	AD 79	II Am	II()Am[++]	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1137	A. 404	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	DCF		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1138	A. 404	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	D CAPRASIO FELICI		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1139	A. 404	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	Freius Atini Crescentis		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1146	A. 405	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	AI	AI[+++]	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1147	A. 405	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	MARTI	MARTI(alis)	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1148	A. 405	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	C.C.H		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1161	A. 408	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	LICOP		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1162	A. 408	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	XXIIX		Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1173	A. 414	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	100 BC	1 BC	CERRINIO		<i>CIL</i> IV 5802
1175	A. 415	Baetica	Pompeii	Beltran 1	15 BC	AD 100	LIB	Lib(ertus)	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1185	A. 420	Baetica	Pompei	Pompei VII	15 BC	AD 100	MONTSEVERI Î Î Î	MONTSEVERI Î()Î()Î()	<i>CIL</i> IV 9367

1191	A. 422	Baetica	Germany / Carnutum	Beltran 2A	AD 69	AD 96	Q Aconi Veri	Quinti Aconi Veri	Bezczky: 1996, 329-330
1192	A. 422	Baetica	Germany / Carnutum	Beltran 2B	AD 69	AD 96	Pri leg XV Apo	Pri[ncipis] leg(ionis) XV Apo[llinaris]	Bezczky: 1996, 329-330
1194	A. 423	Baetica	Danube	Beltran 2A	AD 69	AD 96	IVLIILILONIS I		Bezczky: 330-331;
1195	A. 423	Baetica	Danube	Beltran 2A	AD 69	AD 96	LEG XV		Bezczky: 330-331;
1206	A. 426	Baetica	Forum Iulii	Beltran 2A	AD 147	AD 147	MAVRONIS		Liou: 1992, 89
1234	A. 434	Baetica	Saint-Gervais	Beltran 2B	AD 14	AD 125	Stati		Liou; Marichal: 1978, 137
1237	A. 435	Baetica	Saint-Gervais	Beltran 2B	AD 14	AD 125	CXXXX		Liou; Marichal: 1978, 139
1244	A. 437	Baetica	Saint-Gervais-3	Beltran 2B	AD 14	AD 125	GES	GES[...]	Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 209
1248	A. 440	Baetica	Arles	Vase	AD 14	AD 125	EI DATE		Liou: 1987, 124
1271	A. 456	Narbo Martius	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	CATURI		Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1290	A. 471	Narbo Martius	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	CLVI		Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1291	A. 472	Narbo Martius	Marseille	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	MA	□MA□	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170

1292	A. 472	Narbo Martius	Marseille	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	NO	□NO□	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1293	A. 472	Narbo Martius	Marseille	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	IT TI	()IT()TI	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1294	A. 472	Narbo Martius	Marseille	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	LICINI P F	LICINI P[.]F()	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1295	A. 473	Narbo Martius	Lyon	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	vinum lutat	vinum lutat[um]	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1296	A. 473	Narbo Martius	Lyon	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	proxsum		Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1297	A. 474	Narbo Martius	Lyon	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	Pri ll	Pri[.]ll(i)	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1299	A. 476	Narbo Martius	Roma / Mount Testaccio	Gauloise 3-5	AD 150	AD 180	TRYPHON	TRYPHON(is)	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1300	A. 477	Narbo Martius	Roma / Mount Testaccio	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	SES	□SES□	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1310	A. 483	Narbo Martius	Fossae Mariana	Gauloise 3-5	AD 75	AD 150	EARINI		Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1314	A. 484	Narbo Martius	Mandeure	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	T A E N	T(itus)[A]E(lius) [herria]N[us])	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1318	A. 485	Narbo Martius	Lyon	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	PHILANT		Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1328	A. 488	Narbo Martius	Fossae Mariana	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	POM		Laubenheimer: 2004, 170

1329	A. 488	Narbo Martius	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	secundi		Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1338	A. 492	Narbo Martius	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	LITVLI		Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1340	A. 493	Narbo Martius	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	TYR	TYR()	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1354	A. 500	Narbo Martius	Vindolanda	Gauloise 3-5	AD 1	AD 150	CII		Laubenheimer: 2004, 171
1361	A. 505	BÃ©ziers	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	A. CVLI		Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1369	A. 508	Narbo Martius	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	DOMITI		Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1370	A. 508	Narbo Martius	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	VMINI		Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1379	A. 512	Narbo Martius	Marseille	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	ad		Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1380	A. 512	Narbo Martius	Marseille	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	viatoris		Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1383	A. 513	Narbo Martius	Marseille	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	AR		Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1384	A. 514	Narbo Martius	Calvi	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	ARQUAN		Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1392	A. 517	Narbo Martius	Lyon	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	Ris com	ris()com()	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168

1393	A. 517	Narbo Martius	Lyon	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	domes	domes(tici)	Laubheimer: 2004, 168
1399	A. 521	Narbo Martius	Mainz	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	CARCI		Laubheimer: 2004, 169
1412	A. 524	Narbo Martius	Mainz	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	HYCANI		Laubheimer: 2004, 169
1417	A. 525	Narbo Martius	Mainz	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	C		Laubheimer: 2004, 169
1421	A. 526	Narbo Martius	Mainz	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	BVBALI		Laubheimer: 2004, 169
1428	A. 528	Narbo Martius	Forum Iulii	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	LVGOLI		Laubheimer: 2004, 169
1440	A. 534	Narbo Martius	Yverdon-les-Bains	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	CAA		Laubheimer: 2004, 169
1441	A. 534	Narbo Martius	Yverdon-les-Bains	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	CACXXIII		Laubheimer: 2004, 169
1458	A. 545	Narbo Martius	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 5	AD 1	AD 150	MILESI		Laubheimer: 2004, 169
1462	A. 547	Narbo Martius	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 4	AD 1	AD 150	M	M□	Liou; Marichal: 1978, 155,
1481	A. 557	Narbo Martius	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 5	AD 50	AD 150	Atili		Laubheimer, 2004, 169
1482	A. 558	Narbo Martius	Fossae Marianae	Gauloise 5	AD 50	AD 150	ebirense ccxii		Laubheimer, 2004, 169

1491	A. 561	Narbo Martius	Friedberg	Gauloise 5	AD 50	AD 150	R		Laubenheimer, 2004, 169
1501	A. 568	Rhodes	Saint-Gervais	Rhodian Style	AD 100	AD 200	N		Liou; Marichal: 1978, 160
1502	A. 568	Rhodes	Saint-Gervais	Rhodian Style	AD 100	AD 200	DI TAC A		Liou; Marichal: 1978, 160
1526	A. 580	Hispania	Saint-Gervais-3	Dressel 7-11 similis	25 BC	AD 50	EX OF AVGG	EX OF[F](ICINA) AVGG(USTORUM)	Liou; Marichal: 1978, 135
1536	A. 583	Hispania	La-Nautique	Dressel 7-11 similis	25 BC	AD 50	CILICI		Liou: 1993, 140
1548	A. 590	Baetica	London	Haltern 70 similis	AD 30	AD 100	CIA WANV ou AMV		Laubenheimer:2004, 168
1554	A. 593	Baetica	Vindolanda	Haltern 70 similis	AD 30	AD 100	L L) LVCH L C H	L() (et) L() LVCH() (et) L() C() H()	Laubenheimer: 2005, 168
1566	A. 599	Lyon	Luxovium	Augst 17	AD 69	AD 150	S(+)L(+)SI	S(+)L(+)SI	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
1570	A. 601	Carthago	Roma / Castro Pretorio	Van der Werff 1	150 BC	50 BC	aut soc(iorum)	aut sociorum	<i>CIL XV</i> 4730
1578	A. 603		Pompeii	Amphora	AD 25	AD 79	DE DOMESTI	DE DOMESTI(CI)	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208,
2952	B. 001		Budapest / Aquincum	Barrel	AD 69	AD 96	IMMVNE IN R VAL	IMMVNE IN R[ATIONEM]	Bezecky: 1996, 334

							LEG II AD	VAL(ETUDINARI) LEG(IONIS) II AD(IUTRICIS)	
2953	B. 002		Budapest / Aquincum	Barrel	AD 69	AD 96	EXPAC NTR VAL LEG II AD	EXPAC(TO) N()TR(IMENTO) VAL(ETUDINARI) LEG(IONIS) II AD(IUTRICIS)	Bezecky, 1996, 335
2981	B. 030		Bar Hill	Barrel	AD 100	AD 200	IANUARIVS		Marliere: 2002, 43-4; 85; 111
2995	B. 031		Vindolanda	Bottom of the barrel	AD 75	AD 150	C	C[++]	Marliere, 2002, 45; 86
2997	B. 031		Vindolanda	Bottom of the barrel	AD 75	AD 150	OEQA		Marliere: 2002, 45; 86
2999	B. 031		Vindolanda	Bottom of the barrel	AD 75	AD 150	RSA		Marliere: 2002, 45; 86
3000	B. 031		Vindolanda	Barrel	AD 75	AD 150	BOLANIS DIVIORVS		Marliere: 2002, 45; 86
3001	B. 031		Vindolanda	Barrel	AD 75	AD 150	ALIONI SECVRIO		Marliere: 2002, 45; 86
3003	B. 031		Vindolanda	Barrel	AD 75	AD 150	IX		Marliere: 2002, 45; 88
3004	B. 031		Vindolanda	Bottom of the barrel	AD 75	AD 150	DAPOVASIS		Marliere: 2002, 45; 89; 114
3005	B. 031		Vindolanda	Barrel	AD 75	AD 150	XIII		Marliere: 2002, 45; 89

3006	B. 031		Vindolanda	Barrel	AD 75	AD 150	III	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> III	Marliere: 2002, 45; 89
3007	B. 032		Carlisle	Bottom of the barrel	AD 70	AD 80	NOVIXI		Marliere: 2002, 46; 89; 112
3013	B. 037		Silchester	Barrel			SVALINOS		Marliere: 2002, 49; 89; 111
3015	B. 038		Silchester	Barrel			DO		Marliere: 2002, 49; 89
3016	B. 038		Silchester	Barrel			NIO		Marliere: 2002, 49; 89
3037	O. 001	Gades	Arles	Pot of punic-Gaditan tradition	AD 50	AD 100	L.C.S.		Djaoui: 2014, 698
3043	B. 043		Oberwintert hur	Barrel	AD 50	AD 75	SENNON		Marliere: 2002, 60-1; 86
3048	B. 044		Oberwintert hur	Bottom of the barrel	AD 50	AD 75	Q.A.G		Marliere: 2002, 62; 86
3055	B. 047		Oberwintert hur	Bottom of the barrel	AD 50	AD 75	L. ANINVS MAC	L. ANINVS <input type="checkbox"/> MAC	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3056	B. 047		Oberwintert hur	Bottom of the barrel	AD 50	AD 75	L. ANINVS MAC	L. ANINVS <input type="checkbox"/> MAC	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3058	B. 048		Oberwintert hur	Bottom of the barrel	AD 50	AD 75	L ANINVS MAC	L ANINVS <input type="checkbox"/> MAC	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86

3059	B. 048		Oberwintert hur	Bottom of the barrel	AD 50	AD 75	L ANINVS MAC	L. AVNUS [] MAC	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3061	B. 049		Oberwintert hur	Bottom of the barrel	AD 50	AD 75	L ANINVS MAC	L ANINVS [] MAC	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3062	B. 049		Valkenburg	Bottom of the barrel	AD 50	AD 75	Q. FL. SILVAN		Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3069	B. 051		Valkenburg	Bottom of the barrel	AD 35	AD 45	C AVG GER	C[AE](SAR). AVG(USTUS) GER(MANICUS)	Marliere: 2002, 64; 86; 110
3070	B. 052		Valkenburg	Bottom of the barrel	AD 35	AD 45	C AVG GER	CAE(SAR) AVG(USTUS) GER(MANICUS)	Marliere: 2002, 64; 86; 110-11
3071	B. 052		Arentsburg / Voorburg	Bottom of the barrel	AD 35	AD 45	IVLIOR BALON		Marliere: 2002, 64; 86
3083	B. 056		Arentsburg / Voorburg				CSE DICIVs	CSE [] DICIVs	Marliere: 2002, 65; 86
3094	B. 063		Rijswijk		AD 190	AD 210	ADVIV		Marliere: 2002, 66; 86
3096	B. 063		Rijswijk		AD 190	AD 210	S.S.D		Marliere: 2002, 66; 86
3097	B. 064		Vechten				CGM	CGM []	Marliere: 2002, 66-7; 86
3098	B. 065		Nijmegen	Barrel stave			S C	S [] C []	Marliere: 2002, 68; 87

3129	B. 069	Gaule / north Italy	Oberaden	Barrel	11 BC	8 or 7 BC	X		Marliere: 2002, 73; 87; 107; 115
3160	B. 073	Gaule / North Italy	Oberaden	Barrel	11 BC	8 or 7 BC	XXX		Marliere: 2002, 76; 87; 107
3177	B. 080		Regensburg / Ratisbone	Barrel stave	AD 50	AD 70	CAVI. ALIOS COM ORCASTO	CAVI. ALIOS COM [] ORCASTO []	Marliere: 2002, 84; 87; 114
3178	B. 081		Budapest / Aquincum	Barrel	AD 150	AD 200	MCO MCATR	MCO [] MCATR	Marliere: 2002, 88-9; 112
3179	B. 081		Budapest / Aquincum	Barrel	AD 150	AD 200	RXXIII	R(ecensitum)? XXIII	Marliere: 2002, 88-9
3183	B. 084		Budapest / Aquincum	Barrel stave			IMMVNE IN R VAL LEG II AD	IMMVNE IN R(ATIONEM) VAL(ETUDINARII) LEG(IONIS) II AD(IUTRICIS)	Marliere: 2002, 88-9; 112-113
3188	O. 002	Latium	Arles	fish jug	AD 50	AD 140	RIL		Djaoui; Botte; Piques: 2014, 182
3190	O. 003	Latium	Arles	Fish jug	AD 50	AD 140	RIL		Djaoui; Botte; Piques: 2014, 182
3194	B. 086		Vindolanda	Barrel stave	AD 94	AD 97	QVE		Marliere: 2003, 139; 144
3198	B. 088		Vindolanda	Barrel stave	AD 97	AD 105		mark with triangle shape	Marliere: 2003, 139
3199	B. 089			Barrel stave	AD 105	AD 120	MONIMVS MVS	MONIMVS ()MVS	Marliere: 2003, 141; 144

3201	B. 091		Vindolanda	Barrel	AD 105	AD 120	XXV		Marliere: 2003, 138, 145
3202	B. 092		Vindolanda	Barrel	AD 23	AD 23	XV		Marliere: 2003, 140, 145
3208	A. 1020	Campania	La-Nautique	Dressel 2-4	AD 16	AD 23	ACINI PILERO		Liou: 1998, 92
3210	A. 1021	Campania	La-Nautique	Dressel 2-4	AD 16	AD 23	T IA LIM		Liou: 1998, 92
3211	A. 1021	Campania	La-Nautique	Dressel 2-4	AD 16	AD 23	LIC or FIC		Liou: 1998, 92
3218	A. 1025	Hispania Tarracone nsis	La-Nautique	Dressel 7-11	AD 25	AD 70	RVCCONIS		Liou: 1998, 96
3223	A. 1027	Baetica	La-Nautique	Dressel 7-11	AD 25	AD 70	ATELI		Liou: 1998, 96
3230	O. 006		Arles	Jug	AD 50	AD 140	DOL. CXXXX. SEXSAGENARIA		Djaoui & Tran: 2014, 3
3258	A. 1030	Campania	Rome / Esquiline hill	Dressel 1	18 BC	13 BC	Ti Claudio P. Quintilio cos.	Ti(berius) Claudio P. Quintilio consulibus	<i>CIL</i> XV 4539
3259	A. 1030	Campania	Rome / Esquiline hill	Dressel 1	18 BC	13 BC	A D XIII K IUNIAS VINUM	A[D] D[IEM] XIII K(ALENDAS) IUNIAS VINUM	<i>CIL</i> XV 4539
3260	A. 1030	Campania	Rome / Esquiline hill	Dressel 1	18 BC	13 BC	difussum quod natum est		<i>CIL</i> XV 4539

3261	A. 1030	Campania	Rome / Esquiline hill	Dressel 1	18 BC	13 BC	duobus lentulis cos		<i>CIL XV 4539</i>
3262	A. 1030	Campania	Rome / Esquiline hill	Dressel 1	18 BC	13 BC	autocr	autocratum	<i>CIL XV 4539</i>
3267	A. 1032	Baetica	Rome / Castro Pretorio	Dressel 10	AD 1	AD 50	Lucam		<i>CIL XV 4720</i>
3277	A. 1034	Baetica	Rome / Castro pretorio	Dressel 7	AD 1	AD 50	Romani		<i>CIL XV 4732</i>
3278	A. 1035	Istria / North Italy	Grado	Dressel 6B	AD 1	AD 50	A XX		Auriemma & Pesavento: 2009, 278-9
3281	A. 1036	Istria / North Italy	Grado	Dressel 6B	AD 1	AD 50	B XX		Auriemma, Pesavento, 2009, 278-9
3285	A. 1038	Tunisia	Pompei	Pompei 26	AD 50	AD 75	ANTE EXEMPLAR		<i>CIL IV 9591</i>
3286	A. 1038	Tunisia	Pompei	Pompei 26	AD 50	AD 75	tr v XVCC	Tr[īitici] [modii] XV CC	<i>CIL IV 9591</i>
3287	A. 1038	Tunisia	Pompei	Pompei 26	AD 50	AD 75	in n C ampr Amprici tutela lovis et	in n(ave) C[umba] ampr[īoci] Amprici tutela lovis et	<i>CIL IV 9591</i>

3288	A. 1038	Tunisia	Pompei	Pompei 26	AD 50	AD 75	Iuno parasemi Victoria P Pompili	Iunonis parasemi Victoria P(ublii) Pompili	<i>CIL</i> IV 9591
3289	A. 1038	Tunisia	Pompei	Pompei 26	AD 50	AD 75	Saturi mag M Lartidius Vitalis domo Clupeis	Saturi mag(istri) Marcus Lartidius Vitalis domo Clupeis	<i>CIL</i> IV 9591
3290	A. 1038	Tunisia	Pompei	Pompei 26	AD 50	AD 75	vect estis rec soldo gratis MCC	vect estis rec[te] soldo gratis MCC	<i>CIL</i> IV 9591
3291	A. 1038	Tunisia	Pompei	Pompei 26	AD 50	AD 75	S F pridie Idus oct	S(olutio) F(acta) pridie Idus oct[obre]	<i>CIL</i> IV 9591
3292	A. 1038	Tunisia	Pompei	Pompei 26	AD 50	AD 75	Rustico		<i>CIL</i> IV 9591
3293	A. 1038	Tunisia	Pompei	Pompei 26	AD 50	AD 75	AB CO	AB[A]CO	<i>CIL</i> IV 9591
3294	A. 1039		Pompei	Pompei 31	AD 50	AD 75	M. TE XENIARTRITATI	M Te[renti] Xeniiartitrati	<i>CIL</i> IV 5894
3295	A. 1039		Pompei	Pompei 31	AD 50	AD 75	IN NAVE CN. SENTI OMERI		<i>CIL</i> IV 5894
3296	A. 1039		Pompei	Pompei 31	AD 50	AD 75	TI CLAUDI ORP EI	TI[BERIUS] CLAUDI[US] ORP[H]EI	<i>CIL</i> IV 5894
3297	A. 1039		Pompei	Pompei 31	AD 50	AD 75	VECT	VECT[URA]	<i>CIL</i> IV 5894
3298	A. 1040	Rhone valley	Marseille / Chantier de la bourse	Little amphora	AD 150	AD 250	MASSIL RVBRIO	MASSIL[IAM] RVBRIO	Liou; Morel: 1977, 192

3299	A. 1040	Rhone valley	Marseille / Chantier de la bourse	Little amphora	AD 150	AD 250	INO HORD CAVAR	[S]INO HORD[EI] CAVAR[UM]	Liou; Morel: 1977, 192
3300	A. 1040	Rhone valley	Marseille / Chantier de la bourse	Little amphora	AD 150	AD 250	SICCI MUNDI	Sicci mundi	Liou; Morel: 1977, 192
3301	A. 1040	Rhone valley	Marseille / Chantier de la bourse	Little amphora	AD 150	AD 250	I MMILE D	M(odi) mil[]e et quingenti	Liou, Morel: 1977, 192
3666	A. 1048	Baetica	Saintes	Beltran 2A	AD 50	AD 100	DLXXX		Martinez Maganto & Hillairet, 1994
3667	A. 1048	Baetica	Saintes	Beltran 2A	AD 51	AD 100	DLXXX		Martinez Maganto & Hillairet, 1994
3686	O. 097	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	L. CALIDIVS / AEMA	L(ucius) Calidius / Aematius	Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3687	O. 098	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	L. FIRMECVS TOPAS TOPASI	L(ucius) Firmecus topazin topazin	Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3688	O. 099	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	M. FIRMIVS SERVILIVS		Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3689	O. 100	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	T. FVFIVS		Buonopane: 2005, 43-4

3690	O. 101	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	GAVIVS SECVNDVS		Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3691	O. 102	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	IVCVN	Iucundus	Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3692	O. 103	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	IVNIUS		Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3693	O. 104	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	P. LASSINIVS		Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3694	O. 105	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	T. LELIVS		Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3695	O. 106	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	MATVRUS TVRIONI AEMA	Maturus Turioni aema(tius)	Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3696	O. 107	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	PROCVL		Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3697	O. 108	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	SAVFEIA	Saufeïa Marci filia	Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3698	O. 109	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	COLOR		Buonopane: 2005, 43-4

3699	O. 110	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC`	AD 50	COLORES		Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3700	O. 111	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	NOSTRUM AEMA	NOSTRUM AEMA[<u>tius</u>]	Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3701	O. 112	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	BALAN	balanatus	Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3702	O. 113	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	CAERV	Caeruleus	Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3703	O. 114	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	MERV	meruleus	Buonopane: 2005, 43-4
3704	O. 167	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	Turai lucn	Turai () lucn(ic+)	Bernal et al: 2016, 224
3705	O. 115	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	M	M[<u>ANTUS</u>]	Buonopane: 2005, 44
3706	O. 116	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	P AEMA	P(ondo) AEMA(tius)	Buonopane: 2005, 44
3707	O. 117	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Feltre / Belluno / Veneto	Lead label	30 BC	AD 50	V	Vestis	Buonopane: 2005, 44

3708	O. 168	Mérida	Mérida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	F Nigri	F[abi] Nigri	Bernal et al: 2016, 224 fig.6
3709	O. 118	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	Lead label	AD 50	AD 180	Attici la arge	Attici la[na] arge[ntea]	Bizzarrini: 2006, 126
3710	O. 118	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	lead label	AD 50	AD 180	P XIIIX XLII v	P(ondera) XIIIX v[ellera] XLII	Bizzarrini: 2006, 126-127
3711	O. 119	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	Lead label	AD 1	AD 100	L VINV PRO LAC	L[UCIUS] VINV[S] PRO LAC	Bizzarrini: 2006, 128
3712	O. 119	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	lead label	AD 1	AD 100	P III GA XX	P(ONDERA) III GA[USAPA] XX	Bizzarrini: 2006, 127-128
3713	O. 120	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	lead label	AD 1	AD 100	P IX d XXX	P(ONDERA) IX d[ibappa] XXX	Bizzarrini: 2006, 129
3714	O. 120	Altino / Venice	Altino / Venice	lead label	AD 1	AD 100	P IV XIV ello	P(ONDERA) IV XIV [v]ello	Bizzarrini: 2006, 129
3719	A. 1050	Tunisia	Rome	Africana IIC	AD 250	AD 300	EX HOR HAD	EX HOR(REA) HAD(RUMENTUM)	Torres Costa: 2007, 305
3722	B. 098		Vechten	Barrel	AD 40	AD 40	G CAE AUG GER	G(AIUS) CAE(SAR) AUG(USTUS) GER(MANICUS)	Sarfatij <i>et al.</i> : 1999
3739	A. 1060		Athens				επ ιν γ Χω βουλον ξ ιδ'	επινειμησεωσ γ Χοριου βουλου ξεσται ιδ	Lang, 1976, 84

3768	A. 1061		Carthage	Africana IIC	AD 240	AD 300	EX HOR HAD	Ex horreis hadrumentinis	Torres Costa: 2007, 305
3781	A. 1063			Dressel 12			C V PVD	C[AI] V PVD	Mongardi: 2013, 434
3782	O. 126	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Marble column	AD 63	AD 93	VERG COS	Verg(inius) co(n)s(ul)	Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 63
3783	O. 126	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Marble column	AD 63	AD 93	COLL COS VIII R/		Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 63
3784	O. 126	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Marble column	AD 63	AD 93	RMA or RMM		Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 63
3785	O. 127	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Marble column	AD 105	AD 105	CAND II COSS XLII	Candidus II co(n)s(ul) XLII	Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 64
3786	O. 127	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	marble column	AD 105	AD 105	RMA		Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 64
3787	O. 128	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Marble block	AD 114	AD 114	VF R/ VOP COS		Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 67
3788	O. 128	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Marble block	AD 114	AD 114	CIII		Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 67
3789	O. 128	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Marble block	AD 114	AD 114	CAES LXXIV B III	CAES(URA) LXXIV B(RACCHIUM) III	Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 67
3790	O. 129	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Marble block	AD 145	AD 160	CLARO III ET SEVERO COSS		Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 69
3791	O. 129	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Marble block	AD 145	AD 160	LOCO CCXXXI		Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 69

3792	O. 129	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Marble block	AD 145	AD 160	B TERT	B(racchium) tert(ium)	Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 69
3793	O. 129	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Phrygia / Dokimeion	Marble block	AD 145	AD 160	OFF PELA	Off(icina) pela(gi)	Christol & Drew-Bear: 1986, 69
3810	A. 1071	Tunisia	Pompeii	Ostia LIX	AD 50	AD 79	b v ex Dxxxxvii	B() v() ex dxxxvii	Bonifay & Botte: 2015
3821	A. 1075		Pompeii	Jar	AD 1	AD 79	Pompeio		Bortolin: 2008
3822	A. 1075		Pompeii	Jar	AD 1	AD 79	Prisco flos		Bortolin: 2008
3823	A. 1075		Pompeii	Jar	AD 1	AD 79	Galli V mellis	galli[ci] V() mellis	Bortolin: 2008
3824	A. 1075		Pompeii	Jar	AD 1	AD 79	desp	desp [umati]	Bortolin: 2008
3825	A. 1076		Pompeii	Jar	AD 1	AD 79	Mel p p CXXXIII	Mel p() p(ondo) CXXXIII	Bortolin: 2008
3826	A. 1076		Pompeii	Jar	AD 1	AD 79	dat XXXXXIX s	dat XXXXXIX s(emissem) (uncias)	Bortolin: 2008
3827	A. 1076		Pompeii	fish jug	AD 1	AD 79	T P XXVIII	T(esta) P(ondo) 28	Bortolin: 2008
3828	A. 1076		Pompeii	Jar	AD 1	AD 79	ens	[++]ens	Bortollin: 2008
3876	A. 1090	Marseille	Arles	Amphora	AD 15	AD 70	ARELATE		Silvino et al: 2015, 650
3877	A. 1091	Baetica	Arles	Haltern 70	AD 1	AD 96	M.CAR		Silvino et al: 2015, 652
3879	A. 1092	Baetica	Mainz	Beltran 2A	AD 10	AD 150	C.I.S. VII		Martin-Kilcher: 2002, fig. 2
3881	A. 1093	Baetica	Mainz	Beltran 2A	AD 10	AD 150	L.V.V. XXXV		Martin-Kilcher: 2002, fig. 4

3883	A. 1094	Baetica	Mainz	Beltran 2A	AD 10	AD 150	L.V.V LXXV	Martin-Kilcher, 2002, fig. 5
3885	A. 1095	Baetica	Mainz	Beltran 2A	AD 10	AD 150	L.V.V.XVI	Martin-Kilcher, 2002, fig. 6
3887	A. 1096	Baetica	Mainz	Beltran 2A	AD 10	AD 150	Q.S.L. III	Martin-Kilcher, 2002, fig. 7
3889	A. 1097	Baetica	Mainz	Beltran 2A	AD 10	AD 150	M.L.V.VI	Martin-Kilcher, 2002, fig. 10
3891	A. 1098	Baetica	Augst	Dressel 7-11	30 BC	AD 75	AFR V	Martin-Kilcher, 1994, 405
3893	A. 1099	Baetica	Koln	Beltran 2A	AD 10	AD 150	VERIDI XXV	Ehmig: 2007, 117

3894	O. 136	Oxyrrinchu s	Vase	2 BC	2 BC	<p>Νομοῦ ὀξ Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμονίου κυβερνήτησ πλοίου δημοσίου οὐ ἐπίσημου Λουκίου Οὐκλατίου σταρατιώτου λεγεῶνος κβ σπείρησ β κεντεπυωνέασ Μαξίμου Στολτίου, καὶ Ἐπώασ Πετάλου κυβερνή ἐτέπου πλοίου οὐ ἐπίσημοφ Αἴγυπτος, δι' ἐπιπλόου Λουκίου Καστρικίου στρατιώου λεγεῶνος κβ σπείρησ δ' κεντερυωνέασ Τίτου Πομπηίου. Ἔστιφ δ ἴγμα οὐ ἐμβεβλήμεζα ἀπὸ γενη κη Καίσαπος, ὃ μὲν Ἀμμώνιος εἰσ παράφραγμα υλγδ ὃ δὲ Ἐπνίασ ὁμοίωσ υλγδ αἰ πᾶ αἰ ἐμπεβλημένοι διά Λερφίδου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου σιτολ</p>	<p>Νομοῦ ὀξ(υρυγχιτου) Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμονίου κυβερνήτησ πλοίου δημοσίου οὐ ἐπίσημου Λουκίου Οὐκλατίου σταρατιώτου λεγεῶνος κβ σπείρησ β κεντεπυωνέασ Μαξίμου Στολτίου, καὶ Ἐπώασ Πετάλου κυβερνή(τησ) ἐτέπου πλοίου οὐ ἐπίσημοφ Αἴγυπτος, δι' ἐπιπλόου Λουκίου Καστρικίου στρατιώου λεγεῶνος κβ σπείρησ δ' κεντερυωνέασ Τίτου Πομπηίου. Ἔστιφ δ[ε] ἴγμα οὐ ἐμβεβλήμεζα ἀπὸ γενη(ματει) κη (ἔτους) Καίσαπος, ὃ μὲν Ἀμμώνιος εἰσ παράφραγμα (πιροῦ) (ἄρταβῶν) υλγδ ὃ δὲ Ἐπνίασ ὁμοίωσ (πυροῦ) (ἄρταβῶν) υλγδ (γίνονται) αἰ</p>	Guéraud: 1950, 113
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							<p>ἀπηλιώ μεπίδος κάτω τοπαρχ οἶσ καὶ προσμεμετρήμεζα ταῖς ἑκατὸν ἀρτάβ . τὲν δὲ ἐμβολὴν πεποιήμεζα ἀπο β τοῦ Ἀζυρ ἕως δ τοῦ αὐ μηνός, καὶ συνεσφραγισμεζα τῆ ἀμφο σφραγίδι, τοῦ μὲν Ἀμμω ἥσ εἰκων Ἀμμωνος τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμίου ἥσ ἰξῶν Ἀρποξράτης. κζ Καίσαπος Ἀζυρ δ</p>	<p>πᾶ(σαι) αἰ ἐμπεβλημένοι διὰ Λερφίδου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου σιτολ(όγων) ἀπηλιώ(του) μεπίδος κάτω[ι] τοπαρχ(ίας) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) οἶσ[] καὶ προσμεμετρήμεζα ταῖς ἑκατὸν ἀρτάβ(αισ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβησ) (ἡμισυ). τὲν δὲ ἐμβολὴν πεποιήμεζα ἀπο β τοῦ Ἀζυρ ἕως δ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) μηνός, καὶ συνεσφραγισμεζα τῆ ἀμφο(τέρων) σφραγίδι, τοῦ μὲν Ἀμμω(νίου) ἥσ εἰκων Ἀμμωνος τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμίου ἥσ [ε]ἰξῶν Ἀρποξράτης. (Ἔτους κζ Καίσαπος Ἀζυρ δ</p>	
3895	O. 136		Oxyrrinchu s	Vase	2 BC	2BC	<p>Ἐπμίασ καὶ Ἀ μῶνι ἴσ ἐσφραγισμ α τὰ δ ἴγματα. Καίσαρος Ἀζυπ ιζ</p>	<p>Ἐπμίασ καὶ Ἀ[μ]ῶνι[ο]ἴσ ἐσφραγισμ[εζ]α τὰ δ[ε]ἴγματα. (Ἔτους)</p>	Guéraud: 1950, 113

								[κζ] Καίσαρος Ἀζυπ ιζ	
3896	O. 137		Cairo	Sack			EXEMPLAR HORDEI MISSI PER CHAE/REMONAM ANUBIONIS GUBERNATOREM . EX NOMO MEMPHITE A METROPOLIN	EXEMPLAR () HORDEI MISSI PER CHAE/REMONAM ANUBIONIS GUBERNATOREM . EX NOMO MEMPHITE A[D] METRO/POLIN	Guéraud: 1953, 62-4
3897	O. 138		Ostia	Marble block	AD 138	AD 176	DOMINN AUG EX RAT(IONE FELICIS SER	DOMINN []AUG / EX [] RAT(IONĒ)/ FELICIS [] SER(VI)	Da Baccini Leotardi: 1979
3897	O. 138		Ostia	Marble block	AD 138	AD 176	DOMINN AUG EX RAT(IONE FELICIS SER	DOMINN []AUG / EX [] RAT(IONE)/ FELICIS [] SER(VI)	Da Baccini Leotardi: 1979
3898	O. 138		Ostia	Marble block	AD 138	AD 176	AUGURINCOS / LDCCLXXIIX / R/ / DINTRESE		Da Baccini Leotardi: 1979
3898	O. 138		Ostia	Marble block	AD 138	AD 176	AUGURINCOS / LDCCLXXIIX / R/ / DINTRESE		Da Baccini Leotardi: 1980
3899	O. 139	Mauretani a	Portus	Marble block			R/ CCXXVMA		Pensabene: 2012, 79

3920	A. 1111	Baetica	Pompei	Dressel 12	AD 25	AD 79	M. Valeri Euphemi		Manacorda: 1977, 130-1
3922	A.1112	Baetica	Carnutum	Amphora	AD 1	AD 100	P. COCC	P. COCC(EIUS)	Bezecky: 1996, 77
3923	A.1112	Baetica	Carnutum	Amphora	AD 1	AD 100	LILLIONIS		Bezecky: 1996, 77
3929	A. 1113	Baetica	Arles	Amphora	AD 78	AD 80	C SATVRIO SECVNDO PROC AVG	C(aio) SATVRIO SECVNDO PROC(uratori) AVG(usti)	Ehmig; Liou & Long: 2004, 127
3930	A. 1114	Baetica	Augsburg	Amphora	AD 78	AD 80	CSATURIOSECUN D	C(aio)SATURIOSEC UND(O)	Ehmig; Liou & Long: 2004, 128-9
3932	A. 1115	Baetica	Augsburg	Amphora	AD 78	AD 80	CSATURIOSE	C(aius) SATURIOSE(cundo)	Ehmig; Liou & Long: 2004, 128-9
3948	O. 142	Teos	Rome	Marble block	AD 90	AD 150	ex redemptoris	ex (ratione) [] redemptoris	Fant: 1989, 29-30
3949	O. 143	Bakacale / Phrygia	Bakacale / Phrygia	Marble block	AD 100	AD 136	loco IV b III / Sur III co s II j CCXXXVIII/ RMA Pal II co s VFR Vop co s b tert	loco IV b(racchio) III / Sur(a) III co(n)s(ule) II (ad 107) j CCXXXVIII/ RMA Pal(ma) II co(n)s(ule) (ad 109) / VFR Vop(isco) co(n)s(ule) (ad 114) / b(racchio) tert(io)	Fant: 1989, num 40
3950	O. 144	Bacakale, Phrygia	Bacakale, Phrygia	Marble block	AD 158	AD 158	Te ullo et Sacerdote co s / ex of Andae caesura j Alex / loco XCIX b R	Te[rt]ullo et Sacerdote co(n)s(ulibus) / ex of(ficina) Andae(i) caesura j Alex(andri)	Fant: 1989: no. 127

								/ loco XCIX b(racchio) R	
3951	O. 145	Bacakale / Phrygia	Bacakale / Phrygia	Marble block	AD 157	AD 157	co XI b pr j rbaro et Reg j o s ex of And j e- Alex	[lo]co XI b(racchio) pr[im(o)] j [Ba]rbaro et Reg[u]j[lo c] o(n)s(ulibus) ex of(ficina) And[ae(vi)] j [ex ca]e- (sura) Alex (andri)	Fant: 1989: no. 125
3952	O. 146	Afyon / Phrygia	Afyon / Phrygia	Marble block	AD 154	AD 154	Commodi et Laterani co s j caes Manl Alexand j loco LV b III	Commodi et Laterani cos(ulibus) j caes(ura) Manl(ii) Alexand(ri) j loco LV b(racchio) III	Fant: 1989: no. 120
3953	O. 147	Afyon / Phrygia	Afyon / Phrygia	Marble block	AD 154	AD 154	Commodi et Laterani co s j caes Manl Alexand j loco XXXX	Commodi et Lahtierani co(n)s(ulibus) j caes(ura) Manl(ii) Alexand(ri) j loco XXXX	Fant: 1989: no. 120
3954	O. 148	Bacakale / Phrygia	Bacakale / Phrygia	Marble block	AD 154	AD 154	loco j XXVI j b II j Commodo j et Laterano co s j caes Ael Zos	loco j XXVI j b(racchio) II j Commodo j et Laterano co(n)s(ulibus) j caes(ura) Ael(ii) Zos(imi)	Fant: 1989: no. 121
3955	O. 149	Dokimeion / Phrygia	Ostia	Marble block	AD 96	AD 96	Ve e Val(ente) cos / n DXXXII; / L [] C R/	Ve(tere) e[t] Val(ente) co(n)s(ulibus) /	Baccini Leotardi: 1989: no. 39

								n(umero) DXXXII; / L [] CR/	
3956	O. 150	Dokimeion / Phrygia	Ostia	Marble block	AD 96	AD 96	L CR/ / ex rOlyp Caes Ve e cos	L [] CR/ / ex r(atione) Olyp(i?) Caes(aris); c) Ve(tere) e(t) [Val(ente)] co(n)s(ulibus)	Baccini Leotardi: 1989: no. 40
3957	O. 151	Dokimeion / Phrygia	Ostia	Marble block	AD 96	AD 96	ex r Ol p Caes/ n CXXXXII jj II / Ve e Val cos	ex r(atione) Ol(ym)p(i) Caes(aris?)/ n(umero) CXXXXII jj II / Ve(tere) e(t)Val(ente) co(n)s(ulibus)	Fant: 1989: no. 83
3958	O. 152	Dokimeion / Phrygia	Ostia	Marble block	AD 99	AD 99	Pa et Sen cos / ex r Olyp Caes	Pa(lma) et Sen(ecione) co(n)s(ulibus) / ex r(atione) Olyp(i?) Caes(aris)	Fant: 1989: no. 84
3959	O. 153	Dokimeion / phrygia	Ostia	Marble block	AD 100	AD 100	LDCIX j R/ Trai n III cos / x r Olyp Caes N CXIII	LDCIX j R/ Trai(a)n(o) III co(n)s(ule) / [e]x r(atione) Olyp(i?) Caes(aris) N CXIII	Fant: 1989: no. 852; Baccini Leotardi 1979: no. 37
3960	O. 154	Dokiomeio n / Phrygia	Leptis Magna	Marble block	AD 136	AD 136	Imp Caes re III et Balbino co s ratione	[Imp(eratore) Ca]es[a]re III et Balbino co(n)s(ulibus) ratione	Fant: 1989: no. 75

3961	O. 155	Dokimeion / Phrygia	Rome	Marble block	AD 136	AD 136	L. Aelio j aesare n III et Baljbino co s rationi j urbicae sub cur Irenaei j Aug lib proc caesura Tulli j Saturnini 7 leg XXII Prim/ off Pa j LXXVI/ locus NII CIA j loc XVI b	a) L. Aelio j [C]aesare n(ostro) III et Baljbino co(n)s(ulibus) rationi j urbicae sub cur(a) Irenaei j Aug(usti) lib(erti) proc(uratoris) caesura Tulli j Saturnini 7(centurionis) leg(ionis) XXII Prim(igeniae)/ off(icina) Pa(pia) j n(umero) LXXVI/ locus NII(?)CIA j loc(o) XVI b(racchio)	Fant: 1989: no. 10
3962	O. 156	Dokimeion / Phrygia	Ostia	Marble block	AD 142	AD 142	Claro II cos j ex r Cl Zel j No CXXXV	Claro II co(n)s(ule) j ex r(atione) Cl(audii) Zel(oti) j No CXXXV	Fant: 1989: no. 91b
3963	O. 157	Chemtou / Simitthus / Tunisia	Chemtou / Simitthus / Tunisia	Marble block	AD 107	AD 107	Sura III et Senici II co s j ex rat Felicis Aug ser j d n DCXII XXX j Tiluris	Sura III et Senici(one) II co(n)s(ulibus) j ex rat(ione) Felicis Aug(usti) ser(vi) j d(e) n(umero) DCXII XXX j (officina) Tiluris	CIL VIII 14560
3964	O. 158	Chemtou / Simitthus / Tunisia	Chemtou / Simitthus / Tunisia	Marble block	AD 141	AD 141	Imp Antonini Aug pii d j n vac. Of Cerii j Stloga et Severo cos j su cura Agathae	Imp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) pii d(omini) j n(umero) vac. of(ficina) Cerii j Stloga et Severo co(n)s(ulibus) j su(b) cura Agathae	CIL VIII 14573

3965	O. 159	Chemtou / Simitthus / Tunisia	Chemtou / Simitthus / Tunisia	Marble block	AD 199	AD 199	N CCCV of Genii Montis / Imp Commodo Aug III et Victorino I cos / caesura Maximi proc	n(umero) CCCV off(icina) Genii Montis / Imp(eratore) Commodo Aug(usto) III et Victorino [I]I co(n)s(ulibus) / caesura Maximi proc(uratoris)	<i>CIL VIII 14588</i>
3966	O. 160	Mons Claudianu s, Egypt	Mons Claudianus, Egypt	Marble block	AD 100	AD 250	RACL P / P D XVII		Peacock & Maxfield: 1997, 218, quarry 22, no. 10.
3967	O. 161	Mons Claudianu s, Egypt	Mons Claudianus, Egypt	Marble block	AD 100	AD 250	RACL P / XX XLVI		Peacock & Maxfield: 1997, 217, quarry 8/9, no. 7.
3968	O. 162	Mons Claudianu s / Egypt	Mons Claudianus / Egypt	Marble block	AD 100	AD 250	RACL P / XXXIII / III		Peacock & Maxfield: 1997, 218, quarry 22, no. 10
3969	O. 163	Mons Claudianu s / Egypt	Mons Claudianus / Egypt	Marble block	AD 100	AD 250	[number pi] I E / RACL P / LVI		Peacock & Maxfield: 1997, 217, quarry 8/9, no. 2.

3970	O. 164	Luna / Italy	Luna / Italy	Marble block	AD 22	AD 22	D.HATERIO.AGGR IPPA.C.SVI.GALB.E S./HILARIO.VIL.M AG.POS.CONSULES / ET NOMINA DECVR/ SISENNA.STATILL O.L.SCRIBON ES/ HILARIUS. VACCIO/ SCARIPUS. NERVIVA/ L.PONYO.FLACCO. C.CACIRO ES/ TIBURTINUS PHILO / CAPITO SOLVMARVS / T[] CAESAR CERMANE ES/ I[] RMIPPUS PRIMUS/ M SILIO L NORBANO ES/ GABNUS OPTATUS/ APOLLONIUS CAIO		<i>CIL XI 1356</i>
3971	O. 165	Luna / Italy	Luna / Italy	Marble block	AD 100	AD 200	T b lo CXLIII; Er C a e s	T(i)b(urtni) lo(co) CXLIII; b) Er(otis) C a e s (aris servi?)	<i>CIL XI 6723/2a</i>
3972	O. 166	Luna / Italy	Luna / Italy	Marble block	AD 100	AD 200	C ol CXVIIIhI	C]ol(oniae) CXVIIIhI	<i>CIL XI 6723/15</i>

3984	O. 176	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	Am ferru / IS LIII	Am(+ + +) ferru(gini) / IS LIII	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 230-1 fig.13
3985	O. 176	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	LA·LIIIIIS		Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 230-1 fig.13
3986	O. 177	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 1	AD 100	PAVLA / LP		Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 232, fig. 16
3987	O. 177	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 1	AD 100	ROBRA		Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 232 fig. 16
3973	O. 169	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	Placidus colore · lucni co tunicam I LOLO	Placidus () colore · lucni () co tunicam I () LOLO	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 223
3974	O. 169	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	VX DIX	[I]VX[V] [IC]DIX	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 223. fig.3
3975	O. 170	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	Caesiae / lucn	Caesiae / lucn(ic+)	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 225, fig.5
3976	O. 171	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	Soricis fer ucini	Soricis () fer(r)ucini	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 226
3977	O. 172	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	CABITON / CIRISII	CABITON / CIRISII	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 226, fig. 8
3978	O. 172	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	IS · RV IIII	IS · RV(+++) IIII	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 226. fig. 8
3979	O. 173	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	Macri / R odiaacu	Macri / R(h)odiaacu(+)	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 228 fig. 9
3980	O. 174	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	Rufae / mur	Rufae / mur(+++)	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 228, fig. 10

3981	O. 174	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	CXXX III	CXXX () III	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 228, fig. 10
3982	O. 175	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	At Rustici	At □ Rustici	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 229, fig.11
3983	O. 175	Merida	Merida	Lead label	AD 14	AD 37	Mur X	mur(+++) () X	Bernal <i>et al.</i> : 2016, 2016, fig. 11

17.6. Register (R)

Table 34. Register (R)

ID	ID Support	Support	Date (early)	Date (late)	Reading	Interpretation	Main Source
3320	O. 007	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	III Nonas Feb n/	III Nonas Feb n(avicula)	Peña: 1998, 123, 127, 176, 179, 202
3321	O. 007	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Ianuari f CCXV r/ V	Ianuari f(ero) CCXV r/ V	Peña: 1998, 123, 127, 176, 179, 202
3322	O. 007	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	pos cons s	pos cons[ulatu]s	Peña: 1998, 123, 127, 176, 179, 202
3323	O. 007	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	mod	Mod(esto et arinthei)	Peña: 1998, 123, 127, 176, 179, 202
3324	O. 007	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	pri die nonas feb	pri die nonas feb(ruarias)	Peña: 1998, 123, 127, 176, 179, 202
3325	O. 008	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XVI K l mart n/ cilindri	XVI K(a)l(endas) mart(ias) n(avicula) cilindri	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202

3326	O. 008	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	f CCVIII r VIII	F(ero) CCVIII r(eprobo) VIII	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202
3327	O. 008	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	pos cons s	Pos(t) cons(ulatu)s	Peña: 1998, 123, 128; 176, 179-180, 202
3328	O. 008	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	modesto et arinthei	modesto et arinthei [consules]	Peña: 1998, 123, 128; 176, 179-180, 202
3329	O. 008	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XIII K l mart feliz mensor olei fori	XIII K[a]l[endas] mart[ias] feliz mensor olei fori	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202
3330	O. 008	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	karthag suscepimus per nav c la	Karthag[inensis] suscepimus per nav[i]c[u]la[m]	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202
3331	O. 008	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	cilindri capronenses centenaria	cilindri capronenses centenaria	Peña: 1998, 123, 128; 176, 179-180, 202
3332	O. 008	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	levia ducenta X ml c et m ol	levia ducenta X ml c et m ol	Peña: 1998, 123, 129; 176, 179-180, 202
3333	O. 008	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	petro reprob octo	petro reprob octo	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202
3335	O. 009	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XV ka martias n/ felicis	XV ka[endas] martias n[avícula] felicis	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202
3336	O. 009	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	F xe ri CCVIII r/ XIII	F(ilius?) xe ri CCVIII r/ XIII	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202
3337	O. 009	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	pos cons s	pos cons(ulibu)s	Peña: 1998, 125, 129, 176, 179-180, 184, 202
3338	O. 009	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	modesto et arinthei	modesto et arinthei	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202

3339	O. 009	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XIII k l mart felix mens	XIII k[a]l[endas] mart(ias) felix mens(or)	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202
3340	O. 009	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	olei thag sus pimus	olei f(ori) [kar]thag[inensis] sus[ce]pimus	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202
3341	O. 009	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	per nav la felicis X c pro	per nav[icu]la[m] felicis X c[a] pro[renses]	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202
3342	O. 009	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	reses centenaria levia ducenta	reses centenaria levia ducenta	Peña: 1998, 125, 129, 176, 179-180, 184, 202
3343	O. 009	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et octo et reproba t decim	et octo et reproba[ta] [sun]t [tre]decim	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202
3344	O. 009	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	con z	Con[diturium] z[eugitanum]	Peña: 1998, 123, 127; 179-180, 202
3345	O. 010	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Nonas mar n/ repos	Nonas mar n[avicula] repos[ti]	Peña: 1998, 125, 129, 176, 179-180, 184, 202
3346	O. 010	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Repost	Repost[ti]	Peña: 1998, 125, 129, 176, 179-180, 184, 202
3347	O. 010	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	pos cons s	pos cons[ulatu]s	Peña: 1998, 125, 128, 176, 180, 184, 202
3348	O. 010	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	modesto et arinthei	modesto et arinthei	Peña: 1998, 125, 128, 176, 180, 184, 202
3349	O. 010	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	III Nonas mar felix mensor olei fori	III Nonas mar(tias) felix mensor olei fori	Peña: 1998, 125, 129, 176, 179-180, 184, 202

3350	O. 010	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	karthag s s pim s p r nav c la	Karthag[ini]en]s[is] s[usce]pim[u]s p[er] nav[i]c[u]la	Peña: 1998, 125, 129, 176, 179-180, 184, 202
3351	O. 010	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	reposti cap reses levia ² centenaria	reposti cap reses levia centenaria	Peña: 1998, 125, 128, 176, 180, 184, 202
3352	O. 010	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	ucenta decem et s octo omn?e tulit	[d]ucenta decem et s[unt] octo omne tulit	Peña: 1998, 125, 128, 176, 180, 184, 202
3353	O. 010	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	ta arius m ol i. ad	Ta[bul]arius m[ensorum] ol[e]i ad	Peña: 1998, 125, 129, 176, 180, 184, 202
3354	O. 011	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	III idus april Ertoriot	III idus april(es) Ertoriot	Peña: 1998, 125, 128, 176, 180, 184, 202
3355	O. 011	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	CC r VIII	(fero)CC r(eprobo) VIII	Peña: 1998, 126-127; 182, 184, 202
3356	O. 011	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	modesto et arinthei	modesto et arinthei	Peña: 1998, 126, 128, 182, 184, 202
3357	O. 011	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	v	v	Peña: 1998, 126, 128, 182, 184, 202
3358	O. 011	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XVII K Mai felix m	XVII K(alendas) Mai felix m(ensor)	Peña: 1998, 126, 128, 182, 184, 202
3359	O. 011	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	K sus	[olei fori] K(arthaginensis) sus(cepimus)	Peña: 1998, 126, 128, 182, 184, 202
3360	O. 012	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XI Kal augustas n c la	XI Kal(endas) augustas n[avi]c[u]la	Peña: 1998, 126, 128, 182, 184, 202
3361	O. 012	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	felic X ri l b/ [	felic X[e]ri l[i]b[rae]	Peña: 1998, 126, 128, 182, 184, 202

3362	O. 012	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	VI Kal augustas n/	VI Kal(endas) augustas n/	Peña: 1998, 126, 128, 182, 184, 202
3363	O. 012	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	b/ CXLIII r/ IIII	b/ CXLIII r/ IIII	Peña: 1998, 126, 128, 182, 184, 202
3364	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Vol Cal K N X	Vol Cal(Assini) K[ENTENARIA] X	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3365	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	aporense K N dCVII	[C]aporense Dcvii K[E]N[TENARIA]	Peña; 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3366	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Fieri K N CCCXIII r CCLIII	Fieri K[E]N[TENARIA] CCCXIII r CCLIII	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3367	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et erunt in condit	et erunt in condit(orio)	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3368	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	in d XIII K Mar	in d(ie) XIII K(alendas) Mar(tias)	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3369	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	K N dCCCCXXXI	K(e)N DCCCCXXXI	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3370	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	fieri in condit	fieri in condit(orio)	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3371	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	K N DCCCCXXXI	K(e)N DCCCCXXXI	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3372	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XIII Kal Mar ad Octob	XIII Kal(endas) Mar(tias) ad Octob(rem)	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3373	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Maurus XXXV	Centenarius Maurus 35 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202

3374	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 ianuarianus LV	Centenarius Ianuarianus 55 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3375	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Felix VIIICCXXVI	Centenarius Felix 8, 226 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3376	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Vindemialis CCC	Centenarius Vindemialis 300 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3377	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Victor Mercur CCC	Centenarius Victor ad Mercurium 2097 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3378	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Augustalis CCXCVIII	Centenarius Augustalis 1398 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3379	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Maioricus XCVII	Centenarius Maioricus 2.097 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3380	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Marianus IIIIdCLXXVII	Centenarius Marianus 4, 677 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3381	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 primus IIIIdCLX	Centenarius Primus 4660 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3382	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 murc IIICCCXXV	Centenarius Murc 3,425 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3383	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Evasius dCCCLXXII	Centenarius Evasius 1, 872 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3384	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Restutus IIIIXXII	Centenarius Restutus 4, 022 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3385	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Victorinus 1794 lbs	Centenarius Victorinus 1794 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202

3386	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Fieri N 7CCCL P LXXVIII	Fieri Numero 7CCCL P LXXVIII	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3387	O. 013	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Vol Calassini K LXXVI	Vol Calassini 76 centenaria	Peña: 1998, 130-1, 180, 202
3388	O. 014	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	VII Idus mart ad octob m	VII Idus martias as octobrem	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3389	O. 014	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 felix I/ XXXIII PL LXVIII	Centenarius felix 33 cwt 63 lbs	Peña: 1998, 133, 145, 174, 180, 202
3390	O. 014	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	II XXXIII PL LXVIII	Centenarius 33 cwt 63 lbs	Peña: 1998, 133, 145, 174, 180, 202
3391	O. 014	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Impletu Vol as a b/ N XXI I/ XXXIII	Impletur Vol ascopae a b/zacena Numero XXI I/XXXIII	Peña: 1998, 133, 145, 174, 180, 202
3392	O. 014	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	In condit Z a g N CLXVII	fieri in condit(orio) Z(eugitano) a(mphorae) g(emellariae) N(umero) CLXVII	Peña: 1998, 133, 145, 174, 180, 202
3393	O. 014	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	As a b na N VI	As(copae) a b[ycaze]na N(umero) VI	Peña: 1998, 133, 145, 171, 174, 180, 202
3394	O. 014	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	II CCCCXIII PL XX		Peña: 1998, 133, 145, 174, 180, 202
3395	O. 015	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 I/ XV	Centenarius 15-19 cwt. 0-99 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3396	O. 015	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 1 1 III PL XCI	Centenaria 3 cwt 90-99 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202

3397	O. 015	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 u/s l/ XVIII P V	Centenarius us 18 cwt. 5 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3398	O. 015	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 vus l/ XIII PL XXV	Centenarius vus 13 cwt. 25 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3399	O. 015	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	l/ CCXXII PL VII	Total cwt 222 7 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3400	O. 015	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Inpletu Vol as a b/	Inpletu(r) Vol as(copae) a b/	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3401	O. 015	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	N CXXXVIII CCXXIII	Numero CXXXVIII CCXXIII	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3402	O. 015	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	fieri in condit Z a g N CLXVII	fieri in condit(orio) Z(eugitano) a[mphorae] g[emellariae] N(umero) CLXVII	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3403	O. 015	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	dC PL XXXX	600-999 40-49 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3404	O. 016	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	In Idus Mart Octo r	In Idus Mart(ias) Octo[b]r[em]	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 174, 180-181, 202
3406	O. 016	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Victor utumm CC XXV	Centenarius Victor from uthumae 225 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 174, 180-181, 202
3407	O. 016	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Iomunpris II[ICC]CCV	Centenarius Iomunpris 3, 405 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 174, 180-181, 202

3408	O. 016	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	F l/ XXXVIII PL XXXVI	F(ieri) l/ XXXVIII PL XXXVI	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 174, 180-181, 202
3409	O. 016	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Inpl tu Vol	Inpl[e]tu[r] Vol	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 174, 180-181, 202
3410	O. 016	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	C p	C[a]p[roenses]	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 174, 180-181, 202
3411	O. 016	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Sunt in		Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 174, 180-181, 202
3412	O. 016	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	A g et b/ N d XIII I XVIII PL XX	A(mphorae) g(emellariae) et b/ N d XIII I XVIII PL XX	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 174, 180-181, 202
3413	O. 017	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Ka april Ad Oct	Ka[endas] april Ad Oct	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3414	O. 017	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 rt XXX	Centenarius rt 30 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3415	O. 017	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 XX	Centenarius 20 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3416	O. 017	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7	Centenarius lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3417	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	VII Idus april ad oct	VII Idus apriles ad octobrem	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 176, 181, 202
3418	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Flavianus l/ X	Centenarius Flavianus 10 cwt	Peña: 1998, 130, 143-4, 176, 181, 202

3419	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Felix ad Ucubi l/ VII PL XL	Centenarius Felix from Ucubi 7 cwt 40 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 176, 181, 202
3420	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Peregrinus l / XIII PL XC	Centenarius Peregrinus 14 cwt 90 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 176, 181, 202
3421	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Felix ab c l/ X PL XCII	Centenarius Felix from C 10 cwt 92 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 176, 181, 202
3422	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 doi anus l / CXI PL XXXV	Centenarius doi anus 111 cwt 35 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 176, 181, 202
3423	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	II CLIII PL LVII	total cwt 154 57 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 176, 181, 202
3424	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Inpletu Vol as a b/ N XXI et	Inpletu[r] Vol as(copae) a b/ N XXI et	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 176, 181, 202
3425	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	O R C as N CLXI et macrinenses	O[lei] R(omae) C(anon) as N(umero) CLXI et macrinenses	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 176, 181, 202
3426	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	As a B N VI CLVI	As(copae) a B(yzacena) N(umero) VI CLVI	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 176, 181, 202
3427	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	feri in conditorio Z a g N CLXVII et K N L	feri in conditorio Z[eugit]a[no] [amphorae] g(emellariae) N CLXVII et K N L	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-6, 176, 181, 202
3428	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et de N tebelbucitan qz	et de numero tebelbucitan qz	Peña: 1998, 135-6, 144-6, 176, 181, 202
3429	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	as a b/ N CCC et K N T L	number of Byzacena oilskins 300 centenaria 50	Peña: 1998, 135-6, 144-6, 176, 181, 202

3430	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	de N vol as a b/ N dXIII	de n(umero) vol as(copae) a b(yzacena) n(umero) dXIII	Peña: 1998, 135-6, 144-6, 176, 181, 202
3431	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et o R c as N CCLXII et K XCI	et o[lei] R c as N CCLXII et K XCI	Peña: 1998, 135-6, 144-6, 176, 181, 202
3432	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et macrine ses as a b/ N VI	et macrine ses as[copar] a b/ N(umero) VI	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3433	O. 018	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	II VCCLX V PL L	5265 50 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3434	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	VI Idus april ad oct	VI idus apriles ad octobrem	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3435	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	donatilus l / XII PL L	[Centenarius] donatilus l / XII PL L	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3436	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Victorianus l / XII PL L	[Centenarius] Victorianus l / XII PL L	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3437	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Vanosus l/ XIII PL LXV	[Centenarius] Vanosus l/ XIII PL LXV	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3438	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	fi r l/ XLVII PL LXV	[Centenarius] fi []r l/ XLVII PL LXV	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3439	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Ka ius l/ XXIII	[Centenarius] Ka []ius l/ XXIII	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3440	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	ar us l/ XXIII PL LIII	[Centenarius] ar us l/ XXIII PL LIII	Peña: 1998, 137, 143-144, 176, 182, 202
3441	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	victor l/ XLVI PL LX	[Centenarius] victor l/ XLVI PL LX	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202

3442	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Romanus 1/ LVII PL X	[Centenarius] Romanus 1/ LVII PL X	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3443	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	CCXXXII PL X	232 67 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3444	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Inpletu macrinenses as a b/ N XLVIII	Inpletur macrinenses as(copae) a b(yzacena) N(umero) XLVIII	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3445	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et K NT CXX afr CCCXXXV	et K[E]NT[ENARIA] CXX afr CCCXXXV	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 181, 202
3446	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	fieri in condit Z a g N CLXVII et K NT L Fisci	fieri in condit(orio) Z(eugitano) a(mphorae) g(emellariae) N CLXVII et K[E]NT[ENARIA] L Fisci	Peña: 1998, 137, 143-144, 176, 182, 202
3447	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et tebelbucitan qz as a b/ N et K NT CXX	et tebelbucitana qz a(scopae) a b(yzacena) N(umero) CCC et Kentenaria L 7/	Peña: 1998, 137, 143-144, 176, 182, 202
3448	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et macrinenses as a b/ N et K NT CXX	et macrinenses ascopae a byzacena Numero VI et Kentenaria CXX	Peña: 1998, 137, 143-144, 176, 182, 202
3449	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Et vol as a b N XIII et	Et vol as(copae) a b(yzacena) N(umero) dXIII et	Peña: 1998, 137, 143-144, 176, 182, 202
3450	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	O R c as N CCC XCI	O(lei) R(omae) c(anon) as(copae) N(umero) CCC[] XCI	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 182, 202
3451	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et K NTENARIA XCI	et K[E]NTENARIA XCI	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 182, 202

3452	O. 019	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	II VCCCCI PL XXXV	5041 35 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 182, 202
3453	O. 020	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 □	Centenarius lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3454	O. 020	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 M□	Centenarius M lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3455	O. 020	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 v□	Centenarius lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3456	O. 020	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7	Centenarius lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3457	O. 020	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	1 / XXXX IIII PL LIII	44 53 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3458	O. 020	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Inplet Vol as a b/ N XXX	Inplet[ur] Vol as(copae) a b(yzacena) N(umero) XXX	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3459	O. 020	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XIII LXX	Number of containers: 70	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3460	O. 020	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	tebelbucitan qz LXIII	tebelbucitan qz LXIII	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3461	O. 020	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Fi ri in condit Z	Fi[e]ri in condit[orio] Z(eugitano)	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3462	O. 020	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	VII X PL I	7, 030-9080 1-4 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 143, 171, 202
3463	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	VII Kal mai ad oct	VII Kal(endas) mai(as) ad oct(obrem)	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 171, 176, 182, 202

3464	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 quintus I/ V PL LX	Centenarius Quintus 5 cwt 60 lbs	Peña: 1998, 138, 143-4; 147, 176, 182-3, 202
3465	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Victorianus I/ XX PL LXVII	Centenarius Victorianus 20 cwt. 67 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 138, 143-4; 147, 176, 182-3, 202
3466	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 bilossus ab occhi	Centenarius Bilossus from Occhi	Peña: 1998, 138, 143-4; 147, 176, 182-3, 202
3467	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 tzelica I/ X PL XX	Centenarius Tzelica 10 cwt 47 lbs	Peña: 1998, 138, 143-4; 147, 176, 182-3, 202
3468	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	II XXXVIII PL XX	total cwt 38 47 lbs	Peña: 1998, 138, 143-4; 147; 176, 182-3, 202
3469	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Inpletu Vol as a b/ N XXII XXXVIII PL LXXV	Inpletur Vol as(copae) a b(yzacena) N(umero) XXII I/ XXXVII PL LXXV	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-5, 176, 182-3, 202
3470	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Fi ri in condit Z a g N CLXVII et K NT LXII fisci	Fi(e)ri in condit(orio) Z(eugitano) a(mphorae) g(emellariae) N CLXVII et K(E)NT(ENARIA) LXII fisci	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-6, 176, 182-3, 202
3471	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et tebelbucitan qz as a b/ N CCCCXLVI	et tebelbucitan qz as(copae) a b(yzacena) Numero CCCCXLVI	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-6, 176, 182-3, 202
3472	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et KNT LXV et macrinenses	et K[E]NT[ENARIA] LXV et macrinenses	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-6, 176, 182-3, 202

3473	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	as a b/ N CLVI KNT CCLXXXV	As(copae) a b/ N(umero) CLVI K[E]NT[ENARIA] CCLXXXV	Peña: 1998, 138, 143-4; 147; 176, 182-3, 202
3474	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et Vol as a b/ N CLVI	et Vol as(copae) a b(yzacena) N(umero) CLVI	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-7, 176, 182-3, 202
3475	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	O R c as N dCCLVII K NT CCXXXII	O[lei] R(omae) as[copae] N(umero) dCCLVII K NT CCXXXII	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-6, 176, 182-3, 202
3476	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	VII dCCCLII PL LXXV	7852 75 lbs	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-7, 171, 176, 182-3, 202
3477	O. 022	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	VI ma ad oct b m	VI [kalendas] ma[ias] ad oct[o]b[re] m	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-7, 183, 202
3478	O. 022	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	con I/XXVII PL XVI	con 27 cwt 17 lbs	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-144, 183, 202
3479	O. 022	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	ir icar mu I/XVIII		Peña: 1998, 139, 143-144, 183, 202
3480	O. 022	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	us I/XXI PL II	us 21 cwt 2 lbs	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-144, 183, 202
3481	O. 021	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	k uas I/XXI PL LXX	k uas 21 cwt. 70 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-144, 176, 182-3, 202
3482	O. 022	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	S X PL LII	S 10 cwt. 52 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-144, 183, 202
3483	O. 022	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	I PL VI	cwt 299	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-144, 183, 202

3484	O. 022	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	feri CL	fieri in conditorio Zeugitano 150	Peña: 1998, 137, 143-144, 183, 202
3485	O. 022	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	KN LXII f sci	K(e)n[t̄](enaria) LXII f[ī]sci	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-144, 183, 202
3486	O. 022	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XV		Peña: 1998, 139, 143-144, 183, 202
3487	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	d Nonas Mai as Oct	[pri]d[ie] Nonas Mai[as] as Oct[obrem]	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-7, 183, 202
3488	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 linus 1/ VIII PL XCI	Centenarius inus 9 cwt 94 lbs	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3489	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 1/XIII PL XLII	Centenarius 13 cwt 42 lbs	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3490	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 1/ VII PL LXVI	Centenarius 7cwt. 66 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3491	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 nus 1/III PL LXXXVII	Centenarius uns 4 cwt. 87 lbs	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3492	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Victor a Serve 1/ V PL XIII	Centenarius Victor ad Serve 5 cwt. 18 lbs	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3493	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Felix 1/ V PL XIII	Centenarius Felix 5 cwt. 14 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3494	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Inventus 1/ XXXV PL LXII	Centenarius Inventus 35 cwt 62 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3495	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 Victor a Nobis 1/ XXVII PL XVIII	Centenarius Victor 27 cwt. 18 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202

3496	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	CXI PL XI	111 cwt 11 lbs	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3497	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Inpletu Vol as a b/ N LXVIII 1/ CXI	Inpletu Vol as(copae) a[d] b(yzacena) N(umero) LXVIII 1/ CXI	Peña: 1998, 138, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3498	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	PL X	10 lbs.	Peña: 1998, 138, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3499	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Fieri en condit Z I N CLXXXIII	Fieri en condit[orio] Z(eugitano) Ī N(umero) CLXXXIII	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3500	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	N CLXVII KNT LXII fisci	[et amphorae gemellariae] N(umero) CLXVII K(E)NT(ENARIA) LXII fisci	Peña: 1998, 130, 144-6; 183; 202
3501	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Et Tebelbucit as a b/ N CCCCLVI	Et Tebelbucit[ana] as[copae] a b(yzacena) N CCCCLVI	Peña: 1998, 139, 144-7, 202
3502	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et K NT LXV	et Kentenaria LXV Macrinenses	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3503	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	as a b/ LV et KNT CCLXXXV	ascopae a b(yzacena) LV et K(e)NT(enaria) CCLXXXV	Peña: 1998, 139, 144-7; 183, 202
3504	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Vol As a b/ N CCLXXV	Vol As(copae) a b(yzacena) N(umero) CCLXXV	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202
3505	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	o R c as N dCCLvii K NT CCXXXII	O(lei) r(omae) c(anon) as(copae) n(umero) dCCLVII Kentenaria CCXXXII	Peña: 1998, 135-6, 144-7, 171; 183, 202
3506	O. 023	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	VIII dCCCII PL LXXV	8, 802 cwt 75 lbs	Peña: 1998, 139, 143-4; 147; 183, 202

3507	O. 024	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XIII	14	Peña: 1998, 140-144, 202
3508	O. 024	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	CCCLXV	365	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3509	O. 024	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et KNT dCCC	et K(E)NT(ENARIA) dCCC	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3510	O. 024	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	I III CCCCLXXVIII PL LXIII		Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3511	O. 025	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	ad Octobrem		Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3512	O. 025	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 N	Centenaria N(umero)	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3513	O. 025	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7	Centenaria	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3514	O. 025	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7	Centenaria	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3515	O. 025	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7	Centenaria	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3516	O. 025	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7	Centenaria	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3517	O. 025	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	I pletu Vol	I[̄n̄]pletu[r̄] Vol	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3518	O. 025	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XXX		Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202

3519	O. 025	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Feri	Feri [in conditorio Zeugitano]	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3520	O. 025	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	K(alendas)	K(alendas)	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3521	O. 026	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 XXX II		Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3522	O. 026	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7		Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3523	O. 026	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 k	Centenaria	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3524	O. 026	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7 m	Centenaria M	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3525	O. 026	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	7	Centenaria	Peña: 1998, 140-147, 202
3526	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Nav sco	Nav(icula) [a]sco(pae)	Peña: 1998, 141, 151; 202
3527	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Iu as a b/ Xd	Iu as[co](pae) a b(yzacena) Xd	Peña: 1998, 141, 151, 183-4; 202
3528	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	III Kal lun N	III Kal(endas) lun(ias) N(umero)	Peña: 1998, 141, 151, 183-4; 202
3529	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Ī N LXII I/CCXVII PL LXXX		Peña: 1998, 141, 151, 183-4; 202
3530	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	as a b/ N CLXX I/CC XXX VIII PL L	As(copae) a b(yzacena) N(umero) CLXX I/CC XXX VIII PL L	Peña: 1998, 141, 151, 183-4; 202

3531	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	1/ dXVI PL LXV		Peña: 1998, 141, 151, 184, 202
3532	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Prid Kal lun fieri ĪN LXXIII 1/ CC XV	Prid(ie) Kal(endas) lun(ias) fieri ĪN LXXIII 1/ CC XV	Peña: 1998, 141, 151, 184; 202
3533	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	PL XXX		Peña: 1998, 141, 151, 184; 202
3534	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Inst dCCCXXX	Instants dCCCXXX	Peña: 1998, 141, 151; 184; 202
3535	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	VIII Idus Iun fieri as a b/ N CLX	VIII Idus Iunias fieri as(copae) a b(yzacena) N(umero) CLX	Peña: 1998, 141-2, 151; 176, 184; 202
3536	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	1/ CXLII IIII		Peña: 1998, 141-2, 151; 176, 184, 202
3537	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	CCC XXX		Peña: 1998, 141-2, 151; 176, 184, 202
3538	O. 027	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Inst 1/ CCL XVI	Inst(ans) 1 CCL XVI	Peña: 1998, 141-2, 151; 176, 184; 202
3539	O. 028	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	fieri		Peña: 1998, 143, 202
3540	O. 028	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	1/ PL III		Peña: 1998, 143, 202
3541	O. 028	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	fie	fieri	Peña: 1998, 143, 202
3542	O. 028	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	Fier	Fieri	Peña: 1998, 143, 202
3543	O. 028	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	XIIII LXIII		Peña: 1998, 143, 202
3544	O. 028	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	N XIIII XCVII	Numero XIIII XCVII	Peña: 1998, 143, 202

3545	O. 028	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	et Vol as a b/ N dLXIII et K LXXII	et Vol as(copae) a b(yzacena) N(umero) dLXIII et K LXXII	Peña: 1998, 143, 202
3546	O. 028	Ostrakon	AD 373	AD 373	dCCLXXXII PL XXXV		Peña: 1998, 143, 202
3592	O. 038	Lead seal	AD 149	AD 161	C IVLI VAL ET IVL	C(aius) Iulius Val(erianus) et Iul(ianus)	Berni & Gorostidi: 2013, 168
3593	O. 038	Lead seal	AD 149	AD 161	IVLI	Iuli[orum]	Berni & Gorostidi: 2013, 168
3594	O. 038	Lead seal	AD 149	AD 161	ORVM	[Iuli]orum	Berni & Gorostidi: 2013, 168
3599	O. 039	Wood seal	AD 116	AD 116	ACILIORUM		Djaoui: 2011, 625
3600	O. 039	Wood seal	AD 116	AD 116	COS	Co(n)s(ul)	Djaoui: 2011, 625
3601	O. 039	Wood seal	AD 116	AD 116	AELIAN ET VETER	[Fundanius Lamis] Aelian(us) et [Sextus Carminius] Veter(us)	Djaoui: 2011, 625
3602	O. 040	Terracota seal			VLI EVPREPE C IV LI E	[Caius] Iulius Euprepes Caius Iulius Euprepes	Baratta: 2014, 182
3603	O. 040	Seal	AD 150	AD 190	Ostia Felix		Papi: 2001, 300
3604	O. 040	Seal	AD 150	AD 190	F		Papi: 2001, 300
3606	O. 042	Bronze seal	Not detailed	Not detailed	Iuliae C f Iulianae	Iuliae C(aii) f(iliae) Iulianae	Baratta: 2014, 183
3607	O. 042	Bronze Seal	Not detailed	Not detailed	I C f I	I(uliae) C(aii) f(iliae) I(ulianae)	Baratta: 2014, 183
3608	O. 043	Bronze seal	75 BC	AD 25	M ANTONI ADVENTI	M(arco) Antoni(o) Adventi	Baratta: 2014, 183

3609	O. 044	Bronze seal	AD 275	AD 300	Actiaci	Actiacus	Baratta: 2007, 105
3610	O. 045	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	CVC		Baratta: 2007, 105
3611	O. 046	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	A.M.M.		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 9
3612	O. 047	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	MIT		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 19
3613	O. 048	Bronze seal	AD 1	AD 300	VRIS		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 23
3614	O. 049	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	VC	VC [CA]	<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023
3615	O. 050	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	S		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 22
3616	O. 051	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	C/		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 20
3617	O. 052	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	AI	AI [IV]	<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 30a
3618	O. 053	Seal	AD 1	AD 300	SI		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 24
3619	O. 054	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	C C		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 14b
3620	O. 055	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	SC	SC [LSC]	<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 26
3621	O. 056	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	M		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 15
3622	O. 057	Seal	AD 200	AD 250	LEG XXII ANT	LEG(IO) XXII ANT(ONINIANA)	<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 1
3623	O. 058	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	M.S.N.		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 6
3624	O. 059	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	SI		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 6
3625	O. 060	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	FL. NERI. SABIN		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 6590
3626	O. 061	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	AS		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 6591

3627	O. 062	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	M		<i>CIL XIII 10023 21a</i>
3628	O. 063	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	AS		<i>CIL XIII 10023, 21b</i>
3629	O. 064	Seal	AD 74	AD 150	COH II CYR	Coh(ors) II Cyr(enaica)	<i>CIL XIII 6408</i>
3630	O. 065	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	AS		<i>CIL XIII 10023, 25</i>
3631	O. 066	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	IB		<i>CIL XIII 10023, 17</i>
3632	O. 067	Bronze seal	AD 1	AD 300	VAR		<i>CIL XIII 10023, 5</i>
3633	O. 068	Seal	AD 1	AD 300	CARISEI		<i>CIL XIII 10023, 11</i>
3634	O. 069	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	R. MANDATI		<i>CIL XIII 10023, 8</i>
3635	O. 070	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	S.I.S		Baratta: 2007, 106
3636	O. 071	Seal	AD 1	AD 300	D. CI		Baratta: 2007, 106
3637	O. 072	Seal	AD 1	AD 300	T. CD		Baratta: 2007, 106
3638	O. 073	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	CARISEI CATRIGEN		Baratta: 2007, 106
3639	O. 074	Seal	AD 1	AD 300	VRSVLI		Baratta: 2007, 106
3640	O. 075	Seal	AD 74	AD 150	COIA	Cohors I Alpinorum	Baratta: 2007, 106
3641	O. 076	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	PRTI		Baratta: 2007, 106
3642	O. 077	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	VIV		Baratta: 2007, 106
3643	O. 078	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	PR		Baratta: 2007, 106
3644	O. 079	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	SIG		Baratta: 2007, 106
3645	O. 080	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	AEM	Aem(ilii?)	Baratta: 2007, 106

3646	O. 081	Seal	AD 1	AD 300	M. V. T		Baratta: 2007, 106
3647	O. 082	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	P. AEMIL		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 4
3648	O. 083	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	QCG		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 16
3649	O. 084	Seal	AD 1	AD 300	OCVSIORVM		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 12
3650	O. 085	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	P.TE.Q		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023
3651	O. 086	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	CVIBI () POTII	C. Vibi / Potiti	<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 10
3652	O. 087	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	C.S.M.		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10013, 7
3653	O. 088	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	GL / GVA		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10022, 302
3654	O. 089	Bronze seal	AD 1	AD 300	SACILV		<i>CIL</i> XIII 5686, 699
3655	O. 089	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	APRONOIRVM		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 3
3655	O. 089	Seal	AD 1	AD 300	APRONOIRVM		<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 3
3656	S. 031	Stopper	Not detailed	Not detailed	L. PONTI EUTYCHI	L(ucius) Ponti(us) Eutychi	<i>CIL</i> XII 5683, 225
3709	O. 118	Iron seal	AD 50	AD 180	L. IVSTI		Baratta: 2007, 107
3715	O. 121	Iron seal	AD 1	AD 300	RR		<i>CIL</i> VIII 22632, 44
3716	O. 122	Lead label	60 BC	30 BC	CAES	CAESAR	Sciallano: 1987, 196
3723	O. 124	Bronze seal	AD 136	AD 200	M CASSI SEMPRONIANI	M Cassi(us) Semproniano	Taglietti: 1994, 157ff.
3724	O. 124	Bronze seal	AD 136	AD 200	OSTIA	OSTIA	Taglietti: 1994, 157ff.
3725	O. 125	Seal	AD 117	AD 200	PORT TRAI	Port(us) Trai(anus)	<i>CIL</i> XV 1, 6

3757	S. 034	Stopper	AD 100	AD 200	Τιβε Κλαυδ Επιμου	Τιβεριου Κλαυδιο Επιριου	Thomas: 2011, 27
3863	S. 035	Stopper	60 BC	40 BC	M.ENNI.CI	M(arcus) ENNI(us) CI(vilis)	Benoit: 1964, 153
3864	S. 036	Stopper	60 BC	40 BC	M.ALFI.MF.VNG	M(arcus).ALFI(us).VNG(uentarius)	Benoit: 1964, 154
3914	O. 140	Bronze seal	AD 100	AD 200	C. VALERI AVITI		Berni Millet & Gorostidi: 2013, 184.
3915	O. 140	Bronze seal	AD 100	AD 200	Augustobriga		Berni Millet & Gorostidi: 2013, 184.
3916	O.141	Lead seal	AD 1	AD 100	Ti Clausi Amianti	Ti(berii) Clausi(i) Amianti	Gisbert Santonja: 2008, 247-67
3988	O. 178	Unknown	AD 400	AD 450	DN MAXENTI NG	D(omini) N(ostri) MAXENTI(us) NG/PPR CK	<i>CIL XV 7940</i>
3999	O. 179	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FORI HADRIMET AVGG NN/AUGG NN	FORI(eis) HADRIMET(ini) [durorum augustorum noster]	<i>CIL XV 7941</i>
4000	O.180	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FK DDD NNN AVG ET CES/ CC	F(orici) K(arthaginensibus) [trium] d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) AVG(usti) et [duorum] Caesaris	<i>CIL XV 7942</i>
4001	O. 181	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	SEXTI AURELI SECVNDI /SAS		<i>CIL XV 7943</i>
4002	O. 182	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	TI CL ALEXANDRI / TKA	TI(beri) CL(audi) ALEXANDRI / TKA	<i>CIL XV 7944</i>

17.7. Merchant Names (D & β)

Table 35. Merchant names (D & β)

ID	ID Support	Date (early)	Date (late)	Support type	Reading	Interpretation	Product	Location & technique <i>scripta</i>	Main Source
143	A. 058	AD 125	AD 175	Dressel 20	C AEM	C(ai) AEM(ili)	Oil		Helly; Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 130
144	A. 059	AD 1	AD 50	Dressel 20	V M	V[+]M[+]	Oil	rubrum	Djaoui: 2014, 697
145	A. 060	AD 1	AD 50	Dressel 20	MS		Oil	rubrum	Djaoui: 2014, 697
146	A. 061	AD 1	AD 50	Dressel 20	DOM		Oil	rubrum	Djaoui: 2014, 697
148	A. 063	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	Q.CABIRI		Oil		Helly; Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 132
150	A. 062	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	P COELI TITULLI		Oil		Helly; Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 132
154	A. 063	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	SEX PAPIRI OPTATI		Oil		Helly; Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 133-4,
157	A. 064	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	Q. TERRI I NIGRI		Oil		Helly; Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 134,
161	A. 065	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20 similis	Q.VER	Quintur Ver[] Scae	Oil		Helly; Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 133-4,
164	A. 066	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	ARO		Oil		Helly; Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 138,

167	A. 067	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	INI VRI	□INI[++]VRI	Oil		Helly; Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 138
169	A. 068	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	VI	□VI	Oil		Helly; Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 138
178	A. 074	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	VIR. GAL		Oil		Helly; Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 139
181	A. 076	AD 75	AD 125	Dressel 20	D CAECILI ABASCANTI		Oil		Liou: 1987, 56
183	A. 077	AD 50	AD 100	Dressel 20	D CAECILIORUM	[D]D CAECILIORUM	Oil		Liou: 1987, 57
184	A. 078	AD 50	AD 100	Dressel 20	COEL	COEL[IORUM]	Oil		Liou: 1987, 57
185	A. 079	AD 125	AD 145	Dressel 20	C CRASSI	C(aius) Crassi [Phoenici]	Oil		Liou: 1987, 62
186	A. 080	AD 1	AD 50	Dressel 20	M.FA	M.FA[B]	Oil		Liou: 1987, 62
188	A. 081	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	L FER	FER □ Lucius	Oil		Liou: 1987, 62
189	A. 082	AD 50	AD 70	Dressel 20	I OPTATI	□I OPTATI	Oil		Liou: 1987, 62
190	A. 083	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	RIMI	]RIMI	Oil		Liou: 1987, 63
192	A. 084	AD 50	AD 100	Dressel 20	ORUM	]ORUM	Oil		Liou: 1987, 63
199	A. 090	AD 160	AD 160	Dressel 20	NELIORUM	CORNELIORUM	Oil		Liou: 1987, 102
207	A. 093	AD 120	AD 125	Dressel 20	M AURELI PYRALI	Marcus Aurelius Pyrallus	Oil		Liou: 1987, 131
209	A. 094	AD 100	AD 150	Dressel 20	LERIORUM	[VA] LERIORUM	Oil		Liou: 1987, 131
210	A. 095	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	IVNI R	□ IVNI R [DECIMUS]	Oil		Liou: 1987, 134

218	A. 104	AD 1	AD 50	Dressel 20	A AT I	A(uli)AT I [nii]	Oil	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 112-3
220	A. 105	AD 100	AD 125	Dressel 20	T GESATI FRONTINI		Oil	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 113
223	A. 106	AD 100	AD 125	Dressel 20	SATI FRO	[TISUS GE]SATI(US) FRO[NTINUS]	Oil	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 116
224	A. 107	AD 100	AD 140	Dressel 20	L IVLI LVC	L IVLI LVC[]	Oil	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 116
226	A. 108	AD 100	AD 140	Dressel 20	Q IVVENTI M	Q IVVENTI M[.]	Oil	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 117
228	A. 109	AD 100	AD 140	Dressel 20	C LICINI	C(AIUS) LICINI[US]	Oil	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 117
229	A. 110	AD 200	AD 300	Dressel 20	STERCOR	STERCOR[i]	Oil	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 117
230	A. 111	AD 100	AD 250	Dressel 20	MA VRI	MA[TTI TA]VRI(CUS)	Oil	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 120
237	A. 112	AD 101	AD 150	Dressel 20	Q ORV		Oil	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 123
239	A. 113	AD 1	AD 100	Dressel 20	OFEL	OFEL[LIUS]	Oil	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 123
241	A. 114	AD 1	AD 100	Dressel 20	AVRELIO	AVRELIO[rum]	Oil	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 125
267	A. 132	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	COELIORU	COELIORU[M]	Oil	Liou: 1977, 51
268	A. 133	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	COELIORU	COELIORU[M]	Oil	Liou: 1977, 53

269	A. 134	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	CO	CO[ELIORUM]	Oil		Liou: 1977, 53
271	A. 135	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	L POMPEI VRBANI		Oil		Liou: 1977, 56
273	A. 136	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	POMPEI VRBAN	[] POMPEI VRBAN[]	Oil		Liou: 1977, 57
275	A. 137	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	L POMPE VRBAN	L POMPE[] V]RBAN[]	Oil		Liou: 1977, 58
276	A. 138	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	L POMPEI VR	L POMPEI VR[BANI]	Oil		Liou: 1977, 58
277	A. 139	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	TITI CAPRARI	TITI CAPRARI	Oil		Liou: 1977, 58
279	A. 140	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	TITI C	TITI C[APRARI]	Oil		Liou: 1977, 59
281	A. 141	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	C TITI C]	C TITI C[APRARI]	Oil		Liou: 1977, 59
283	A. 142	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	C VOC TI	C VOC[ONIUS] TI[.]	Oil		Liou: 1977, 59
285	A. 143	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	Q VR TTI REVOCAT	Q VR[]TTI REVOCAT[]	Oil		Liou: 1977, 62
286	A. 144	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	TI REVOCATI	[Q URIT]TI REVOCATI	Oil		Liou: 1977, 62
287	A. 145	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	OCATI	[Q UTITTIUS REV]OCATI	Oil		Liou: 1977, 62
290	A. 146	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	AT I	[Q URITTI REVOC]AT()I	Oil		Liou: 1977, 63
292	A. 147	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	M BIR.		Oil		Liou: 1977, 63
293	A. 148	AD 40	AD 60	Dressel 20	COM		Oil		Liou: 1977, 66
310	A. 163	AD 41	AD 68	Dressel 20	C IVVENTI	C(aius) Iuvv(enti) [Albinus]	Oil		Liou: 1992, 87

312	A. 164	AD 41	AD 68	Dressel 20	CYPAER	CYPAER[<u>I</u>]	Oil		Liou: 1992, 88
315	A. 166	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	L.ANTONI EPAPHRODITI		Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
321	A. 167	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	L. ANTONI EPAP	L. ANTONI EPAP[<u>H</u> RODITI].	Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
327	A. 168	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	L.ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	L[<u>U</u> CIUS] ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
333	A. 169	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	L.ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	L[<u>U</u> CIUS] ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
339	A. 170	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	L ANTONI EPA[<u>P</u>]HRODITI	L[<u>u</u> cius]ANTONI EPAP RODITI	Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
345	A. 171	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	L.ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	L[<u>U</u> CIUS] ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 173
354	A. 173	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	L.ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	L[<u>U</u> CIUS] ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 185
360	A. 174	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	L.ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	L[<u>U</u> CIUS] ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 185
366	A. 175	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	L.ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	L[<u>U</u> CIUS] ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 189
372	A. 176	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	L. ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	L[<u>U</u> CIUS] ANTONI EPAPHRODITI	Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 189
378	A. 177	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	ANTONIORVM MELISSI ET PER	ANTONIORVM () MELISSI ET PER(egrini)	Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 196

384	A. 178	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	ANTONIOR MELISSI ET PEREG	ANTONIOR(um) MELISSI ET PEREG(rini)	Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 196
390	A. 179	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	Q VINISI SERENI		Oil		Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 197-8
397	A. 182	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	ENIIS		Oil		<i>CIL XV 4174</i>
410	A. 185	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	IIOIITIS		Oil		<i>CIL XV 4280</i>
416	A. 186			Dressel 20	M LUCRE OPTATI	M(arcus) LUCRE(TIUS) OPTATI	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3940</i>
416	A. 186	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	M LUCRE OPTATI	M(arcus) LUCRE(TIUS) OPTATI	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3940</i>
422	A. 187			Dressel 20	M OVI AVILLIANI	M(ARCUS) OVI(US) AVILLIANI	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3981</i>
422	A. 187	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	M OVI AVILLIANI	M(ARCUS) OVI(US) AVILLIANI	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3981</i>
424	A. 188	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	L OCRATI SATURNINI ET		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3973</i>
425	A. 188	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	CASSIOR APOL ET ART		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3973</i>
432	A. 189	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	ILLIANI	() [AV]ILLIANI	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3977</i>
443	A. 191			Dressel 2-4	L MARTI SATVLLI FVL	L(UCIUS) MARTI SATVLLI FVL()	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168

450	A. 194			Dressel 2-4	M LICINI RV NI	M LICINI RV[FI]NI	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Poux: 2014, 408-9
457	A. 198			Dressel 2-4	C .LASS.AFRI.TE		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou; Desbat & Lequemet:1987, 162
458	A. 199			Dressel 2-4	ACQ		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou; Desbat & Lequemet:1987, 164
462	A. 200			Beltran 2A	Βασιλέως		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Cotton; Lernau & Goren: 1996, 229
463	A. 200			Beltran 2A	P. O		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Cotton; Lernau & Goren: 1996, 229
480	A. 207			Dressel 2-4	AM ORUM	AM () ORUM	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1993, 135
485	A. 209			Dressel 2-4	Imp Caesare et Siluano co s	Imp(eratore) Caesare et Siluano co(n)s(ulibus)	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1990, 206
486	A. 209			Dressel 2-4	Diff M Seruilio L Aelio Lamia cos	diff(usum) M(arco) Seruilio L(ucio) Aelio Lamia co(n)s(ulibus)	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1990, 206
487	A. 209			Dressel 2-4	suff P Silio L Volusio Saturnin	suff(ectis) P(ublio) Silio L(ucio) Volusio Saturnin(Ī)	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1990, 206

489	A. 211			Dressel 6	Terti		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou; Desbat; Lequeument: 1987, 164
491	A. 213			Dressel 7-11	FORTUNATI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 66
492	A. 213			Dressel 7-11	D		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 66
493	A. 213			Dressel 7-11	CORNELI LVI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 66
497	A. 215			Dressel 7-11	NO[]SA		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 69
499	A. 216			Dressel 7-11	L MANLI SEVERI	L(uci) MANLI SEVERI	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 69
501	A. 217			Dressel 7-11	RVFI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 69
503	A. 218			Dressel 7	AA ATINI	A(uli) Atini	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
505	A. 219			Dressel 7	CN fC		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207

507	A. 220			Dressel 7	A.C.A		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 4713</i>
510	A. 221			Dressel 7	L.Aimili Rudentis		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 4721</i>
513	A. 222			Dressel 7	P.Cordi Grati	P(ublīi) Cordii Gratii	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
517	A. 223			Dressel 7	CN.DOMITIO FELI(C)IO(NIS)	CN.DOMITIO FELI(C)IO(NIS)	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
522	A. 224			Dressel 7	Dortonis L.L.		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
526	A. 225			Dressel 7	D. ALBUCI AUCTI	D(ecimus) Albucii Aucti	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
532	A. 226			Dressel 7	M. LICINI MAHETIS	M(arcus) Licinii Maheti	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
534	A. 227			Dressel 7	P.Cordi Grati	P(ublius) Cordii Gratii	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
539	A. 228			Dressel 7	P.Cordi Grati	Publius Cordius Gratus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207

540	A. 228			Dressel 7	A		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
542	A. 229			Dressel 7	M. VALERI SVAVIS	Marcus Valerius Suavis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
550	A. 230			Dressel 7	C. C H M	Caius Cornelius Hermeros	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
551	A. 231			Dressel 8	QQ CAECILIS	Quintis duobus Caeciliis.	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Desbat; Liou & Lequemet: 1987, 156
553	A. 232			Dressel 8	QQ.CAEĀCILIS	Quintis duobus Caeciliis.	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Desbat; Liou & Lequemet: 1987, 164
555	A. 233			Dressel 8	LICINIOS		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
559	A. 234			Dressel 8	C.C.H		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
564	A. 236			Dressel 8	M AQUIL EVOC	Marcus Aquilius Evocatus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
566	A. 237			Dressel 8	CC ATINIS AC	[Aulus] Atinius [Crescens]?	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207

570	A. 238			Dressel 8	L .M X		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
572	A. 239			Dressel 8	L BAEBI ANTHI	L(ucius) Baebius Anthi	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
576	A. 241			Dressel 8	L.L.N		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
578	A. 242			Dressel 8	M. Quintilii Hermag	M(arcus) Quintilius Herma	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
579	A. 242			Dressel 8	Coelii	Coelii	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
584	A. 244			Dressel 8	L. Anni Hymni	Lucius Annius Hymnus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
585	A. 244			Dressel 8	L. Anni Hymni	Lucius Annius Hymnus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 207
591	A. 245			Dressel 8	M.BAEBI N	Marcus Baebius N[...]	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
595	A. 246			Dressel 8	SECVNDI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 4780

600	A. 249			Dressel 9	M.M. CL	M.M(.) CL()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
604	A. 251			Dressel 9	RSTI	()RSTI	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
607	A. 252			Dressel 9	M	()M()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
610	A. 253			Dressel 9	M.M CL	M.M(.) CL()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
614	A. 254			Dressel 9	T	T(itus)	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
617	A. 255			Dressel 9	T L M	T() L() M()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
627	A. 259			Dressel 9	M. CL	[M] M. CL()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
630	A. 260			Dressel 9	M CL	[M] M(.) CL()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
639	A. 262			Dressel 9	M. M CL	M. M() CL()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167

645	A. 263			Dressel 9	C. P C . III	C. P(). C(). III	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
656	A. 267			Dressel 9	L	()L()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 167
664	A. 271			Dressel 9	C.P.L.		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1993,137
669	A. 272			Dressel 9	APPI MVLI PHILINI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1993, 140
672	A. 273			Dressel 9	Q.CAECILIO CR		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1993, 143
673	A. 274			Dressel 9	Q C E	Q(uintus) C[<u>a</u>]e(cilii)	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1993,143
675	A. 275			Dressel 9	T.VALERI IVLI	T.VALERI IVLI(anus)	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1993, 144
679	A. 276			Dressel 9	L.TER Severi	L.TER(enti)Severi	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
681	A. 277			Dressel 9	AA ATINIS		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	CIL IV 4698

682	A. 277			Dressel 9	LONGINI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	CIL IV. 4698
687	A. 279			Dressel 9	L AEmili Rudentis	L(ucius) Aemilius Rudentis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
690	A. 280			Dressel 9	M PORCI NYMPHODI	M(arcus) Porcius Nymphodis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
692	A. 281			Dressel 9	M N A C N		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
693	A. 281			Dressel 9	IULIO SCIO		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 208
698	A. 282			Dressel 9	QQ C(ae)cilis	QQ C(ae)cilis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
700	A. 283			Dressel 9	P.A. VICTORIS	P(ublius) A Victor	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
705	A. 285			Dressel 9	ZOSIMIO		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 209
708	A. 286			Dressel 9	P. ATTI SEVERI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 3642

714	A. 290			Dressel 9 & 10 similis	R.V F	R.V() F()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
725	A. 294			Dressel 9 & 10 similis	M L	M(arcus) L()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
728	A. 295			Dressel 9 & 10 similis	MVR L	MVR() L()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
737	A. 299			Dressel 9 & 10 similis	L QJ AP P XXL	L() QJ) AP() P() XXL	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
749	A. 304			Dressel 9 & 10 similis	V	(++)V(+++)	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
751	A. 305			Dressel 10- 11	P.ATTI sevERI	P(ublius) Attius Severus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 218
757	A. 307			Dressel 10- 11	P.ATTI sevERI	P(ublius) Attius Severus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 218
761	A. 308			Dressel 10	M BALBI CLARIC	M(arcus) Balbi Clarici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL</i> XV 4750
765	A. 309			Dressel 10	P.ATTI sevERI	P(ubli) Attii Severii	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL</i> XV 4749

768	A. 310			Dressel 10	M CAECILI	M(arcus) Caecilius	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 4751</i>
770	A. 311			Dressel 10	A. Atil(i) Macri	A. Atil(i) Macri	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
775	A. 313			Dressel 10	IOSSIPI COR(neli)	Iosippus Corneli libertus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 4731</i>
782	A. 315			Dressel 10	AA ATINII	A(ulus) Atinius	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 4744</i>
785	A. 316			Dressel 10	C aut P. non Domillius		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
786	A. 317			Dressel 10	QQ CA{eci}lis	Q(uintis) duobus Caeciliis.	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
789	A. 318			Dressel 10	C VALERI CATULI	C(aii) Valerii Catulli	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 210
797	A. 324			Dressel 12	L.MEVI	L(ucii) Mevii [Rufi]	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou; Desbat & Lequement: 1987, 164
798	A. 324			Dressel 12	RVFI	[Lucii Mevii] Rufi	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou; Desbat & Lequement: 1987, 164

802	A. 325			Dressel 14	M. VALERI EUPLI	M(arcus) Valeri Eupl	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 14-15
809	A. 328			Dressel 14	M MEMMI AGATHE	M[arcus] Memmius Agathemerus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 18-19,
814	A. 329			Dressel 14	M MEMMI AGATHE	M[arcus] Memmius Agathemerus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 20
819	A. 330			Dressel 14	Q OCTAVI AGATHEMERI	Q[uintus] Octavius Agathemerus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 21,
820	A. 331			Dressel 14	C CLODI ALEXA[	Caius Clodius Alexander	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 22
823	A. 332			Dressel 14	]UNIORUM III S	Iuniorum Trium sociorum	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 116
826	A. 333			Dressel 14	SABINI ET AVITI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 141
830	A. 334			Dressel 14	L TETT AFRICANI	L(uci) TETT(i) AFRICANI	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Martin-Kilchner, 1994 (p.417, fig 185),
834	A. 335			Dressel 14	L.V M MIL	L.V() M() MIL	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Martin-Kilchner: 1990, n.14

837	A. 336			Dressel 14	L AVR	L AVR()	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 166
844	A. 338			Dressel 14	C VIBI SECUNDI	Caius Vibius Secundus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1993, 144, 146.
849	A. 341			Dressel 28	OMAINVIALATA	[]OMAINVIALATA	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 144
850	A. 341			Dressel 28	OMAINVIALATA	[]OMAINVIALATA	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 144
851	A. 342			Dressel 28	OM	[]OM[]AINVIALATA	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 144
852	A. 343			Dressel 43	C. THEODORI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 89
853	A. 344			Dressel 43	T. IVULI TERTI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 89
854	A. 345			Dressel 43	M.P.A		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 89
859	A. 346			Dressel 43	διαλμιου		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 91

860	A. 347			Dressel 43	SEC AEL		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 92
861	A. 348			Dressel 43	C. Iuli Ma		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 92
862	A. 348			Dressel 43	M		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 92
864	A. 349			Dressel 43	M.K.Ī'		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 92
865	A. 349			Dressel 43	διαφιλλεα		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 92
867	A. 350			Dressel 43	K A		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 92
869	A. 351			Dressel 43	ACT		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 162
870	A. 352			Dressel 43	PHOEBI.LxCVxxINUM		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 162
871	A. 352			Dressel 43	LP		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 162

872	A. 353			Dressel 43	Q . I . D		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 162
875	A. 354			Dressel 43	Q.IC.HE		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 164
877	A. 355			Dressel 43	ισαγγου		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 164
879	A. 356			Dressel 43	MI.N		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 164
880	A. 356			Dressel 43	δια θρεπτου		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 164
881	A. 357			Dressel 43	MC CAT		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 164
882	A. 358			Dressel 43	Αρτιε k	αρτιε[...] k	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Desbat; Liou & Lequement: 1987, 154
886	A. 359			Beltran 1	C. CORNELI HEMEROTIS	C(aius) Cornelius Hermeros	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
889	A. 360			Beltran 1	L.TEREN	L(ucius) Terentius	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214

890	A. 361			Beltran 1	C.E.F.		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
893	A. 362			Beltran 1	AB		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
894	A. 362			Beltran 1	NICANDRO DOROTHEO		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
895	A. 362			Beltran 1	P.S.G		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
899	A. 363			Beltran 1	L.A.E		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
901	A. 363			Beltran 1	C C H	C(aius) C(ornelius) H(ermeros)?	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
906	A. 364			Beltran 1	C HOSTI AGATHEMERI	C(aius) Hosti Agathemer	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
912	A. 365			Beltran 1	C HOSTI AGATHEMERI	C(aius) Hosti Agathemer	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
917	A. 366			Beltran 1	C HOSTI AGATHEMERI	C(aius) Hosti Agathemer	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

922	A. 367			Beltran 1	C HOSTI AGATHEMERI	C(aius) Hosti Agathemeris	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
928	A. 368			Beltran 1	C HOSTI AGATHEMERI	C(aius) Hosti Agathemeris	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
932	A. 369			Beltran 1	M VALERIVS ABINNERICI	M(arcus)Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
938	A. 370			Beltran 1	M VALERIVS ABINNERICI	M(arcus)Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
944	A. 371			Beltran 1	M VALERIVS ABINNERICI	M(arcus)Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
947	A. 372			Beltran 1	M RI ABINNERICI	M(arcus) (Vale)ri(us) Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
954	A. 373			Beltran 1	M VALERIVS ABINNERICI	M(arcus) Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
958	A. 374			Beltran 1	M VALERIVS ABINNERICI	M(arcus) Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
964	A. 375			Beltran 1	M VALERIVS ABINNERICI	M(arcus) Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

970	A. 376			Beltran 1	M VALERIVS ABINNERICI	M(arcus) Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
974	A. 377			Beltran 1	M VALERIVS ABINNERICI	M(arcus) Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
979	A. 378			Beltran 1	M VALERIVS ABINNERICI	M(arcus) Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
984	A. 379			Beltran 1	M VALERIVS ABINNERICI	M(arcus) Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
991	A. 380			Beltran 1	ABINNERICI	[Marcus Valerius] Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1000	A. 381			Beltran 1	M VALERIVS ABINNERICI	M(arcus) Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1004	A. 382			Beltran 1	M VALERI HELIADIS	M(arcus) Valerius Heliadis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1009	A. 383			Beltran 1	M VALERI HELIADIS	M(arcus) Valerius Heliadis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1014	A. 384			Beltran 1	M VALERI HELIADIS	M(arcus) Valerius Heliadis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214

1019	A. 385			Beltran 1	MA CAETGFC		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1022	A. 386			Beltran 1	NICANDRIDOROHTI	Nicandro Dorotheo	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1025	A. 387			Beltran 1	C HOLCO	Caius Holco(nius)	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL</i> IV 5628
1033	A. 388			Beltran 1	M.ET.L.CLAUDIORUM		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1036	A. 389			Beltran 1	M. VALERIABINNERICI	M(arcus) Valerius Abinnerici	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1048	A. 391			Beltran 1	M. COSCONI SATURNINI	M(arcus) Cosconi Saturnini	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1055	A. 392			Beltran 1	M. COSCONI SATURNINI	M(arcus) Cosconi Saturnini	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1062	A. 393			Beltran 1	M. COSCONI SATURNINI	M(arcus) Cosconi Saturnini	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1069	A. 394			Beltran 1	C PAPINI PLANTAES	C(aius) Papinius Planta	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

1074	A. 395			Beltran 1	C.TERENTI PAV	C(aii) Terentii Pau(li)	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1083	A. 396			Beltran 1	C.CORNELI HEMEROTIS	C(aii) Cornelia Hermerotis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios, 2004, 214
1089	A. 397			Beltran 1	LLIVICIS		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1095	A. 398			Beltran 1	METL		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1096	A. 398			Beltran 1	CLAUDIOR	Clador(um)	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213
1103	A. 399			Beltran 1	TERENTI PAVLI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1112	A. 400			Beltran 1	NICANDRI DOROTHEI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1124	A. 402			Beltran 1	C.TERENTI PAVLLI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213-4
1131	A. 403			Beltran 1	CLAUDI.P. ACAPHETI ELPEIϕEBI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 213

1136	A. 404			Beltran 1	A.ATINI CRESCENTIS	A(uli) Atini Crescens	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1145	A. 405			Beltran 1	C.CORNELI HEMEROTIS		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1154	A. 406			Beltran 1	M. VALERI FELICIS		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1156	A. 407			Beltran 1	L. IVNI HERMEROTIS	L(ucii) Iunii Hermerotis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1160	A. 408			Beltran 1	OPTAT	[Sextus Papirius] Optat[us]	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1166	A. 409			Beltran 1	C.CORNELI HEMEROTIS	C(aius) Cornelii Hermeroti	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1169	A. 410			Beltran 1	M.ET.L.CLAUDIORUM		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1170	A. 411			Beltran 1	AELIO MAGNO		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1171	A. 412			Beltran 1	C.ANNIO.MAXIMO	C(ai) Anni Maximo	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214

1172	A. 413			Beltran 1	ANTIOCHID		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1174	A. 415			Beltran 1	TI CLAUDI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1176	A. 416			Beltran 1	N.FVFIDI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1177	A. 416			Beltran 1	SUCCESSI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Lagostena Barrios: 2004, 214
1178	A. 417			Dressel 8	C IVLI APOLLON	C(aii) Iulius Apollon(i)	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1977, 78
1180	A. 418			Dressel 8	L POMPEI EROTI	L(ucius) pompeius Eroti(s)	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1977, 79
1181	A. 419			Dressel 8	Q VIBI CHARITONIS	Q(uinti) Vibii Charitonis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1977, 79
1197	A. 424			Beltran 2A	L.VIBI POLYANTHI ET	L(ucii) Vibi Polyanthi et []	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL</i> XV 4046
1198	A. 424			Beltran 2A	L FABI PHOEBI	L(ucii) Fabi Phoebi	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL</i> XV 4046

1205	A. 426			Beltran 2A	L.I. POLYANTHI	L(ucill)i Polyanthi	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 89
1210	A. 427			Beltran 2A	G PUBLICI SATVRISCI	G(ai) Publici Saturisci	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 90
1217	A. 429			Beltran 2A	OC		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 92
1218	A. 430			Beltran 2A	DRC		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 92
1225	A. 432			Beltran 2B	DIADV	DIADV(meni)	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 118
1230	A. 433			Beltran 2B	Apusti		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 136-7
1233	A. 434			Beltran 2B	M.VALERI FELICIS		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 137
1235	A. 435			Beltran 2B	T HILA[		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 139
1236	A. 435			Beltran 2B	GERMA		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 139

1243	A. 437			Beltran 2B	G VISI CR...NI	C(rispini) C(ai) Vibi Crispini	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou; Gassend & Roman: 1990, 209
1247	A. 439			Not identified	TORANI CA			<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 118-119
1252	A. 442			Not identified	G.RVFI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Desbat; Liou & Lequement: 1987, 156
1255	A. 444			Not identified	[Av]τιόχου	Antiochus	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Desbat; Liou & Lequement: 1987, 159
1257	A. 445			Not identified	L.VALERI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Desbat; Liou & Lequement: 1987, 159
1258	A. 446			Not identified	IVLIOR		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Desbat; Liou & Lequement: 1987, 160
1259	A. 447			Not identified	LPS		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Desbat; Liou & Lequement: 1987, 160
1260	A. 448			Not identified	LSS		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Desbat; Liou & Lequement: 1987, 161
1261	A. 449			Not identified	CYP			<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 95

1269	A. 454			Gauloise 3-5	OBELLIOR		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1272	A. 457			Gauloise 3-5	NEONIS MACI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1273	A. 458			Gauloise 3-5	POLYTIMI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1274	A. 459			Gauloise 3-5	CI TIM	CI()()TIM()	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1280	A. 462			Gauloise 3-5	CM		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1281	A. 463			Gauloise 3-5	EL		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1282	A. 464			Gauloise 3-5	L CASSI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1283	A. 465			Gauloise 3-5	PRIMIGENIO DECVMII		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1284	A. 466			Gauloise 3-5	P. VOLCACI	P(ublīi) Volcaci	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170

1285	A. 467			Gauloise 3-5	TIMOTHEI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1286	A. 468			Gauloise 3-5	CĂŢ.V.C		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1287	A. 468			Gauloise 3-5	. CAP or R		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1288	A. 469			Gauloise 3-5	() Cordi Callisti.		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1309	A. 483			Gauloise 3-5	T AELI HERRIANI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1313	A. 484			Gauloise 3-5	CCC		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1317	A. 485			Gauloise 3-5	MY FEIB	MY() FEIB()	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1324	A. 487			Gauloise 3-5	M I	M() I()	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170
1327	A. 488			Gauloise 3-5	Q I. T.		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 170

1345	A. 495			Gauloise 3-5	POITIOR		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 171
1350	A. 498			Gauloise 3-5	M	M()	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 171
1351	A. 499			Gauloise 3-5	ILV	ILV()	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 171
1355	A. 501			Gauloise 3-5	EL		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 85
1357	A. 502			Gauloise 3-5	A		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 87
1364	A. 507			Gauloise 4	TEN		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1367	A. 508			Gauloise 4	Q.QVINTI HELVI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1368	A. 508			Gauloise 4	MARTIALIS		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1373	A. 509			Gauloise 4	T MARI	T(itus) MARI	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168

1375	A. 510			Gauloise 4	L ANNAEI EPAP RODITI	L ANNAEI EPAP()RODITI	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1376	A. 511			Gauloise 4	PHILETI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1382	A. 513			Gauloise 4	C MON		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1390	A. 516			Gauloise 4	PI	PI()	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1397	A. 520			Gauloise 4	M G	M()G() ()	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1407	A. 523			Gauloise 4	Q V M	Q () V () M ()	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1411	A. 524			Gauloise 4	T T N	T () T () N ()	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1416	A. 525			Gauloise 4	T E C	T () E () C ()	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1420	A. 526			Gauloise 4	C NICI	C ()NICI	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169

1424	A. 527			Gauloise 4	IVLI ADIVTORI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Desbat et al: 1987, p. 142).
1427	A. 528			Gauloise 4	M A P		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1434	A. 531			Gauloise 4	TVLLI T BI	TVLLI T ()BI	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1435	A. 532			Gauloise 4	P IIII		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1436	A. 533			Gauloise 4	LOC	[Marcus] Loc[illius Alexander]	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1457	A. 545			Gauloise 5	OBELLIO	OBELLIO(rum)	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1461	A. 547			Gauloise 4	[]T		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 155,
1464	A. 549			Gauloise 4	AEP		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 157
1465	A. 550			Gauloise 4	DEM		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 157

1466	A. 551			Gauloise 4	MAM		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 157
1467	A. 552			Gauloise 4	M FAB		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 157
1469	A. 553			Gauloise 4	HILARION		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 159
1470	A. 553			Gauloise 4	ERRI AB	ERRI AB	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 159
1475	A. 554			Gauloise 4	C ORCI MO	C ORCI MO	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 179
1479	A. 555			Gauloise 4	LVNGOLI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 93
1483	A. 559			Gauloise 5	ATTI SECVNDI		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1486	A. 560			Gauloise 5	C.A.C		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 169
1496	A. 564			Ostia LIX	DIORV		Olives?	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 95-6

1498	A. 566			Rhodian Style	ΘΕΩΝΟC		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 89
1499	A. 567			Rhodian Style	θε		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1987, 106
1500	A. 568			Rhodian Style	CLN		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 160
1503	A. 569			Rhodian Style	αργουριου or ἀργυρίου		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 160-2
1506	A. 571			Rhodian Style	Ἡγέμονος		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1993, 137
1508	A. 572			Rhodian Style	Ἰ, Ἰμ		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1993, 137
1510	A. 573			Rhodian Style	θε		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 94
1511	A. 574			Rhodian Style	ECTEIOY		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 94
1513	A. 575			Rhodian Style	εφαρμοστου		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 94

1514	A. 576			Rhodian Style	Χερα		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 94
1515	A. 577			Cretoise 3	CEA AIOY	CEA [] AIOY	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1992, 95
1525	A. 580			Dressel 7-11 similis	IVNI CILONIS	[] IVNI CILONIS	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 135
1528	A. 581			Dressel 7-11 similis	LICINIVSLVN	[] LICINIVSLVN	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 135
1532	A. 582			Dressel 7-11 similis	RVSTICI. IV		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Desbat; Liou & Lequemet: 1987, 154
1535	A. 583			Dressel 7-11 similis	AA ATINIS	A(ulii) Atinis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1993, 140, 143
1538	A. 585			Dressel 7-11 similis	MT		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Liou: 1993, 144
1542	A. 588			Haltern 70 similis	CLP	tria nomina roman citizen?	Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Laubenheimer: 2004, 168
1576	A. 603				C. CORNELI.HERMEROTIS	C(aii) Corneli Hermerotis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL</i> IV 2588

1581	A. 604	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	PITALIS	⌊Decimus Caecilius Hos⌋pitalis	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3762</i>
1586	A. 605	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	Larg et messalino	largo et messalino	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3763</i>
1587	A. 605	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	D CAECILIUS HOSPITALIS	D(ecimus) Caecilius Hospitalis	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3763</i>
1590	A. 606	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	D CAECILI HOSPITA	D(ecimus) Caecilius Hospitalis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3764a</i>
1593	A. 607	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	D CAECILI HOSPITALIS	D(ecimus) Caecilius Hospitalis	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3764b</i>
1595	A. 608	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORU		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3769</i>
1596	A. 608	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN	Hospitalis et matern⌊i⌋	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3769</i>
1603	A. 609	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIORUM	⌊DD⌋ CAECILIORUM	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the	<i>CIL XV 3770</i>

								neck) / Painted	
1604	A. 609	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	OSPITALIS ET MATER	[H]OSPITALIS ET MATERNI	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3770</i>
1610	A. 610	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3771</i>
1611	A. 610	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	T MATERN	[HOSPITALIS E]T MATERNI	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3771</i>
1620	A. 612	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	ECILIORUM	[DD CA]ECILIORUM	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3773</i>
1621	A. 612	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	ET MATERN	[HOSPITALIS] ET MATERNI	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3773</i>
1627	A. 613	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	ECILIORUM	[DD CA]ECILIORUM	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3774</i>
1628	A. 613	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	IS ET MATERNI	[HOSPITAL]IS ET MATERNI	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3774</i>

1633	A. 614	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3775</i>
1634	A. 614	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	HO	HO[SPITALIS ET MATERNI]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3775</i>
1636	A. 615	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3776</i>
1637	A. 615	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	N	HOSPITALIS ET MATERNI	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3776</i>
1640	A. 616	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CA	DD CA[ECILIORUM]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3777</i>
1641	A. 616	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	HOSP	HOSP[ITALIS ET MATERNI]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3777</i>
1646	A. 617	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	ET MATERNI	[HOSPITALIS] ET MATERNI	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3778</i>

1650	A. 618	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3779</i>
1651	A. 618	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	HOSPITALIS ET MATERNI		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3779</i>
1655	A. 619	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3780a</i>
1656	A. 619	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN[<u>I</u>]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3780a</i>
1659	A. 620	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3780b</i>
1660	A. 620	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN[<u>I</u>]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3780b</i>
1663	A. 621	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3780c</i>

1664	A. 621	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN[<u>I</u>]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3780c</i>
1666	A. 622	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3780d</i>
1667	A. 622	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN[<u>I</u>]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3780d</i>
1669	A. 623	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3780e</i>
1670	A. 623	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN[<u>I</u>]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3780e</i>
1674	A. 625	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIOR/PROCV		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3804</i>
1677	A. 626	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM P.T.O		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3805</i>

1679	A. 627	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM	Cassius	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3806</i>
1684	A. 628	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3807</i>
1690	A. 629	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	RVM	[Cassi]orum	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3808</i>
1695	A. 630	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3809a</i>
1698	A. 631	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3809b</i>
1701	A. 632	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3809c</i>
1705	A. 634	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3809e</i>

1708	A. 635	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3809f</i>
1711	A. 636	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3809g</i>
1714	A. 637	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3809h</i>
1716	A. 638	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	S		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3809i</i>
1717	A. 638	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3809i</i>
1718	A. 639	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3809j</i>
1720	A. 640	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	CASSIORVM		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3809k</i>
1723	A. 641	AD 140	AD 149	Dressel 20	M OVI AVILLIANI	M(arci) Ovi Avilliani	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3978</i>

1730	A. 642	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	TTI APOLLONI	P(ubli) Olitti Apolloni	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3974</i>
1734	A. 643	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	P OLITI APOLLONI	P(ubli) Oliti Apolloni	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3975a</i>
1736	A. 644	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	P OLITI APOLLONI	P(ubli) Oliti Apolloni	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3975b</i>
1738	A. 645	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	P OLITI APOLLONI	P(ubli) Oliti Apolloni	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3975c</i>
1740	A. 646	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	MARI PHOEBI	⌊L⌋(ucii) Mari Phoebi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3943</i>
1748	A. 647	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI	L(ucii) Mari Phoebi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3944</i>
1752	A. 648	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI	L(ucii) Mari Phoebi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3945</i>

1758	A. 649	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	PHOEB	L(ucii) [Mari] Phoeb[ī]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3946</i>
1764	A. 650	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI	L(ucii) Mari Phoebi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3947</i>
1769	A. 651	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI	L(ucii) Mari Phoebi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3948a</i>
1772	A. 652	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI	L(ucii) Mari Phoebi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3948b</i>
1775	A. 653	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI	L(ucii) Mari Phoebi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3948c</i>
1777	A. 654	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI	L(ucii) Mari Phoebi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3948d</i>
1779	A. 655	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	OEBI ET	[L](ucii) [Mari] [Ph]oebi et []	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3949</i>

1780	A. 655	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	ET R	[vibior viatoris] et R	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3949</i>
1790	A. 657	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI ET	Lucius Marius Phoebus et[]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3951</i>
1791	A. 657	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	VIBIOR V ET R		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3951</i>
1798	A. 658	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI ET	Lucius Marius Phoebus et[]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3952</i>
1798	A. 658	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI ET	Lucius Marius Phoebus et[]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3952</i>
1799	A. 658	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	VIBIOR V ET R		Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3952</i>
1805	A. 659	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	Phoebi	[Luci Mari] Phoebi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3953</i>
1806	A. 659	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	Vib V et Res	Vib[]u[s] et res[]tut[]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the	<i>CIL XV 3953</i>

								neck) / Painted	
1811	A. 660	AD 154	AD 154	AD 154	L MARI PHOEBI ET	L(uci) Mari PhoebI et	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3954</i>
1812	A. 660	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	VIBIOR VIAT ET R	vibior viat[oris] et R	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3954</i>
1830	A. 664	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI T	L(uci) Mari Phoebi [e]t	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3958</i>
1831	A. 664	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	VIBIOR ET R	Vibior [viatorum] et R[estitutum]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3958</i>
1836	A. 665	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI ET	L(uci) Mari Phoebi et	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3959a</i>
1837	A. 665	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	VIBIOR VIAT ET REST	Vibior Viat[orum] et Rest[itutum]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3959a</i>
1840	A. 666	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI ET	L(uci) Mari Phoebi et	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3959b</i>
1841	A. 666	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	VIBIOR VIAT ET REST	Vibior Viat[orum] et Rest[itutum]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3959b</i>
1844	A. 667	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI ET	L(uci) Mari Phoebi et	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3959c</i>
1845	A. 667	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	VIBIORV	Vibioru[m]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3959c</i>

1847	A. 668	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI ET	L(uci) Mari Phoebi et	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3959d</i>
1848	A. 668	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	VIBIORV	Vibioru[m]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3959d</i>
1851	A. 669	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI ET	L(uci) Mari Phoebi et	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3959e</i>
1852	A. 669	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	VIBIORV	Vibioru[m]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3959e</i>
1854	A. 670	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI ET	L(uci) Marius Phoebus et	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV, 3959f</i>
1855	A. 670	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	VIBIORV	Vibioru[m]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3959f</i>
1857	A. 671	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI ET	L(uci) Marius Phoebus et	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3959g</i>
1858	A. 671	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	VIBIORV	Vibioru[m]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3959g</i>
1859	A. 672	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	L MARI PHOEBI ET	L(uci) Marius Phoebus et	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3959h</i>
1860	A. 672	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	VIBIORV	Vibioru[m]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3959h</i>
1861	A. 673	AD 146	AD 146	Dressel 20	VNDI	[Sex](ti) [Fadi Sec]undi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the	<i>CIL XV 3863</i>

								neck) / Painted	
1866	A. 674	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secund [Musa]	Oil		CIL XV 3864
1871	A. 675	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	SECVN	[Sex(ti) Fadi] Secund[i] Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 3865
1877	A. 676	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 3866
1882	A. 677	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	FADI SECVNDI	[Sex](ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 3867
1888	A. 678	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	NDI	[Sex(ti) Fadi Secu]ndi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 3868
1894	A. 679	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 3869
1900	A. 680	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SECVNDI	[Sex(ti) Fadi] Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 3870

1907	A. 682	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3872</i>
1913	A. 683	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873a</i>
1916	A. 684	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873b</i>
1918	A. 685	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873c</i>
1921	A. 686	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873d</i>
1923	A. 687	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873e</i>
1925	A. 688	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873f</i>

1927	A. 689	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873g</i>
1929	A. 690	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873h</i>
1932	A. 691	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873i</i>
1934	A. 692	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873k</i>
1937	A. 693	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873l</i>
1940	A. 694	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873m</i>
1943	A. 695	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873n</i>

1945	A. 696	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3873o</i>
1947	A. 697	AD 146	AD 161	Dressel 20	SEX FADI SECUNDI	Sex(ti) Fadi Secundi [Musa]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3873p</i>
1950	A. 698	AD 180	AD 180	Dressel 20	FULVIORVM II CHARI	Fulviorum Charisi[anorum]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3876</i>
1951	A. 698	AD 180	AD 180	Dressel 20	SIANORVM ET ROCAT	Sianorum et rocat[orum]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3876</i>
1954	A. 699	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	M IVLI H ETIS	M(arci) Iuli H[erm]etis	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3897</i>
1957	A. 700	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	C ENNO ENNIA	C(ai) Enno Ennia	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3852</i>
1960	A. 701	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	L AELIUS OPT ET CAESA L AEL LUPATI	L(uci) Aelius Opt(ati) et Caesa[ni] Ael[iani] Lupati	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3693</i>
1962	A. 702	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	I AELOPTCAESAEILVPATI	[L](uci) Ael[i] Opt[ati] Caesa[ni] Ae[liani] Lupati	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3694a</i>

1965	A. 703	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	L. AELOPTCAES	L(uci) Ael(i) Opt(ati) Caes[ani]	Oil		CIL XV 3694b
1968	A. 704	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	LVPATI	[L(uci) Aelius Opt(ati) et Caesa[ni] Ael[iani]] Lupati	Oil		CIL XV 3694c
1970	A. 705	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	D CAECILIORUM	D(ecimi) Caeciliorum	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	CIL XV, 3795
1971	A. 705	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	L ELIO OPTATI	L(uci) Aelio Optati	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 3795
1973	A. 706	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	L IVLI FIRMI	L(uci) Iuli Firmi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 3894
1979	A. 707	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	L IVLI FIRMI	L(uci) Iuli Firmi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 3895
1982	A. 708	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	IVL TROPHIM ET ZOSIMI	Iul(i) trophim[i] et Zosimi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	CIL XV 3901
1987	A. 709	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	I CILIAFLICISSI	[A]cilia F(e)licissimi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the	CIL XV 3691

								neck) / Painted	
1989	A. 710	AD 160	AD 160	Dressel 20	C AELI FABIANI	C(ai) Aelius Fabianus	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3692</i>
1995	A. 711	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	L AEMILIALT	L(uci) AemiliaAlt	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3695a</i>
1999	A. 712	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	L AEMILIALT	Lucius Aemilius Alt	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3695b</i>
2001	A. 713	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	M AFRANI	M(arci) Afrani [Euporio]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3696</i>
2004	A. 714	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	I PASTORIS	M(arci) [Aemil]i Pastoris	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 4804a</i>
2005	A. 715	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	I PASTORIS	M(arci) [Aemili] Pastoris	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 4084b</i>
2007	A. 716	AD 147	AD 154	Dressel 20	M AEMILI SILVINI	M(arci) Aemili Silvini	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	Rodriguez Almeida: 1972, 130

2008	A. 717	AD 140	AD 145	Dressel 20	Q ALFI THESEI	Q(uinti) Alfi Thesei	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	Rodriguez Almeida: 1972, 130
2009	A. 718	AD 254	AD 254	Dressel 20	M ANNI	Marcus Annius	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3697</i>
2010	A. 719	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	L ANTISTI	L(uci) Antisti	Oil		Rodriguez Almeida: 1972, 130
2012	A. 720	AD 100	AD 250	Dressel 20	Antonior et Aurel et Idaei	Antonior[um] et Aurel[i] et Idaei	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3698</i>
2015	A. 721	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	C ANTONI BALBI	C(ai) Antoni Balbi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3699a</i>
2018	A. 722	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	C ANT BAL	C(ai) Ant[oni] Bal[bi]	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3699b</i>
2020	A. 723	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	L. ANTONI CRASSINI	L(uci) Antoni Crassini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3700</i>
2024	A. 724	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	L. ANTONI CRASSINI	L(uci) Antoni Crassini	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3701</i>
2026	A. 724	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	NI IVCVNDI	[L](uci) [Anto]ni Iucundi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3711</i>

								neck) / Painted	
2038	A. 727	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	L NI IVCVNDI	L(uci) [Anto]ni Iucundi	Oil	<i>Sub collo</i> (under the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 3714</i>
2045	A. 729	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	L NI IVCVNDI	L(uci) [Anto]ni Iucundi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3715b</i>
2049	A. 731	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIAN	L(uci) Antoni Plebeian[ī]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3716</i>
2058	A. 733	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIANI	L(uci) Antoni Plebeiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3718</i>
2067	A. 735	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIANI	L(uci) Antoni Plebeiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3720</i>
2073	A. 736	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIANI	L(uci) Antoni Plebeiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3721</i>
2079	A. 737	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIANI	L(uci) Antoni Plebeiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3722</i>
2082	A. 738	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIANI	L(uci) Antoni Plebeiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3723a</i>
2084	A. 739	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIANI	L(uci) Antoni Plebeiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3723b</i>
2087	A. 740	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIANI	L(uci) Antoni Plebeiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3723c</i>
2089	A. 741	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIANI	L(uci) Antoni Plebeiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3723d</i>
2091	A. 742	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIANI	L(uci) Antoni Plebeiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3723e</i>
2094	A. 743	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIANI	L(uci) Antoni Plebeiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3723f</i>
2095	A. 742	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI PLEBEIANI	L(uci) Antoni Plebeiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3723g</i>
2098	A. 743	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI SECVRI	L(uci) Antoni Securi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3724</i>
2104	A. 744	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI SEVERI	L(uci) Antoni Severi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3725</i>

2109	A. 745	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI SEVERI	L(uci) Antoni Severi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3726</i>
2115	A. 746	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L ANTONI SEVERI	L(uci) Antoni Severi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3727</i>
2117	A. 747	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	L ANTONI	L(uci) Antoni []	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3728a</i>
2120	A. 748	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	L ANTONI	L(uci) Antoni []	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3728b</i>
2123	A. 749	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	L ANTONI	L(uci) Antoni []	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3728c</i>
2125	A. 751	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	L ANTONI	L(uci) Antoni []	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3728e</i>
2128	A. 752	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	ANT AGATHONICES ET	Ant(oni) Ahathonices et	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3729a</i>
2129	A. 752	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	SEMP EPAGATHONIS	Semp(roni) Epagathonis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3729a</i>
2132	A. 753	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	ANT AGATHONICES ET	Ant(oni) Ahathonices et	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3729b</i>
2133	A. 753	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	SEMP EPAGATHONIS	Semp(roni) Epagathonis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3729b</i>
2135	A. 754	AD 200	AD 225	Dressel 20	V SOCI APRON AVRELIANI	V SOCI(ORUM) APRON(IANI) AVRELIANI	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3730</i>
2136	A. 754	AD 200	AD 225	Dressel 20	CRINI ET AUREL ET VIN	[MA]CRINI ET AVREL[I] ET VIN[ISIORUM]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3730</i>
2138	A. 755	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	ATTICI TROPHIMIANI	[D](ecimi) Attici Trophimiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV, 3731</i>
2144	A. 756	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D ATTICI TROPHIMIANI	D(ecimi) Attici Trophimiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3732</i>
2151	A. 757	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D ATTICI TROPHIMIANI	D(ecimi) Attici Trophimiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3733</i>

2155	A. 758	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D ATTICI TROPHIMIANI	D(ecimi) Attici Trophimiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3734a</i>
2157	A. 759	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D ATTICI TROPHIMIANI	D(ecimi) Attici Trophimiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3734b</i>
2159	A. 760	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D ATTICI TROPHIMIANI	D(ecimi) Attici Trophimiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3734c</i>
2161	A. 761	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D ATTICI TROPHIMIANI	D(ecimi) Attici Trophimiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3734d</i>
2163	A. 762	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D ATTICI TROPHIMIANI	D(ecimi) Attici Trophimiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3734e</i>
2165	A. 763	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D ATICI HERENN	D(ecimi) Atici Herenn[ī]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3735</i>
2171	A. 764	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	HERENN	[D](ecimi) [Attici] Herenn[ī]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3736</i>
2180	A. 766	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D ATICI HERENN	D(ecimi) Atici Herenn[ī]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3738</i>
2184	A. 767	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D ATICI HERENN	D(ecimi) Atici Herenn[ī]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3739a</i>
2186	A. 768	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D ATICI HERENN	D(ecimi) Atici Herenn[ī]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3739b</i>
2188	A. 769	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	D ATICI D L ONESIM	D(ecimi) Atici D.L. Onesim(i)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3740</i>
2189	A. 770	AD 125	AD 150	Dressel 20	D ATICI TROPHIMI	D(ecimi) Atici Trophimi	Oil		Rodriguez Almeida: 1972, 131
2191	A. 771	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	ATICIOR C		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3741a</i>

2192	A. 772	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	ATICIOR C		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3741b</i>
2195	A. 773	AD 220	AD 225	Dressel 20	ATILIAE T F PA		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3742</i>
2198	A. 774	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	TTI TAVRI	[M](arci) [A]tti Tauri	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3743</i>
2203	A. 775	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	M ATTI TAVRI	M(arci) Atti Tauri	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3744a</i>
2206	A. 776	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	M ATTI TAVRI	M(arci) Atti Tauri	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3744b</i>
2209	A. 777	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	M ATTI TAVRI	M(arci) Atti Tauri	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3744c</i>
2212	A. 778	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	M ATTI TAVRI	M(arci) Atti Tauri	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3744d</i>
2215	A. 779	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	M ATTI TAVRI	M(arci) Atti Tauri	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3744e</i>
2217	A. 780	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	M ATTI TAVRI	M(arci) Atti Tauri	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3744f</i>
2219	A. 781	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	M ATTI TAVRI	M(arci) Atti Tauri	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3744g</i>
2220	A. 782	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	M ATTI TAVRI	M(arci) Atti Tauri	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3745</i>
2223	A. 783	AD 175	AD 180	Dressel 20	ATTIOR		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3746</i>
2225	A. 784	AD 175	AD 180	Dressel 20	MARCI AUD		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3747</i>
2227	A. 785	AD 154	AD 161	Dressel 20	M AVRELI SOTAT	M(arci) Aureli Sotati	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3748</i>
2229	A. 786	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	T AVRELI SPERATI	T(iti) Aureli Sperati	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3749</i>
2232	A. 787	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	T AVRELI SPERATI	T(iti) Aureli Sperati	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3750a</i>
2233	A. 788	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	T AVRELI SPERATI	T(iti) Aureli Sperati	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3750b</i>
2235	A. 789	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	PHYTI	[D](ecimi) [Caecili] [Calli]phyti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3751</i>

2238	A. 790	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	LLIPHYTI	Decimus Caecilius Calliphytus	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3752</i>
2244	A. 792	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	D CAECILI CALLIPHYTI	D(ecimi) Caecili Calliphyti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3753a</i>
2246	A. 793	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	D CAECILI CALLIPHYTI	D(ecimi) Caecili Calliphyti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3753b</i>
2249	A. 794	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	D CAECILI CALLIPHYTI	D(ecimi) Caecili Calliphyti	Oil		<i>CIL XV, 3753c</i>
2250	A. 795	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	D CAECILI CALLIPHYTI	D(ecimi) Caecili Calliphyti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3753d</i>
2252	A. 796	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	D CAECILI CALLIPHYTI	D(ecimi) Caecili Calliphyti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3753e</i>
2254	A. 797	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	D CAECILI CALLIPHYTI	D(ecimi) Caecili Calliphyti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3753f</i>
2256	A. 798	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	D CAECILI CHRYSOGON	D(ecimi) Caecili Chrysogoni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3754</i>
2258	A. 799	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	D CAECILI CHRYSOGON	D(ecimi) Caecili Chrysogoni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3755</i>
2260	A. 800	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIOR EVEL ET DAP	[D](ecimi) Caecilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3756</i>
2268	A. 802	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIOR EVEL ET DAP	[D](ecimi) Caecilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3758</i>

2274	A. 803	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIOR EVEL ET DAP	[D](ecimi) Caecilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3759</i>
2278	A. 804	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	ILIOR ET EVEL ET DAP	D](ecimi) [Caec]ilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3760</i>
2282	A. 805	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIOR EVELP ET DAPH	D](ecimi) Caecilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3761a</i>
2285	A. 806	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIOR EVELP ET DAPH	D](ecimi) Caecilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3761b</i>
2287	A. 807	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIOR EVELP ET DAP	D](ecimi) Caecilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3761c</i>
2290	A. 808	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIOR EVELP ET DAP	D](ecimi) Caecilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3761d</i>
2292	A. 809	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIOR EVELP ET DAP	D](ecimi) Caecilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3761e</i>
2294	A. 810	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIOR EVEL ET DAP	D](ecimi) Caecilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3761f</i>
2297	A. 811	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIOR EVEL ET DAP	D](ecimi) Caecilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3761g</i>

2299	A. 812	AD 153	AD 154	Dressel 20	CAECILIOR EVEL ET DAP	D(ecimi) Caecilior Evel(pisti) et D(ecimi) [Caecilius] Dap(hni)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3761h</i>
2301	A. 813	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORU	D(ecimi) Caecilioru[m]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3781</i>
2302	A. 813	AD 145	AD 154	Dressel 20	HOSPITALIS ET MATERN	Hospitalis et matern[i]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3781</i>
2305	A. 814	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D CAECILI MATERNI	D(ecimi) Caecili Materni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3765</i>
2311	A. 815	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D CAECILI MATERNI	D(ecimi) Caecili Materni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3766</i>
2319	A. 817	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D CAECILI MATERNI	D(ecimi) Caecili Materni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3768a</i>
2320	A. 818	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D CAECILI MATERNI	D(ecimi) Caecili Materni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3768b</i>
2322	A. 819	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D CAECILI MATERNI	D(ecimi) Caecili Materni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3768c</i>
2323	A. 820	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	D CAECILI MATERNI	D(ecimi) Caecili Materni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3768d</i>
2326	A. 821	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	CILI ONESIMI	[D](ecimi) [Cae]cili Onesimi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3782</i>
2330	A. 822	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	CILI ONESIMI	[D](ecimi) [Cae]cili Onesimi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3783a</i>
2331	A. 823	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	CILI ONESIMI	[D](ecimi) [Cae]cili Onesimi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3783b</i>
2333	A. 824			Dressel 20	ECILI PAPIAE	[Ca]ecili Papiae	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3784</i>
2335	A. 825	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	D CAECILI VICTORIS	D(ecimi) Caecili Victoris	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3785</i>
2338	A. 826	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	D CAECILI	D(ecimi) Caecili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3786a</i>
2340	A. 827	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	D CAECILI	D(ecimi) Caecili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3786b</i>
2342	A. 828	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	D CAECILI	D(ecimi) Caecili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3786c</i>

2344	A. 829	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	D CAECILI	D(ecimi) Caecili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3786d</i>
2345	A. 830	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	D CAECILI	D(ecimi) Caecili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3786e</i>
2347	A. 831	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	D CAECILI	D(ecimi) Caecili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3786f</i>
2350	A. 832			Dressel 20	T CAECIL	T(iti) Caecil[ī]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3787</i>
2353	A. 833	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	ECILIORUM ET LIB	[Ca]eciliorum et lib[ertorum]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3788</i>
2355	A. 834	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	UM ET LIB	[Caecilior]um et lib[ertorum]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3789</i>
2360	A. 835	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	UM ET LIB	[Caecilior]um et lib[ertorum]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3790</i>
2363	A. 836	AD 25	AD 100	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3791</i>
2364	A. 837	AD 25	AD 100	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3792a</i>
2366	A. 838	AD 25	AD 100	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3792b</i>
2368	A. 839	AD 25	AD 100	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3793</i>
2372	A. 840	AD 25	AD 100	Dressel 20	DD CAECILIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3794a</i>
2374	A. 841	AD 25	AD 100	Dressel 20	CAECILIORUM	[DD] CAECILIORUM	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3794b</i>
2375	A. 842	AD 25	AD 100	Dressel 20	AECILIORUM	[DD C]AECILIORUM	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3794c</i>
2376	A. 843	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	U CAEENNIU	[Mani]u[s] Caes[i] Enni(an)us	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3796a</i>
2377	A. 844	AD 100	AD 200	Dressel 20	U CAEENNIU	[Mani]u[s] Caes[i] Enni(an)us	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3796b</i>

2379	A. 845	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	Q CAESIOR CAESI	Q(uinti) Caesior Caesi[ani]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3797</i>
2380	A. 845	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	ET MACRINI	Et [Q(uinti) Caesi] Macrini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3797</i>
2386	A. 846	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	QQ CAESIOR CAESI	Q(uinti) Caesior Caesi[ani]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3798</i>
2387	A. 846	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	ET MACRINI	Et [Q(uinti) Caesi] Macrini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3798</i>
2390	A. 847	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	QQ CAESIOR CAESI	Q(uinti) Caesior Caesi[ani]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3799a</i>
2391	A. 847	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	ET MACRINI	Et [Q(uinti) Caesi] Macrini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3799a</i>
2393	A. 848	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	SIORVM CAESIANI	Q(uinti) [Cae]siorum Caesiani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3799b</i>
2394	A. 848	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	ET MACRINI	Et [Q(uinti) Caesi] Macrini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3799b</i>
2395	A. 849	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	EVMENI	[L](uci) (Caesius) Eumeni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3800</i>
2399	A. 850	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	L CAESI EVMENI	L(uci) Caesi Eumeni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3801</i>
2401	A. 851	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	Q CAESI SENECONIS	Q(uinti) Caesi Senecionis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3802</i>
2402	A. 852	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	C CALPVRNI	C(ai) Calpurni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3803</i>
2404	A. 853	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	M CLAVD SENECONUM	M(arci) Claud(i) Senecionum	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3813</i>

2409	A. 854	AD 153	AD 153	Dressel 20	VM	M(arci) Claud(i) [Senecion]um	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3814</i>
2415	A. 854	AD 153	AD 153	Dressel 20	SENECIONVM	[M(arci) Claud(i)] Senecionum	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3815</i>
2424	A. 856	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	MM CLAVD SENEACIONVM	MM(arci) Claud(i) Senecionum	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3817</i>
2427	A. 857	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	MM CLAVD SENEACIONVM	MM(arci) Claud(i) Senecionum	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3818a</i>
2430	A. 858	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	MM CLAVD SENEACIONVM	MM(arci) Claud(i) Senecionum	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3818b</i>
2432	A. 859	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	MM CLAVD SENEACIONVM	MM(arci) Claud(i) Senecionum	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3818c</i>
2434	A. 860	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	MM CLAVD SENEACIONVM	MM(arci) Claud(i) Senecionum	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3818d</i>
2436	A. 861	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	TI CLAUDI NOBILIS	T[iberi] Claud(i) nobilis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3810</i>
2441	A. 862	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	TI CLAUDI NOBILIS	T[iberi] Claud(i) nobilis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3811</i>
2444	A. 863	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	M CLAVD SENEACIONVM	M(arci) Claud(i) SeneciONUM	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3812</i>
2446	A. 864	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	DIORVM	[Clau]diorum	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3819</i>
2450	A. 865	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	CLAVDIO	Claudio[rum]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3820a</i>
2451	A. 865	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	DIORVM	Clau[diorum]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3820b</i>
2452	A. 866	AD 145	AD 200	Dressel 20	ODI HESPERI	Clodius Hesperus	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3821</i>
2454	A. 867	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	C CONSI EVCARPI	C(ai) Consi Eucarpi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3822a</i>

2455	A. 868	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	C CONSI EVC	C(ai) Consi Euc[arpi]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3822b</i>
2458	A. 869	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	C CONSI	Caius Consius Hermerotis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3823</i>
2464	A. 870	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	OTIS	C(ai) [Consius Hermer]otis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3824</i>
2470	A. 871	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	C CONSI HERMEROTIS	C(ai) Consi Hermerotis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3825</i>
2476	A. 872	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	C CONSI HERMEROTIS	C(ai) Consi Hermerotis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3826</i>
2482	A. 873	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	C CONSI HERMEROTIS	C(ai) Consi Hermerotis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3827</i>
2487	A. 874	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	C CONSI HERMEROTIS	C(ai) Consi Hermerotis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3828a</i>
2490	A. 875	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	C CONSI HERMEROTIS	C(ai) Consi Hermerotis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3828b</i>
2492	A. 876	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	C CONSI HERMEROTIS	C(ai) Consi Hermerotis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3828c</i>
2495	A. 877	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	C CORNELI KAR	C(ai) Corneli Kar(i)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3830</i>
2499	A. 878	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	C CORNELI KAR	C(ai) Cornel Kar(i)	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3829</i>
2505	A. 879	AD 200	AD 250	Dressel 20	POSTVM MINI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3831a</i>
2506	A. 879	AD 200	AD 250	Dressel 20	CORNELI FVSCINI	[Q](uinti) Corneli Fuscini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3831a</i>
2508	A. 880	AD 200	AD 250	Dressel 20	POSTVM MINI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3831b</i>
2509	A. 880	AD 200	AD 250	Dressel 20	CORNELI FVSCINI	Q](uinti) Corneli Fuscini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3831b</i>
2511	A. 881	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	Q CORNELI GALENI	Q](uinti) Corneli Galeni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3832</i>
2514	A. 882	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	CORNELI IANVARI	[M](arci) Corneli Ianuari	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3833</i>

2519	A. 883	AD 153	AD 153	Dressel 20	M CORNELI IA	M(arci) Corneli Ia[<u>nuari</u>]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3834</i>
2525	A. 884	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	M CORNELI IANUARI	M(arci) Corneli Ianuari	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3835</i>
2530	A. 885	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	M CORNELI IANVAR	M(arci) Corneli Ianuari	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3836a</i>
2533	A. 886	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	M CORNELI IANVAR	M(arci) Corneli Ianuari	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3836b</i>
2536	A. 887	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	M CORNELI IANVARI	M(arci) Corneli Ianuari	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3836c</i>
2539	A. 888	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	M CORNELI IANVARI	M(arci) Corneli Ianuari	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3836d</i>
2542	A. 889	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	M CORNELI IANVARI	M(arci) Corneli Ianuari	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3836e</i>
2543	A. 890	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	M CORNELI IANVARI	M(arci) Corneli Ianuari	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3836f</i>
2545	A. 891	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	M CORNELI IANVARI	M(arci) Corneli Ianuari	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3836g</i>
2546	A. 892	AD 149	AD 161	Dressel 20	M CORNELI IANVARI	M(arci) Corneli Ianuari	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3836h</i>
2548	A. 893	AD 100	AD 250	Dressel 20	M CORNELI PROTOGENIS	M(arci) Corneli Protogenis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3837</i>
2550	A. 894	AD 100	AD 250	Dressel 20	M CORNELI PR	M(arci) Corneli Pr[<u>otogenis</u>]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3838</i>
2553	A. 895	AD 254	AD 257	Dressel 20	C CORNELI S I	C(ai) Corneli S[<u>everi</u>]	Oil		<i>CIL XV, 3839</i>
2555	A. 896	AD 254	AD 255	Dressel 20	LI SEVERI	[<u>C</u>](ai) [<u>Corne</u>]li Severi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3840</i>
2560	A. 897	AD 254	AD 255	Dressel 20	COR	[<u>C</u>](ai) Cor[<u>neli</u>] [<u>Severi</u>]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3841</i>
2565	A. 898	AD 254	AD 257	Dressel 20	I CORNEL SEVERI	[<u>Ca</u>]i Cornel[<u>i</u>] Severi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3843</i>
2568	A. 899	AD 1	AD 100	Dressel 20	CORNELIORUM IIII		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3844</i>

2571	A. 900	AD 191	AD 191	Dressel 20	F PLACIDAE	[Cornelia Q.]F. Placidae	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3845</i>
2575	A. 901	AD 191	AD 191	Dressel 20	Q F PLACIDAE	[Cornelia Q.]F. Placidae	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3846</i>
2580	A. 902	AD 191	AD 191	Dressel 20	CORNELIAE Q F	[Cornelia Q.]F. Placidae	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3847a</i>
2582	A. 903	AD 191	AD 191	Dressel 20	CORNELIAE Q F	[Cornelia Q.]F. Placidae	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3847b</i>
2585	A. 904	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	COTISIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3848</i>
2587	A. 905			Dressel 20	CVTI CELSIANI ET		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3849a</i>
2588	A. 905			Dressel 20	FABI GATICI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3849a</i>
2590	A. 906			Dressel 20	CVTI C SIANI ET		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3849b</i>
2591	A. 906			Dressel 20	FABI GALATICI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3849b</i>
2593	A. 907	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	M DECI RVFINI	M(arci) Deci Rufini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3850</i>
2595	A. 908	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	DECI RVFINI ET CAELIORUM	[M](arci) Deci Rufini et Caeliorum	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3851</i>
2597	A. 909	AD 200	AD 250	Dressel 20	FABI BENIG	Fabi Benig[ni]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3853</i>
2599	A. 910	AD 249	AD 260	Dressel 20	MARCI FACICI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3854</i>
2604	A. 912	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	SEX FADI ANICETI	Sex(ti) Fadi Aniceti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3856</i>
2610	A. 913	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	ANICETI	[Sex](ti) [Fadi] Aniceti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3857</i>
2614	A. 914	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	SEX FADI ANICETI	Sex(ti) Fadi Aniceti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3858</i>
2621	A. 915	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	ADI ANICETI	[Sex](ti) [F]adi Aniceti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3859</i>
2625	A. 916	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	ADI ANICETI	[Sex](ti) [F]adi Aniceti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3860</i>
2631	A. 917	AD 149	AD 154	Dressel 20	SEX FADI ANICETI	Sex(ti) Fadi Aniceti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3861a</i>

2634	A. 918	AD 149	AD 154	Dressel 20	SEX FADI ANICETI	Sex(ti) Fadi Aniceti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3861b</i>
2637	A. 919	AD 149	AD 154	Dressel 20	SEX FADI ANICETI	Sex(ti) Fadi Aniceti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3861c</i>
2640	A. 920	AD 149	AD 154	Dressel 20	SEX FADI ANICETI	Sex(ti) Fadi Aniceti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3861d</i>
2642	A. 921	AD 140	AD 169	Dressel 20	X FADI PAONI	[Se]x(ti) Fadius Paoni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3862</i>
2645	A. 922	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	FADIORVM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3874</i>
2648	A. 923	AD 200	AD 260	Dressel 20	TITI FLAVI ALEXANDRI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3875</i>
2650	A. 924			Dressel 20	T CESATI HERMETIS	T(iti) caesati Hermetis	Oil		<i>CIL XV, 3877</i>
2653	A. 925			Dressel 20	CESATORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3878</i>
2655	A. 926	AD 200	AD 260	Dressel 20	M HELVI CALISTI	M(arci) Helvi Calisti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3879a</i>
2657	A. 927	AD 200	AD 260	Dressel 20	HELVI CALISTI	[M](arci) Helvi Calisti	Oil		<i>CIL X, 3879b</i>
2658	A. 928			Dressel 20	VI IVNI HYACINI	[Hel]vi Iuni Hyacini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3880</i>
2661	A. 929	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	SOCIOR HYAC ISID POLLIONIS	Socior[um] Hyac[inthi] Isid(ori) Pollionis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3881a</i>
2663	A. 930	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	SOCIOR HYAC ISID POLLIONIS	Socior[um] Hyac[inthi] Isid(ori) Pollionis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3881b</i>
2665	A. 931	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	SOCIOR HYAC ISID POLLIONIS	Socior[um] Hyac[inthi] Isid(ori) Pollionis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3881c</i>
2667	A. 932	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	SOCIOR HYAC ISID POLLIONIS	Socior[um] Hyac[inthi] Isid(ori) Pollionis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3882</i>
2668	A. 933	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	C IVL U ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iul[i]u[s] Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3883</i>
2673	A. 934	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3884</i>

2678	A. 935	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	HESEI	[C](ai) [Iuli Alfi T]hesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3885</i>
2684	A. 936	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	I THESEI	[C](ai) [Iuli Alf]i Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3886</i>
2688	A. 937	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3887</i>
2693	A. 938	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3888a</i>
2695	A. 939	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3888b</i>
2697	A. 940	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3888c</i>
2700	A. 941	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3888d</i>
2702	A. 942	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3888e</i>
2704	A. 943	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3888f</i>
2707	A. 944	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3888g</i>
2710	A. 945	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL, XV, 3888h</i>
2712	A. 946	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3888i</i>
2714	A. 947	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3888k</i>
2716	A. 948	AD 154	AD 156	Dressel 20	C IVLI ALFI THESEI	C(ai) Iuli Alfi Thesei	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3888l</i>
2718	A. 949	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	IUL ALF FIRMI NA	[III] Iul[<u>iorum</u>] Alf[<u>iorum</u>] firmi na	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3889</i>
2727	A. 951	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	CARPOPHOR	[M](arci) Iuli] Carpophor[<u>i</u>]	Oil	<i>Sub collo (under the neck) / Painted</i>	<i>CIL XV 3890</i>

2727	A. 951	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	CARPOPHOR	[M](arci) Iuli Carpophor[ī]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3890</i>
2733	A. 952	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	M IVLI CARPOP	M(arci) Iuli Carpop[horī]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3891</i>
2736	A. 953	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	C IVLI EVTYCHI	C(ai) Iuli Eutychi	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3892</i>
2739	A. 954	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	M IVLI FAVSTINI	M(arci) Iuli Faustini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3893</i>
2742	A. 955			Dressel 20	C IVLI FO	C(ai) Iuli Fo	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3896</i>
2744	A. 956	AD 246	AD 252	Dressel 20	C IVLI PROTOGENIS	C(ai) Iuli Protogenis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3898</i>
2746	A. 957	AD 180	AD 180	Dressel 20	C IVLIUS SENIS	C(ai) Iulius Senis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3899</i>
2748	A. 958	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	TI IVLLI TAVRILLI	Ti(ti) Iulli Taurilli	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3900</i>
2755	A. 960	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	C IVLI VALERIA	C(ai) Iuli Valeria	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3903</i>
2758	A. 961	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	C IVLI V NI	C(ai) Iuli V[aleria]ni	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3904</i>
2764	A. 962	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	C IVLI VALERIANI	C(ai) Iuli Valeriani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3905a</i>
2766	A. 963	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	C IVLI VALERIANI	C(ai) Iuli Valeriani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3905b</i>
2769	A. 964	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	C IVLI VALERIANI	C(ai) Iuli Valeriani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3905c</i>
2772	A. 965	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	C IVLI VALERIANI	C(ai) Iuli Valeriani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3905d</i>
2774	A. 966	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	C IVLI VALERIANI	C(ai) Iuli Valeriani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3905e</i>
2776	A. 967	AD 161	AD 161	Dressel 20	C IVLI VALERIANI	C(ai) Iuli Valeriani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3905f</i>
2779	A. 968	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	IVLIORVM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3907</i>
2783	A. 969	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	IVLIORVM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3908</i>

2786	A. 970	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	IVNI HERMAPHIL	[L](uci) Iuni Hermaphili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3909</i>
2791	A. 971	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	L IVNI HERMAPHILI	L(uci) Iuni Hermaphili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3910a</i>
2793	A. 972	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	L IVNI HERMAPHILI	L(uci) Iuni Hermaphili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3910b</i>
2795	A. 973	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	L IVNI HERMAPHILI	L(uci) Iuni Hermaphili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3910c</i>
2797	A. 974	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	L IVNI HERMAPHILI	L(uci) Iuni Hermaphili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3910d</i>
2799	A. 975	AD 147	AD 147	Dressel 20	L IVNI HERMAPHILI	L(uci) Iuni Hermaphili	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3910e</i>
2800	A. 976	AD 200	AD 250	Dressel 20	C IVNI PRISCIANI	C(ai) Iuni Prisciani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3911</i>
2806	A. 977	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L LUNI VEGETI	L(uci) Luni Vegeti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3912</i>
2812	A. 978	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L LUNI VEGETI	L(uci) Luni Vegeti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3913a</i>
2813	A. 979	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L LUNI VEGETI	L(uci) Luni Vegeti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3913b</i>
2815	A. 980	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L LUNI VEGETI	L(uci) Luni Vegeti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3913c</i>
2816	A. 981	AD 140	AD 160	Dressel 20	Q LABERI P	Q(uinti) Laberi P	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3915</i>
2819	A. 982	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	QQ LABERIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3916a</i>
2820	A. 982	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	ZOSIMI ET DIOGAE		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3916a</i>
2822	A. 983	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	QQ LABERIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3916b</i>
2823	A. 983	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	ZOSIMI ET DIOGAE		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3916b</i>
2825	A. 984	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	QQ LABERIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3916c</i>
2826	A. 984	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	ZOSIMI ET DIOGAE		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3916c</i>
2828	A. 985	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	LABERIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3917</i>

2829	A. 985	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	SIMI ET EVTICHI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3917</i>
2836	A. 986	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	ABERIORVM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3918</i>
2837	A. 986	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	T EUTYCHI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3918</i>
2842	A. 987	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	ABERIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3920</i>
2843	A. 987	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	ET EVTYCHI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3920</i>
2847	A. 988	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	LABERIORVM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3921</i>
2848	A. 988	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	ZOSIMI ET EVTYCHI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3921</i>
2855	A. 989	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	QQ LABERIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3922</i>
2856	A. 989	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	ZOSIMI ET EUTYCHI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3922</i>
2859	A. 990	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	QQ LABERIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3923a</i>
2860	A. 990	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	ZOSIMI ET EUTYCHI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3923a</i>
2863	A. 991	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	QQ LABERIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3923b</i>
2864	A. 991	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	ZOSIMI ET EUTYCHI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3923b</i>
2867	A. 992	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	QQ LABERIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3923C</i>
2868	A. 992	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	ZOSIMI ET EUTYCHI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3923C</i>
2870	A. 993	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	QQ LABERIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3923d</i>
2871	A. 993	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	ZOSIMI ET EUTYCHI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3923d</i>
2873	A. 994	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	QQ LABERIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3923e</i>
2874	A. 994	AD 145	AD 160	Dressel 20	ZOSIMI ET EUTYCHI		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3923e</i>

2880	A. 998	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	SEX LAELI STEPHANI	Sex[ti] Laeli Stephani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3925</i>
2882	A. 999	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	SSS	[Laeliorum III] SSS	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3926</i>
2887	A. 1000	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	LAELIORUM III SSS		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3927</i>
2893	A. 1001	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	LAELIORUM III SSS		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3928</i>
2898	A. 1002	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	M LICINI MATERN	M(arci) Licini Matern[i]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3929a</i>
2901	A. 1003	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	M LICINI M	M(arci) Licini M[aterni]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3929b</i>
2903	A. 1004	AD 200	AD 250	Dressel 20	X LICINI RIPANI	[Se]xti Licini Ripani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3930</i>
2906	A. 1005	AD 200	AD 250	Dressel 20	X LICINI RIPANI	[Se]xti Licini Ripani	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3931</i>
2908	A. 1006	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	LICINIORUM		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3932</i>
2910	A. 1007	AD 246	AD 254	Dressel 20	ICINIAE OPTA	[L]iciniaie Opta[ta]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3933</i>
2912	A. 1008	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	T LITVCCI SABINI	T(iti) Litucci Sabini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3934</i>
2918	A. 1009	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	T LITVCCI SABINI	T(iti) Litucci Sabini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3934</i>
2924	A. 1010	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	T LITVCCI SABINI	T(iti) Litucci Sabini	Oil		<i>CIL XV, 3934</i>
2930	A. 1011	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	VCCI SABINI	T[iti] [Lit]ucci Sabini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3935</i>
2936	A. 1012	AD 153	AD 153	Dressel 20	LITVCCI S	T[iti] Litucci Sabini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3936</i>
2941	A. 1013	AD 154	AD 154	Dressel 20	T LITVCCI SABINI	T(iti) Litucci Sabini	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3937</i>
2946	A. 1014	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	M RIAE Q.F.POSTVMINAE	Maria Q.F. Postumina	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3960</i>
2948	A. 1015	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	MARIAE Q.	Maria Q. [F. postumina]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3961</i>
2950	A. 1016	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	L MEMMI BERYLLI	L(uci) Memmi Berylli	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3962</i>

2977	B. 026				L M	L M		Exterior / Fire	Derks: 2009, 858
2978	B. 027				L IV	L IV		Exterior / Fire	Derks: 2009, 858
2979	B. 028				VITALO			Exterior / Fire	Derks: 2009, 858
2980	B. 029				T			Exterior / Fire	Derks: 2009, 858
2983	B. 031			Barrel stave	INGENVIMATER			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2003, 138, 144
2984	B. 031	AD 75	AD 150	Barrel	COTAN				Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2985	B. 031	AD 75	AD 150	Barrel	QEBEM or QEBEL				Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2986	B. 031	AD 75	AD 150	Barrel	ACMIM				Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2987	B. 031	AD 75	AD 150	Barrel	BROC				Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2988	B. 031			Barrel stave	DGS			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2989	B. 031			Bottom of the barrel	PM			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2991	B. 031	AD 75	AD 150	Barrel	BPVI EI				Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2992	B. 031	AD 75	AD 150	Barrel	STTOV				Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2993	B. 031	AD 75	AD 150	Barrel	PTAC				Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2994	B. 031	AD 75	AD 150	Barrel	M				Marliere: 2002, 45; 85

2996	B. 031			Barrel stave	T.T.			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85; 112
2998	B. 031	AD 75	AD 150	Barrel	AELCB				Marliere: 2002, 45; 86
2999	B. 031	AD 75	AD 150	Barrel	RSA				Marliere: 2002, 45; 86
3008	B. 033				T.C.PACA			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 47; 89; 112
3009	B. 033				C.P.			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 47; 89
3010	B. 034				C.PACA			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 47; 89
3011	B. 035				HERM			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 49; 89; 112
3012	B. 036				AR			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 49; 89
3017	B. 038				GI			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 49; 89
3035	O. 001	AD 101	AD 200	Pot of punic- gaditan style	DD CA CILIORVM	DD CA[E]CILIORVM	Olives	Exterior/ Rubrum	Djaou: 2014, 698
3038	B. 040			Barrel stopper	R			Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 55, 86
3039	B. 040			Barrel stopper	E			Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 55, 86

3040	B. 040			Barrel stopper	A			Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 55, 86
3041	B. 041			Barrel stave	MAIB			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 49; 90
3042	B. 042			Barrel stopper	VRITTI PH		Wine	Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 62; 86; 112
3046	B. 044			Bottom of the barrel	Q. ATTI GRATI			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 62; 86; 112
3050	B. 045			Bottom of the barrel	T. IVL. MVRRANI			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 62-3; 86
3052	B. 046			Bottom of the barrel	L.C.LYDI			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 62-3; 86
3053	B. 046			Bottom of the barrel	Q. IVL.PACATI			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 63; 86
3054	B. 047			Bottom of the barrel	T. TERTI			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3057	B. 048			Bottom of the barrel	T. TERTI			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3060	B. 049			Bottom of the barrel	T. TERTI			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63-64; 86
3063	B. 050			Bottom of the barrel	Q. FL. SILVANUS			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63-64; 86
3064	B. 051			Barrel stave	A. CESTI S.			Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 63-64; 86

3065	B. 051			Barrel stave	A. CESTI S.			Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 63-64; 86
3066	B. 051			Barrel stave	A. CESTIS S.			Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 63-64; 86
3067	B. 051			Barrel stave	A. CESTI S.			Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 63-64; 86
3068	B. 051			Barrel stave	LISEI MARI			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65; 86
3073	B. 053				CGS			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65; 86; 115
3076	B. 053				C.G.S.			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65; 86
3079	B. 054				SIL. R et R			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65-66; 86
3088	B. 059			Barrel stave	MC			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 66; 86
3089	B. 060			Barrel stave	TC			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 66; 86; 112
3093	B. 063				M. DVN			Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107; 112
3110	B. 068			Barrel stave	SPAR		SPAR _[1]	Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107; 112
3111	B. 068			Barrel stave	SPAR		SPAR _[1]	Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107; 112

3112	B. 068			Barrel stave	SPAR	SPAR _[1]		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107; 112
3113	B. 068			Barrel stave	SPAR	SPAR _[1]		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107; 112
3114	B. 068			Barrel stave	SOLVER	SOLVER _[1]		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107; 112
3115	B. 068			Barrel stave	SOLVER	SOLVER _[1]		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107; 112
3116	B. 068			Barrel stave	SOLVER	SOLVER _[1]		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107; 112
3117	B. 068			Barrel stave	SOLVER	SOLVER _[1]		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 108
3118	B. 068			Barrel stave	VETT	VETT _[1]		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 108
3119	B. 068			Barrel stave	VETT	VETT _[1]		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107
3120	B. 068			Barrel stave	VETT	VETT _[1]		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107-8
3121	B. 068			Barrel stave	VETT	VETT _[1]		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107-8
3122	B. 068			Barrel stave	VETT	VETT _[1]		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 71; 87; 107
3123	B. 068			Barrel stave	[]AP _[1]			Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 83; 88

3174	B. 079		Barrel	RIPA	[Sextus Licinius Ripa]nus		Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 84; 87
3175	B. 080			L.I. MATV			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 84; 87
3176	B. 080			P.L.A			Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 88-9
3180	B. 082		stave with stopper	M [] VIL			Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 88-9
3181	B. 082		stave with stopper	[] RI			Exterior / Chiselled	Revilla: 2000-2001, 209- 210
3186	A. 1017		Gauloise 4	M			<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / painted	Djaoui; Botte & Piques: 2014, 182
3189	O. 003		fish jug	SEX. IS			Exterior / Painted	Djaoui; Botte & Piques: 2014, 183
3191	O. 004		Jug	C [] DOM [] NIGRA U			Exterior / Painted	Marliere: 2003, 139; 145
3195	B. 087		Barrel stave	ADIVT [] ESC. M			Exterior / Fire	Marlie: 2003, 139; 145
3196	B. 088		Barrel stave	COBRSABI	[F]COBRSABI		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2003, 139; 144
3197	B. 088		Barrel stave	C.V.			Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2003, 136, 145
3200	B. 090		Bottom of the barrel	VR	VRITTI PH		Exterior / Chiselled	<i>CIL</i> XV 4657

3203	A. 1018		Dressel 6A	M Utan Hymen		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / painted	Liou: 1998, 92
3209	A. 1021		Dressel 2-4	A CAPRIS		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / painted	Liou: 1998, 94
3217	A. 1024		Dressel 2-4	L.P.G		Wine	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / painted	Liou: 1998, 96
3219	A. 1026		Haltern 70	FIRMI VALERIOR	Firmus Valerior[um]	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / painted	Liou: 1992, 96
3220	A. 1026		Haltern 70	AELI FUSCI		Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / painted	Liou: 1998, 96
3222	A. 1027		Dressel 7-11	A.A. ATIN	A[ulis duobus] Atin[i]	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / painted	Liou: 1998, 98
3225	A. 1028		Dressel 7-11	A A ATINIIS	A[ulis duobus] Atiniis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / painted	Liou: 1998, 98
3227	A. 1029		Dressel 8	Q. Q. CAECILIS	Q[uintis duobus] caecilis	Fish sauce	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / painted	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 36, 37, 80
3243	I. 004		Lead ingot	LAM			On the side / Inscribed	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 119, 191

3244	I. 005		Lead ingot	M. B. A			On the side / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 119, 191
3245	I. 005		Lead Ingot	LA			On the side / Inscribed	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 119, 191
3246	I. 005		Lead ingot	LAM			On the side / Inscribed	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 121, 187
3247	I. 006		Lead ingot	I. L. F			On the side / Inscribed	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 125, 195-6
3252	I. 009		Lead ingot	M.V.S			On the side / Inscribed	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 135, 190-1
3264	A. 1031		Dressel 2-4	Aeli Rubri			<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 4720</i>
3266	A. 1032		Dressel 10	A ATIL MACRI	A(u)l Atil[<u>i</u>] Macri		<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 4723</i>
3271	A. 1033		Dressel 7	CN DOMITI FELI IO	Cn(aeus) Domiti Feli[<u>c</u>]io		<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	<i>CIL XV 4732</i>
3276	A. 1034		Dressel 7	DORIO L.L. QUIETI			<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Auriemma & Pesavento: 2009, 278-9

3280	A. 1035			Dressel 6B	CPP		Oil	<i>In collo</i> (in the neck) / Painted	Gianfrotta, 1994, 593-594
3303	A. 1041	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	MEMMIORUM ET M		Oil		<i>CIL XV 3965</i>
3307	A. 1042	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	L MEMMI R	L(uci) Memmius R[usticus]	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3969</i>
3309	A. 1043	AD 150	AD 150	Dressel 20	NIGIDI SENEACIONIS	[Lucius] Nigidi Senecionis	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3971</i>
3311	A. 1044	AD 145	AD 161	Dressel 20	OCRA ODESTI ET	[Lucius] Ocrati [M]odesti et	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3972a</i>
3312	A. 1044	AD 154	AD 161	Dressel 20	CASSI OLAVSTI	[Titus] Cassi Apolausti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3972a</i>
3314	A. 1045	AD 149	AD 149	Dressel 20	P OLITI FAVSTI	P(ubli) Oliti Fausti	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3976</i>
3548	A. 1046	AD 80	AD 90	Dressel 20	Q,CONNIUERIVERACI	Q(uinti) Conniveri Veraci	Oil		<i>CIL XV 3652</i>
3551	S. 001			Stopper	T. CERPINI			Along the item	Gianfrotta: 1994, 593-594
3552	S. 001			Stopper	P.L.			Along the item	Gianfrotta: 1994, 594
3553	S. 002			Stopper	A. SAVFEI	Auli Saufei		Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 408
3558	S. 003			Pouzzolana stopper	QADEEI Q QAD / Q EE Q	QADEEI[-]Q QAD[-]/ /Q]EE[-]Q		Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 409
3560	S. 005			Pouzzolana stopper	M. ALFI. MF. VNG	M. Alfi Marci Fili Unguentari		Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 410

3561	S. 006			Stopper	Aproni Felicis	Apronius Felicis		Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 410
3562	S. 007			Stopper	P. A R I L - - - star	P. Ar i liberti / or P. Ar.i. Luci		Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 411
3563	S. 008			Stopper	SEX. ARRI MF	Sex(ti) Arri M(arci) F(ili)		Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 412
3564	S. 009			Pouzzolana stopper	L. ASVINI / L.L.			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 411
3565	S. 010			Pouzzolana stopper	AP. ATTI	Ap[pi] Atti		Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 413
3566	S. 011			Pouzzolana stopper	L. CARISIANL			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 414
3567	S. 012			Pouzzolana stopper	CLOVAT			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta:, 1994, 416
3568	S. 013			Pouzzolana stopper	M. FVR. VIN			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 416
3569	S. 014			Pouzzolana stopper	Q. GIHL			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 417
3570	S. 015			Stopper	M.C.LASS	M.C. LASS[IORUM]		Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 418
3571	S. 016			Pouzzolana stopper	T. LLVCCIOR. L.L. / T. LIVCCIOR.L.L.			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 419
3572	S. 017			Pouzzolana stopper	L. LVC. L. VIB.L.L.			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 420

3573	S. 018			Pouzzolana stopper	P. MAE/ C.I.L.L.			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 421
3574	S. 019			Stopper	Q. MESID / S			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 421
3575	S. 020			Stopper	L. NANEI.C.L.NANEI C			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 421
3576	S. 021			Stopper	COPCEI/ML [or F] or CORCEI/ML [or F]			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 422
3577	S. 022			Pouzzolana stopper	CN.Q.POMP			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 422
3578	S. 023			Pouzzolana stopper	L. POMPON./ ML			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 422
3579	S. 024			Pouzzolana stopper	PHILEMO			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 424
3580	S. 025			Pouzzolana stopper	Q. O CC			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 424
3581	S. 026			Pouzzolana stopper	SIC			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 425-426
3582	S. 027			Pouzzolana stopper	M. STATIVS			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 427
3583	S. 028			Pouzzolana stopper	L. TITI. C.F.			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 427
3584	S. 029			Wooden stopper matrix	Q. VERG. SCAE / L.L.			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 427-428

3585	S. 030			Pouzzolana stopper	C. VIBIUS			Along the item	Hesnard & Gianfrotta: 1994, 434
3596	A. 1047	AD 246	AD 246	Dressel 20	II IVLIOR COSMI T FAUSTI	II [duorum sociorum] Iuliorum Cosmi et Fausti	Oil	Along the item	<i>CIL</i> XV 4066
3664	A. 1048	AD 50	AD 100	Beltran 2A	C E		Fish sauce	Along the item	Martinez Maganto & Hillairet: 1994
3665	A. 1048	AD 50	AD 100	Beltran 2A	Αραβί		Fish sauce	Along the item	Martinez Maganto: 2007
3673	A. 1049	AD 75	AD 125	Beltran 2A	M		Fish sauce	Along the item	Baratta: 1994, 564
3675	B. 094	AD 1	AD 299	Barrel	CVAF			Along the item	Baratta: 1994, 564
3676	B. 095	AD 1	AD 299	Barrel	R			Along the item	Baratta: 1994, 564
3677	B. 096	AD 1	AD 299	Barrel	A			Along the item	Baratta: 1994, 564
3678	B. 097	AD 1	AD 299	Barrel	A			Along the item	<i>CIL</i> XIII 10023, 27
3726	A. 1051	AD 1	AD 50	Amphora	Νεικόν			Along the item	Lang: 1976, 46
3727	A. 1051	AD 1	AD 50	Amphora	Γ Ν			Along the item	Lang: 1976, 77
3737	A. 1059	AD 1	AD 50	Amphora	Διονύσου	Dionisos		Along the item	Aratta: 1994, 480

3766	I. 035	AD 63	AD 63	Lead ingot	IMP AUG GER	Imp(erator) Aug(ustus) Ger(manicus)			De Juan <i>et al.</i> : 2014, 139
3775	A. 1062	AD 50	AD 100	Dressel 12	P C C		Fish sauce	Along the item	Mongardi: 2013, 434
3779	A. 1063	AD 1	AD 50	Dressel 12	CAECILIORUM		Fish sauce	Along the item	<i>CIL</i> XV 3789
3794	A. 1064	AD 145	AD 145	Dressel 20	VM ET LIB	[Caecilior]um et libe[r]torum]	Oil	Along the item	<i>CIL</i> XV 3789
3818	A. 1074	AD 1	AD 79	Dressel 12	ex iuli	[S]exti Iuli	Fish sauce	Along the item	Bortolin: 2008
3819	A. 1074	AD 1	AD 79	Dressel 12	SE TINI	sextini	Fish sauce	Along the item	Egger: 1950
3856	A. 1084	AD 50	AD 150	Dressel 6B	Q usidi Dex	Q(uinti) [L]usidi Dex(tri)	Wine	Along the item	Egger: 1951
3861	A. 1086	AD 14	AD 32	Dressel 12	CLAUDI ALEXANDRI		Fish sauce	Along the item	Cesteros: 2012
3878	A. 1092	AD 10	AD 150	Beltran 2A	PROCVLI ET VRBICI		Fish sauce	Along the item	Martin-Kilcher: 2002, fig. 2
3880	A. 1093	AD 10	AD 150	Beltran 2A	PROCVLI ET VRBICI		Fish sauce	Along the item	Martin-Kilcher: 2002, fig. 4
3882	A. 1094	AD 10	AD 150	Beltran 2A	PROCVLI ET VRBICI		Fish sauce	Along the item	Martin-Kilcher: 2002, fig. 5
3884	A. 1095	AD 10	AD 150	Beltran 2A	L. RITTI VERECUNDI	L. [V]RITTI VERECUNDI	Fish sauce	Along the item	Martin-Kilcher: 2002, fig. 6

3886	A. 1096	AD 10	AD 150	Beltran 2A	L. URITTI VERECVNDI	L. URITTI VERECVNDI	Fish sauce	Along the item	Martin-Kilcher: 2002, fig. 7
3888	A. 1097	AD 10	AD 150	Beltran 2A	L. VRITTI VE	L. VRITTI VE[RECUNDI]	Fish sauce	Along the item	Martin-Kilcher: 2002, fig. 10
3890	A. 1098	35 BC	AD 75	Dressel 7-11	PROCVLI ET VRBICI	PROCVLI [ET VRBICI	Fish sauce	Along the item	Martin-Kilcher: 1994, 405
3892	A. 1099	AD 10	AD 150	Beltran 2A	IVNIORVM		Fish sauce	Along the item	Ehmig: 2007, 117
3921	A. 1111	AD 25	AD 79	Dressel 12	Umbrici Scauri		Fish sauce	the amphora is inscribed in both sides, on the one side has the name of the navicularius, in the other the name of the merchant	Manacorda: 1977, 130-1
3931	A. 1115	AD 78	AD 80	Amphora	P. VAL		Fish sauce		Ehmig; Liou & Long: 2004, 128-9
3766	I. 035	AD 40	AD 75	Lead ingot	IMP AUG GER			On the side / Inscribed	De Juan <i>et al.</i> : 2014

3934	I. 040	AD 1	AD 100	Lead Ingot	Met Dard	met(alli) Dard(anici)		On the side / Inscribed	<i>AE</i> 1999 1683
3936	I. 041	AD 1	AD 100	Lead Ingot	IMP.CAES AVG			On the side / Inscribed	Veny: 1969-70, 196
3938	I. 042	AD 1	AD 100	Lead Ingot	IMP. CAES. AVG			On the side / Inscribed	Veny: 1969-70, 196
3940	I. 043	AD 1	AD 100	Lead Ingot	VESP. AVG; AVG			On the side / Inscribed	Veny: 1969-70, 202
3942	I. 044	AD 1	AD 100	Lead Ingot	VESP. AVG; AVG			On the side / Inscribed	Veny: 1969-70, 207
3944	I. 045	AD 1	AD 100	Lead Ingot	IMP CAES			On the side / Inscribed	Long & Domergue: 1995
3945	I. 046	AD 1	AD 100	Lead Ingot	IMP CAES			On the side / Inscribed	Long & Domergue: 1995
3946	I. 046	AD 1	AD 100	Lead Ingot	L FL VE			On the side / Inscribed	Long & Domergue: 1995
3947	I. 046	AD 1	AD 100	Lead Ingot	EROTIS			On the side / Inscribed	Long & Domergue: 1995

17.8. Production Marks (P)

Table 36. Production marks (P)

ID	ID Support	Support type	Reading	Interpretation	Location & technique <i>scripta</i>	Main Source
2952	B. 001	Barrel	IMMVNE I NR VAL LEG II AD	'Immune in r(ationem) val(etudinarii) leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis)';	Exterior / Chiselled	Bezecky: 1996, 334
2953	B. 002	Barrel	EXPAC NTR VAL LEG II AD1	Expac(to) n[<u>u</u>]tr(imento) val(etudinari) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis)';	Exterior / Chiselled	Bezecky: 1996, 335
2954	B. 003	Barrel	TPD		Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2955	B. 004	Barrel	CTS		Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2956	B. 005	Barrel	PD	[<u>T</u>]PD	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2957	B. 006	Barrel	G RC	[<u>A-</u>]G-RC	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2958	B. 007	Barrel	G RC	[<u>A-</u>]G-RC	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2959	B. 008	Barrel	AI	[<u>AI</u>]	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2960	B. 009	Barrel	D-shaped sign		Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858

2961	B. 010	Barrel	S DOC		Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2962	B. 011	Barrel	CTS		Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2963	B. 012	Barrel	TP	TP[D]	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2964	B. 013	Barrel	GRC	[A]GRC	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2965	B. 014	Barrel	GRC	[A]GRC	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2967	B. 016	Barrel	PD	[T]PD	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2968	B. 017	Barrel	TP M	TP[M]	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2969	B. 018	Barrel	T P M	T P[M]	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2970	B. 019	Barrel	A G R	A G R	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2971	B. 020	Barrel	TPD		Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2972	B. 021	Barrel	TP	TP[D]	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2973	B. 022	Barrel	PD	[T]PD	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2974	B. 023	Barrel	TPD		Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2975	B. 024	Barrel	FLAVIO		Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858

2976	B. 025	Barrel	FLAVIO	Cognomen	Interior / Chiselled	Derks: 2009, 858
2977	B. 026	Barrel	L M	L [.]M	Exterior / Fire	Derks: 2009, 858
2978	B. 027	Barrel	L IV	L IV [..]	Exterior / Fire	Derks: 2009, 858
2979	B. 028	Barrel	VITAL O		Exterior / Fire	Derks: 2009, 858
2980	B. 029	Barrel	T		Exterior / Fire	Derks: 2009, 858
2981	B. 030	Barrel	IANUARIVS		Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 43-4; 85; 111
2982	B. 031	Barrel stave	L.C.MA		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2983	B. 031	Barrel	INGENVIMATER	Ingen[uus] maternus	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85; 110
2984	B. 031	Barrel	]COTAN[		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2985	B. 031	Barrel	QBEBM		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2986	B. 031	Barrel	ACMIM[		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85; 144
2987	B. 031	Barrel	BROC		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85; 109-110; 112; 144
2988	B. 031	Barrel	DGS[		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2989	B. 031	Barrel	PM		Exterior/ Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2990	B. 031	Barrel	COD[		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2991	B. 031	Barrel	BPVI EI		Exterior/ Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85

2992	B. 031	Barrel	STTOV		Exterior/ Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2993	B. 031	Barrel	PTAC		Exterior/ Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2994	B. 031	Barrel	M		Exterior/ Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 85
2995	B. 031	Barrel	C		Exterior/ Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 86
2996	B. 031	Barrel	T.T.		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 86; 112
2997	B. 031	Barrel	OEQA		Exterior/ Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 86
2998	B. 031	Barrel	AELCB	Aeliorum C et Brocchi	Exterior/ Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 86
2999	B. 031	Barrel	RSA		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 45; 86
3000	B. 031	Barrel	BOLANIS DIVIORVS		Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 45; 86
3001	B. 031	Barrel	ALIONI SECVRIO		Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 45; 87
3002	B. 031	Barrel	ASPIS MXXIIIIS		Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 45; 88; 114
3008	B. 033	Barrel	T.C.PACA		Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 47; 89; 112
3009	B. 033	Barrel	C.P.		Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 47; 89
3011	B. 035	Barrel	HERM		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 49; 89; 112

3012	B. 036	Barrel	AR		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 49; 89
3013	B. 037	Barrel	SVALINOS		Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 49; 89; 111
3014	B. 038	Barrel	VERCTISSAE		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 49; 89; 112
3017	B. 038	Barrel	GI		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 49; 89
3018	B. 039	Barrel	CTC		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 52; 89
3019	B. 039	Barrel	ꞒTC		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 52; 89
3020	B. 039	Barrel	MGAV	Gav[ꞒiusꞒ]	Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 52; 90
3021	B. 039	Barrel	TER.STEV		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 52; 91
3022	B. 039	Barrel	TER.STEV		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 52; 89
3023	B. 039	Barrel	ꞒR.STEV		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 52; 89
3024	B. 039	Barrel	L. SEV	L.Sev[ꞒeriꞒ]	Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 52; 89
3025	B. 039	Barrel	TCL.GP		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 52; 89
3026	B. 039	Barrel	VITALIS		Interior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 52; 89
3027	B. 039	Barrel	VITALIS		Interior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 52; 89
3028	B. 039	Barrel	VITALIS		Interior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 52; 89

3029	I.001	Lead ingot	Caesaris Aug	Caesaris Aug(usti)	On the top / Stamped	<i>CIL X 8073</i>
3029	I.001	Lead ingot	Caesaris Aug	Caesaris Aug(usti)	On the top / Stamped	<i>CIL X 8073</i>
3030	I.036	Lead ingot	Caesaris Aug	Caesaris Aug(usti)	On the top / Stamped	<i>CIL XV 7914</i>
3031	I.037	Lead ingot	IMP Caes Hadr Aug	IMP(eratoris) Caes(aris) Hadr(iani) Aug(usti)	On the top / Stamped	<i>CIL X 8073, 2</i>
3032	I.038	Lead ingot	IMP Caes Hadr Aug	Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Hadr(iani) Aug(usti)	On the top / Stamped	<i>AE 1991 902a</i>
3033	I.039	Lead ingot	I Ca es L S Severi Perti naci s Aug Part ici Adiabenici	I[mp](eratoris) Ca[es](aris) L(ucii) S(eptimi) Severi Perti[naci]s Aug(usti) Part(h)ici Adiabenici	On the top / Stamped	<i>CIL XIII 3222</i>
3045	B. 044	Bottom of the barrel	BACCVS F	Baccus f(ecit)	Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 62; 86, 104; 115
3046	B. 044	Bottom of the barrel	Q. ATTI GRATI		Exterior / Fire	Marliere, 2002, 62; 86; 112
3047	B. 044	Bottom of the barrel	C		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 62; 86
3048	B. 044	Bottom of the barrel	Q.A.G		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 62; 86
3049	B. 045	Bottom of the barrel	BACCVS F	Baccus f(ecit)	Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 62; 86; 104; 115
3050	B. 045	bottom of the barrel	T. IVL. MVRRANI	T(iti) Iul(i) Murrani	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 62; 86; 112

3051	B. 046	Bottom of the barrel	MARNVS F.	Marnus F(ecit)	Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 62-63; 86; 113
3052	B. 046	Bottom of the barrel	L.C.LYDI		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 62-3; 86
3053	B. 046	Bottom of the barrel	Q. IVL.PACATI		Exterior / Fire	Marliere, 2002, 62-3; 86
3054	B. 047	Bottom of the barrel	T. TERTI	T(iti)Terti	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 63; 86
3055	B. 047	Bottom of the barrel	L. ANINVS MAC	L. ANINVS [] MAC	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3056	B. 047	Bottom of the barrel	L. ANINVS MAC	L. ANINVS [] MAC	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3057	B. 048	Bottom of the barrel	T. TERTI	T(iti)Terti	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3058	B. 048	Bottom of the barrel	L. ANINVS MAC	L. ANINVS [] MAC	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3059	B. 048	Bottom of the barrel	L. ANINVS MAC	L. ANINVS [] MAC	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3060	B. 049	Bottom of the barrel	T. TERTI	T(iti)Terti	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3061	B. 049	Bottom of the barrel	L. ANINVS MAC	L. ANINVS [] MAC	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3062	B. 049	Bottom of the barrel	Q. FL. SILVAN		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63; 86
3063	B. 050	Bottom of the barrel	Q. FL. SILVANUS		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 63-64; 86
3069	B. 051	Bottom of the barrel	C. AVG GER	C(aesar) Aug(ustus) Ger(manicus)	Exterior/ Fire	Marliere: 2002, 64; 86; 110
3072	B. 053	Uncomplete barrel	SI. CAV or SI. CAM		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65; 86

3073	B. 053	Uncomplete barrel	CGS		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65; 86
3074	B. 053	Uncomplete barrel	I [] SM		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65; 86
3077	B. 053	Barrel	VA. RO. V		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65; 86
3078	B. 054	Uncomplete barrel	MMMM		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65; 86
3079	B. 054	Uncomplete barrel	SIL. R et R		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65; 86
3084	B. 057	Uncomplete barrel	C		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65-66; 86
3085	B. 057	Barrel	VTE. L		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65-66; 86
3087	B. 058	Barrel stave	G.L.		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65-66; 86
3088	B. 059	Barrel stave	MC		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65-66; 86
3090	B. 060	Barrel stave	C.S.AVITI		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 66; 86; 108-9
3091	B. 061	Barrel	C.S.AVITI		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 65-66; 86
3097	B. 064	Barrel	CGM	CGM[++++]	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 66-7; 86
3099	B. 065	Barrel stave	BF S	BF[]S[]	Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 68; 87
3101	B. 066	Barrel stave	VIP.S.SVLPS		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 69; 87; 112
3102	B. 066	Barrel stave	L.SVLP		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 69; 87
3103	B. 066	Barrel stave	L.SVLP		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 69; 87
3104	B. 066	Barrel stave	T. VC		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 69; 87

3105	B. 066	Barrel stave	CL.C.C		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 69; 87
3106	B. 066	Barrel stave	CL.CC		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 69; 87
3109	B. 067	Barrel	SOT or LOS		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 69; 87
3124	B. 069	Barrel	T. VIREI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107-8
3125	B. 069	Barrel	T. VIREI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107-8
3126	B. 069	Barrel	T. VIREI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107-8
3127	B. 069	Barrel	T. VIREI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107-8
3128	B. 069	Barrel	T. VIREI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107-8
3130	B. 070	Barrel	GALLI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 112
3131	B. 070	Barrel	GALLI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 112
3132	B. 070	Barrel	GALLI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 112
3133	B. 070	Barrel	GALLI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 112
3134	B. 070	Barrel	GALLI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 112
3135	B. 070	Barrel	GALLI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 112
3136	B. 070	Barrel	GALLI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 112

3137	B. 070	Barrel	GALLI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 112
3138	B. 070	Barrel	GALLI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 112
3139	B. 070	Barrel	GALLI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 112
3140	B. 070	Barrel	GALLI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 112
3141	B. 070	Barrel	V RATI	V[I]RATI	Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 73, 87, 107, 108
3141	B. 071	Barrel stave	APA	[...]APA[...]	Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 74, 87, 107
3142	B. 071	Barrel stave	APA	[...]APA[...]	Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 74, 87, 107
3143	B. 071	Barrel stave	APA	[...]APA[...]	Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 74, 87, 107
3144	B. 071	Barrel stave	APA	[...]APA[...]	Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 74, 87, 107
3145	B. 072	Barrel	SOLIVERI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 75, 87, 108, 115
3146	B. 072	barrel	SOLIVERI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 75, 87, 108, 115
3147	B. 072	barrel	SOLIVERI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 75, 87, 108, 115
3148	B. 072	Barrel	T.VIREI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 75, 87, 108, 115
3149	B. 072	barrel	T.VIREI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 75, 87, 108, 115
3150	B. 072	Barrel	T. VIREI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 75, 87, 108, 115

3151	B. 072	Barrel	T. VIREI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 75, 87, 108, 115
3152	B. 073	Barrel	SIIGIATI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 76, 87, 108, 112
3153	B. 073	Barrel	SIIGIATI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 76, 87, 108, 112
3154	B. 073	Barrel	SIIGIATI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 76, 87, 108, 112
3155	B. 073	Barrel	SIIGIATI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 76, 87, 108, 112
3156	B. 073	Barrel	SIIGIATI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 76, 87, 108, 112
3157	B. 073	Barrel	SIIGIATI		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 76, 87, 108, 112
3159	B. 073	Bottom of the barrel	CR		Interior / Painted	Marliere: 2002, 76, 87, 107
3162	B. 074	barrel stave	SENTIOR		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 78, 87
3163	B. 074	Barrel stave	VM	V[<u>inu</u>]m	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 78, 87
3164	B. 075	Barrel stave	SM		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 78, 87
3165	B. 076	Barrel	L.E.S		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 80, 88, 112
3166	B. 076	Barrel	TIV.SUC		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 80, 88
3167	B. 076	Barrel	DO. SVC		Interior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2002, 80, 88

3168	B. 077	Barrel	PERPETVUI		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 80, 88, 112
3169	B. 077	Barrel	PIGILLI		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 80, 88, 112
3170	B. 077	Barrel	COBNERTI		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 80, 88, 112
3171	B. 077	Barrel	VENVSTI		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 80, 88, 112
3172	B. 077	Barrel	R.S.		Interior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 80, 88
3173	B. 078	Barrel stave	SENTIOR		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 80, 88
3175	B. 080	Uncomplete barrel	L.I. MATV		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 84, 87
3176	B. 080	Uncomplete barrel	P.L.A		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 84, 87
3178	B. 081	Barrel	MCO [] MCATR		Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2002, 88-9, 112
3182	B. 083	Stave with stopper	IM []		Exterior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2002, 88-9
3193	B. 085	Bottom of the barrel	DOLVLI		Interior / Graffiti	Marliere: 2003, 136
3196	B. 088	Barrel stave	COBRSABI	[F]COBRSABI	Exterior / Fire	Marliere: 2003, 139, 145
3197	B. 088	Barrel stave	C.V.		Exterior / Chiselled	Marliere: 2003, 139; 144
3242	I. 004	Lead ingot	M. B. A		On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 117, 191
3243	I. 004	Lead ingot	LAM		On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 117, 191
3244	I. 005	Lead ingot	M. B. A		On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 119, 191

3245	I. 005	Lead Ingot	LA		On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 119, 191
3246	I. 005	Lead ingot	LAM		On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 119, 191
3247	I. 006	Lead ingot	I. L. F		On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 121, 187
3248	I. 007	Lead ingot	SOCIORVM PLVMB GER	Sociorum plumb(ariorum) Ger(manicus)	On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 129, 197-8
3251	I. 009	Lead ingot	S A IMF R TI		On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 131-2; 190
3252	I. 009	Lead ingot	M. V M.V.S		On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 131-2; 190
3253	I. 010	Lead ingot	L.PLANI.L.F.RVSSINI	L(ucii) Plani L(ucii) F(ili) Russini	On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 135, 190-1
3254	I. 011	Lead ingot	SOC L GARGILI T F M LAETILI M L	Soc(ietas) L(uci) Gargili T(iti) F(ili) et M(arci) Laetili M(arci) L(iberti)	On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 136-7; 184-187
3255	I. 012	Lead ingot	SOC.MC.PONTILIENORVM.M.F	Soc(ietas) M(arci) et C(ai) Pontilienorum M(arci) F(ili)orum	On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 140-1; 178-184
3256	I. 013	Lead ingot	SOC.MC.PONTILIENORVM.M.F	Soc(ietas) M(arci) et C(ai) Pontilienorum M(arci) F(ili)orum	On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 142-3; 178-184
3257	I. 014	Lead ingot	SOC.MC.PONTILIE	Soc(ietas) M(arci) et C(ai) Pontilie[norum] M(arci) F(ili)orum	On the top / Stamped	Laubenheimer-Leenhardt: 1973, 144-5; 178-184

3557	O. 029		C. IVL CAMPESTER F	Caius Iulius Campester Fecit	Interior / Fire	Gianfrotta: 1994, 599-600
3674	B. 093	Barrel	T.C.PACA		Interior / Fire	Baratta: 1994, 563
3675	B. 094	Barrel	CVAF		Exterior / Chiselled	Baratta: 1994, 564
3679	O. 090	lead label	DEOFFICINA / LIVLIROMANI	De officina L(uci) Iuli Romani	Stamped	Lequement: 1975, 669-670
3681	O. 092	Lead label	DE FFICINA /palm/ LIORUM	De officina / palm/ [I]uliorum	Stamped	Lequement: 1975, 672-673
3682	O. 093	Lead label	DEO / IVLIO	De o[fficina] / Iulio[rum]	Stamped	Lequement: 1975, 672-673
3683	O. 094	Lead label	EXOFFICINA / crown and palm / LIBERTORUM	ex officina /crown and palm/ libertorum	Stamped	Lequement: 1975, 674
3684	O. 095	Lead label	trident		Stamped	Lequement: 1975, 674-675
3685	O. 096	lead label	trident		Stamped	Lequement: 1975, 675
3742	I. 017	Lead ingot	TANNIBER		On the top / Stamped	Domergue, Colls & Ayuso: 1986, 49-50
3743	I. 018	Lead ingot	P CAECILI POPILLI	P(ubli) Caecili Popilli	On the top / Stamped	Domergue, Colls & Ayuso: 1986, 50, 53
3744	I. 019	Lead ingot	L FLA C POM	L(ucius) Fla(uius), G(aius) Pom(peius)	On the top / Stamped	Domergue, Colls & Ayuso: 1986, 53
3745	I. 020	Lead ingot	Q HATERI GALLI	Quinti Hateriii Gallii	On the top / Stamped	Domergue, Colls & Ayuso: 1986, 53-4

3746	I. 021	Lead ingot	HAVE / gubernaculum / IULI / palma / VERNIO		On the top / Stamped	Domergue, Colls & Ayuso: 1986, 54-55
3747	I. 022	Lead ingot	PLVMB delphinus CAI		On the top / Stamped	Domerge, Colls & Ayuso: 1986, 55
3748	I. 023	Lead ingot	P PUSTVMUS RVFVS		On the top / Stamped	Domerge, Colls & Ayuso: 1986, 55
3749	I. 024	Lead ingot	M VALERI palma ABLON dolium		On the top / Stamped	Domerge, Colls & Ayuso: 1986, 58
3750	I. 025	Lead ingot	VS . L. F. RVFVS		On the top / Stamped	Domergue & De Juan, 2013, 251ff.
3751	I. 026	Lead ingot	C. VACALICI		On the top / Stamped	Domergue & Rico: 2002, 165-8
3754	I. 029	Lead ingot	C. VACALICI		On the top / Stamped	Domergue & Liou: 1990, 74ff
3755	I. 030	Lead ingot	MINUCIORUM		On the top / Stamped	Domergue & Liou, 1990, 74ff
3756	I. 030	Lead ingot	AP. IVN		On the top / Stamped	Domergue & Liou, 1990, 74ff
3757	I. 030	Lead ingot	ZEHN		On the top / Stamped	Domergue & Liou, 1990, 99ff
3933	I. 040	Lead ingot	IMP DOMIT AUG GER	Imp(eratoris) Domit[iani] Aug(usti) Ger(manici)	On the top / Stamped	<i>AE</i> 1999 1683
3935	I. 041	Lead ingot	[P.A] EMILI GALLICI		On the top / Stamped	Veny: 1969-70, 196

3937	I. 042	Lead ingot	N MEVI APRI		On the top / Stamped	Veny: 1969-70, 198
3939	I. 043	Lead ingot	Q CORNVTI		On the top / Stamped	Veny: 1969-70, 202
3941	I. 044	Lead ingot	L MANLI		On the top / Stamped	Veny: 1969-70, 207
3943	I. 045	Lead ingot	FLAVI VERUCLAE PLUMB GERM		On the top / Stamped	Long & Domergue: 1995

17.9. General Inscription Dressel 20 Amphorae (δ)

Table 37. General inscription Dressel 20 amphorae (δ)

ID	ID Support	Estimated date (early)	Estimated date (late)	Reading	Interpretation	Main Source
151	A. 062	AD 101	AD 150	ecundi ccclx	[s]ecundi ccclx	Helly, Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 132
156	A. 063	AD 101	AD 150	n		Helly, Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 133-4,
159	A. 064	AD 101	AD 150	anni		Helly, Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 133-4,

171	A. 068	AD 101	AD 150	IVLI ET CAVI		Helly, Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 138;
172	A. 069	AD 101	AD 150	c.ling C l Ing	c.ling (C(ai)l(iberti) Ing(enui)	Helly, Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 138,
173	A. 070	AD 101	AD 150	YCHI		Helly, Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 139
175	A. 071	AD 101	AD 150	L I		Helly, Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 139
179	A. 075	AD 101	AD 150	CXXXXIII	95 sextarii ¹ / ₃ , so 52,15 litres.	Helly, Le Bot-Helly & Liou: 1986, 144,
182	A. 076	AD 75	AD 125	cu auitianum		Liou: 1987, 56
200	A. 090	AD 160	AD 160	R / cord ccxxi		Liou: 1987, 102
201	A. 090	AD 160	AD 160	ti eli tian		Liou: 1987, 102
202	A. 090	AD 160	AD 160	Sept varo	septi[bradua et]varo[cos]	Liou: 1987, 102
208	A. 093	AD 120	AD 125	Ca lli r cc	ca[]lli r cc	Liou: 1987, 131
232	A. 111	AD 100	AD 250	R/	recognitum/recensitum	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 120
235	A. 111	AD 100	AD 250	ace pictus fie critoniani	ace pictus fie critoniani	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 120
244	A. 116	AD 1	AD 100	aaa f	[]aaa f	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 125
246	A. 117	AD 1	AD 100	ucani pyrr fuscus	[]ucani pyrr(hus?) fuscus	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 127

247	A. 118	AD 140	AD 150	ccxiis	ccxiis	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 127
248	A. 118	AD 140	AD 150	Domiti o caes et p casco c	domiti[an]o caes(are) et p casco c[os]	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 127
249	A. 118	AD 140	AD 150	iucu	iucu[ndus]	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 127
250	A. 119	AD 149	AD 149	Cc s	cc[u]s	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 128
251	A. 119	AD 149	AD 149	roci rociანი f	roci rociანი f	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 128
252	A. 120	AD 15	AD 100	CLXXXSX	CLXXXSX	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 128
253	A. 120	AD 15	AD 100	canus	[lu]canus	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 128
254	A. 121	AD 15	AD 100	ellae	[Of]ellae	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 130
255	A. 122	AD 139	AD 160	astig	Astig[i]	Liou & Marichal: 1978, 130
295	A. 149	AD 40	AD 60	lucreti	lucreti [a cxcii]	Liou: 1977, 66
296	A. 150	AD 40	AD 60	lucreti a cxcii	lucreti a cxcii	Liou: 1977, 66
297	A. 151	AD 40	AD 60	primi lvi	primi lvi [a +number]	Liou: 1977, 66
298	A. 152	AD 40	AD 60	pip	pip [a +number]	Liou: 1977, 67
305	A. 159	AD 40	AD 60	iclxi	[name] iclxi	Liou: 1977, 71
307	A. 160	AD 41	AD 68	m	m	Liou: 1992, 87

317	A. 166	AD 149	AD 154	acc g primus	acc(epit) g primus	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
318	A. 166	AD 149	AD 154	charitianum aeliae aeliane luuii	charitianum aeliae aeliane luuii	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
319	A. 166	AD 149	AD 154	ccxui anicet	ccxui anicet(us)	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
323	A. 167	AD 149	AD 154	g primus	G(ustavit)? primus	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
324	A. 167	AD 149	AD 154	ae iae aelian luuii	ae[1]iae aelian(ae) luuii	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
325	A. 167	AD 149	AD 154	cciii anicet	cciii anicet(us)	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
329	A. 168	AD 149	AD 154	acc g primus	acc(epit) g(ustavit)? primus	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
330	A. 168	AD 149	AD 154	charitianum aeliae aelian luuii	charitianum aeliae aelian(ae) luuii	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
331	A. 168	AD 149	AD 154	cxui anice	cxui anice(tus)	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
335	A. 169	AD 149	AD 154	acc g pri	acc(epit) g(ustavit)? Pri[mus]	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
336	A. 169	AD 149	AD 154	charisianum aeliae aeliane lui	charisianum aeliae aeliane lui[i]	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
337	A. 169	AD 149	AD 154	cxciuii anice	cxciuii anice(tus)	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173

349	A. 171	AD 149	AD 154	cciii anicet	cciii anicet(us)	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
350	A. 172	AD 149	AD 154	acc	acc(epit)[]	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
351	A. 172	AD 149	AD 154	charisianum aeliae	charisianum aeliae []	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
352	A. 172	AD 149	AD 154	cxci	cxci []	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 173
356	A. 173	AD 149	AD 154	g acc herac astig	G(ustavit) acc(epit) herac astig	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 185
357	A. 173	AD 149	AD 154	pontiani ueturian xli	pontiani ueturian(um) xli	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 185
358	A. 173	AD 149	AD 154	Martial cxci	martial(is) cxci	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 185
362	A. 174	AD 149	AD 154	g acc ig	G(ustavit) acc(epit)[ast]ig[i]	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 185
363	A. 174	AD 149	AD 154	Pontian uet xli	pontian[i] uet[urian(um)] xli	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 185
364	A. 174	AD 149	AD 154	Martial iii	martial(is) [ccxi]iii	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 185
368	A. 175	AD 149	AD 154	g acc ig	G(ustavit)? acc(epit)[ast]ig[i]	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 189
369	A. 175	AD 149	AD 154	Pontian uet xli	pontian[i] uet[urian(um)] xli	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 189

370	A. 175	AD 149	AD 154	Martial iii	martial(is) [ccxi]iii	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 189
374	A. 176	AD 149	AD 154	g acc ig	G(ustavit)? acc(epit) [ast]ig[i]	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 189
375	A. 176	AD 149	AD 154	pontiani ueturian x	pontiani ueturian(um) x	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 189
376	A. 176	AD 149	AD 154	Martial cxcui	martial(is) cxcui	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 189
380	A. 177	AD 149	AD 154	Acc g oni	acc(epit) g(ustavit)? oni	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 196
381	A. 177	AD 149	AD 154	aeliae marciae callecr lui	aeliae marciae callecr lui	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 196
382	A. 177	AD 149	AD 154	cxxcuii anicet	cxxcuii anicet(us)	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 196
386	A. 178	AD 149	AD 154	Acc g	acc(epit) g(ustavit)?	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 196
387	A. 178	AD 149	AD 154	aeliae marc ca lui	aeliae marc[i]an[ae] ca lui	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 196
388	A. 178	AD 149	AD 154	ccxii anicet	ccxii anicet(us)	Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 196
392	A. 179	AD 149	AD 154	ccuiii		Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 197-8
393	A. 179	AD 149	AD 154	u busti ti		Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 197-8

394	A. 179	AD 149	AD 154	Astigi		Liou, Gassend & Roman, 1990, 197-8
399	A. 182	AD 100	AD 200	R/ XXXV CCIIS		<i>CIL XV 4174</i>
400	A. 182	AD 100	AD 200	attianum pontani, phil	attianum pontani, phil[]	<i>CIL XV 4174</i>
401	A. 182	AD 100	AD 200	Acc pius, orfito et prisco cos	acc(epit) pius, orfito et prisco cos	<i>CIL XV 4174</i>
402	A. 183	AD 100	AD 200	opt	opt(atus)	<i>CIL XV 4282</i>
403	A. 183	AD 100	AD 200	Paternum anullini XXXII clemen	Paternum anullini XXXII clemen(s)	<i>CIL XV 4282</i>
404	A. 183	AD 100	AD 200	hisp ccvs		<i>CIL XV 4282</i>
405	A. 184	AD 100	AD 200	R/ CCVS		<i>CIL XV 4272</i>
406	A. 184	AD 100	AD 200	caesaris n si Md Onoa sis	caesaris n(ostri) si Md Onoa[]sis	<i>CIL XV 4272</i>
407	A. 184	AD 100	AD 200	eutyichio cord praesente	eutyichio cord(uba) praesente	<i>CIL XV 4272</i>
408	A. 184	AD 100	AD 200	t r fino. Cos	[e]t r[u]fino. Cos	<i>CIL XV 4272</i>
412	A. 185	AD 100	AD 200	R/ CCVS accep a	R/ CCVS accep(it) a	<i>CIL XV 4280</i>
413	A. 185	AD 100	AD 200	Prae nte et rufino cos	Prae[se]nte et rufino cos	<i>CIL XV 4280</i>
414	A. 185	AD 100	AD 200	Marcia caesar n XX I	marcia() caesar(is) n(ostri) XX[] I	<i>CIL XV 4280</i>
418	A. 186	AD 149	AD 149	R/ astig CCVIIS		<i>CIL XV 3940</i>
419	A. 186	AD 149	AD 149	hi clodiense optati a		<i>CIL XV 3940</i>
420	A. 186	AD 149	AD 149	arfito et prisco cos		<i>CIL XV 3940</i>

427	A. 188	AD 154	AD 154	R/ HISPAL X CCXV		<i>CIL XV 3973</i>
428	A. 188	AD 154	AD 154	CASSI APOLAVSTI. FEST		<i>CIL XV 3973</i>
429	A. 188	AD 154	AD 154	COMMODO ET LATERANO COS	commodo et laterano co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3973</i>
434	A. 189	AD 100	AD 200	R/ lac XX CLXXXXVIIS		<i>CIL XV 3977</i>
435	A. 189	AD 100	AD 200	Orfit et prisco cos	orfit[ō] et prisco co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3977</i>
436	A. 189	AD 100	AD 200	Bar ese lucini opt	bar[̄cufi]ese lucini opt	<i>CIL XV, 3977</i>
437	A. 189	AD 100	AD 200	ionisus	[̄acce(p)i(t) d] ionisus	<i>CIL XV 3977</i>
438	A. 190	AD 100	AD 200	R/ lacc xx CLXXXXVIII orfito e prisco cos	R/ lacc xx CLXXXXVIII orfito e prisco co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3978</i>
753	A. 305	AD 40	AD 40	Iuliani arca XVI gam	Iuliani arca XVI gam(us)	<i>CIL XV 3642</i>
755	A. 306	AD 40	AD 40	Iuliani arca XVI for	Iuliani arca XVI for(tunatus)	<i>CIL XV 3644</i>
759	A. 307	AD 40	AD 40	Montani XX Gam	Montani XX Gam(us)	<i>CIL XV 3645</i>
803	A. 325	AD 75	AD 125	MI palma		Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 14-15
810	A. 328	AD 75	AD 125	MI palma		Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 18-19,
821	A. 331	AD 75	AD 125	RIL		Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000, 22
1579	A. 604	AD 145	AD 145	AVRELIO		<i>CIL XV 3762</i>

1580	A. 604	AD 145	AD 145	COS		<i>CIL XV 3762</i>
1583	A. 604	AD 145	AD 145	rmanianum mas		<i>CIL XV 3762</i>
1584	A. 604	AD 145	AD 145	hedul/rodul		<i>CIL XV 3762</i>
1598	A. 608	AD 154	AD 154	R/ Ciiis		<i>CIL XV 3769</i>
1599	A. 608	AD 154	AD 154	COMMODO ET LATERANO COS	Commodo et laterano co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3769</i>
1600	A. 608	AD 154	AD 154	Attian ia		<i>CIL XV 3769</i>
1601	A. 608	AD 154	AD 154	Apoll		<i>CIL XV 3769</i>
1606	A. 609	AD 154	AD 154	commodo latera	Commodo [et] laterano co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3770</i>
1607	A. 609	AD 154	AD 154	niceroris/ atti erotis		<i>CIL XV 3770</i>
1608	A. 609	AD 154	AD 154	asticus cuanthus		<i>CIL XV 3770</i>
1612	A. 610	AD 154	AD 154	ET LA	[Commodo] et [laterano co(n)s(ule)s]	<i>CIL XV 3771</i>
1613	A. 610	AD 154	AD 154	NICEROTS		<i>CIL XV 3771</i>
1614	A. 610	AD 154	AD 154	ASTICVS		<i>CIL XV 3771</i>
1616	A. 611	AD 154	AD 154	COM	Com[modo et laterano co(n)s(ule)s]	<i>CIL XV 3772</i>
1617	A. 611	AD 154	AD 154	NICE		<i>CIL XV 3772</i>
1618	A. 611	AD 154	AD 154	ASTICVS		<i>CIL XV 3772</i>
1622	A. 612	AD 154	AD 154	R/CXCVII[]		<i>CIL XV 3773</i>

1623	A. 612	AD 154	AD 154	c mmm o et laterano co	C[<u>o</u>]mmo[<u>d</u>]o et laterano co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3773</i>
1624	A. 612	AD 154	AD 154	caesaris n supessianu		<i>CIL XV 3773</i>
1625	A. 612	AD 154	AD 154	apoll		<i>CIL XV 3773</i>
1630	A. 613	AD 154	AD 154	COMMODO ET LATERANO COS	Commodo et laterano co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3774</i>
1631	A. 613	AD 154	AD 154	M		<i>CIL XV 3774</i>
1635	A. 614	AD 154	AD 154	COMMO	Commo[<u>d</u>]o et laterano co[<u>n</u>][<u>s</u>](ules)	<i>CIL XV 3775</i>
1638	A. 615	AD 154	AD 154	ESE CLODI SIM		<i>CIL XV 3776</i>
1639	A. 615	AD 154	AD 154	LON IVSOP		<i>CIL XV 3776</i>
1643	A. 616	AD 154	AD 154	S		<i>CIL XV 3777</i>
1644	A. 616	AD 154	AD 154	M HERM S		<i>CIL XV 3773</i>
1647	A. 617	AD 154	AD 154	CXS		<i>CIL XV 3778</i>
1648	A. 617	AD 154	AD 154	CAA		<i>CIL XV 3778</i>
1653	A. 618	AD 154	AD 154	VIII		<i>CIL XV 3779</i>
1681	A. 627	AD 150	AD 150	orfio et i sco	orfio et [pr]isco [cos]	<i>CIL XV 3806</i>
1682	A. 627	AD 150	AD 150	R/ astigi p vii ccx		<i>CIL XV 3806</i>
1683	A. 627	AD 150	AD 150	anni calisti bacchicu		<i>CIL XV 3806</i>
1686	A. 628	AD 154	AD 154	II CVI[III]		<i>CIL XV 3807</i>

1687	A. 628	AD 154	AD 154	ci mascelli		<i>CIL XV 3807</i>
1688	A. 628	AD 154	AD 154	do aug f et lat		<i>CIL XV 3807</i>
1692	A. 629	AD 154	AD 154	XCCX		<i>CIL XV 3808</i>
1693	A. 629	AD 154	AD 154	f et la		<i>CIL XV 3808</i>
1725	A. 641	AD 140	AD 149	R/ Acc		<i>CIL XV 3978</i>
1726	A. 641	AD 140	AD 149	erfito et prisco cos		<i>CIL XV 3978</i>
1727	A. 641	AD 140	AD 149	barcufense lucini f		<i>CIL XV 3978</i>
1728	A. 641	AD 140	AD 149	accepit dionisus		<i>CIL XV 3978</i>
1732	A. 642	AD 147	AD 147	R/ cord septumini ian		<i>CIL XV 3974</i>
1742	A. 646	AD 161	AD 161	R/ FIG CARP		<i>CIL XV 3943</i>
1743	A. 646	AD 161	AD 161	AVRELIO ET COMMODO COS	Aurelio et commodo co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3943</i>
1744	A. 646	AD 161	AD 161	LICINIAETHU CL		<i>CIL XV 3943</i>
1745	A. 646	AD 161	AD 161	NVAR CCXVS		<i>CIL XV 3943</i>
1746	A. 646	AD 161	AD 161	XV		<i>CIL XV 3943</i>
1749	A. 647	AD 161	AD 161	AVRELIO	Aurelio [et commodo co(n)s(ules)]	<i>CIL XV 3944</i>
1750	A. 647	AD 161	AD 161	PA NIAN		<i>CIL XV 3944</i>
1754	A. 648	AD 161	AD 161	R/ R CO		<i>CIL XV 3945</i>

1755	A. 648	AD 161	AD 161	V ESAR III E	V(ero) [Ca]esar III e[^t commodo co(n)s(ules)]	<i>CIL XV 3945</i>
1756	A. 648	AD 161	AD 161	UFINO	[R]ufino	<i>CIL XV 3945</i>
1760	A. 649	AD 161	AD 161	R/ CCXIS		<i>CIL XV 3946</i>
1761	A. 649	AD 161	AD 161	aurelio III et commodo cos		<i>CIL XV 3946</i>
1762	A. 649	AD 161	AD 161	p rni nigri		<i>CIL XV 3946</i>
1766	A. 650	AD 161	AD 161	relio III	[Au]relio III [et commodo co(n)s(ule)s]	<i>CIL XV 3947</i>
1767	A. 650	AD 161	AD 161	EVTY	Euti[^{chus}]	<i>CIL XV 3947</i>
1782	A. 655	AD 145	AD 161	R/ F RUF		<i>CIL XV 3949</i>
1783	A. 655	AD 145	AD 161	COCCEIAE FVNDANAE AN		<i>CIL XV 3949</i>
1784	A. 655	AD 145	AD 161	LASCIVS CCXXIS RT		<i>CIL XV 3949</i>
1785	A. 655	AD 145	AD 161	PRAESE ET	Praesens et [Rufino co(n)s(ule)s]	<i>CIL XV 3949</i>
1786	A. 656	AD 145	AD 161	Cocciae fundanae acc	Cocciae fundanae acc(epit)	<i>CIL XV 3950</i>
1787	A. 656	AD 145	AD 161	R/ F ruf CCXIS	Re/ F(iglina) ruff(ino) CCXIS	<i>CIL XV 3950</i>
1788	A. 656	AD 145	AD 161	aesente et ruf	[Pr]aesente et Ruf[ino] [co(nsule)s]	<i>CIL XV 3950</i>
1793	A. 657	AD 145	AD 161	R/		<i>CIL XV 3951</i>
1794	A. 657	AD 145	AD 161	praesente et rufino cos	Praesente et Rufino co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3951</i>
1795	A. 657	AD 145	AD 161	li ionis accepit euty		<i>CIL XV 3951</i>

1796	A. 657	AD 145	AD 161	anuar CCVIIS	[i]anuar[ius] CCVIIS	<i>CIL XV 3951</i>
1801	A. 658	AD 145	AD 161	praesente et rufino cos	Praesente et Rufino co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3952</i>
1802	A. 658	AD 145	AD 161	A HU C		<i>CIL XV 3952</i>
1803	A. 658	AD 145	AD 161	IANVAR	Ianuar[ius] CCVIIS	<i>CIL XV 3952</i>
1808	A. 659	AD 145	AD 161	ET RUFINO COS	[Praesente] et Rufino co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3953</i>
1809	A. 659	AD 145	AD 161	AESTI MART		<i>CIL XV 3953</i>
1814	A. 660	AD 154	AD 154	R/ XXIII CCXVS car		<i>CIL XV 3954</i>
1815	A. 660	AD 154	AD 154	commodo et laterano cos	commodo et laterano co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3954</i>
1819	A. 661	AD 154	AD 154	R/ I I car	Recensitum	<i>CIL XV 3955</i>
1820	A. 661	AD 154	AD 154	commodo et laterano cos	commodo et laterano co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3955</i>
1821	A. 661	AD 154	AD 154	atti corneliani acc aven	atti corneliani acc(epit) aven[tinus]	<i>CIL XV 3955</i>
1822	A. 662	AD 154	AD 154	R/ astig VI ccxiix		<i>CIL XV 3956</i>
1823	A. 662	AD 154	AD 154	commodo et laterano cos	commodo et laterano co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3956</i>
1824	A. 662	AD 154	AD 154	aeli corneliani ulla f labeonis	aeli corneliani ulla f(iglinae) labeonis	<i>CIL XV 3956</i>
1826	A. 663	AD 154	AD 154	R/	Recensitum	<i>CIL XV 3957</i>
1827	A. 663	AD 154	AD 154	commodo et laterano cos	commodo et laterano consules	<i>CIL XV 3957</i>

1828	A. 663	AD 154	AD 154	proculini acc eutyclus	proculini accepit Eutyclus	<i>CIL XV 3957</i>
1829	A. 663	AD 154	AD 154	ianuarius CCXS		<i>CIL XV 3957</i>
1833	A. 664	AD 145	AD 161	IS		<i>CIL XV 3958</i>
1834	A. 664	AD 145	AD 161	CCXIIS		<i>CIL XV 3958</i>
1865	A. 673	AD 146	AD 146	flavianos		<i>CIL XV 3863</i>
1869	A. 674	AD 149	AD 149	R/ CCVII		<i>CIL XV 3864</i>
1875	A. 675	AD 149	AD 149	Proculi XX S PRIMVLVS		<i>CIL XV 3865</i>
1880	A. 676	AD 154	AD 154	R/ CXCVI		<i>CIL XV 3866</i>
1885	A. 677	AD 154	AD 154	CCXIIIS		<i>CIL XV 3867</i>
1886	A. 677	AD 154	AD 154	FLAVIANAE XX F HERMER		<i>CIL XV 3867</i>
1890	A. 678	AD 154	AD 154	commodo et laterano cos		<i>CIL XV 3868</i>
1891	A. 678	AD 154	AD 154	R/ XXVIII CCXVS		<i>CIL XV 3868</i>
1892	A. 678	AD 154	AD 154	FLAVIANAE XX F HERMER		<i>CIL XV 3868</i>
1896	A. 679	AD 161	AD 161	R/ CCXVI		<i>CIL XV 3869</i>
1897	A. 679	AD 161	AD 161	sunt consules annum 161		<i>CIL XV 3869</i>
1898	A. 679	AD 161	AD 161	xx f hilarius		<i>CIL XV 3869</i>
1902	A. 680	AD 146	AD 161	ROCIA		<i>CIL XV 3870</i>
1903	A. 681	AD 149	AD 149	orfio et	orfio et [prisco cos]	<i>CIL XV 3871</i>
1904	A. 681	AD 149	AD 149	rociani x		<i>CIL XV 3871</i>

1905	A. 681	AD 149	AD 149	astig		<i>CIL XV 3871</i>
1909	A. 682	AD 146	AD 161	VI		<i>CIL XV 3872</i>
1910	A. 682	AD 146	AD 161	C		<i>CIL XV 3872</i>
1975	A. 706	AD 154	AD 154	COMMODO ET LATERANO COS	Commodo et laterano co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3894</i>
1976	A. 706	AD 154	AD 154	FELICIS EUTYCHES		<i>CIL XV 3894</i>
1977	A. 706	AD 154	AD 154	ASTIG CCVIIIIS		<i>CIL XV 3894</i>
1983	A. 708	AD 149	AD 149	R/ ASTI		<i>CIL XV 3901</i>
1984	A. 708	AD 149	AD 149	ORFI	orfio [et prisco cos]	<i>CIL XV 3901</i>
1985	A. 708	AD 149	AD 149	CAESI VA		<i>CIL XV 3901</i>
1991	A. 710	AD 160	AD 160	A		<i>CIL XV 3692</i>
1992	A. 710	AD 160	AD 160	TUEN C		<i>CIL XV 3692</i>
1993	A. 710	AD 160	AD 160	RADVA ET VARO COS		<i>CIL XV 3692</i>
1996	A. 711	AD 154	AD 154	R/ cord CXC		<i>CIL XV 3695a</i>
1997	A. 711	AD 154	AD 154	Proculae		<i>CIL XV 3695a</i>
1998	A. 711	AD 154	AD 154	COMMODO ET LATERANO COS		<i>CIL XV 3695a</i>
2014	A. 720	AD 100	AD 250	SEVERINUS		<i>CIL XV 3698</i>
2022	A. 723	AD 145	AD 145	R/ Dapnus		<i>CIL XV 3700</i>
2023	A. 723	AD 145	AD 145	☐ xxviii ☐		<i>CIL XV 3700</i>

2027	A. 724	AD 154	AD 154	COMM	Comm[odo et laterano cos]	<i>CIL XV 3711</i>
2028	A. 724	AD 154	AD 154	FELICIO		<i>CIL XV 3711</i>
2029	A. 724	AD 154	AD 154	CCVI		<i>CIL XV 3711</i>
2031	A. 725	AD 154	AD 154	COMMODO ET LATERANO COS		<i>CIL XV 3712</i>
2032	A. 725	AD 154	AD 154	FELICI		<i>CIL XV 3712</i>
2033	A. 725	AD 154	AD 154	C		<i>CIL XV 3712</i>
2034	A. 726	AD 154	AD 154	R/ Astig		<i>CIL XV 3713</i>
2035	A. 726	AD 154	AD 154	COMMODO ET LATERANO COS		<i>CIL XV 3713</i>
2036	A. 726	AD 154	AD 154	FELICI		<i>CIL XV 3713</i>
2040	A. 727	AD 154	AD 154	XX		<i>CIL XV 3714</i>
2041	A. 727	AD 154	AD 154	CCVS MAR		<i>CIL XV 3714</i>
2047	A. 730	AD 154	AD 154	V		<i>CIL XV 3715c</i>
2051	A. 731	AD 149	AD 149	ACT VEN ORFino et prisco cos		<i>CIL XV 3716</i>
2052	A. 731	AD 149	AD 149	ENCOPLHI AAXI		<i>CIL XV 3716</i>
2053	A. 731	AD 149	AD 149	CCS		<i>CIL XV 3716</i>
2054	A. 732	AD 149	AD 149	lacca bacchius accepit venustus orfio et prisco cos		<i>CIL XV 3717</i>
2055	A. 732	AD 149	AD 149	encolpi XXXIIII lacca		<i>CIL XV 3717</i>

2056	A. 732	AD 149	AD 149	modestus		<i>CIL XV 3717</i>
2060	A. 733	AD 149	AD 149	Accepit maximus orfito et prisco cos		<i>CIL XV 3718</i>
2061	A. 733	AD 149	AD 149	iuliani XXXIS lacca		<i>CIL XV 3718</i>
2062	A. 733	AD 149	AD 149	CX IIIII severus	CX[C]IIIII severus	<i>CIL XV 3718</i>
2069	A. 735	AD 149	AD 149	PRISCO COS	[Orfito et] prisco co(n)s(ules)	<i>CIL XV 3720</i>
2070	A. 735	AD 149	AD 149	VHS		<i>CIL XV 3720</i>
2071	A. 735	AD 149	AD 149	SI PORT		<i>CIL XV 3720</i>
2075	A. 736	AD 149	AD 149	R/ aurelio caesare I	Recesntitum aurelio caesare III et commodo II cos	<i>CIL XV 3721</i>
2076	A. 736	AD 149	AD 149	salsense clarini		<i>CIL XV 3721</i>
2077	A. 736	AD 149	AD 149	ac aut ac alex	Ac[c](epit) aut ac[c](epit) alexander	<i>CIL XV 3721</i>
2721	A. 950	AD 218	AD 218	Fisci rationis patrimonii		<i>CIL XV 4141</i>
2722	A. 950	AD 218	AD 218	Baeticae vel Tarraconensis		<i>CIL XV 4141</i>
3900	A. 1100	AD 217	AD 217	R/ astig arca p CCXXXC / actum nemini , p atimeti / p sentes et extricato cos	R/ astig arca p(ondo) CCXXXC / actum nemini , p(onderavit) atimeti / p[rae]sentes et extricato cos	<i>CIL XV 4100</i>
3901	A. 1101	AD 147	AD 147	R/ port CCXIIIS / logimi callimagi xx privat / acc(epit) callistus	R/ port CCXIIIS / logimi callimagi xx privat(us) / acc(epit) callistus	<i>CIL XV 4151</i>

3902	A. 1102	AD 214	AD 214	R/ astigis arca p / actus agathephori et m p(ondit) / res tutus sabino et apoll	R/ astigis arca p(ondo) / actus agathephori et m[emmia(ni)] p(ondit) / res[ti]tutus sabino et apoll(inari [cos])	<i>CIL XV 4097</i>
3903	A. 1103	AD 117?	AD 138?	R/ astig CCVIIS / marciani xx threptus / vetus	R/ astig CCVIIS / marciani xx threptus / vetus	<i>CIL XV 4091</i>
3906	A. 1104	AD 217	AD 217	ctus naci p sos presente II et	[a]ctus naci p[ondit] sos presente II et [extricto cos]	<i>CIL XV 4102</i>
3908	A. 1106	AD 221	AD 221	R/ astigis arca p / actus agatephori et cuins p /secundus grato e mel	R/ astigis arca p(ondo) /actus agatephori et cuins p(ondit)/secundus grato e[t] mel(euco) [cons]	<i>CIL XV 4114</i>
3910	A. 1105	AD 219	AD 219	R/ a tigus arca p / actus agatephori et memmio p atimetio / domino n et sacerdo cos	R/ a[s]tigis arca p(ondo) / actus agatephori et memmio(ni) p(ondit) atimetio / domino n(ostro) et sacerdo(te) cos	<i>CIL XV 4111</i>
3917	A. 1108	AD 209	AD 211	AESAR NN SEVERI TON GE AE AUGGG	[C]AESAR NN SEVERI [AN]TON[INI ET] GE[T]AE AUGGG	Rodriguez Almeida: 1972, 197
3918	A. 1109	AD 198	AD 209	SEVERI TO USTOR	[-----]SEVERI [ET AN]TO[NINI AUG]USTOR	Rodriguez Almeida: 1972, 197
3919	A. 110	AD 198	AD 209	NOSTRORUM I ET ANTONINI	[-----]NOSTRORUM [SEVER]I ET ANTONINI	Rodriguez Almeida: 1972, 197
3907	A. 1105	AD 221	AD 221	fisci rationis patrimon provinciae baeticae	fisci rationis patrimon(i) provinciae baeticae	<i>CIL XV 4114</i>
3909	A. 1106	AD 219	AD 219	fisci rationis patrimon provinciae baeticae	fisci rationis patrimon(i) provinciae baeticae	<i>CIL XV 4111</i>

3912	A. 1107	AD 220	AD 224	fisci rationis patrimon baeticae provinciae	fisci rationis patrimon(i) provinciae baeticae	Blazquez Martinez & Remesal Rodriguez: 2001, 71, num.34
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18. Appendix IX. Catalogue of Legal Sources⁴²⁸

18.1. Gaius' Institutes

G. 3.139. *Emptio et uenditio contrahitur, cum de pretio conuenerit, quamuis nondum pretium numeratum sit ac ne arra quidem data fuerit. nam quod arrae nomine datur, argumentum est emptionis et uenditionis contractae* Purchase and sale are contracted as soon as the price is agreed upon, although the price may not have been paid, [1] or any earnest money given; for what is given by way of earnest money is only a proof of the conclusion of a contract of purchase and a sale

G.3.141. *Item pretium in numerata pecunia consistere debet. nam in ceteris rebus an pretium esse possit, ueluti homo aut toga aut fundus alterius rei pretium esse possit, ualde quaeritur. nostri praeceptores putant etiam in alia re posse consistere pretium; unde illud est, quod uulgo putant per permutationem rerum emptionem et uenditionem contrahi, eamque speciem emptionis uenditionisque uetustissimam esse; argumentoque utuntur Graeco poeta Homero, qui aliqua parte sic ait: ἐνθεν ἄρ οἰνίζοντο καπηκομωοντες Ἀχαιοί, ἄλλοι μὲν ξάλκῳ ἄλλοι δ' αἰθῶφι σιδηρῶ αἰθῶφι ἄλλοι δὲ πῖνοις, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτῆσι βοεσσίν, ἄλλοι δ' ἀνδραποδεσσι et reliqua. diuersae scholae auctores dissentiunt aliudque esse existimant permutationem rerum, aliud emptionem et uenditionem; alioquin non posse rem expediri permutatis rebus, quae uideatur res uenisse et quae pretii nomine data esse, sed rursus utramque rem uideri et uenisse et utramque pretii nomine datam esse absurdum uideri. sed ait Caelius Sabinus, si rem tibi* Moreover, the price must consist of money, for it is seriously questioned whether it can consist of any other property, as for instance, a slave, a robe, or a tract of land. Our preceptors think that a price can consist of other property, and hence is derived the common opinion that purchase and sale are contracted by exchange of articles, and that this kind of purchase and sale is of the highest antiquity, and in proof of their contention, they adduce the statement of the Greek poet Homer, who somewhere says: "Here landed Achæan ships in search of wine. They purchased it with copper and with iron; With hides, with horned cattle, and with slaves." Authorities belonging to the other school dissent from this, and think that the exchange of articles is one thing, and purchase and sale another, as where property is exchanged it cannot be determined what is sold and what is given by way of price; and, on the other hand, it is absurd to consider that both articles are sold, and at the

⁴²⁸ All the texts from Iustinian's Digest have been made editing the translations available in Watson's edition (4 vols, 1985), and the text coming from Iustinian's code, using the edited version Bluhme's edition (<http://www.uwyo.edu/lawlib/blume-justinian/>), by Frier et al (2016). For Gaius' texts, I have edited the edition of Gordon and Robinson: 1988 (which translates the first edition from Seckel & Kubler: 1935), and for the Theodosian code, the Pharr's edition of 1952

uenalem habenti, ueluti fundum, [acceperim et] pretii nomine hominem forte dederim, fundum quidem uidere uenisse, hominem autem pretii nomine datum esse, ut fundus acciperetur.

same time given by way of price. Cælius Sabinus says that if you have some property for sale, for example, land, and I receive it, and give you a slave by way of price, the land should be considered to have been sold, and the slave given by way of price, as the land is what is received.

18.2. Codex Iustinianus

CI. 4. 5. 10. 1. *Imperator Justinianus. Et ulpianus quidem electionem ipsi praestat qui utrumque accepit, ut hoc reddat quod sibi placuerit, et tam marcellum quam celsum sibi consonantes refert. Papinianus autem ipsi qui utrumque persolvit electionem donat, qui et antequam dependat ipse habet electionem quod velit praestare, et huiusmodi sententiae sublimissimum testem adducit saluium iulianum summae auctoritatis hominem et praetorii edicti ordinatorem. IUST. A. IULIANO PP. * <A 530 D. K. AUG. CONSTANTINOPOLI LAMPADIO ET ORESTA VV. CC. CONSS.>*

In addition, Ulpian gives the right of election to the recipient of both things, holding that he might return which he pleased, referring as authority to Marcellus as well as Celsus. But Papinian gives the election to the party who gave, inasmuch as he had the option which to give in the first place, and he cites in support of this opinion a witness of the highest standing, namely Salvius Julianus, a man of the greatest authority, the compiler of the praetorian edict

CI. 4.33.4. *Imperatores Diocletianus, Maximianus . Cum proponas te nauticum fenus ea condicione dedisse, ut post navigium, quod in africanam dirigi debitor adseverabat, in salonitanorum portum nave delata fenebris pecunia tibi redderetur, ita ut navigii dumtaxat quod in africanam destinabatur periculum susceperis, perque vitium debitoris, nec loco quidem navigii servato, illicitis comparatis mercibus quae navis continebat fiscum occupasse: amissarum mercium detrimentum, quod non ex marinae tempestatis discrimine, sed ex praecipiti avaritia et incivili debitoris audacia accidisse adseveratur, adscribi tibi iuris publici ratio non permittit. * DIOCL. ET MAXIM. AA. AURELIAE IULIANAE. * <>*

Since you say that you made a maritime loan on condition that the money loaned at interest would be returned to you upon the ship's landing in the port of Salona, on its voyage, as stated, by your debtor, to Africa, and that you should only assume the risk of the voyage destined for Africa, but that through the fault of the debtor who did not even hold to the course of the voyage, unlawful goods were purchased, and the ship with its cargo was confiscated by the fisc, justice does not permit that the loss of the goods brought about not by the danger of the sea, but by the rash avarice and dishonest audacity of the debtor, should be ascribed to you.

CI. 4. 44. 2. Imperatores Diocletianus, Maximianus. *Rem maioris pretii si tu vel pater tuus minoris pretii, distraxit, humanum est, ut vel pretium te restituente emptoribus fundum venditum recipias auctoritate intercedente iudicis, vel, si emptor elegerit, quod deest iusto pretio recipies. Minus autem pretium esse videtur, si nec dimidia pars veri pretii soluta sit*
 * **DIOCL. ET MAXIM. AA. AURELIO LUPO.**
 * <A 285 PP. V K. NOV. DIOCLETIANO A. II ET ARISTOBULO CONSS.>

Emperors Diocletian and Maximian to Aurelius Lupus. If you or your father sold property for less than its value, it is only that you should receive it back, though the authority of the judge upon restoring the price, or that the purchaser, at his election, should pay you what is lacking of the fair price (and keep the property). A price is considered too little if one-half of the true value is not paid. Promulgated October 28 (285).

CI. 4. 44. 8. Imperatores Diocletianus, Maximianus. [*...*] *Hoc enim solum, quod paulo minori pretio fundum venundatum significas, ad rescindendam emptionem invalidum est. Quod videlicet si contractus emptionis atque venditionis cogitasses substantiam et quod emptor viliori comparandi, venditor cariori distrahendi votum gerentes ad hunc contractum accedant vixque post multas contentiones, paulatim venditore de eo quod petierat detrahente, emptore autem huic quod obtulerat addente, ad certum consentiant pretium, profecto perspiceres neque bonam fidem, quae emptionis atque venditionis conventionem tuetur, pati neque ullam rationem concedere rescindi propter hoc consensu finitum contractum vel statim vel post pretii quantitatis disceptationem: nisi minus dimidia iusti pretii, quod fuerat tempore venditionis, datum est, electione iam emptori praestita servand*
 * **DIOCL. ET MAXIM. AA. ET CC. AURELIAE EUODIAE.**
 * <A 293 D. K. DEC. AA. CONSS.>

The fact that you state that the land was sold for a little less than its value, is not alone sufficient to invalidate the sale. For if you consider the nature of purchase and sale, that when the parties are intending to enter into such contract, the purchaser wants to purchase for less, the seller wants to sell for more, and that it is with difficulty and after many contentions, the seller gradually receding from what he asked, the purchaser adding to what he offered, that they finally consent to a definite price, you surely must see that neither good faith, which protects the contract of purchase and sale, nor any other reason, permits that the contract, completed by consent, either immediately or after discussion of the price, should be rescinded on that account, unless less than half of the value of the property at the time of the sale was given, and in such case the purchaser has the right of election already extended to him (to pay the remainder of the fair price.) Given December 1 (293).

CI. 7.49.1. Imperator Antoninus. *Constitit in quacumque causa sive privata sive publica sive fiscali, ut, cuicumque data fuerit pecunia, vel iudici vel adversario, amittat actionem is, qui diffidentia iustae sententiae in pecuniae corruptela spem negotii reposuerit.* * ANT. A. AD GAUDIUM. * <A 212 D. XIII K. IAN. DUOBUS ASPRIS CONSS.>

It is well known that if any money is given in any case, private or public or fiscal, either to a judge or an opponent, the man who in mistrust of a fair decision places his hope in corruption by money, loses his action.

CI. 11.23.1. Imperatores Valentinianus, Valens. *Nautici apud praesidum vel magistratum acta confiteantur incorruptas species suscepisse, eorumque, apud quos deponitur ista testatio, praesens aspectus probet nihil in his esse vitii. Quod eo tempore, quo ad sacrae urbis portum pervenit, praefecturam iugiter observare praeceptum est* * VALENTIN. ET VALENS AA. AD IULIANUM PRAEF. ANNONAE. * <A 366 D. XVIII K. IUL. REMIS GRATIANO A. ET DAGALAIFO CONSS.>

Emperors Valentinian and Valens to Julianus, Prefect of Food Supplies. The public seamen (nautici) shall depose on the records of the presidents or magistrates that they have loaded unspoiled supplies, and those before whom such deposition is taken must satisfy themselves by inspection that such supplies are not spoiled. The prefecture is directed to observe the same thing, when the supplies arrive at the port of the sacred city. Given at Remis June 16 (366).

18.3. Codex Theodosianus

CTh. 11.2.2. 1. *Imp. Valentinianus et Valens. In tantumque populi usibus profutura provisionis nostrae emolumenta porreximus, ut etiam pretio laxamenta tribuantur. Sanximus quippe, ut per vini singulas qualitates detracta quarta pretiorum, quae habentur in foro rerum venalium, eadem species a mercantibus comparetur. Dat. X kal. nov. Mediolano Valentiniano et Valente aa. cons. (365 oct. [?] 23).*

So greatly we have extended to the uses of the people those advantages of our helpful provision that, a relaxation of prices shall also be granted. Of course, we sanction that for the several qualities of wine there shall be a reduction of one fourth in the prices as they are current in the open market, so that the same quality of wine shall be bought by the purchasers

C.Th.12. 6. 26. *Imp. Arcadius et Honorius. Benigno vicario urbis Romae. Securitates semel publicatas et gestis lectas vini susceptoribus imputari et coeptam arcae discussionem volumus in apertum quaesita ratione deduci et omnes publicas securitates quae gestis tenentur a susceptoribus ferri accepto. Dat.*

It is our will that if tax receipts have once been published and read into the records, they shall be charged to the wine collectors, and the investigation of the accounts of the wine chest that has been undertaken shall be conducted to a clearly established conclusion, according to the

VI id. iun. Mediolano Stilichone et Aureliano cons. evidence found, and all public receipts that have
(400 iun. 8). been entered unto the records shall be charged by
the collectors to their accounts

CTh.13.5.4. Imp. Constantinus a. ad Helpidio. If the ship of any shipmaster should enter the port
Ex quocumque Hispaniae litore portum urbis Romae of the City of Rome from any shore of Spain
navicularii navis intraverit, quae onus dumtaxat whatsoever, provided this ship should carry a
fiscale subvexerit, eandem sine interpellatione fiscal cargo, we command that the aforesaid ship
cuiusquam abire praecipimus nec ulli extraordinario shall depart without any claim by any person. It
oneri deservire, ut facilius iniuncta sibi possit implere shall not be subject to any extraordinary burden,
obsequia. Dat. VIII id. mart. Thessalonicae Crispo III and thus it may more easily fulfil the services
et Constantino III cons. (324 mart. 8). enjoined upon it

CTh. 13.5.21. Imppp. Valentinianus, Theodosius et Arcadius aaa. Apodemio Those shipmasters who know that in two years
praefecto praetorio Illyrici et Africae. they have to report the receipts in which they
Unusquisque navicularius noverit intra biennium aut indicate their gains they will be approved in case
securitatem suscepti oneris reportandam aut of a trial
periculorum adprobendam esse fortunam. Dat. XV
kal. mart. Constantinopoli Arcadio a. II et Rufino
cons. (392 febr. 15)

CTh.13.5.26. Impp. Arcadius et Honorius. Eusebio praefecto praetorio. We learn that shipmasters are converting into
Comperimus profits in business the produce which they have
navicularios susceptas species in negotiationis received and thereby they are abusing the
emolumenta convertere eo, quod abutantur indulgence granted them in the law of
Constantiniana legis indulto, quae his ex die Constantine, which permitted them to deliver the
susceptorum specierum concluso biennio securitates receipts for such produce at the end of two years
reportare permisit. Quod nos quoque non prohibemus, from the day when they received it. This practice
sed tantum sententiae consultae definitionis addimus, also we do not prohibit, but we add a well
ut intra annum quo susceperint inferant species et considered limitation to his opinion, namely that
eiusdem consulis securitates reportent, quae etiam diem within a year from the time they receive such
illationis edoceant. Biennium autem propter adversa produce, they shall deliver it and shall produce
hiemis et casus fortuitos in reportandis securitatibus receipts dated from the same consulship, and that
non negamus, dummodo intra tempus superius these receipts shall also show the day of delivery.
designatum fides peracti constet officii. Quod ad On account of adversities of stormy weather and
fortuitous chances, we do not deny them two

omnium notitiam volumus pervenire, ut cognoscant transmissionem vel traditionem intra annum susceptionis esse complectendam.

years to produce their receipts, provided only that within the time designated above, their regulation shall come to the knowledge of all shipmasters, so that they may know that the transmission and delivery must be completed within a year from the time of their receipt of the cargo

CTh.14.22. Imp. Valentinianus et Valens aa. ad Symmachum praefectum Urbi. *Omnia, quaecumque advexerint privati ad portum urbis aeternae, per ipsos saccarios vel eos, qui se huic corpori permiscere desiderant, magnificentia tua iubeat comportari et pro temporum varietate mercedes considerata iusta aestimatione taxari, ita ut, si claruerit aliquem privatum per suos adventicias species comportare, quinta pars eius speciei fisco lucrativa vindicetur. Dat. VI id. iun. Naisso divo Ioviano et Varroniano cons. (364 iun. 8).*

If private citizens should convey anything to the Port of the Eternal City, Your Magnificence shall command that all of it shall be transported by the porters themselves, or by those persons who desire to unite with that guild. In accordance with the variations produced by different seasons, the merchandise shall be assessed with a well considered and fair appraisal, so that if it should appear that any private citizen had transported his imported wares through his own helpers, a fifth part of said ware shall be vindicated to the profit of the fisc.

CTh.14.4.9. Imp. Honorius et Theodosius aa. Palladio praefecto praetorio. *Post alia: ad excludendas patronorum caudiciorum fraudes et portuensium furta mensorum unus e patronis totius consensu corporis eligatur, qui per quinquennium custodiam portuensium suscipiat conditorum, clandestinum ad collegas digma missurus, ne quid ex specie fraus occulta vectorum pessimae qualitatis inmutet. Cui praemia ista deferimus, ut, si optima fide administraverit munus iniunctum, post expletas lustralis sollicitudinis metas comitivae tertii ordinis honore cumuletur idque non iam ex codicillis nostris, sed constituti istius consequatur indulto; deprehensus in fraude amisso patrimonio ad pistrini etiam munia prima revocetur. Illud etiam decernimus, ne in singulos tres primos patronos corporum singulorum*

(After other matters) In order to eliminate the fraudulent practices of the patrons of the craftsmen and of the grain measurers of the port, one of the patrons shall be selected by common consent of the whole guild, and he shall undertake the custody of the port stores for a period of five years. He shall send a secret sample to his colleagues, in order that the hidden fraud of the shippers, men of the worst quality, may not change any of the supplies in kind. To this patron we grant the reward that if with the most excellent trustworthiness he should administer this compulsory public service that is enjoined upon him, after the completion of the term of five years of administration he shall be honored with the rank of count of the third

vir clarissimus praefectus annonae ius habeat corporalis iniuriae nam sufficit in delinquentem illustris urbani censura iudicii. Dat. VII kal. ianuar. Ravennae Honorio a. XI et Constantio II v. c. cons. (417 dec. 26).

order, and he shall not obtain this rank from our imperial letters patent but from the indulgence contained in this constitution. If he should be apprehended in fraud, he shall forfeit his patrimony and also be recalled to the lowest services of breadmaking. We also decree that the noblest prefect of the annona shall have no right to inflict corporal injury on anyone of the three chief patrons of each guild, for the condemnation of the illustrious urban court is sufficient correction for each delinquent.

CTh.14.19.1. *Imp. Arcadius et Honorius aa. Theodoro praefecto praetorio. Panem ostiensem adque fiscalem uno nummo distrahi volumus. Sancimus autem, ut nullus per sacrum rescriptum audeat pretium ampliare; qui si obtulerit supplicationem, duarum librarum auri multa ferietur. Dat. prid. id. april. Mediolano Honorio a. IIII et Eutyichiano cons. (398 apr. 12).*

The price of Ostian bread. It is our will that Ostian and fiscal bread shall be sold for one nummus. Furthermore, we sanction that no person by the authority of a sacred imperial rescript shall dare to increase the price, and if any person should offer such a supplication to the Emperor, a fine of two pounds of gold shall be inflicted upon him.

18.4. Justinian's Digest

D.1.4.1.pr. Ulp. 1 inst. *Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem: utpote cum lege regia, quae de imperio eius lata est, populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem conferat*

When they agree with the principles, laws are in force: as is possible with king's laws, which are characteristic from the empire, which the people and their high imperium gives them their majesty

D. 1.8.4pr.-1. Marcian. 3 Inst. *Nemo igitur ad litus maris accedere prohibetur piscandi causa, dum tamen ullius et aedificiis et monumentis abstinenceatur, quia non sunt iuris gentium sicut et mare: idque et divus pius piscatoribus formianis et capenatis rescripsit. 1. Sed flumina paene omnia et portus publica sunt*

No one, therefore, is prohibited from going on to the seashore to fish, provided he keeps clear of houses, buildings, or monuments, since these are not, as the sea certainly is, subject to the ius gentium. So it was laid down by the deified Pius in a rescript to the fishermen of Formiae and

Capena. But almost all rivers and ports are public property

D.3.6.1.3. Ulp. 10 ad ed. *Sed et constitutio imperatoris nostri, quae scripta est ad Cassium Sabinum, prohibuit iudici vel adversario in publicis vel privatis vel fiscalibus causis pecuniam dare, et ex hac causa litem perire iussit. Nam tractari potest, si adversarius non per calumniam transigendi animo accepit, an constitutio cessat? Et puto cessare sicuti hoc quoque iudicium: neque enim transactionibus est interdictum, sed sordidis concussionibus.* Furthermore, a constitution of our Emperor, directed to Cassius Sabinus, forbade the giving of money to a judge or opponent in criminal, civil, or treasury proceedings and ordered that the case be lost from this cause. For it can be disputed whether the constitutio is inoperative if the other party accepted with the intention of making an honest compromise. In my opinion, it is inoperative, just as this action also is; for it is not compromise that has been forbidden but squalid extortion.

D.4.3.18.3. Paul. 11 ad ed. *De eo qui sciens commodasset pondera, ut venditor emptori merces adpenderet, Trebatius de dolo dabat actionem. Atquin si maiora pondera commodavit, id quod amplius mercis datum est repeti conditione potest, si minora, ut reliqua merx detur ex empto agi potest: nisi si ea conditione merx venit, ut illis ponderibus traderetur, cum ille decipiendi causa adfirmasset se aequa pondera habere*

In the case of one who knowingly lent incorrect weights for the seller to weigh out goods to the buyer, Trebatius gave an action for fraud. But if he lent weights that were too heavy, the excess amount of goods can be recovered by a *condictio*, if they were too light, the goods still due can be recovered by the action on sale, unless the goods were sold on condition that they be determined by means of these particular weights and the lender, intending to deceive, asserted that he has correct weights.

D.4.9.1pr. Ulp. 14 ad ed. *Ait praetor: "Nautae caupones stabularii quod cuiusque salvum fore receperint nisi restituent, in eos iudicium dabo"* The praetor say: I will give action against the sailors, stablekeepers and inkeepers that do not give back what was given to them for safekeeping

D.4.9.1.3 Ulp. 14 ad ed. *Et sunt quidam in navibus, qui custodiae gratia navibus praeponuntur, ut naufulakes et diaetarii. Si quis igitur ex his receperit, puto in exercitorem dandam actionem, quia is, qui eos huiusmodi officio praeponit, committi eis* The *nauphulakes* and *diaetarii* are those individuals that ships are responsible for the safekeeping of the ship. If any of these individuals had received something, I think that the blame should be for the *exercitor*, which

permittit, quamquam ipse navicularius vel magister id faciat, quod xereimbolon appellant. Sed et si hoc non exercet, tamen de recepto navicularius tenebitur.

places them in its position and allows trusting them. And even if the *exercitor* which perform what is called *xereimbolon* nevertheless be responsible for the things received

D.4.9.1.8 Ulp. 14 ad ed. *Recipit autem salvum fore utrum si in navem res missae ei adsignatae sunt: an et si non sint adsignatae, hoc tamen ipso, quod in navem missae sunt, receptae videntur? et puto omnium eum recipere custodiam, quae in navem illatae sunt, et factum non solum nautarum praestare debere, sed et vectorum*

Moreover does the "seaman" accept goods and undertake that they will be safe only where the goods on being sent to the ship have been handed over to him, or is he held to have received the goods even if they have not been handed over, because they have been sent to the ship? And I think that he receives for safekeeping all the goods which have been brought onto the ship and that he ought to be liable for the acts not only of the crew but also of the passengers,

D.4.9.3pr. Ulp. 14 ad ed. *Et ita de facto vectorum etiam Pomponius libro trigensimo quarto scribit. Idem ait, etiamsi nondum sint res in navem receptae, sed in litore perierint, quas semel recepit, periculum ad eum pertinere*

And concerning the carrier Pomponius wrote in the book 34. And on this way, he say that despite that the cargo has still not be loaded on the ship, but has perished on the riverside, the responsibility of this danger will apply to him.

D. 4.9.3.1 Ulp. 14 ad ed. *Ait praetor: "Nisi restituent, in eos iudicium dabo". Ex hoc edicto in factum actio proficiscitur. Sed an sit necessaria, videndum, quia agi civili actione ex hac causa poterit: si quidem merces intervenerit, ex locato vel conducto: sed si tota navis locata sit, qui conduxit ex conducto etiam de rebus quae desunt agere potest: si vero res perferendas nauta conduxit, ex locato convenietur: sed si gratis res susceptae sint, ait Pomponius depositi agi potuisse. Miratur igitur, cur honoraria actio sit inducta, cum sint civiles: nisi forte, inquit, ideo, ut innotesceret praetor curam agere reprimendae improbitalis hoc genus hominum: et quia in locato*

The praetor says: "unless they restore, I will give an action against them". From this edict an actio in factum arises. But it must be seen whether this is necessary because a civil action could be brought on this ground; certainly, if there has been payment of a reward, there will be the action arising from letting or hiring. Of course, if the whole ship has been let out, the hirer will be able to bring the action on the hire, even for goods which are missing. But if the "seaman" was hired to transport the goods, he will be sued by the action arising from the letting. But if the goods have been accepted free,

conducto culpa, in deposito dolus dumtaxat praestatur, at hoc edicto omnimodo qui receperit tenetur, etiam si sine culpa eius res periit vel damnum datum est, nisi si quid damno fatali contingit. Inde Labeo scribit, si quid naufragio aut per vim piratarum perierit, non esse iniquum exceptionem ei dari. Idem erit dicendum et si in stabulo aut in caupona vis maior contigerit.

Pomponius says that the action on deposit could be brought. Therefore, he was surprised that a praetorian action has been introduced, since there are civil actions available, unless perchance, he says, the reason is that the praetor wished to make known to those engaged in these occupations that he was taking care to repress dishonesty; and because liability in hire is for fault, in deposit only for fraud or malice, but by this edict, in all circumstances, one who receives property is liable, even if it is lost or damage is caused without his fault, unless this happens through an unavoidable accident. Hence, Labeo writes that if anything is lost through shipwreck or an attack by pirates, it is not unfair to give a defense for the "seaman". The same must be said if the *vis maior* happens on a stable or inn.

D.4.9.4.2 Paul. 13 ad ed. *Vivianus dixit etiam ad eas res hoc edictum pertinere, quae post impositas merces in navem locatasque inferentur, etsi earum vectura non debetur, ut vestimentorum, penoris cottidiani, quia haec ipsa ceterarum rerum locationi accedunt.*

Vivianus said that this edict also related to those things which are brought in after the merchandise has been placed on board and the contract of carriage made, although no freight for them is due, such as clothing and daily provisions, because these things are themselves accessories to the contract for the carriage of the other things.

D.5.1.19.2. Ulp. 60 ad ed. *Proinde et si merces vendidit certo loci vel disposuit vel comparavit: videtur, nisi alio loci ut defenderet convenit, ibidem se defendere. Numquid dicimus eum, qui a mercatore quid comparavit advena, vel ei vendidit quem scit inde confestim profecturum, non oportet ibi bona possideri, sed domicilium sequi eius? At si quis ab eo qui tabernam vel officinam certo loci conductam habuit, in ea causa est ut illic conveniatur: quod magis habet*

Accordingly, if he has sold, distributed, or acquired merchandise in a particular place, it is held that he has to defend himself in this same place unless there is an agreement that he makes his defence in a different place. But surely a person who has bought anything from a strange merchant or sold to a man he know is going to leave the place immediately ought not to take possession of his property there but follow his to

rationem. Nam ubi sic venit ut confestim discedat, quasi a viatore emptis, vel eo qui transvehebatur, vel eo qui paraplei, emit: durissimum est, quotquot locis quis navigans vel iter faciens delatus est, tot locis se defendi. At si quo constitit, non dico iure domicili, sed tabernulam pergulam horreum armarium officinam conduxit ibique distraxit egit: defendere se eo loci debebit

D. 9.3.1pr.-4. Ulp. 23 ad ed. *Praetor ait de his, qui deiecerint vel effuderint: "Unde in eum locum, quo volgo iter fiet vel in quo consistetur, deiectum vel effusum quid erit, quantum ex ea re damnum datum factumve erit, in eum, qui ibi habitaverit, in duplum iudicium dabo. Si eo ictu homo liber perisse dicetur, quinquaginta aureorum iudicium dabo. Si vivet nocitumque ei esse dicetur, quantum ob eam rem aequum iudici videbitur eum cum quo agetur condemnari, tanti iudicium dabo. Si servus insciente domino fecisse dicetur, in iudicio adiciam: aut noxam dedere. 1. Summa cum utilitate id praetorem edixisse nemo est qui neget: publice enim utile est sine metu et periculo per itinera commeari. 2. Parvi autem interesse debet, utrum publicus locus sit an vero privatus, dummodo per eum volgo iter fiat, quia iter facientibus prospicitur, non publicis viis studetur: semper enim ea loca, per quae volgo iter solet fieri, eandem securitatem debent habere. Ceterum si aliquando vulgus in illa via non commeabat et tunc deiectum quid vel effusum, cum adhuc secreta loca*

his home? On the other hand, anyone who has made a purchase from one who has leased a shop or workshop in one particular spot is in a position to take him to court there. This is the more reasonable way. For when he leaves immediately after his arrival, it is like buying from a traveller or one who calls in during the course of a journey or voyage and it is very hard for anyone to have to have to defend himself in all the places he comes to in his travels by land or water. However, if he has established himself anywhere, I do not mean made his home there, but if he has leased a shop, stall, barn, storeroom, or workshop and sold and done business there, he will be obliged to defend himself in this place.

The praetor says the following about those who pour out or throw out anything: "If anything should be thrown out or poured out from a building onto a place where people commonly pass and repass or stand about, I will grant an action to be brought against whoever lives there for double the damage caused or done as a result. If it is alleged that a free man was killed by whatever fell, I will grant an action for fifty aurei. If he is alleged to be injured, but survives, I will grant an action for whatever it seems right to the judge that the defendant should be condemned to pay. If a slave is alleged to have done it without his master's knowledge, I will add to the judgment or noxally surrender him." 1. There is no one who will deny that the above edict of the praetor is most useful; for it is in the public interest that everyone should move about and gather together without fear or danger. 2. It should be a matter of little interest whether the place [where the harm occurs] is public or

essent, modo coepit commeari, non debet hoc edicto teneri. 3. Quod, cum suspenderetur, decidit, magis deiectum videri, sed et quod suspensum decidit, pro deiecto haberi magis est. Proinde et si quid pendens effusum sit, quamvis nemo hoc effuderit, edictum tamen locum habere dicendum est. 4. Haec in factum actio in eum datur, qui inhabitat, cum quid deiceretur vel effunderetur, non in dominum aedium: culpa enim penes eum est. Nec adicitur culpae mentio vel infitiationis, ut in duplum detur actio, quamvis damni iniuriae utrumque exiget.

private ground, so long as the public pass there, because the edict is concerned with protecting passersby rather than regulating public streets, and those places where people habitually pass by should at all times enjoy equal safety. On the other hand, if the public gave up passing along a particular way and then something was poured out or thrown down while it was still closed, but thereafter it began to be used again, there would be no liability under this edict. 3. Something which falls while it is being hung up should rather be deemed thrown down; but even when it falls down after being hung up, the better opinion is that it too is regarded as having been thrown down. ~romthi s proposition it follows that if something is poured from a suspended vessel, even though no one did the actual pouring, we must still hold that the edict applies. 4. This actio in factum is given against him who occupies the house when anything is thrown down or poured out and not the owner; for the fault rests with the former. Nor is there added any mention of fault or of the defendant denying the facts, so that he becomes liable for double the damages although these are both factors of liability in an action for unlawful damage. 5. When a freeman is killed, there is no doubling of the amount of loss because in theD. 9.3.6.3. If something is thrown out from a ship an actio utilis will be granted against the person in charge of the ship.

D.9.3.5.12. Ulp. 23 ad ed. *Si id quod positum erat deciderit et nocuerit, in eum competit actio qui posuit, non in eum qui habitaverit, quasi haec actio non sufficiat, quia positum habuisse non utique videtur qui posuit, nisi vel dominus fuit aedium vel inhabitator. Nam et cum pictor in pergula clipeum vel tabulam*

If the thing which had been placed falls down and does harm, action lies against him who did the placing, not against him who lives there, as if this action is not enough, because he who placed it does not seem thereby to have kept it placed unless he was either the owner or the occupier of

expositam habuisset eaque excidisset et transeunti damni quid dedisset, servius respondit ad exemplum huius actionis dari oportere actionem: hanc enim non competere palam esse, quia neque in suggrunda neque in protecto tabula fuerat posita. Idem servandum respondit et si amphora ex reticulo suspensa decidisset et damni dedisset, quia et legitima et honoraria actio deficit

the house. Thus, when a painter had exhibited a shield or a picture in a booth and it fall and it injured a passerby, Servius took the view that an action framed on the analogy of this should be granted. He said that the present action was clearly not available because the picture had not been placed on eaves or on a projecting roof. He was also of the opinion that the same rule should apply if a jar suspended in a net had fallen down and caused damage, because there was no statutory or praetorian action available.

D.12.1.2.1. Paul. 28 ad ed. Mutui datio consistit in his rebus, quae pondere numero mensura consistunt, quoniam eorum datione possumus in creditum ire, quia in genere suo functionem recipiunt per solutionem quam specie: nam in ceteris rebus ideo in creditum ire non possumus, quia aliud pro alio invito creditori solvi non potest.

This kind of lending happens in relation to those things, which are dealt in by weight, number or measure. For the giving of these things makes us generic creditors, since the very way in which they are used requires generic creditors, since the very way in which they are used requires generic than specific repayment. But in the case of other things, we cannot become generic creditors for the reason that without the creditor's consent one thing cannot be given in discharge for another

D.13.3.4. Gaius 9 ad ed. Prov. Si merx aliqua, quae certo die dari debebat, petita sit, veluti vinum oleum frumentum, tanti litem aestimandam Cassius ait, quanti fuisset eo die, quo dari debuit: si de die nihil convenit, quanti tunc, cum iudicium acciperetur. Idemque iuris in loco esse, ut primum aestimatio sumatur eius loci, quo dari debuit, si de loco nihil convenit, is locus spectetur, quo peteretur. Quod et de ceteris rebus iuris est

If goods of some kind, as, for instance, wine, oil, or corn, are claimed and ought to have been given over on a fixed day, Cassius holds that the value to be taken is that which they had on the day appointed for delivery; then, in the absence of an agreement fixing the day, the value to be taken is that obtaining at joinder of issue

D.13.4.2.6. Ulp. 2 ad ed. Qui ita stipulatur "Ephesi decem dari": si ante diem, quam Ephesum pervenire possit, agat, perperam ante diem agi, quia et Iulianus

Suppose someone stipulates for something to be given at Ephesus and then sues before enough time has elapsed to reach Ephesus. His action is wrongly brought before time, because Julian has

putat diem tacite huic stipulationi inesse. Quare verum puto, quod Iulianus ait eum, qui Romae stipulatur hodie Carthagine dari, inutiliter stipulari.

D.13.4.3. Gaius. 9 Ad ed. Prov. *Ideo in arbitrium iudicis refertur haec actio, quia scimus, quam varia sint pretia rerum per singulas civitates regionisque, maxime vini olei frumenti: pecuniarum quoque licet videatur una et eadem potestas ubique esse, tamem aliis locis facilius et levibus usuris inveniuntur, aliis difficilius et gravibus usuris*

D.13.6.5.15. Ulp. 28 ad ed. *Si duobus vehiculum commodatum sit vel locatum simul, Celsus filius scribit "scripsit" libro sexto digestorum quaeri posse, utrum unusquisque eorum in solidum an pro parte teneatur. Et ait duorum quidem in solidum dominium vel possessionem esse non posse: nec quemquam partis corporis dominum esse, sed totius corporis pro indiviso pro parte dominium habere. Usum autem balinei quidem vel porticus vel campi uniuscuiusque in solidum esse (neque enim minus me uti, quod et alius uteretur): verum in vehiculo commodato vel locato pro parte quidem effectu me usum habere, quia non omnia loca vehiculi teneam. Sed esse verius ait et dolum et culpam et diligentiam et custodiam in totum me praestare debere: quare duo quodammodo rei habebuntur et, si alter conventus praestiterit, liberabit alterum et ambobus competit furti actio,*

elapsed to reach Ephesus. His action is wrongly brought before time. Thus, I agree with Julian's view that one who stipulates at Rome for something "to be given at Carthage today" makes a stipulation which is void

The reason this action rests on the discretion of the judge is that we know how prices of things vary from one city or another, especially of wine, oil and corn. Even in the case of money, though it is supposed to have one and the same purchasing power everywhere, yet it can be quite easily raised and at low interest in some places, with difficulty and steep interest in others

If a vehicle is lent or hired to two people together, Celsus the younger, in the sixth book of his Digest, writes that it is a question whether each is liable for the whole or for a share. And he says that it is impossible for two people each to own or possess the entirety of something, also that a man cannot be owner of a part of a unit but can be part-owner of the whole unit of an undivided share. On the other hand, the use of a bath, a colonnade, or a square is entire to each several person (for the use by others does not mean to use it less); nevertheless, in the case of a hired or borrowed vehicle, I have in effect a share of its use, because I cannot be everywhere, the vehicle goes. Yet the more correct view is, he says, that I must be liable for the whole amount in respect of willful conduct, fault, care, and safekeeping. Hence, the two will in a sense both be considered principals, and if one performs the agreement, he will

discharge the other. In addition, the action on theft will lie at the instance of either one.

D.13.7.43.1. Scaev. 5 dig. *Titius cum pecuniam mutuam accepit a Gaio Seio sub pignore culleorum: istos culleos cum Seius in horreo haberet, missus ex officio annonae centurio culleos ad annonam sustulit ac postea instantia Gaii Seii creditoris recipere sunt quaero, intertritum, quae ex operis facta est, utrum Titius debitor an Seius creditor adgnosere debeat. Respondit secundum ea quae proponerentur ob id, quod eo nomine intertrimenti adcidisset, non teneri.* Titius borrowed money from Gaius Seius against a pledge of containers. While Seius was keeping the containers in a warehouse, an officer, acting under the authority of the department of the corn supply, seized them for the harvest. Later they were recovered at the instance of Gaius Seius, the lender. Question: Should the debtor, Titius, or the creditor, Seius, bear the wear and tear of that operation? Answer: On the story as told there is no liability for the damage so arising.

D. 14.1.1pr. Ulp. 28 ad ed. *Utilitatem huius edicti patere nemo est qui ignoret. Nam cum interdum ignari, cuius sint condicionis vel quales, cum magistris propter navigandi necessitatem contrahamus, aequum fuit eum, qui magistrum navi imposuit, teneri, ut tenetur, qui institorem tabernae vel negotio praeposuit, cum sit maior necessitas contrahendi cum magistro quam institore. Quippe res patitur, ut de condicione quis institoris dispiciat et sic contrahat: in navis magistro non ita, nam interdum locus tempus non patitur plenius deliberandi consilium.* Everyone acknowledges the practical value of this edict: Just as liability is imposed on the person who puts someone in to manage a shop or business, so it is only fair to impose liability on the person who appoints a ship's captain, since people who need to go by ship may not be aware of the standing or character of the man with whom they have to deal. Indeed, one's dealings with the captain of a ship may be more urgent than those with the manager of a business, since one can always check the standing of a business manager before dealing with him, whereas with a ship's captain there may not be information on the spot or enough time for full consideration.

D.14.1.1.12. Ulp. 28 ad ed. *Igitur praepositio certam legem dat contrahentibus. Quare si eum praeposuit navi ad hoc solum, ut vecturas exigat, non ut locet (quod forte ipse locaverat), non tenebitur exercitor, si magister locaverit: vel si ad locandum tantum, non ad exigendum, idem erit dicendum: aut si* The appointment (of a shipmaster by a shipper) provides third contracting parties with a set charter. Thus, if someone has appointed an agent as shipmaster for the sole purpose of transporting people and goods at a fixed price, and not for the

ad hoc, ut vectoribus locet, non ut mercibus navem praestet, vel contra, modum egressus non obligabit exercitorem: sed et si ut certis mercibus eam locet, praepositus est, puta legumini, cannabae, ille marmoribus vel alia materia locavit, dicendum erit non teneri. Quaedam enim naves onerariae, quaedam (ut ipsi dicunt) epibatygoisunt: et plerosque mandare scio, ne vectores recipiant, et sic, ut certa regione et certo mari negotietur, ut ecce sunt naves, quae Brundisium a Cassiopa vel a Dyrrachio vectores traiciunt ad onera inhabiles, item quaedam fluvii capaces ad mare non sufficientes.

purpose of leasing the ship (perhaps because he had taken care of this himself), the shipper will not be liable if the shipmaster has leased the ship out. Conversely, if the appointment pertains to leasing only, and not to collecting fares and freight, the same opinion applies. Again, if the appointment pertains to transporting passengers, and not to loading the ship with goods, or vice versa, the shipper will not be liable for any obligation derived from the transgression of the terms of the charter by the shipmaster. But if the appointment pertains to leasing the ship for the transport of certain types of goods, such as vegetables or hempen rope, and if the shipmaster has leased the ship out for the transport of marble or some other material, the shipper will not be liable. For there is a difference between freighters and passenger ships. And I know that most shippers forbid shipmasters to take passengers on board, and, in the same way as trade is limited to a certain region inland or on the sea, there are ships transporting passengers from Cassiope or Dyrrachium to Brundisium which are not fit to carry freight, or again river boats which would not be fit for sea travel

D.14.2.2pr. Paul. 34 ad ed. *Si laborante nave iactus factus est, amissarum mercium domini, si merces vehendas locaverant, ex locato cum magistro navis agere debent: is deinde cum reliquis, quorum merces salvae sunt, ex conducto, ut detrimentum pro portione communicetur, agere potest. Servius quidem respondit ex locato agere cum magistro navis debere, ut ceterorum vectorum merces retineat, donec portionem damni praestent. Immo etsi "non" retineat merces magister, ultro ex locato habiturus est actionem cum vectoribus: quid enim si vectores sint, qui nullas*

If goods had been jettisoned because the ship was in difficulty, the owners who have lost the cargo for whose carriage they contracted may sue the captain on their contracts. Then, the captain may bring an action on their contracts of carriage against the others whose goods have been saved, to distribute the loss proportionally. The same Servius said that the suit on the contract of carriage against the captain is to make him hold onto the cargo of the other shippers until they pay their part of the loss. But even if the captain

sarcinas habeant? Plane commodius est, si sint, retinere eas. At si non totam navem conduxerit, ex conducto aget, sicut vectores, qui loca in navem conduxerunt: aequissimum enim est commune detrimentum fieri eorum, qui propter amissas res aliorum consecuti sunt, ut mercēs suas salvas haberent. does not retain their goods, he will still have an action against the shippers; for there might be people who have no baggage. But certainly, it is more convenient to detain any baggage they have. If he has hired the whole ship, he may bring an action on that charter just as the passengers would do the passengers who has chartered a space on the ship; for that it is only fair that the loss will be shared by all those whose property has been saved by means of the sacrifice of the property of others

D.14.2.2.5. Paul. 34 ad ed. Servorum quoque qui in mare perierunt non magis aestimatio facienda est, quam si qui aegri in nave decesserint aut aliqui sese praecipitaverint. No valuation applies to slaves who have been drowned, any more if they have sickened and died on board or thrown themselves into the sea.

D.14.2.10.1. Labeo libro primo pithanon a Paulo epitomarum. Si ea condicione navem conduxisti, ut ea mercēs tuae portarentur easque mercēs nulla nauta necessitate coactus in navem deteriolem, cum id sciret te fieri nolle, transtulit et mercēs tuae cum ea nave perierunt, in qua novissime vectae sunt, habes ex conducto locato cum priore nauta actionem. Paulus: immo contra, si modo ea navigatione utraque navis periit, cum id sine dolo et culpa nautarum factum esset. Idem iuris erit, si prior nauta publice retentus navigare cum tuis mercibus prohibitus fuerit. Idem iuris erit, cum ea condicione a te conduxisset, ut certam poenam tibi praestaret, nisi ante constitutum diem mercēs tuas eo loci exposuisset, in quem devehendas eas mercēs locasset, nec per eum stare, quo minus remissa sibi ea poena spectaret. Idem iuris in eodem genere cogitationis observabimus, si probatum fuerit nautam morbo impeditum navigare non potuisse. Idem dicemus, si navis eius vitium fecerit sine dolo malo et culpa eius. If you have chartered a ship for the carriage of your cargo and the captain needlessly tranships the cargo to a less good vessel, knowing that you would disapprove, and your cargo goes down with the ship when carrying it, you have an action on the charter party against the original captain. PAUL: But not if both ships go down on that voyage, in the absence of intentional or negligent fault on the part of the crew. So, too, if the first captain were detained by the authorities and prevented from sailing with your goods. It would be the same if his contract was to pay you a fixed penalty for failure to deliver your goods at the agreed destination before a certain day, provided that it was not his fault [that he does not do so; he may expect remission of the penalty]. A similar line of thought underlies the rule when it is proved that the captain was unable to sail because he was ill, and the same must be said if his ship becomes unfit without any fault, deliberate or negligent, on his part.

D. 14. 3. 13pr. Ulp. 28 ad ed. *Habebat quis servum A person had appointed a slave to run an oil
merci oleariae praepositum Arlatae, eundem et mutuis business in Arles and also authorized him to
pecuniis accipiendis: acceperat mutuam pecuniam: borrow money. The slave borrowed some money,
putans creditor ad merces eum accepisse egit proposita and the lender, thinking that the loan was for the
actione: probare non potuit mercis gratia eum business, brought an action for the manager's
accepisse. licet consumpta est actio nec amplius agere conduct but was unable to prove that it was
poterit, quasi pecuniis quoque mutuis accipiendis esset indeed a business loan. This exhausted his claim
praepositus, tamen Iulianus utilem ei actionem so that he was unable to bring another action on
competere ait. the basis that the man had been appointed to take
loans, but Julian nevertheless said that he should
have an *actio utilis*.*

D.16.3.1.41 Ulp. 30 ad ed. *Si cista signata If a sealed box is deposited, should only the box
deposita sit, utrum cista tantum petatur an et species be claimed or are the contents also to be included?
comprehendendae sint? et ait Trebatius cistam And Trebatius says that the box is to be claimed
repetendam, non singularum rerum depositi agendum: back, not suit made for the individual things of
quod et si res ostensae sunt et sic depositae, adiciendae the deposit. But if the things have been exhibited
sunt et species vestis. Labeo autem ait eum qui cistam and deposited under these circumstances,
deponit singulas quoque res videri deponere: ergo et de individual objects of clothing can also be claimed.
rebus agere eum oportet. quid ergo si ignoraverit is, qui Labeo, however, says that he who deposits a box
depositum suscipiebat, res ibi esse? non multum facere, is also seen to deposit the individual objects;
cum suscepit depositum. ergo et rerum depositi agi hence, he ought also to sue for these. But what,
posse existimo, quamvis signata cista deposita sit. then, if he who undertook the deposit does not
know that there is something in the box? This
does not matter since he undertook the deposit.
Therefore, I think that suit can also be brought
for the individual things of the deposit, although
a sealed box has been deposited.*

D.16.3.26.2. Paul 4 resp. *"Titius Sempronii "Titius to the Sempronii, greetings. I have
salutem. Habere me a vobis auri pondo plus minus received from you, in a sealed bag, approximately
decem et discos duos saccum signatum: ex quibus ten [units] by weight of gold and two plates. On
debetis mihi decem, quos apud Titium deposuistis: item these you owe me the ten [sesterces] which you
quos trophimati decem: item ex ratione patris vestri deposited with Titius; likewise, the ten belonging
decem et quod excurrit." Quaero, an ex huiusmodi to Trophimatus, and similarly ten and something
scriptura aliqua obligatio nata sit, scilicet quod ad more besides on your father's account." I put the*

solam pecuniae causam attinet. Respondit ex epistula, de qua quaeritur, obligationem quidem nullam natam videri, sed probationem depositarum rerum impleri posse: an autem is quoque, qui deberi sibi cavet in eadem epistula decem, probare possit hoc quod scripsit, iudicem aestimaturum.

D.18.1.1.2. Paul. 33 ad ed. *Est autem emptio iuris gentium, et ideo consensu peragitur et inter absentes contrahi potest et per nuntium et per litteras.*

D. 18.1.2.1. Ulp. 1 ad Sab. *Sine pretio nulla venditio est: non autem pretii numeratio, sed conventio perficit sine scriptis habitam emptionem*

D.18.1.3. Ulp. 28 ad Sab. *Si res ita distracta sit, ut si displicuisset inempta esset, constat non esse sub condicione distractam, sed resolvi emptionem sub condicione.*

D.18.1.7.1. Ulp. 28 ad Sab. *Huiusmodi emptio "quanti tu eum emisti", "quantum pretii in arca habeo", valet: nec enim incertum est pretium tam evidenti venditione: magis enim ignoratur, quanti emptus sit, quam in rei veritate incertum est.*

D.18.1.8pr. Pomp. ad Sab. 9. *Nec emptio nec venditio sine re quae veneat potest intellegi. Et tamen fructus et partus futuri recte ementur, ut, cum editus esset partus, iam tunc, cum contractum esset negotium, venditio facta intellegatur:*

question whether any obligation has arisen from a document of this kind, that is, as concerns the case of the money and that alone. He [Paul] replied that no obligation appears to have arisen from the letter about which the question is put, but that it can serve as proof of the deposits of the property. But whether also he who made a declaration in the same letter to the effect that ten [sesterces] were owing to him can prove what he wrote, a judge would have to investigate.

Sale is a contract of *iuris gentium* and so is concluded by simple agreement; it can thus be contracted by parties not present together, through messengers and through letters

There is no sale without a price: it is not payment of the price but the agreement what concludes the contract when it is not written

If a thing is sold on the terms that if it did not please, the sale shall be off, it is settled that not the sale itself but its possible dissolution is subject to a condition

A purchase "for what you paid for" or "for what I have in my cash box" is valid, there is no uncertainty of price in so obvious a sale: the case is one of ignorance of its amount rather than of the real existence of the price

There cannot exist a sale without an object to be sold. Nevertheless, fruits and offspring are validly purchased so that when the offspring is born, the sale is regarded as having been complete of agreement

D.18.1.9pr. Ulp. 28 ad Sab. *In venditionibus et emptionibus consensum debere intercedere palam est. ceterum sive in ipsa emptione dissentient sive in pretio sive in quo alio, emptio imperfecta est.*

It is evident that agreement is the essence in sale and purchase; the purchase would not be valid if there was disagreement over the contract itself, the price, or any other element of the sale

D. 18. 1. 9. 2. Ulp. 28 ad Sab. *Inde quaeritur, si in ipso corpore non erratur, sed in substantia error sit, ut puta si acetum pro vino veneat, aes pro auro vel plumbum pro argento vel quid aliud argento simile, an emptio et venditio sit. Marcellus scripsit libro sexto digestorum emptionem esse et venditionem, quia in corpus consensum est, etsi in materia sit erratum. Ego in vino quidem consentio, quia eadem prope ousia est, si modo vinum acuit: ceterum si vinum non acuit, sed ab initio acetum fuit, ut embamma, aliud pro alio venisse videtur. In ceteris autem nullam esse venditionem puto, quotiens in materia erratur.*

And the question is whether there is a good sale when there is no mistake over the identity of the thing but there is over in substance: suppose that vinegar is sold as wine, copper as gold or lead, or something else similar to silver as silver. Marcellus, in the sixth book of his Digest, writes that there is a sale because there is agreement on the thing despite the mistake over its substance. I would agree in the case of wine, because the essence is much the same, that is, if the wine has gone sour; if it be no sour wine, however, but was vinegar from the beginning such as brewed vinegar, then it emerges that one thing has been sold as another. But in the other cases, I think that there is no sale by reason of error over the material

D.18.1.34pr. Paul. 33 ad ed. *Si in emptione fundi dictum sit accedere stichum servum neque intellegatur, quis ex pluribus accesserit, cum de alio emptor, de alio venditor senserit, nihilo minus fundi venditionem valere constat: sed Labeo ait eum stichum deberi quem venditor intellexerit. Nec refert, quanti sit accessio, sive plus in ea sit quam in ipsa re cui accedat an minus: plerasque enim res aliquando propter accessiones emimus, sicuti cum domus propter marmora et statuas et tabulas pictas ematur*

Suppose again that when land is bought, it is said that the slave Stichus will go with the land, but it is not clear which of several slaves is to be the accessory, the purchaser envisaging one and the vendor another, the sale of the land as such is nonetheless valid; Labeo, incidentally, says that the Stichus intended by the vendor is the accessory to the sale; and it does not matter whether the accessory be worth more or less than the principal object of sale; for we often buy something for what it goes with it, say, a house by reason of its marbles, statues or pictures

D.18.1.34.5. Paul. 33 ad ed. Alia causa est One reason is to taste, and another measure, *degustandi, alia metiendi: gustus enim ad hoc proficit,* because if taste serves to disapprove the measure *ut improbare liceat, mensura vero non eo proficit, ut* used for the amount being purchased *aut plus aut minus veneat, sed ut appareat, quantum ematur.*

D.18.1.35pr. Gaius 10 ad ed. Prov. Quod saepe The practice of giving a pledge for a purchase *arrae nomine pro emptione datur, non eo pertinet,* does not suggest that without the pledge there *quasi sine arra conventio nihil proficiat, sed ut* would be no contract but facilitates the proof of *evidentius probari possit convenisse de pretio.* the fact of agreement on the price

D.18.1.35.1. Gaius 10 ad ed. Prov. Illud constat It is settled that no contract is concluded when *imperfectum esse negotium, cum emere volenti sic* the vendor says to the purchaser: "you shall buy *venditor dicit: "Quanti velis, quanti aequum* for what you choose to give, or what you think *putaveris, quanti aestimaveris, habebis emptum".* fair or at your own estimate of its value

D. 18.1.35.5. Gaius 10 ad ed. Prov. In his quae In the case of those things that are determined by *pondere numero mensurave constant, veluti frumento* weight, number or measure, such as corn, wine, *vino oleo argento, modo ea servantur quae in ceteris,* oil, silver, we sometimes observe the same rule as *ut simul atque de pretio convenerit, videatur perfecta* for other things, that is, that once there is *venditio, modo ut, etiamsi de pretio convenerit, non* agreement on the price, the sale is perfect only *tamen aliter videatur perfecta venditio, quam si* upon the weighing, measuring, or counting of the *admensa adpensa adnumeratae sint. Nam si omne* things. If all the wine, the oil, the corn, or the *vinum vel oleum vel frumentum vel argentum* silver, whatever the amount, be sold for a single *quantumcumque esset uno pretio venierit, idem iuris est* overall price, the law is the same as for other *quod in ceteris rebus. Quod si vinum ita venierit, ut in* things. However, if wine be sold by the jar, oil by *singulas amphoras, item oleum, ut in singulos metretas,* the gallon, corn by the peck, or silver by the *item frumentum, ut in singulos modios, item argentum,* pound, the following question arises: when will *ut in singulas libras certum pretium diceretur,* the sale be deemed perfect? The same question *quaeritur, quando videatur emptio perfici. Quod* arises in respect of things to be counted out, if a *similiter scilicet quaeritur et de his quae numero* price per thing be fixed. Sabinus and Cassius hold *constant, si pro numero corporum pretium fuerit* the view that the sale becomes perfect when the *statutum. Sabinus et Cassius tunc perfici emptionem* counting, measuring has been done, the sale *existimant, cum adnumerata admensa adpensave sint,* being, as it were, subject to the condition "so *quia venditio quasi sub hac condicione videtur fieri, ut* much for each gallon or peck that you measure *in singulos metretas aut in singulos modios quos*

quasve admensus eris, aut in singulas libras quas adpenderis, aut in singula corpora quae adnumeraveris. out" or "each pound that you weight out" or "each item that you count out"

D.18.1.35.7. Gaius 10 ad ed. Prov. *Sed et si ex doleario pars vini venierit, veluti metretae centum, verissimum est (quod et constare videtur) antequam admetiatur, omne periculum ad venditorem pertinere: nec interest, unum pretium omnium centum metretarum in semel dictum sit an in singulos eos.* Further, if part of the wine in a *dolia* be sold, say a hundred litres, it is most true that, until the measuring out, all risk is on the vendor, and it makes no difference whether a single price has been fixed or the whole hundred or a price or so much per litre

D.18.1.40.3.pr. Paul. 4 epitomarum Alfeni digestorum. *Fundi venditor frumenta manu sata receperat: in eo fundo ex stipula seges erat enata: quaesitum est, an pacto contineretur. Respondit maxime referre, quid est actum: ceterum secundum verba non esse actum, quod ex stipula nasceretur, non magis quam si quid ex sacco saccarii cecidisset aut ex eo quod avibus ex aere cecidisset natum esset.* The vendor of land reserved corn sown by hand; on the land, a crop appeared from haulm; the question was whether it came within the clause. The answer was that it is of the greatest importance what the parties really agreed but that on the wording of the pact, there was not included what so grew, any more than that growing from what fell from the sower's bag or from that which fell, dropped by birds from above.

D.18.1.62.2. Modest. 5 regularum. *Res in aversione empta, si non dolo venditoris factum sit, ad periculum emptoris pertinebit, etiamsi res adsignata non sit.* When there is no bad faith on the vendor's part, a thing purchased at a global sum is at the purchaser's risk, although it has not yet been transferred to him

D.18.1.65. Iav. 11 epistularum. *Convenit mihi tecum, ut certum numerum tegularum mihi dares certo pretio quod ut faceres: utrum emptio sit an locatio? Respondit, si ex meo fundo tegulas tibi factas ut darem convenit, emptionem puto esse, non conductionem: totiens enim conductio alicuius rei est, quotiens materia, in qua aliquid praestatur, in eodem* I agreed with you that you should make and supply me with a certain number of tiles at a certain price. Is this sale or hire? The reply was that if the agreement was that I should furnish tiles made out of clay from my own hand, I think that to be sale, not hire. There is hire only when the material from which the goods are to be made remains in the same condition and

statu eiusdem manet: quotiens vero et immutatur et alienatur, emptio magis quam locatio intellegi debet. ownership, when is both changed and alienated, we must infer a sale rather than a hiring

D. 18.1. 67. Pomp. 39 ad Quintum Mucium. *Alienatio cum fit, cum sua causa dominium ad alium transferimus, quae esset futura, si apud nos ea res mansisset, idque toto iure civili ita se habet, praeterquam si aliquid nominatim sit constitutum.* When we convey a thing, we transfer ownership of it together with all that would pertain to it, if it had remain ours. This is a general rule at civil law, unless something else has been specifically stated

D.18.1.71. Papirius 1 const. *Imperatores Antoninus et Verus Augusti Sextio Vero in haec verba rescripserunt: "Quibus mensuris aut pretiis negotiatores vina compararent, in contrahentium potestate esse: neque enim quisquam cogitur vendere, si aut pretium aut mensura displiceat, praesertim si nihil contra consuetudinem regionis fiat."* The emperors Antoninus and Verus Augusti indicated in a rescript: "The measures and prices with which tradesmen deal in wine are a matter of the contracting parties; no one is obliged to sell, if dissatisfied with the price or the measures, especially when nothing is done contrary to the custom of the region"

D.18.6.1pr. Ulp. 28 ad Sab. *Si vinum venditum acuerit vel quid aliud vitii sustinuerit, emptoris erit damnum, quemadmodum si vinum esset effusum vel vasis contusis vel qua alia ex causa. Sed si venditor se periculo subiecit, in id tempus periculum sustinebit, quoad se subiecit: quod si non designavit tempus, eatenus periculum sustinere debet, quoad degustetur vinum, videlicet quasi tunc plenissime veneat, cum fuerit degustatum. Aut igitur convenit, quoad periculum vini sustineat, et eatenus sustinebit, aut non convenit et usque ad degustationem sustinebit. Sed si nondum sunt degustata, signata tamen ab emptore vasa vel dolia, consequenter dicemus adhuc periculum esse venditoris, nisi si aliud convenit.* If wine which has been sold goes sour or goes off in some other way, the loss is the purchaser's, as it would be if the wine were spilled, whether through the casks being staved or for some other reason. But if the vendor has undertaken the risk, he will sustain it for so long as he has undertaken it; if he has specified no period, then he bears the risk until the wine is tasted, wine, of course, being regarded as absolutely sold when it has been tasted. Consequently, either it will have been agreed how long the vendor bears the risk in the wine or, in the absence of agreement, he will bear it until the wine is tasted. If it has not yet been tasted, then, even though the purchaser may have sealed the casks or jars, we must still say that the risk is on the vendor, unless the parties have made some other agreement

D.18.6.1.1. Ulp. 28 ad Sab. *Sed et custodiam ad diem mensurae venditor praestare debet: priusquam enim admetiatur vinum, prope quasi nondum venit. Post mensuram factam venditoris desinit esse periculum: et ante mensuram periculo liberatur, si non ad mensuram vendidit, sed forte amphoras vel etiam singula dolia.*

The vendor is also liable for safekeeping until the date for measuring; for, prior to the measuring, it is as though the wine is not yet sold. But after the measuring out, risk ceases to rest on the vendor; indeed, he will be released from risk-bearing before any measurement, if he sold wine not by measure but by the jar or individual cask

D.18.6.1.2. Ulp. 28 ad Sab. *Si dolium signatum sit ab emptore, Trebatius ait traditum id videri: Labeo contra, quod et verum est: magis enim ne summutetur, signari solere, quam ut traditum videatur*

Trebatius says that if the purchaser has sealed a dolia, it is deemed to have been delivered to him, but Labeo correctly states the opposite, for sealing is deemed to be for the purpose of preventing substitution, not to indicate delivery

D.18.6.2pr. Gaius 2 cottidianarum rerum. *Hoc ita verum est, si is est venditor, cui sine nova vindemia non sint ista vasa necessaria: si vero mercator est, qui emere vina et vendere solet, is dies spectandus est, quo ex commodo venditoris tolli possint.*

It is true that, if a vendor does not require the vessels except for the new vintage; if he is a real merchant, who regularly sells and buys wine, the time to be looked up to to remove the vessels can be done at the vendor's advantage

D.18.6.4pr. Ulp. 28 ad Sab. *Si quis vina vendiderit et intra diem certum degustanda dixerit, deinde per venditorem steterit, quo minus degustarentur, utrum praeteritum dumtaxat periculum acoris et mucoris venditor praestare debet, an vero etiam die praeterito (ut, si forte corrupta sint posteaquam dies degustandi praeteriit, periculum ad venditorem pertinet), an vero magis emptio sit soluta (quasi sub condicione venierint, hoc est si ante diem illum fuissent degustata)? Et intererit, quid actum sit: ego autem arbitror, si hoc in occulto sit, debere dici emptionem manere, periculum autem ad venditorem respicere etiam ultra diem degustando praefinitum, quia per ipsum factum est.*

If someone sells wine and specifies a date by which it is to be tasted and then prevents the tasting from being made, does he bear the risk of the sour becoming sour or musty only for the period past or also after the specified date (so that, if the wine should chance to go off after the period for tasting has expired, the risk lies with the vendor); or is it the case that the sale is off (as having, in effect, been made subject to the condition, "that is, if the wine shall have been tasted before that date?" the issue will depend on the parties' intention. For myself, I think that if that intention cannot be determined, it must be said that the sale holds good but that the risk

remains with the vendor even after the period for tasting has expired, because it has been his fault

D.18.6.4.1. Ulp. 18 ad Sab. *Si aversione vinum venit, custodia tantum praestanda est. Ex hoc apparet, si non ita vinum venit, ut degustaretur, neque acorem neque mucorem venditorem praestare debere, sed omne periculum ad emptorem pertinere: difficile autem est, ut quisquam sic emat, ut ne degustet. Quare si dies degustationi adiectus non erit, quandoque degustare emptor poterit et quoad degustaverit, periculum acoris et mucoris ad venditorem pertinebit: dies enim degustationi praestitutus meliorem condicionem emptoris facit.* If a quantity of wine was sold for a lump sum, the vendor is liable only for its safekeeping. It will be apparent from this that if the wine is not sold with a provision for tasting, the vendor has no liability for acidity or mustiness and that all risk is on the purchaser. At the same time, it is hard to believe that anyone would buy wine without a proviso that is to be tasted. Hence, if a period for tasting be fixed, the purchaser may taste when he can and, until he does taste, the risk of sourness and mustiness is on the vendor; for a specified period for tasting rebounds to the purchaser's advantage

D.18.6.8spr.Paul. 33 ad ed. *Necessario sciendum est, quando perfecta sit emptio: tunc enim sciemus, cuius periculum sit: nam perfecta emptio periculum ad emptorem respiciet. Et si id quod venierit appareat quid quale quantum sit, sit et pretium, et pure venit, perfecta est emptio: quod si sub condicione res venierit, si quidem defecerit condicio, nulla est emptio, sicuti nec stipulatio: quod si exstiterit, Proculus et Octavenus emptoris esse periculum aiunt: idem Pomponius libro nono probat. Quod si pendente condicione emptor vel venditor decesserit, constat, si exstiterit condicio, heredes quoque obligatos esse quasi iam contracta emptio in praeteritum. Quod si pendente condicione res tradita sit, emptor non poterit eam usucapere pro emptore. Et quod pretii solutum est repetetur et fructus medii temporis venditoris sunt (sicuti stipulationes et legata condicionalia peremuntur), si pendente condicione res extincta* It is necessary to know when sale is perfect because we then know who bears the risk in the thing; for once the sale is perfect, risk is on the purchaser. And if the thing sold is identified, what it is, its nature, and quantity, the price should be fixed, and the sale be subject to no condition, since it is perfect. But the sale was conditional and the condition has not been yet satisfied, there is no sale, anymore than there would be a stipulation. If though, the condition has been realized, Proculus and Octavenus say that the risk is on the purchaser and, in his ninth book, Pomponius approves that view. And should either the vendor or the purchaser die while the condition is still pending, it settled that, on realising the condition, their heirs will be liable, as though the sale were related back to the time of the initial agreement. If the thing has

fuert: sane si exstet res, licet deterior effecta, potest dici esse damnum emptoris.

been delivered while the condition is still pending, the purchaser cannot proceed to usucapion of it as purchaser, and if the thing should cease to exist while the condition is pending, any price which has been paid will be reclaimed and fruits of the period of pendency belong to the vendor (conditional stipulations and legacies are similarly extinguished). Of course, if the thing still exists when the condition is satisfied but has deteriorated, it can be said that the purchaser bears the risk

D.18.6.16. Gaius 2 cottidianarum rerum *Si vina quae in doliis erunt venierint eaque, antequam ab emptore tollerentur, sua natura corrupta fuerint, si quidem de bonitate eorum adfirmavit venditor, tenebitur emptori: quod si nihil adfirmavit, emptoris erit periculum, quia sive non degustavit sive degustando male probavit, de se queri debet. Plane si, cum intellegeret venditor non duraturam bonitatem eorum usque ad in eum diem quo tolli deberent, non admonuit emptorem, tenebitur ei, quanti eius interesset admonitum fuisse.*

When the wine in *dolia* is sold and it goes off before removal by the purchaser, the vendor will be liable to the purchaser, assuming that he vouchsafed its quality; if, though, the vendor say nothing, the purchaser bears the risk because, if he has not tasted the vinegar or, tasting, injudiciously approves it, he can only blame himself. Of course, if the vendor knew that the quality would not last until the date for removal and did not warn the purchaser, he will be liable to the purchaser for the latter's interest in being warned

D.18.6.18. Pomp. 31 ad Quintum Mucium. *Illud sciendum est, cum moram emptor adhibere coepit, iam non culpam, sed dolum malum tantum praestandum a venditore. Quod si per venditorem et emptorem mora fuerit, Labeo quidem scribit emptori potius nocere quam venditori moram adhibitam, sed videndum est, ne posterior mora damnosa ei sit. Quid enim si interpellavero venditorem et non dederit id quod emeram, deinde postea offerente illo ego non acceperim? Sane hoc casu nocere mihi deberet. Sed si per emptorem mora fuisset, deinde, cum omnia in integro essent, venditor moram adhibuerit, cum posset*

It should be known that once the purchaser is in delay, the vendor is no longer liable for negligence, but only for bad faith. But if both vendor and purchaser are in delay, Labeo writes that the delay should count against the purchaser rather than the vendor, but that it should be ascertained which was the later in falling into delay. For if I give notice to the vendor and he does not give me the thing I have bought; and then, when he does offer it, I will not accept it? In such a case, certainly, it counts

se exsolvere, aequum est posteriorem moram venditori nocere. against me. But if the purchaser was in delay and then, before anything had been done, the vendor became guilty of delay, when it was in his power to perform, it is equitable that the later delay should count against the vendor

D. 18. 6. 20. Hermog. 2 iuris epitomarum. If the purchaser is late in paying the price, he will have only to pay interest, not everything that the vendor might have gained if he had not been in delay; for instance, if the vendor was trader and could have gained more than the amount of interest by his dealings

Venditori si emptor in pretio solvendo moram fecerit, usuras dumtaxat praestabit, non omne omnino, quod venditor mora non facta consequi potuit, veluti si negotiator fuit et pretio soluto ex mercibus plus quam ex usuris quaerere potuit.

D. 19.1.6.4. Pomp. 9 ad Sab. *Si vas aliquod mihi vendideris et dixeris certam mensuram capere vel certum pondus habere, ex empto tecum agam, si minus praestes. Sed si vas mihi vendidieris ita, ut adfirmares integrum, si id integrum non sit, etiam id, quod eo nomine perdiderim, praestabis mihi: si vero non id actum sit, ut integrum praestes, dolum malum dumtaxat praestare te debere. Labeo contra putat et illud solum observandum, ut, nisi in contrarium id actum sit, omnimodo integrum praestari debeat: et est verum. Quod et in locatis doliis praestandum Sabinum respondisse Minicius refert* If you sell me a vessel with the specification that it has a definite capacity or is of a definite weight, I may sue on the purchase if you fall short. But if you sell me a vessel with the assurance that it is sound and it is unsound, you will be held responsible to me also for what I lose on this account; however, if we did not arrange that you be held responsible for its soundness, [a jurist held that] you should be held responsible only for bad faith. Labeo thinks the opposite that the sole valid rule is that a sound vessel be provided in every case unless the parties arranged otherwise; his view is correct. Minicius reports Sabinus's response that this is the standard also for leased storage jars.

D.19.1.32. Ulp. 11 ad ed. *Si quis a me oleum quod emissset adhibitibus iniquis ponderibus accepisset, ut in modo me falleret, vel emptor circumscriptus sit a venditore ponderibus minoribus, Pomponius ait posse dici venditorem sibi dare oportere quod plus est petere:* If someone bought olive oil from me and in receiving the oil used false weights to deceive me about the measurement or if the seller cheated the buyer with light weights, Pomponius says it can be maintained that [in the fist case] the seller

quod habet rationem: ergo et emptor ex empto habebit actionem, qua contentus esse possit [can] sue [on the sale] to force [the buyer's] giving to him the surplus, and this view makes sense; therefore, [in the second case] the buyer will have an action on purchase with which he may gain satisfaction

D. 19.2.11.3. Ulp. 32 ad ed. *Qui vinum de Campania transportandum conduxisset, deinde mota a quodam controversia signatum suo et alterius sigillo in apothecam deposuisset, ex locato tenetur, ut locatori possessionem vini sine controversia reddat, nisi culpa conductor careret* A man contracted to transport wine from Campania, when someone stirred a legal dispute (over the wine's ownership) he sealed the wine under his own and the other person's signets and deposited in a warehouse. He is liable on the lease (of a job) for restoring possession of the wine to the lessor without dispute, unless he is free of fault

D. 19. 2. 13. 1. Ulp. 32 ad ed. *Si navicularius onus Minturnas vehendum conduxerit et, cum flumen Minturnense navis ea subire non posset, in aliam navem merces transtulerit eaque navis in Ostio fluminis perierit, tenetur primus navicularius? Labeo, si culpa caret, non teneri ait: ceterum si vel invito domino fecit vel quo non debuit tempore aut si minus idoneae navi, tunc ex locato agendum.* If a shipowner contracts to convey freight to Minturnae and then transfers the goods onto another ship because his own ship cannot get up Minturnae's river and the second ship then founders at the river's mouth, is the first shipowner liable? Labeo says he is not liable if he is free from fault, but if he acted against the owner's will or at an improper time or to a less suitable ship, then there should be actio on lease

D. 19. 2. 13. 6 Ulp. 32 ad ed. *Si fullo vestimenta polienda acceperit eaque mures roserint, ex locato tenetur, quia debuit ab hac re cavere. et si pallium fullo permutaverit et alii alterius dederit, ex locato actione tenebitur, etiamsi ignarus fecerit.* If a fuller takes in clothes for cleaning and mice then gnaw at them, he is liable on the lease [of a job] because he should have guarded against this. If the fuller mixed up a cloak and gave one person's to someone else, he is also liable on the lease [of a job] even if he acts unknowingly.

D.19.2.13.8. Ulp. 32 ad ed. *Si quis mensuras conduxerit easque magistratus frangi iusserit, si quidem iniquae fuerunt, Sabinus distinguit, utrum scit conductor an non: si scit, esse ex locato actionem, si* A man hires measures; a magistrate then orders them to be broken. If they were not fair, Sabinus distinguished as to whether or not the lessee knew this; there is an action on lease if he did, but

minus, non. Quod si aequae sunt, ita demum eum teneri, si culpa eius id fecit aedilis. Et ita Labeo et Mela scribunt not if he did not. If, however, they are [in fact] fair, he is still liable if the aedile did this due to the lessee's fault. So Labeo and Mela write as well.

D. 19.2.15.6. Ulp. 32 ad ed. *Item cum quidam nave amissa vecturam, quam pro mutua acceperat, repeteretur, rescriptum est ab Antonino Augusto non immerito procuratorem Caesaris ab eo vecturam repetere, cum munere vehendi functus non sit: quod in omnibus personis similiter observandum est.* Likewise, when due to the loss of a ship the passage money is reclaimed which he [the carrier] accepted in advance, Antoninus Augustus replied by rescript that it is not unreasonable for the emperor's procurator to reclaim passage money from him because he did not fulfill the duty to convey; this rule should hold for all persons alike

D.19.2.19.1. Ulp. 32 ad ed. *Si quis dolia vitiosa ignarus locaverit, deinde vinum effluerit, tenebitur in id quod interest nec ignorantia eius erit excusata: et ita Cassius scripsit. Aliter atque si saltum pascuum locasti, in quo herba mala nascebatur: hic enim si pecora vel demortua sunt vel etiam deteriora facta, quod interest praestabitur, si scisti, si ignorasti, pensionem non petes, et ita Servio Labeoni Sabino placuit* If someone unknowingly leases out defective storage jars and wine runs out of them, he will be liable for the [lessee's] interest, nor will his lack of awareness have been excused, so Cassius wrote as well. It is quite different if you leased out a pasture in which harmful weeds grew; in this case, if cattle either died or lost value, the [lessee's] interest is owing if you knew this, but if you were unaware of it, you may not sue for payment of rent, a view that Servius, Labeo, and Sabinus also approve.

D. 19.2.19.3. Ulp. 32 ad ed. *Si dominus exceperit in locatione, ut frumenti certum modum certo pretio acciperet, et dominus nolit frumentum accipere neque pecuniam ex mercede deducere, potest quidem totam summam ex locato petere, sed utique consequens est existimare officio iudicis hoc convenire, haberi rationem, quanto conductoris intererat in frumento potius quam in pecunia solvere pensionis exceptam portionem. Simili modo et si ex conducto agatur, idem erit dicendum* If in a lease the owner reserves that he will take a fixed amount of grain at a fixed price and the owner then refused both to take the grain and to deduct the money from the rent, he can sue on the lease for the entire amount; but in that event it is logical to think it consistent with the judge's discretion that he assess the extent of the lessee's interest in paying the reserved portion of his rent in grain rather than in money.

D. 19. 2. 21. Iav. 11 epist. *Cum venderem fundum, convenit, ut, donec pecunia omnis persolveretur, certa mercede emptor fundum conductum haberet: an soluta pecunia merces accepta fieri debeat? Respondit: bona fides exigit, ut quod convenit fiat: sed non amplius praestat is venditori, quam pro portione eius temporis, quo pecunia numerata non esset.*

In the sale of a farm, it is agreed that until the price is completely paid, the buyer should have the farm under a hire at a fixed rent; when the price is paid, should be released from the rent? He answered: it is agreed by the good faith that what had been agreed was executed, but he owes no more rent to the seller than that portion of the term when the money was unpaid

D.19.2.22.3. Paul. 34 ad ed. *Quemadmodum in emendo et vendendo naturaliter concessum est quod pluri sit minoris emere, quod minoris sit pluri vendere et ita invicem se circumscribere, ita in locationibus quoque et conductionibus iuris est*

The nature of sale and purchase allowe buying for less what is worth more and selling for more what is worth less, the reciprocal taking of advantage; this is also the rule in leases and hires

D.19.2.25.7. Gaius 10 ad ed. prov. *Qui columnam transportandam conduxit, si ea, dum tollitur aut portatur aut reponitur, fracta sit, ita id periculum praestat, si qua ipsius eorumque, quorum opera uteretur, culpa acciderit: culpa autem abest, si omnia facta sunt, quae diligentissimus quisque observaturus fuisset. Idem scilicet intellegemus et si dolia vel tignum transportandum aliquis conduxerit: idemque etiam ad ceteras res transferri potest.*

A man undertook [as a job] to transport a column. If it broke while being raised or carried or repositioned, he is held responsible for the risk if this happens due to his own fault or that of those whose labor he employs; but there is no fault if all precautions were taken which a very careful person would have observed. I would obviously construe the same result if someone undertakes [as a job] to transport storage jars or wood; and the same rule can be applied also to other things.

D. 19. 2. 31. Alf. 5 a Paulo epit. *In navem Saufeii cum complures frumentum confuderant, Saufeius uni ex his frumentum reddiderat de communi et navis perierat: quaesitum est, an ceteri pro sua parte frumenti cum nauta agere possunt oneris aversi*

Several people had poured their grain together into Saufeius' ship; Saufeius had returned his grain to one of them, and his ship had then foundered. Can the others sue the shipowner for their share of the grain through an actio oneris

actione. Respondit rerum locatarum duo genera esse, ut aut idem redderetur (sicuti cum vestimenta fulloni curanda locarentur) aut eiusdem generis redderetur (veluti cum argentum pusulatum fabro daretur, ut vasa fierent, aut aurum, ut anuli): ex superiore causa rem domini manere, ex posteriore in creditum iri. Idem iuris esse in deposito: nam si quis pecuniam numeratam ita deposuisset, ut neque clusam neque obsignatam traderet, sed adnumeraret, nihil aliud eum debere apud quem deposita esset, nisi tantundem pecuniae solveret. Secundum quae videri triticum factum Saufeii et recte datum. Quod si separatim tabulis aut Heronibus aut in alia cupa clusum uniuscuiusque triticum fuisset, ita ut internosci posset quid cuiusque esset, non potuisse nos permutationem facere, sed tum posse eum cuius fuisset triticum quod nauta solvisset vindicare. Et ideo se improbare actiones oneris aversi: quia sive eius generis essent merces, quae nautae traderentur, ut continuo eius fierent et mercator in creditum iret, non videretur onus esse aversum, quippe quod nautae fuisset: sive eadem res, quae tradita esset, reddi deberet, furti esse actionem locatori et ideo supervacuum esse iudicium oneris aversi. Sed si ita datum esset, ut in simili re solvi possit, conductorem culpam dumtaxat debere (nam in re, quae utriusque causa contraheretur, culpam deberi) neque omnimodo culpam esse, quod uni reddidisset ex frumento, quoniam alicui primum reddere eum necesse fuisset, tametsi meliorem eius condicionem faceret quam ceterorum.

aversi of cargo? He [Servius] responded that objects are leased in two ways: either that the same object be returned, as when clothes are entrusted to the care of a fuller, or that an object of the same kind be returned, as when beaten silver is given to a craftsman to make vessels or gold to make rings. In the former case, the thing remains its owner's; in the latter, a loan is made. The rule is the same for a deposit: if someone deposited a specific amount of money in such a way that he does not hand it over enclosed in a box or under a seal, but counts it out, the deposittee owes nothing except to pay an equivalent amount. Accordingly, the wheat is construed as becoming Saufeius' and as being validly handed over. But if each person's wheat had been separately enclosed within partitions or baskets or in a different vat, so that each person's could be distinguished, we cannot make an interchange and the person to whom the wheat belonged can bring a vindicatio to recover what the shipowner paid. And so [Servius said that] he rejected the actio oneris aversi, since if, on the one hand, the goos were of the same type and were handed over to the shipowner in order that they become his immediately, and the merchant [in this way] made a loan, then the cargo is evidently not being pilfered since it belonged to the shipowner, but if, on the other hand, the same thing that was handed over is to be returned, the lessor [of the shipowner services] has an action for theft, and so the actio oneris aversi is superfluous. But if the grain has been handed over such that it could be repaid in kind, the contractor [the shipowner] is liable to the extent of his fault, since one is liable for fault in a matter contracted for both parties' benefit, but it is scarcely fault that he returned some

grain to only one person, since he had to return into somebody first, even though he thereby advantaged this person more than the others.

D.19.2.56. Paul. libro singulari de officio praefecti vigiliae *Cum domini horreorum insularumque desiderant diu non apparentibus nec eius temporis pensiones exsolventibus conductoribus aperire et ea quae ibi sunt describere, a publicis personis quorum interest audiendi sunt. Tempus autem in huiusmodi re biennii debet observari.* When lessees do not show up for a long time and do not pay rent during this period, if the owners of storerooms and apartment buildings wish to open them and inventory what is there, they should receive a hearing before the public officials charged with this. In a matter of this kind, a period of two years should be observed.

D. 19.2.60.2 Labeo 5 posteriorum a Iavoleno epitomatorum. *Vestimenta tua fullo perdidit et habes unde petas nec repetere vis: agis nihilo minus ex locato cum fullone, sed iudicem aestimaturum, an possis adversus furem magis agere et ab eo tuas res consequi fullonis videlicet sumptibus: sed si hoc tibi impossibile esse perspexerit, tunc fullonem quidem tibi condemnabit, tuas autem actiones te ei praestare compellet.* A fuller lost your clothing; there is a third party from whom you may claim them, but you do not choose to reclaim them. Despite this you sue the fuller on the lease. But [Labeo thinks that] the judge would determine whether you can better proceed against the thief and obtain your property from him, at the fuller's expense, of course; but if he observes that this is impossible for you, then he will make the fuller pay you but will force you to provide him with your actions.

D. 19.2.60.6. Labeo 5 posteriorum a Iavoleno epitomatorum. *Locator horrei propositum habuit se aurum argentum margaritam non recipere suo periculo: deinde cum sciret has res inferri, passus est. Proinde eum futurum tibi obligatum dixi, ac si propositum fuit, remissum videtur.* The lessor of a warehouse had a rule that he did not accept gold, silver, or pearls at his own risk, but then he let pass when he knew such goods were brought in. I decided that he would be under obligation to you, and if he had this rule, it is apparently rescinded.

D. 19. 2. 60. 8. Labeo 5 posteriorum a Iavoleno epitomatorum. *Vehiculum conduxisti, ut onus tuum portaret et secum iter faceret: id cum pontem transiret, redemptor eius pontis portorium ab eo exigebat:* You hired a carriage to transport your freight and then to return. When it crossed a bridge, the tax-farmer of the bridge collected a customs duty from him. Will he also pay the

quaerebatur, an etiam pro ipsa sola reda portorium daturus fuerit. Puto, si mulio non ignoravit ea se transiturum, cum vehiculum locaret, mulionem praestare debere. duty for the carriage alone? I think that if the muleteer was not unaware that he would cross by his point when he leased out the carriage, then the muleteer should pay it.

D.19.2.60.9. Labeo 5 posteriorum a Iavoleno epitomatorum. *Rerum custodiam, quam horrearius conductoribus praestare deberet, locatorem totorum horreorum horreario praestare non debere puto, nisi si in locando aliter convenerit.* The warehouseman should be held responsible to leesees for safekeeping of their property; but I do not think that the lessor of the entire warehouse should be held responsible to the warehouseman, unless they agreed otherwise in making the lease.

D.19.2.61.1. Scaev. 7 digestorum. *Navem conduxit, ut de provincia Cyrenensi Aquileiam navigaret olei metretis tribus milibus impositis et frumenti modiis octo milibus certa mercede: sed evenit, ut onerata navis in ipsa provincia novem mensibus retineretur et onus impositum commisso tolleretur. Quaesitum est, an vecturas quas convenit a conductore secundum locationem exigere navis possit. Respondit secundum ea quae proponerentur posse.* One person hired a ship to go from the Cyrenense province to Aquilea, loading it with 3000 metretis of oil and 8000 modiis of grain, but it happened that once loaded, the ship stopped in the same province for nine months, the goods were taken by comissum. He asked: is it possible to ask the nautae the vecturae (costs of the transport) for the locatio navis? He answered that he can, in accordance with what he wanted.

D.22.2.1. Modest. 10 pandect. *Traiecticia ea pecunia est quae trans mare vehitur: ceterum si eodem loci consumatur, non erit traiectica. Sed videndum, an merces ex ea pecunia comparatae in ea causa habentur? Et interest, utrum etiam ipsae periculo creditoris navigent: tunc enim traiectica pecunia fit* A "transmarine loan" consists of money carried abroad. If it is spent where lent, it is not "transmarine." But are goods bought with the money in the same position? It depends on whether they are carried at the lender's peril. If so, the loan is transmarine.

D. 22.4.2. Paul. 5 sent. *Quicumque a fisco convenitur, non ex indice et exemplo alicuius scripturae, sed ex authentico conveniendus est et ita, si contractus fides possit ostendi: ceterum calumniosam scripturam vim in iudicio optinere non convenit* A person sued by the imperial treasury must be met not with a summary or copy of a writing, but with the original, provided it proves the contract. For a vexatious document is admittedly not regarded as valid in legal proceedings.

D. 33.7.12.1. Ulp. 20 ad sab. *Conservandi fructus causa, veluti granaria, quia in his fructus custodiuntur, Urceos Capsellas, in quibus fructus componuntur: sed et ea, quae exportandorum fructuum causa parantur, instrumenti esse constat, veluti iumenta et vehicula et naves et cuppae et culei.* For preserving the fruits, items such as granaries, because the fruits are stored in these, pitchers, and coffers in which the fruits are collected; but it is also agreed that those things which are intended for the transport of the fruits count as instrumentum, such as pack animals, vehicles, ships, tuns and leather bottles.

D.33.9.3.8. Ulp. 22 ad Sab. *Sive autem frumentum sive quid leguminis in cella penuaria habuit, penori legato continebitur, sed et hordeum sive familiae sive iumentorum gratia: et ofilius scribit libro sexto decimo actionum.* However, whatever grain or vegetables he kept in a storeroom will be included in a legacy of stores, as will barley for the use of his household or pack animals; and Ofilius writes to this effect in the sixteen book of actions

D. 33.9.3.11. Ulp. 22 ad Sab. *Vasa quoque penuaria quin contineantur, nulla dubitatio est. Aristo autem scribit dolia non contineri, et est verum secundum illam distinctionem, quam supra in vino fecimus. Nec frumenti nec leguminum thecae (arculae forte vel sportae) vel si qua alia sunt, quae horrei penuarii vel cellae penuariae instruendae gratia habentur, non continebuntur, sed ea sola continentur, sine quibus penus haberi non recte potest* There is no doubt that vessels in which stores are kept are also included. Aristo, however, writes that casks are not included, and this is true in accordance with the distinction we drew above concerning wine. Nor will receptacles for grain or vegetables (such as boxers or hampers) or any other containers which constitute the instrumentum of the storehouse or storeroom be included, but only those things without which stores cannot properly be kept

D. 34.2.4. Paul. 54 ad ed. *Cum quidam libertum suum in Asiam misisset ad purpuras emendas et testamento uxori suae lanam purpuream legasset, pertinere ad eam, si quam purpuram vivo eo libertus emisisset, Servius respondit* Where a certain man had sent his freedman to Asia to purchase purple and has left his wife purple wool in his will, Servius has given it as his opinion that any purple purchased by the freedman in the [testator's] lifetime belongs to her

D. 39.4.1pr. Ulp. 55 ad ed. *Praetor ait: "Quod publicanus eius publici nomine vi ademerit quodve familia publicanorum, si id restitutum non erit, in duplum aut, si post annum agetur, in simplum iudicium dabo. item si damnum iniuria furtumve"* The praetor says: "If a tax farmer or his familia takes anything by force in the name of the public revenue and it is not returned, I will grant a iudicium against them for double the sum involved, or if the action is brought after the passage of a year, for the sum involved. Similarly,

factum esse dicetur, iudicium dabo. Si id ad quos ea res pertinebit non exhibebitur, in dominos sine noxae deditioe iudicium dabo". where loss is said to have been wrongfully inflicted or theft is said to have occurred, I shall grant a iudicium. If the persons whom the matter in hand will concern are not brought before me, I shall grant a iudicium without possibility of noxal surrender against the owners."

D. 39.4.2. Pap.s 13 resp. Reliquatores vectigalium ad iterandam conductionem, antequam superiori conductioni satisfaciant, admittendi non sunt Tax farmers who have failed to produce all the vectigal they have contracted for are not to be permitted to make a fresh contract until they have fulfilled the existing one.

D. 39.4.9.7. Paul. 5 sent. Res exercitui paratas praestationi vectigalium subici non placuit. It is established that property provided for the army is not subject to payment of vectigal.

D. 39.4.16.7. Marc. Lib sing delatoribus. Types of goods liable to vectigal: cinnamon; long pepper; white pepper; pentasphaerum leaf; barbaric leaf; costum; costumomum; nard; stachys; Tyrian casia; casia-wood; myrrh; amomum; ginger; malabrathrum; Indic spice; galbanurn; asafoetida juice; aloe; lycium; Persian gum; Arabian onyx; cardamonurn; cinnamon-wood; cotton goods; Babylonian hides; Persian hides; ivory; Indian iron; linen; all sorts of gem: pearl, sardonyx, ceraunium, hyacinth stone, emerald, diamond, sapphire, turquoise, beryl, tortoise stone; Indian or Assyrian drugs; raw silk; silk or half-silk clothing; embroidered fine linen; silk thread; Indian eunuchs; lions; lionesses; pards; leopards; panthers; purple dye; also: Moroccan wool; dye; Indian hair.

Species pertinentes ad vectigal: cinnamomum: piper longum: piper album: folium pentasphaerum: folium barbaricum: costum: costumomum: nardi stachys: cassia turiana: xylocassia: smurna: amomum: zingiberi: malabathrum: aroma indicum: chalbanae: laser: alche: lucia: sargogalla: onyx arabicus: cardamomum: xylocinnamomum: opus byssicum: pelles babilonicae: pelles parthicae: ebur: ferrum indicum: carpasum: lapis universus: margarita: sardonyx: ceraunium: hyacinthus: smaragdus: adamas: saffirinus: callainus: beryllus: chelyniae: opia indica vel adserta: meta: x: vestis serica vel subserica: vela tinctoria: carbasea: nema sericum: spadones indici: leones, leaenae: pardi: leopardi: pantherae: purpura: item marocorum lana: fucus: capilli indici.

D. 41.1.31pr. Paul. 31 ad ed. Numquam nuda traditio transfert dominium, sed ita, si venditio aut A simple delivery of a thing never transfers ownership, unless a sale or another fair cause preceded the delivery

aliqua iusta causa praecesserit, propter quam traditio sequeretur.

D. 43.8.2.4. Ulp. 68 ad ed. *Hoc interdictum ad ea loca, quae sunt in fisci patrimonio, non puto pertinere: in his enim neque facere quicquam neque prohibere privatus potest: res enim fiscales quasi propriae et privatae principis sunt. Igitur si quis in his aliquid faciat, nequaquam hoc interdictum locum habebit: sed si forte de his sit controversia, praefecti eorum iudices sunt.*

This interdict does not in my view apply to places within the patrimony of the imperial treasury in which a private person can neither do nor prohibit anything. For the property of the treasury is as it were the private property of the emperor. So if anyone does anything in these, this interdict certainly does not apply. But if there should happen to be any controversy about them, the prefects in charge of them are the judges.

D. 44.7.35. 1. Paul. 1 ad ed. Praet. *In duumviros et rem publicam etiam post annum actio datur ex contractu magistratuum municipalium.*

An action on a contract of town magistrates is allowed against the *duumviri* and the state even after a year.

D.45.1.122.1.Scaev. 28 Dig. *Callimachus mutuum pecuniam nauticam accepit a Stichoservo Seii in provincia Syria civitate Beryto usque Brentesium: idque creditum esse in omnes navigii dies ducentos, sub pignoribus et hypothecis mercibus a Beryto comparatis et Brentesium perferendis et quas Brentesio empturus esset et per navem Beryto invecturus: convenitque inter eos, uti, cum Callimachus Brentesium pervenisset, inde intra idus septembres, quae tunc proximae futurae essent, aliis mercibus emptis et in navem mercis ipse in Syriam per navigium proficiscatur, aut, si intra diem supra scriptam non reparasset merces nec enavigasset de ea civitate, redderet universam continuo pecuniam quasi perfecto navigio et praestaret sumptus omnes prosequentibus eam pecuniam, ut in urbem Romam eam deportarent: eaque sic recte dari fieri fide roganti Stichoservo Lucii Titii promisit Callimachus. Et cum ante idus supra scriptas secundum conventionem mercibus in navem impositis cum erote conservo Stichoservi quasi in provinciam Syriam perventurus enavigavit:*

Callimachus took a transmarine loan from Stichus, the slave of Seius, at Berytus in the province of Syria, for a voyage to Brentesium. The loan was for the full two hundred days of the voyage with security by way of pignus and hypotheca over the cargo bought at Berytus for transport to Brentesium and that he would buy at Brentesium for transport by sea to Berytus. It was agreed by the parties that when Callimachus reached Brentesium, he should, before the thirteen of September next, himself take ship for Syria with other cargo purchased and put on board or, if by the said date he did not buy the cargo or set sail from that civitas, he would repay the whole amount at once, as if the voyage had ended, and pay all costs of those persons who recovered the money and took it to the city of Rome. Stichus, the slave of Lucius Titius, stipulated for the aforementioned payments and acts and Callimachus promised them. Pursuant to

quaesitum est nave submersa, cum secundum cautionem Callimachus merces debito perferendas in nave mansisset eo tempore, quo iam pecuniam Brentesio reddere Romae perferendam deberet, an nihil prosit erotis consensus, qui cum eo missus erat, cuique nihil amplius de pecunia supra scripta post diem conventionis permissum vel mandatum erat, quam ut eam receptam Romam perferret, et nihilo minus actione ex stipulatu Callimachus de pecunia domino Stichus teneatur. Respondit secundum ea quae proponerentur teneri. Item quaero, si Callimacho post diem supra scriptam naviganti eros supra scriptus servus consenserit, an actionem domino suo semel adquisitionem adimere potuerit. Respondit non potuisse, sed fore exceptioni locum, si servo arbitrium datum esset eam pecuniam quocumque tempore in quemvis locum reddi.

D. 47.2.21.5. Paul. 40 ad Sab. *Sed si de navi onerata furto quis sextarium frumenti tulerit, utrum totius oneris an vero sextarii tantum furtum fecerit? Facilius hoc quaeritur in horreo pleno: et durum est dicere totius furtum fieri. Et quid si cisterna vini sit, quid dicet? Aut aquae cisterna? Quid deinde si nave vinaria (ut sunt multae, in quas vinum effunditur), quid dicemus de eo, qui vinum hausit? An totius oneris fur sit? Et magis est [et], ut et hic non totius dicamus.*

the agreement the cargo was placed on board, along with Eros, the fellow slave of Stichus, and the ship sailed for Syria before the Thirteenth of September. If Callimachus, having duly loaded the cargo, remained behind, when he was already bound to pay the money over at Brentesium to be taken to Rome, and the ship sank, can he rely on the agreement of Eros, who was sent with him and who had no further permission or authority as regards the money, after the date of the agreement, that to receive it and to take it to Rome? Nevertheless, is Callimachus liable to the owner of Stichus in an action on stipulation? Scaevola replied that on the facts stated he was liable. Again, if with the consent of Eros, Callimachus set sail after the prescribed date, could the act of Eros lose his owner the action already acquired? Scaevola replied that it could not. If, however, the slave had discretion to allow repayment of the money at whatever time or place, there would be a defense.

But if, from a loaded ship, a person theftuously abstract put a pint of corn, does he steal the whole cargo or only the pint? The question is more easily put in respect of a full granary; it is certainly severe to say that he steals the whole. And, again, what are we to say of a cistern of wine or, for that matter, a cistern of water? Then, in the case of a wine ship (there are many into which the wine is just poured in), what do we say of one who taps the wine? Is he to be held to steal the whole? The better view is that we answer in the negative.

D.47.2.52.22. Ulpianus libro 37 ad edictum. *Maiores quis pondera tibi commodavit, cum emeris ad pondus: furti eum venditori teneri mela scribit: te quoque, si scisti: nam [] non [enim] ex voluntate venditoris accipis, cum erret in pondere.* Someone lent you heavier weights when you were buying by weight; Mela writes that he will be liable to the vendor for theft as also will you if you are aware of the facts; for you do not acquire the goods with the owner's consent when he is in error over the weight.

D. 47.11.6.1 Ulp. 8 de off. procons. *Onerant annonam etiam staterae adulterinae, de quibus divus Traianus edictum proposuit, quo edicto poenam legis Corneliae in eos statuit, perinde ac si lege testamentaria, quod testamentum falsum scripsisset signasset recitasset, damnatus esset.* The price of corn is also affected by false measures, concerning which the deified Trajan issued an edict whereby he imposed upon those who used them the penalty of the lex Cornelia, just as if, under the statute on wills, a person were condemned because he wrote, sealed or read aloud a will which was false

D. 47.11. 6. 2 Ulp. 8 de off. procons. *Sed et divus Hadrianus eum, qui falsas mensuras habuit, in insulam relegavit.* The deified Hadrian, again, the one who uses false measures should be relegated to an island.

D. 48.11.7.2. Macer libro primo iudiciorum publicorum. *Illud quoque cavetur, ne in acceptum feratur opus publicum faciendum, frumentum publice dandum praebendum adprehendendum, sarta tecta tuenda, antequam perfecta probata praestita lege erunt.* It is also said, that it might not be received the public work which must be done, wheat which must be furnished, or given to the public, preservation which must be done for buildings, before that the conditions were accomplished and approved by law

D. 48.10.32.1. Modest. 1 De poenis. *Si venditor mensuras publice probatas vini, frumenti vel cuiuslibet rei, aut emptor corruperit dolove malo fraudem fecerit: quanti ea res est, eius dupli condemnatur: decretoque divi Hadriani praeceptum est in insulam eos relegari, qui pondera aut mensuras falsas sententiarum* If a seller or a buyer tampers with the publicly approved measures of wine, corn or any other thing, or commits a deception with malicious intent, he is sentenced to a fine of double the value of the thing concerned; and it was laid down by decree of the deified Hadrian that those who had falsified weights or measures should be relegated to an island.

D.48.22.15pr. Marcianus lib... *Deportatus* A deported person loses his citizenship but *civitatem amittit, libertatem retinet et iure civili caret,* retains his freedom, and while he loses the *ius gentium vero utitur. Itaque emit vendit, locat conducit,* civile, he employs the *ius gentium.* He *permutat, fenus exercet aliaque similia. Unde etiam* accordingly buys, sells, leases, hires, barter, *recte obligat, quae post condemnationem quaesivit:* lends money, [and does] other things of the same *quibus in rebus creditores quoque, qui bona fide* kind. Hence, he may also lawfully pledge those *contraxerunt cum eo, praefertur fisco deportatis* things he acquired after his condemnation, and in *defunctis succedenti. Nam bona, quae condemnationis* these dealings, his creditors who have contracted *tempore inveniuntur, deportatus alienare non potest* with him in good faith are preferred to the imperial treasury as successors when a deported person has died. A deported person cannot alienate the property which is found [in his possession] at the time of the condemnation

D. 49.14.3.6. 6. Callist. 3 de iure fisci. *Cum* When a five-year period for which someone has *quinquennium, in quo quis pro publico conductore se* bound himself on behalf of a public contractor has *obligavit, excessit, sequentis temporis nomine non* expired, he is not liable in the case of the *tenetur: idque principalibus rescriptis exprimitur.* following [five-year] period, and this is set out in *Divus etiam Hadrianus in haec verba rescripsit:* imperial rescripts. The deified Hadrian also wrote *"Valde inhumanus mos est iste, quo retinentur* a rescript in these words: "It is a truly inhumane *conductores vectigalium publicorum et agrorum, si* practice whereby farmers of the public taxes and *tantidem locari non possint. Nam et facilius* lands are held liable again if [the contracts] *invenientur conductores, si scierint fore ut, si peracto* cannot be renewed at as high a figure. For *lustro discedere voluerint, non teneantur* farmers will more readily be found if they know that if they should wish to leave at the end of the five years, they will not be kept on [against their will]."

D.49.14.6.1. Ulp. 63 ad ed. Quodcumque privilegii The accounts of the emperor and empress *fisco competit, hoc idem et Caesaris ratio et Augustae* customarily have the same privilege as is *habere solet* applicable to the imperial treasury.

D. 49.14.47.1. Paul. 1 decret. Aemilius Ptolemaeus Aemilius Ptolemaeus had taken the lease of an *conduxerat a fisco possessionem eamque paulatim* estate from the imperial treasury and had let it *pluribus locaverat maiore quantitate quam ipse* out bit by bit to a number of persons for a greater *susceperat: conveniebatur a procuratoribus Caesaris in* sum than he had himself undertaken; the imperial *eam quantitatem quam ipse perciperet. Hoc iniquum et* procurators sued him for the sum that he himself *inutile fisco videbatur, ut tamen suo periculo ipse eos* had received. This seemed unfair and

quibus locaverat conveniret: ideoque pronuntiavit in unprofitable to the imperial treasury that it
eam solam quantitatem eum conveniri debere, qua ipse should in spite of this sue at its own risk those to
conductor exstiterat. whom he had granted leases; and so [the
emperor] gave judgment that he should be sued
[but] only in respect of that amount to which he
had been liable as lessee.

D. 50. 16.59. Ulp. 68 ad ed. "Portus" appellatus A "harbour" is the name of an enclosed space
est conclusus locus, quo importantur merces et inde where goods are imported and exported, and any
exportantur: eaque nihilo minus statio est conclusa enclosed and walled space may equally have the
atque munita. Inde "angiportum" dictum est. same name. Whence one talks about angiportus

D. 50. 16. 106. Modest. libro singulari de "Dimissoriae letters" are what are linked to the
praescriptionibus "Dimissoriae litterae" dicuntur, apostles. But dimissoriae are called these letters
quae volgo apostoli dicuntur. Dimissoriae autem because the cause is dismissed for the one
dictae, quod causa ad eum qui appellatus est dimittitur. mentioned in them

19. Appendix X. Glossary

WORD	DEFINITION	SOURCE(S)	BIBLIOGRAPHY
<i>Keyword</i>	Text	Text	Reference
<i>Acceptor</i>	A person who supervised the filling of the amphorae	<i>CIL</i> VI 9212; <i>CIL</i> XV, 4174; <i>CIL</i> XV 3954-5; 4430; 4436; 4472; 4476; 3977; <i>CIL</i> XIV II 16; 150; 154	Vera: 2006
<i>Actio</i>	In Latin, the word <i>actio</i> , from the verb <i>agere</i> , that for our purposes is best translated broadly: 'to urge'. Generally, to have an action means that a person is entitled to pursue a remedy for some injustice done to him. In the definition of the jurist Celsus, "nothing else than the right of an individual to sue in a trial for what is due to him"	D.45.1.551 ; I. 4.6 pr.; I. 4.6; D. 44.7; C.4.10.	Metzger: 1998
<i>Actiones Bona fidei</i>	Actions arising from consensual (sale, loan for consumption, locatio conductio) or real contracts. They leave capacity that is more decisive to the judge, and so he might take into account formless pacts added to actionable contracts immediately after their conclusion and modifying their effects (pacta conventus).	D. 18, 1, 9, 2; D. 19. 1. 21. 3; D. 14, 3, 5, 15; D. 10, 4, 5 pr.	Yaron: 1959; Tchernia: 2000; Zulueta: 1945; Fiori: 2010; Du Plessis: 2006

<i>Actio exercitoria</i>	It belongs to the category of so-called <i>actiones adiecticiae qualitatis</i> (non-Roman term). These were "additional" actions (<i>actio adicitur</i> : D. 14.1.5.1) under which a person (a father, a slave's master, a principal, a shipper) under certain circumstances could be sued for acts done by his subordinate (a son, slave, employee) in the management of a peculium or a commercial business as his agent or on his order. The responsibility of the father and the other person was additional to that of the subordinate although they did not participate in the latter's agreements or transactions.	D. 14.1 ; <i>CI</i> . 4.25.	Aubert: 1993; 1994; Serrao: 2000; Miceli: 2001; Valiño: 1967
<i>Actio in factum</i>	An action given by the praetor on the facts of the case alone where no standard civil law action was applicable. In the case of transport contracts, for instance, when the cargo has been lost and it was not the carrier's fault in terms of the agreement. That disposition excludes the cases when there has been unavoidable accident such as pirate attack or shipwreck. The <i>actio in factum</i> was also available when it was not possible to distinguish if the purpose of the contract was to hire a ship or a service	D. 4.9.3.1; D. 4, 9, 7, 1; D. 47, 2, 67, 4; D. 47, 8, 4, 11; D. 19.5.1.1	Cannatta: 2008; Fercia: 2002; Groschler: 2002; Visscher: 1966; Serrao:2000
<i>Actor collegii</i>	Representative of the <i>collegia</i> , that has to be nominated by the total ensemble of its members	<i>SC De collegiis</i>	Aubert: 1999, 13
<i>Actor sive syndicus</i>	Juridical representative of the <i>societas</i> or <i>collegia</i>		Aubert: 1999, 6
<i>Actuarius</i>	Fiscal official charged with the distribution of wages and provisions to the Roman military		Kazhdan: 1991, 50.
<i>Adiectus</i>	Those who were chosen to fill up a vacancy in any office or collegium, and especially those who were chosen to fill up the proper number of the senate	D. 18, 6, 4, 1; D. 28, 5, 6	Tran: 2006

<i>Adiutor</i>	Officer who helps the <i>praefectus annonae</i> , and that his functions are gathering and inspecting the oil (<i>recensendum</i>), organising the import (<i>transferenda</i>), and the payment of the transportation charges to the skippers (<i>exsolvenda</i>)	<i>CIL</i> II 1180	Broekaert: 2011, 612-613; Pavis D'Escurac: 1076, 348; Herz: 1988, 138
<i>Adversaria</i>	The Adversaria, a kind of wastebook or daybook, in which he entered day by day, according as they occurred, the several transactions in which he took part. It is especially noticed that the entries in the adversaria were carelessly (negligenter) jotted down (dejecta) in no regular order; yet it is most likely that the transactions of each day were kept separate. They seem accordingly to be called ephemerides in Prop. 4.23, 20. Such would be practically the easiest way of entering these memoranda at the time of jotting them down, and would certainly be most convenient when posting the entries into the <i>Codex</i> .	Cic. <i>pro Rosc. Com.</i> 2, 7	Andreau: 2007; Minaud: 2004, 2005; Rathbone: 1994
<i>Aedil</i>	Created in 367 BC as a patrician magistracy ranking in the hierarchy between the praetors and the quaestors. Their charges which in certain measure coincided with those of the <i>aediles plebis</i> , were rather extensive : public order and security in Rome, the traffic in the city, management of public buildings, <i>cura annonae</i> (food supply) as well as water supply, the supervision over markets, market transactions. They control the weight and measures on the markets in the west Mediterranean	<i>CIL</i> XI 6375 = D 5613	Arnaud: 2015, 6
<i>Aequipondia</i>	Scale used to weight merchandise. It was formed by two plates, one of which was loaded with standard weight units, while the other plate hold the goods to be weighed		Corti: 2001

<i>Aequitas</i>	<i>Aequitas</i> , as the word itself indicates, implies the element of equality. Transferred into the province of law it postulates equal treatment of all according to the conceptions nurtured in the social (common) conscience of the people, which change, of course, when social and economic conditions undergo a change.	D. 2.7.2.1; D.4.1.7; D. 6.2.17; D. 10.4.3.14	Pringsheim: 1931
<i>Aerarium populi romani</i>	State treasury, also called <i>aerarium Saturni</i> because it was located in the temple of Saturn. It was also a central archive for documents connected with the financial and general administration, for statutes passed by the popular assemblies, <i>senatusconsulta</i> , and generally for all documents in which the state was interested, such as contracts with private individuals	D. 1.2.2.22; D.4.6.32; D. 18, 1, 52	Mazzei: 2009; Remesal Rodinguez: 2005
<i>Africano (Sextus Caecilius Africanus)</i>	A Roman jurist of the middle of the 2 nd cent AD a younger contemporary of Julian and probably his pupil. He is the author of a collection of <i>responsa</i> , published under the title of <i>Quaestiones</i> (in nine books); many of them represent the opinion of Julian. From his twenty-book-collection of <i>Epistulae</i> one text only is preserved.		Stolleis: 2001
<i>Agora</i>	Retail market, that was affair of the people and the city settled there	<i>CIL</i> XI 6375 = D 5613	Arnaud: 2015, 6
<i>Agoranomoi</i>	Authority controlling weight and measures of the agora (retail market) in the East Mediterranean	<i>Lex Irnitana</i> (<i>AE</i> 1986, 333),	Arnaud: 2015, 7

<i>Ammineum</i>	<i>Aminnea uitis</i> is the most famous plant in the Roman world coming from a region in the east of Italy (probably Campania). If "Campania seems to have been of this grape broadcast center, writes Jacques André ... he had to be transplanted throughout the empire with the same happiness." There is nothing surprising to find on an amphora produced for sure in Roman Gaul mention of a <i>Aminneum (uinum)</i>		Laubenheimer: 2004; Liou, 1998; Liou, Marichal: 1978
<i>Ampulla</i>	Sample, normally employed in the procedure of the <i>degustatio</i> during a sell. Also was a sample that use to travel with annony cargoes. The main aim of the <i>ampullae</i> as samples travelling with the annonari products was that the product could not be substituted with wine of an inferior quality.	<i>CIL VI 1785</i>	Vera: 2006, 305, 314
<i>Annona</i>	The term has different meanings which all, however, are somehow connected with the supply of provisions : the general supply of grain for the city of Rome, the free distribution of grain and bread to needy people, food for the army, food sold by the government to people for cash, taxes in natural products, and, finally, the central administration of the food supply. Originally the responsibility for the provisioning was vested 'with the <i>aediles</i> , under the later Republic and in the Empire the <i>cura annonae</i> was enlarged under the supervision of the <i>praefectus annonae</i> assisted by a staff of auxiliary officials.	D. 47.11.6; D.48.2.12	Berger: 1952, 363; Pavis D'Escurac: 1976; Remesal Rodriguez: 1986; Lo Cascio: 1990; Sirks: 1992; Hobenreich: 1997; Virilouvet: 2009
<i>Ateleia</i>	Exemption of payment of taxes		Purpura: 1985, 283
<i>Araneus</i>	Kind of fish used for prepring sauces	O. 002	Berdowski: 2003; Etienne and Mayet: 2002; Grainger: 2012

<i>Arca</i>	A cashbox, in a larger sense the treasury of a community (area municipalis) or of a public or private corporation (area collegii). Arca publica is the treasury of Rome, its divisions are connected with the purpose of it (<i>olearia, frumentaria, vinaria</i> , etc)	<i>CIL XV 3642; CIL XV 3644</i>	Lagostena Barrios: 2004
<i>Arrha</i>	Semitic institution also adopted in Greek and accepted in Roman practice. It implied a down-payment as warranty of the would-be buyer		Yaron: 2004; Abatino: 2012, 311-328
<i>Austor</i>	Subject in charge of emptying the barrels when it arrive to the port	<i>CIL VI 1785</i>	Vera: 2006, 304
<i>Axe-hammer</i>	Tool for engraving inscriptions chiselled, normally used for barrels. The blade has letters in relief that allow marking the barrel smashing it on this axe. The employment of this axe seems to be limited geographically and chronologically: the chronology of its use does not go further the 1st cent AD and it is limited to the Rhone and the Rhin.		Marliere: 2002; 2004
<i>Balanus</i>	Oil of Ben. Kind of oil usually employed for perfumes, and especially in Egypt	Horat. <i>Carm.</i> 3.29; Plin. <i>NH.</i> 37.189	Amouretti & Brun: 2002; Djaoui <i>et al.</i> 2015
<i>Bazaar</i>	Small market. It has some particular traits: is has shop thresholds with grooves for holding upright shutters, and mezzanine floors or the little staircases leading to them.	Caseggiato del Larario (Reg. I. I s. IX.3)	Bang: 2011

<p><i>Beneficiarius</i></p>	<p>The <i>beneficiarius</i> was a soldier of the Roman army that in the late Republican age and then imperial had special duties, not necessarily connected to a combat unit. He held mostly administrative, logistical or even military police functions, as part of that small group of sub-officers called <i>principales</i>, exempt from heavy services such as night patrols and closely linked to a superior commander (like a provincial governor).</p>	<p><i>CIL</i> XIII 6485; Vindolanda tablet 643</p>	<p>Kehoe: 1987</p>
<p><i>Bona fides</i></p>	<p>Honesty, uprightness, good faith. The term has various applications. Generally it is opposed to <i>mala fides</i>, <i>fraus</i>, <i>dolus</i>, <i>dolus malus</i>. Certain common rules are derived from <i>bona fides</i>, such as: "bona fides requires that what has been agreed upon be done" (D.19.2.21) which is expressed in other words by the saying: "<i>Bona fides</i> demands highest equity (honesty, <i>aequitas</i>) in contracts" (D.16.3.31 pr.). What is dishonest, immoral is considered <i>contra bonam fides</i>. In contractual law, the <i>bona fides</i> is particularly important not only because of the rules mentioned it, but also because certain types of contract are aimed on <i>bona fides</i>, as the reciprocal confidence, honesty</p>	<p>D. 16.3.31; D.17.2.52.1; D.19.1.50</p>	<p>Fiori: 2011; Lombardi: 1961; Pringsheim: 1931</p>
<p><i>Caprorenses</i></p>	<p>Kind of container that we have find mentioned in the ostraka of the ilot de l' amirauté. Caprorata presumably may be the toponym that presumably refers to the locale or district where the containers or the oil were originated</p>		<p>Peña: 1998, 129</p>

<i>Casuistic Law</i>	Casuistry is reasoning used to resolve problems by extracting or extending theoretical rules from particular instances and applying these rules to new instances. Opposed to apodictic law, which establishes ruling or principles that do not leave room for discussion (e.g. Hebraic law)		Vacca: 1976; Domingo: 2018, 4
<i>Centesimae</i>	Surplus granted to shipmasters to compensate for any loss in transit	<i>CTh.13.5.7; CTh.13.5.38; CTh.13.9.3; CTh.14.26.1</i>	Cagnat: 1882
<i>Cetaria</i>	Fish sauce manufacturing plant		Bernal Casasola <i>et al.</i> 2007
<i>Chirographon</i>	Promissory note written by the debtor and delivered to the creditor, thus only in a single document. Gaius mentions It was a literary <i>obligatio</i> used by peregrines (the name [=handwriting] reveals the Greek origin of the institution). Used by Romans the chirograph had the value of any written document, and was considered only an evidence of a previous <i>stipulatio</i> . It was later applied even without a preceding stipulatory promise.	CI.8.26; G.3.134	Yiftach-Firanko: 2007; Westermann: 1914
<i>Codex accepti et expensi</i>	The <i>Codex Accepti et Expensi</i> , also called <i>tabulae, codices, domestica ratio</i> into which the entries of the <i>adversaria</i> were carefully posted each month. It undoubtedly consisted of a series of double pages one debit (<i>acceptum</i>), the other credit (<i>expensum</i>); hence, the book is sometimes called codices. The entries were made in a certain ordo, which is much insisted on as being of the essence of the codex, as opposed to the <i>adversaria</i>	Cic. <i>pro Rosc. Com.</i> 1, 2; <i>Verr.</i> 2.76, 186; Cic. <i>pro Rosc. Com.</i> 1.c; Ascon. <i>in Verr.</i> 2.1, 23, 60; Plin. <i>Nat.</i> 2.22; Cic. <i>pro Rosc. Com.</i> 2, 6, 7; <i>Verr.</i> 3.75, 175	Minaud: 2006; Kats:1930; Andreau: 2007;

<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>	This code is one of the parts of the <i>Corpus Iuris Civilis</i> of Justinian. In 528 Justinian charged a commission composed of high officials and lawyers with the task of compiling a collection of imperial constitutions. For earlier imperial enactments the three <i>Codices, Gregorianus, Hermogenianus, and Theodosianus</i> , had to be used. The Code published April 7, 529, soon proved obsolete because of the copious later legislative activity of the emperor. Therefore, a new edition (<i>Codex repetitae praelectionis</i>) was ordered in 533, and published in the middle of December, 534.		Frier (ed): 2016
<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>	An official collection of imperial constitutions from A.D. 312 (Constantine) until 438 when the Code was published by Theodosius II.		Harries and Wood: 1993; Matthews: 2000; Pharr: 1952
<i>Codicarius</i>	Shipper, boatman, person who helps to moor or dock the ship	<i>CIL</i> XIV 309; <i>CIL</i> XIV, 185	Frank: 1934
<i>Cognitio extra ordinem</i>	The <i>cognitio extra ordinem</i> was based on the idea that the administration of justice is a function of the state. While in the previous forms of proceedings, the trial was dominated by the parties under the moderation and supervision of the magistrate. The characteristic feature of the <i>cognitio extra ordinem</i> which appeared at the beginning of the empire, is that the private juror disappears and his place is taken by a public official acting as a delegate of the emperor or, of a high functionary. When the new procedure became general, there was no more bipartition of the trial nor a formula, the whole proceeding being under control of the same functionary or his delegate.	D. 50.13	Ensslin: 1928; Butti: 1982; Giglio: 2010

<i>Collegia</i>	Association that essentially can be formed by various reasons. Gradually, particularly under the imperial legislation, they have been granted certain rights as associations, such as both to have and to free slaves and to acquire legacies under a testament.	D. 27.1.17.3; D.47.22.1	Broekaert: 2008, 3; Tran: 2006; Robertis: 1972
<i>Condictio</i>	Any actio in personam by which we claim or an obligation to give or to do (<i>dare facere oportere</i>)	G.4.5; G.17	Tchernia: 1980
<i>Conductor</i>	Estate manager	See <i>Lex manciiana</i> (Roman law dealing with tenancy agreements of Imperial estates in North Africa.)	Kehoe: 1988, 69-70; 139-140
<i>Conditorium</i>	Storehouse		Peña, 1998, 145
<i>Constitutio tanta</i>	The Greek text of Justinian's constitution The main part of Justinian's legislative work. Announced on December 15, 530 by the constitution <i>Deo Auctore</i> , it was published on December 16, 533 by the constitutions "Tanta" (in Latin) and <i>Dedoken</i> (in Greek) and it entered into force two weeks later.. The text in Greek was called dedoken. It apparently was an earlier draft than the Latin edition, Tanta, and is frequently more exact than the latter.		Frier (ed): 2016
<i>Consuetudo</i>	Law, which had not been created by enactment but was simply recognized as being the law. So it needs to be recognised in a social context of Law	D.23.2; D. 39.1; D. 23.2.8; D.24.1.1; 29.2.8pr.; D. 28.6.2pr. ; D.1.3.32pr.; D. 1.3.38; D.1.3.39; D.21.2.6; D.2.12.4; I.1.2.9; CI.4.65.19	Johnston: 1999, 2

<i>Contracts de iure stricto</i>	In strict law contracts (<i>stricti juris</i>) the parties must rely exclusively on what was agreed and the creditor may require the debtor only what this "strictly" promised, despite that the judge can add or remove anything, even if sometimes clash the elementary principles of fairness. Thus, in the loan agreement (strict law), the lender (creditor) may only claim the borrower (debtor) strictly repayment of the amount borrowed, but may not require the payment of interest or consistent compensation in case of delay if it had not expressly agreed. The term is not a technical creation of the classical jurisprudence.	I. 4.6.28; D. 12.3.5.4	Arangio-Ruiz: 1933; Betti: 1958; Cannatta: 1997
<i>Contracts of good faith</i>	In the contracts in good faith the creditor may require not only what was promised, but also all that is required "by the good faith" under the circumstances of the case. Are p.eg society, loan, mandate, etc		Lombardi: 1961; Fiori: 2011
<i>Contrascriptor</i>	Part of the personal working in the <i>horrea</i> , it is supposed that he worked verifying the calculations	<i>CIL V 7213</i>	France: 2008, 503; 2001, 67, n. 169; France/ Nelis Clement: 2014, 225
<i>Cordula</i>	Preparation of the fish for sauce	<i>CIL IV 5639</i>	Grainger: 2012
<i>Corpore mensorum machinariorum</i>	Body of measurers of grain	<i>CIL VI 9626</i>	Tran: 2012, 69
<i>Corpus</i>	It can refer to a particular privilege granted by the State, which gave the association a special legal status, or a corporal personality.	D. 3.4.1.1	Broekaert: 2008, 3
<i>Corpus collectariorum</i>	Corporation of financial operators, in charge of <i>munera publica</i>	<i>CI. 4.2.16</i>	Waltzing: 1895; Tran: 2008

<i>Corpus Iuris Civilis</i>	A collective designation of the Emperor Justinian's codification of the 6th cent. AD, composed by the <i>institutiones</i> , the <i>Codex</i> , the <i>Digesta</i> and the <i>Novellae</i>		Mommsen: 1872; 1894; 1895
<i>Culleus</i>	A leather bag, sack for liquids		Marliere: 2002; Berni, Gorostidi, 2013, 28
<i>Cupa</i>	Barrel	Caesar. <i>Bael.Civ.</i> II, 11, 2; Hirtius, <i>Bael. Gal.</i> VIII, 42, 1; Luc. <i>Bael.civ.</i> IV, 420-22; Frontin. <i>Strat.</i> III, 14, 3; D. 33.7.12	Marliere: 2002, 27-8
<i>Cuparius</i>	Barrel maker		Bizzarrini: 2006, 123; Weber, 1981
<i>Curator</i>	Responsible for food distribution or compensation within the military unit		Fink: 1976, 78; Remesal Rodriguez: 1986, 94
<i>Curator collegii</i>	Representative of the <i>collegia</i> , that is not considered as an organ part of it		Waltzing: 1895; Tran: 2008

<p><i>Curator navium</i></p>	<p>The Curator was a figure of ancient Rome who were reserved special public office, as part of the senatorial <i>cursus honorum</i>. The first Roman emperor, Augustus, promoted this figure. <i>Curatores navium</i> were known only at Ostia, where, during the 2nd cent. AD, they were numerous enough to form two corpora, one of the <i>curatores navium marinarum</i> and the other of <i>curatores navium ammalium</i>, mentioned in at least four inscriptions, the mutilated inscription from <i>statio num 42</i> of Piazzale delle Corporazioni. The most important thing is that we learn from this <i>curator navium</i> that at least part of these was organized on the ground of the city of origin of the ships. At Carthage, fellow-citizens were sent to remote ports (at least to Portus) to manage the ships from the city at destination. This was a lifelong position, allowing the best interface between two communities: the city of origin of both <i>curatores</i> and ships, and that of port where the <i>curatores</i> had settled themselves. Such <i>curatores</i> were known only at Ostia until the discovery at Caesarea Maritima of an inscription mentioning a <i>κουράτορ πλοίων κολ(ωνίας) Καισαρείας</i> “curator of (the?) ships of the colony of Caesarea” provided us with another occurrence.</p>	<p><i>CIL</i> XIV 4549,42 :</p>	<p>Arnaud: 2015, 12- 14</p>
<p><i>Curator riparum et alvei tiberis</i></p>	<p>Responsible of the whole length of the river from Ostia and Rome. It has been attributed to Augustus, but other sources say that Tiberius created this charge. The charge existed until the 4th cent AD.</p>	<p>Suet. <i>Aug.</i> 37; Cass. <i>Dio.</i> 57, 14, 7-8; Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 1, 76</p>	<p>Aldrete: 2007; Keay: 2008; Lonardi: 2013</p>
<p><i>Cursus publicus</i></p>	<p>State-run courier and transportation service of the Roman Empire</p>		<p>Tengstrom: 1974, 29-32; Rickman: 1980, 120-121; Kehoe: 1988, 12 n. 23; Sirks: 1991, 147</p>

<i>Curule ediles</i>	Created in 367 B.C. as a patrician magistracy ranking in the hierarchy between the praetors and the quaestors. Their charges, which in certain measure coincided with those of the aediles plebis, were rather extensive: public order and security in Rome, the traffic in the city, management of public buildings, cura annonae (food supply) as well as water supply, the supervision over markets, market transactions Created in 367 B.C. as a patrician. Called <i>agoranomoi</i> in Greek, they have competence to enact an edict, from which we only find a quotation in Aulo Gelio and a comment of Labeo magistracy ranking in the hierarchy between the praetors and the quaestors. Their charges which in certain measure coincided with those of the <i>aediles plebis</i> , were rather extensive: public order and security in Rome, the traffic in the city, management of public buildings, <i>cura annonae</i> (food supply) as well as water supply, the supervision over markets, market transactions	Aul. <i>Gel. Noct att.</i> 4, 2 ; D. 21.1.1	Serrao: 2000, 31ff.
<i>Custos</i>	In the context of warehousing, the custodes were guardians, whose role was to safekeep the goods deposited in these places.	D. 1.15.3.2; CTh. 11.14.1	France: 2008, 503
<i>Custodia</i>	Custody, safe keeping, watching. The term appears in connection with the responsibility of the debtor in some specific contracts. On the one hand custodia is linked with <i>culpa, neglegentia</i> , or <i>diligentia</i> , and on the other hand it is opposed to <i>vis maior</i> . It has been assumed that custodia entailed a higher degree of responsibility than for culpa only; in particular, it involved the duty of a more careful custody, and consequently, liability for a simple, lesser accident (not for <i>vis maior</i>), such as theft which through a more attentive guarding by the debtor could be prevented.	D.19.1.31pr.; D. 4. 9	Robaye: 1987; Bogen: 1992

<i>Custos cuparum</i>	A guard, watch, preserver, keeper, overseer, protector, defender of the vases containing the liquids traded	<i>CIL VI 1785</i>	Vera: 2006, 306
<i>Decreta</i>	Imperial enactments (decrees) issued by the emperor in the exercise of jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, both as final judgments and as interlocutory decisions during the proceedings	<i>FIRA I 1941, 437, n. 83)</i>	Millar: 1967; 1977; Honoré: 1994; Coriat: 1997
<i>Deigmata</i>	Vessels that travelled with a cargo and carried within them a sample, which enabled the quality of the good to be checked when unloaded, and thus prevent adulteration before delivery to the receiving merchant.	Plut. <i>Pomp</i> , 42.11; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> 5.1.21; Demost. <i>Orat.</i> 35.29; 50.24	Gofas: 1993; Casanova: 1995; Bresson: 2008; Geraci: 2012, 352ff.; Djaoui: 2014; Djaoui & Tran : 2015 ; 79-82; Dickenson: 2016, 253
<i>Defrutum</i>	Grape mash cooked until it takes the consistency of a thick syrup. Also called defrutum or caroenum	Plin, <i>NH.</i> 14, 81; Columela. <i>RR</i> , 12, 16, 1; 12, 20; Cat. <i>Agr.</i> 23, 2	Aguilera Martín: 2004; Tchernia: 1998; Tchernia & Brun: 1999
<i>Degustatio</i>	To get as a sample, taste, try, make trial of, test: genus hoc exercitationum: ex quā (oratione) pauca: aliquid ex eius sermone speculae, obtain a gleam of hope: istum convivam tuum.	<i>CIL VI 1785</i>	Vera: 2006; Chic Garcia, 2002
<i>Diaetarius</i>	A ship steward	D. 33.7.12.42; D.4.9.1.3	
<i>Diffusio</i>	Packaging of the oil, that can be done in a figlina, or in the fundi	<i>CIL XV</i> , 3814; 3943; 3945; 3950	Rodriguez Almeida: 1993

<i>Diffusor</i>	Appears sometimes as a synonym of <i>negotiator</i> or <i>mercator</i> . Representatives of the big firms (Rougé); intermediaries between <i>mercator</i> and <i>negotiator</i> (Tchernia). High status merchants (Chic García)	<i>M. Iulius Hermesianus</i> : <i>CIL</i> II 1481; <i>CIL</i> VI 20742; 1625b; <i>CIL</i> II, 1481; <i>CIL</i> II 1180; <i>CIL</i> VI 1885; <i>AE</i> 1994 193; <i>CIL</i> VI 29722; <i>AE</i> 1980 98; <i>AE</i> 1984 528; <i>L. Marius Phoebus</i> : <i>CIL</i> VI 1935	Tchernia: 1980, 159; Rico: 2003; Panciera: 1980; Liou: 1980, Liou: 1990; Rouge: 1978, 58; Chic Garcia: 1999, 42
<i>Diffusor olearius</i>	Man in charge of the weighing or bottling of the oil of the amphorae Dressel 20. It has been discussed if the meaning of this term concerns the pouring or the bottling of the oil, but considering the philological and epigraphical approach, it seems that the <i>diffusores olearii</i> were involved in the bottling of oil rather than its transport or marketing.	<i>CIL</i> II 1481; <i>AE</i> 1984 528; <i>AE</i> 1980 98; <i>CIL</i> VI 29722 = <i>ILS</i> 7490; <i>CIL</i> VI 1885; <i>CIL</i> XII 714; <i>CIL</i> XIII 10029; <i>CIL</i> XIII 3; II 115	Taglietti: 1994, 180ff. ; Peña: 1998, 167
<i>Dispensator</i>	A household superintendent, a manager, steward; as manager of the imperial treasury, a cashier, treasurer, διοικητής; usually the most trustworthy slaves, but under the emperors sometimes <i>ingenui</i>	Varr. <i>L. L.</i> 5, § 183 Mull.; Plin. 33, 3, 13, § 43; and Paul. <i>ex Fest.</i> 72, 9 Mull.: <i>dispensator litteras scit</i> , Cic. <i>Rep.</i> 5, 3, 5; Juv. 1, 91; Suet. <i>Aug.</i> 67; Mart. 5, 42, 5; Plin. 7, 39, 40, § 129;	Houston: 1980, 157; Aldrete & Mattingly: 1999, 189; France: 2008, 503
<i>Dispensator horrei</i>	Steward, he receives the materials owed to his boss, private or public, for the ones he makes bills, and he does payments concerning the orders that he received. It is important to say that he is normally a slave, because the absence of juridical personality carries that the operations that he perform are directly concerning his master. . In the context of warehousing, the <i>dispensator horrei</i> receives funds from his master, private or public, for which he issues receipts, and	P.Oxy. IV 735; Agr., 19.	France: 2008, 504

	<p>makes payments according to the orders he receives. It is important to specify that it is always a slave, because its lack of legal personality entails that the operations to which it proceeds are directly those of the master.</p>		
<i>Dispensator fisci</i>	A steward, attendant, treasurer, in this case working for the <i>fiscus</i>	<i>CIL VI 5197=ILS 1514</i>	Broekaert: 2013, 137-138
<i>Dominium</i>	<p>Ownership. The term appears for the first time at the end of the Republic. It denotes full legal power over a corporeal thing, the right of the owner to use it, to take proceeds therefrom, and to dispose of it freely. The owner's <i>plena potestas in re</i> (= full power over a thing) is manifested by his faculty to do with it what he pleases and to exclude any one from the use thereof unless the latter has acquired a specific right on it (a servitude, an usufruct) which he might obtain only with the owner's consent. Limits to private ownership may be imposed on account of public order or in the interest of the community (<i>utilitas publica</i>) which under certain circumstances may lead to an expropriation (taking away one's property through a compulsory purchase, <i>emptio ab invito</i>, the owner being compensated for the loss of his property).</p>	D. 41.1	Berger: 1953, 441
<i>Dominus navis</i>	Ship owner	D. 14.1.1.15; D.39.4.11.2; <i>PS.5.1.12</i>	Du Plessis: 2012; Fiori: 2010

<i>Edicta</i>	This word has different meanings depending on the time it is referring to. In the classical period (167 BC-AD 285) the whole edict published by the magistrate on the alb ~ um when he assumed either his office or a single clause thereof. A magisterial edict was one year's law since the magistrate was only one year in office. Edicts issued by the emperors, they contain general legal norms laid down both for officials and for private citizens. Concerning the imperial constitutions, it was an enactment addressed to his magistrates in charge.	D. 1.4.1.pr.; G. 1.5	Millar: 1967; 1977; Honoré: 1994; Coriat: 1997
<i>Edictum perpetuum</i>	This word can refer to two things: one would be the edict that the magistrate with imperium (praetor, consul) enacted at the beginning of his office that last for a year. The second would be the compilation that the emperor Hadrian ordered to the jurist Julian in AD 132	Eutropius, 8.17; Hieronymus, Chron. a Abr. 131 p. Chr. 2.167; Bird, trans., Breviarium, lv-lvii	Lenel: 1927
<i>Ellimenion</i>	Port fees	<i>Lex portus Caunus</i>	Vélissaropoulos: 1980, 224-225, Purpura : 1985, 283 ; Marek: 2006, 171-221, n° 34 ; Arnaud: 2015, 10
<i>Emporion</i>	Gross market, affair of merchants of diverse origins, the measures employed there were certified by authorities	P. Ryl. Gr. 4 601; P Oxy 59, 3989	Arnaud: 2015, 6
<i>Emptio ad gustum</i>	This term refers to the contract of sale but implying a pact which establishes that the sale will not be perfect until a taste of the goods has been done by the buyer	D. 18.6.1pr.	Zulueta: 1945; Arangio-Ruiz: 1985

<i>Emptio venditio</i>	The terminology <i>emptio venditio</i> indicates the two elements of the contract: an <i>emere</i> by the buyer (emptor) and a <i>vendere</i> by the seller (<i>venditor</i>). The Roman sale was a consensual contract concluded when the parties by simple consent (<i>nudo consensu</i>) agreed upon the thing to be sold and the price (<i>pretium</i>) to be paid therefor, without further formality. The sale contract itself did not transfer ownership of the thing sold to the buyer. To accomplish that another legal act was necessary (<i>mancipatio, in iure cessio, traditio</i>). The vendor had only to hand over the thing to the buyer to make the latter possess and enjoy it peacefully (<i>ut rem emptori habere liceat</i>).	D. 18, 1, 9, 2; I. 3.23; D. 18.1 ; 18.5 ; 19.1 ; CI. 4.38; 40 ; 44 ; 45	Zulueta: 1946
<i>Emptio perfecta</i>	The perfection of a contract implies that all the conditions of the contract were fulfilled in order to allow the contract to have full vinculating force between the parties, so that the risk for the thing sold is transferred from the seller to the customer	D. 18.1.35.5	Arangio-Ruiz: 1987, 110
<i>Emptor</i>	Buyer		Zulueta: 1947; Arangio-Ruiz: 1985
<i>Epiploos</i>	Supervisor that controlled and accompanies the cargo and the sealed <i>deigmata</i> until the unload of the cereals in the deposits in the capital and the conclusion of the operations (<i>probatio</i>); The <i>epiploos</i> would only be responsible for the quantity loaded in the ship, which is the one that he was forced to survey. In Latin is called <i>vector</i>	P. Ryl. IV, 576; SB 5 7737	Geraci: 2012, 357
<i>Epitum</i>	Olive pastry	Cato, <i>agr.</i> 119; Plaut. Mil. 24	Desbat; Liou & Lequement: 1987, 159

<i>Error in substantia</i>	A variety of examples is presented: vinegar is sold as wine, bronze as gold, lead or some other metal resembling silver as silver. Clearly, we are not dealing with an error <i>in corpore</i> . The parties do not disagree as to the object of their contract of sale, for they both have the same specimen of liquid, the same lump of metal in mind. But the purchaser is seriously disadvantaged by the deal, for the liquid has turned out to be vinegar instead of wine, the metal is not gold, as he had thought, but it is bronze, etc. He has erred as to what the object of the sale really consisted of; his mistake relates to the substance of the thing.	D. 18.1.14	Frier: 1983; Zimmerman: 1998, 237ff.
<i>Exactio</i>	Collection of taxes for the state	D. 46.7.1; D.10.2.3	Maganzani: 2002
<i>Exasciator</i>	Subject that opened the barrels for allowing the pouring of the content in other recipient's property of the <i>arca</i> (maybe <i>dolia</i> or amphorae). The singular <i>exasciator</i> , if not random, meaning that there was only one on duty at the <i>arca vinaria</i> , probably also in charge of the maintenance and control of the barrels, which they were to be watertight and in good condition so as to ensure the conservation some wine.	<i>CIL</i> VI 1785; <i>CTh</i> .11.2.2.	Vera: 2006, 306, 310
<i>Exceptor</i>	A scribe, shorthand writer, in court, in the senate, or the offices of higher officials. Their primary task was to keep the minutes oi meetings or events which took place in the offices mentioned. In the imperial bureaucracy, the number of <i>exceptores</i> increased considerably. They were employed also in the headquarters of military commanders.	<i>CI</i> .12.49	Jones : 1949
<i>Exemplaria</i>	Samples used for the commerce of grain, named <i>deigmata</i> in Greek		Geraci: 2012; Djaoui & Tran: 2014

<i>Exercitor</i>	Shipper, who could be the owner or the ship or not. Takes the liability for the transport of the goods until the destination.		Aubert: 1994
<i>Faenerator</i>	Supplier of capital at interest. Some <i>faenatores</i> were Roman knights and moved at the fringes of the senatorial order, practising <i>faeneratio</i> on a grand political scale, lending money to foreign nations, cities and kings. Others were simple pawnbrokers. Still others were wealthy merchants with cash at hand and a keen eye for business opportunities.	Cic. <i>Off.</i> 1, 42, 150; Cic. Fam. 5, 6, 2; Hor. Epod. 2, 67; Suet. Tib. 48, Cic. Att. 6, 1, 6.	D' Arms : 1980, 81 ; Verboven : 2007, 9-10
<i>Figlinae</i>	Kilns for producing amphorae, each of it had an specific seal.		Graham: 2014; Gianfrotta: 2015
<i>Fiscus</i>	The treasury. It was not property of the emperor; it was only entrusted to, and controlled by, him as a fund destined for public purposes. The emperor had the right, and the as the fiscal revenues only for public welfare. The main revenues of the <i>fiscus</i> were derived from the imperial provinces; some income came from senatorial provinces.	D. 22.1.17.5; D.50.16.17.1	Urogdi : 1965 ; Brunt : 1966 ; Boulvert : 1970 ; 1972; Veyne: 1976; Boulvert : 1982 ; Lo Cascio: 1990; Chic Garcia: 1999
<i>Foenus nauticus or pecunia traiectitia</i>	A loan Given in connection with the transportation of merchandise by vessel. The loan had to be repaid only when the ship arrived safely in port with the cargo. Because of the risk which the loan-giver assumed (shipwreck, piracy) , the rate of interest was unlimited until Justinian fixed it at 12 per cent. Syn. <i>usurae maritimae</i> . The money loaned was called <i>pecunia traiecticia</i> as "money conveyed overseas," since either the money itself or the cargo bought by it was to be transported by boat.	D. 22.2; Cl. 4.33; D. 45.1.122.1; TPSulp. 13; 34	De Martino: 1935; De Martino: 1936; Biscardi: 1974; Von Lutbow: 1975; Von Lutbow: 1976; Rougé: 1980; Purpura, 1987; Biscardi: 1991; Purpura: 1996; Chevreau: 2008; Jakab: 2009; Pontoriero: 2011

<i>Formula</i>	A written document by which in a civil trial authorization was given to a judge (<i>iudex</i>) to condemn-the defendant if certain factual or legal circumstances appeared proved, or to absolve him if this was not the case (<i>si paret . . . condemnato, si non paret, absolvito</i>).	G. 3.222; 4.33	Plessis & Borkowski: 2014
<i>Formula in factum concepta</i>	The distinction is based on the contents of the <i>intentio</i> in the procedural formula. The formula in factum is adapted to the particular circumstances of the case, for instance, when a freedman summons his patron to court, or when a person summoned to court does not appear or give a guaranty. The substantial difference between the two kinds of formula is that in the formula in factum the condemnation of the defendant is connected with a fact from which his liability is derived.	D. 4.9. 3.1	Fercia: 2002; Cannatta: 2008
<i>Formula in ius concepta</i>	The distinction is based on the contents of the <i>intentio</i> in the procedural formula. in the formula in <i>ius</i> the establishment of a specific right of the claimant either over a thing or to a performance why the defendant effects the condemnation of the latter.	G. 3.222; 4.33	Berger: 1953, 478
<i>Formulary procedure</i>	Judicial procedure, which substituted the <i>legis actiones</i> procedure in trials. It allowed foreign people to access to trials and presented a more flexible structure, based in the enactment of formulas to cover the cases.	G. 3.222; 4.33	Plessis & Borkowski: 2014
<i>Fragmenta de Iure Fisci</i>	The <i>fragmenta de iure fiscali</i> consist on two incomplete pages of a 5 th cent. AD Roman law manuscript. Its original author and title are unknown and only two chapter numerals survive. It may have been part of a specialized juristic treatise dealing with the law of the <i>fiscus</i>	<i>FIRA</i> II 627-30	Krüger: 1868 ; Liebs : 1989 ; Corcoran : 2013

<i>Frumentarius</i>	Person in charge of for supplying grain	Cic. <i>De off.</i> 3, 57	Remesal Rodriguez: 1986, 93
<i>Frumentationes</i>	Doles of free corn distributed to the needy or sold them at a low price.		Virloouver: 1995; 2009; Lo Cascio: 2009
<i>Fullo</i>	Dry-cleaners	D. 12.7.2	Bizzarrini: 2006, 123; Flohr: 2013
<i>Fungibles</i>	Things that are determined by their weight, number or measure, and that can be substituted by other of the same category, because they are not individually determined (e.g. grain in bulk)	I. 3.14pr.; D.12.1.2.1	Varvaro: 2008
<i>Garum</i>	Sauce made with blood and fish entrails. The most popular and extended was the one obtained from tuna and mackerel, but also other marine species can be used for its preparation (moray eels mullet bars anchovies sardines shellfish)	D. 33.9.3.1	Desse-Berset & Desse: 2000, 74
<i>Genus</i>	A kind, sort, type. It refers to a category of things that can be grouped because they have similar features. The most important use is in the field of things: genus as opposed to species. The latter word refers to a specific, individual object. In obligatory relations the distinction genus-species becomes important when the thing due perished. ; in the case of genus the extinction of the obligation does not enter into consideration since things in genre can be replaced by others of the same quality and quantity unless they were specified by exact indications (for example, wine of that concrete estate)	D.12.1.2.3	Talamanca: 1977;
<i>Gnomon of the Idios logos</i>	The Gnomon of the <i>idios logos</i> was a handbook or code of regulations that consisted of a list of legal rulings relevant to the affairs of the institution of the “Private” or “Special Account” (<i>idios logos</i>) in the Roman province of Egypt.	Strabo 17.1.12; P.Oxy. 1188; BGU V 1210; P.Oxy. 3014	Riccobono: 1950; Speidel: 2013

<i>Gubernator navis</i>	Helmsman	D. 14.1.1.1-2	Du Plessis: 2012; Fiori: 2010
<i>Horrearius</i>	The word could describe different situations, being on the one hand, the owner of a warehouse who leases it, or the subject who sublets a warehouse that he is letting on his side (<i>CIL</i> VI , 33747). In these circumstances, if the word horrearius is used, in the legal and regulatory sources, to designate the contractor-manager, it is, according to her, to avoid any confusion with the (sub) tenants, who are there for their part qualified as conductores. We probably want to emphasize that it is him par excellence the man of horrea, the one who occupies the central position in the management of horrea, between the owner-locator and tenants-conductores. France thought that horrearii were not present outside Rome, whereas the other agents appear almost exclusively in the provincial context. But the possibility of this distinction disappeared when he became aware of the existence of Andriakè and Saragossi oriarioi	TPSulp. 45-46; Horrearii belonging to private proprietors in Rome: <i>CIL</i> VI, 235; <i>CIL</i> VI, 36786; <i>CIL</i> VI, 9461, 9462, 9462a, 9463, and 9464 to 9469; [Andriakè] <i>CIG</i> III. 4331	Alzon: 1964; Wörrle: 1975, 68 n. 77 ; Beltran Lloris: 1982, 56; France: 2008, 488; 506
<i>Horrea fiscalia</i>	State storehouses	<i>CTh.</i> 12.6.16	Peña: 1998, 159; Bowman; Wilson: 2013, 205
<i>Horreorum librarii</i>	Person who carries on the accountancy of the stock		France: 2008, 505; Rickman: 273-274
<i>Immunitas</i>	Exemption of payment of taxes (can be also called <i>vacatio</i>)	<i>CTh.</i> 13.5.5pr.; D. 50.6; <i>CI.</i> 10. 25	Arnaud: 2015

<p><i>Indictio</i></p>	<p>An imperial enactment ordaining an extraordinary requisition of corn from the owners of provincial land. From the beginning of the 4th cent AD on, the indictio became a regular annual impost. The revision of the land taxes was carried out every fifteen years (= three censuses). These fifteen-year dating, the years 1)Being indicated 1)y the number of the indiction and 1)y one to fifteen according to their sequence in the given indiction. The first indictio cycle started in A.D. 297 and the beginning of an indictio was on September 1st.- Indictio (indicere) was the term for the imposition of public charges.</p>	<p><i>CI.</i> 10.17; <i>CI.</i>10.43; D. 7.1.27.3; D.19.1.13.6; D. 26.7.32.6; D.33.2.28; D.50.4.14.2; D.50.5.8.3</p>	<p>Berguer: 1953, 499 ; Remeseal: 1986, 96-7</p>
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<p><i>Institor</i></p>	<p>The <i>institor</i> is the One we put on charge of a in a shop (<i>taberna</i>) or a place with intent to proceed to purchases and sales, and one who was officer in charge of the same activities without attachment has a precise place. The term <i>institor</i> designates a person with reference to his/her legal situation, not to his/her profession. It represents one type, among others, of indirect agent. An <i>institor</i> can perform free of charge, or can be hired by the principal. This two features make it more different than other business contractors (<i>mancipes, conductores, redemptores</i>). The <i>institor</i> is never represented as an agent, but as a seemingly independent businessman</p>	<p>G. 4.71 ; D. 14.3.5; D.14.3.18; 14.3.3; <i>CIL</i> VI 10007= <i>ILS</i> 7608; <i>CIL</i> IX 3027=<i>ILS</i> 7546; <i>CIL</i> XI 1621=<i>ILS</i> 7607; <i>CIL</i> III, 13523; <i>CIL</i> III, 14206 n.21= <i>ILS</i> 7479= <i>AE</i> 1898, n.148; D. 14.3.4; Val.Max. 2.7.1; Hor., Carm. 3.6.29-32; Ov., Ars Am. 1.421-22</p>	<p>Aubert: 1993, 2; Aubert: 1994, 15-6</p>
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<p><i>Iudex</i></p>	<p>Originally a iudex was any magistrate who decided about a controversy by a judgment (qui ius dicit). In the bipartite civil procedure the rendering of a judgment (iudicare) was separated from ius dicere, and the iudex was the private judge. In the classical juristic language iudex was a private individual (judge) appointed as a judge in a specific trial. He was neither a magistrate nor a magistrate's subordinate, and he was bound solely by the instructions given in the formula. In the later empire and in Justinian's language iudex is any imperial official who has any jurisdiction at all, and iudices is a collective term for all administrative functionaries of the empire.</p>	<p>D. 1.15.3.5; G. 4.136;166</p>	<p>Berger: 1952, 518</p>
<p><i>Iussum</i></p>	<p>Generally any act covered by the expression <i>iubere</i>, such as an order or authorization given by a father (or master) to a son under his power (or his slave) to conclude a transaction, to commit a licit or illicit act. All that has been accomplished <i>iussu patris</i> or <i>domini</i> is considered accomplished by themselves and on their own liability. Persons entering a contractual relation with a son or slave who negotiates with the authorization (<i>iussu</i>) of his father or master, have a praetorian action, (<i>iussu</i>) of his father or master, called <i>actio quod iussu</i> ("whatever by order"), which lies directly against the father or master, "because the contract is concluded in a certain measure with the person who gives the authorization</p>	<p>D.15.4.1 pr; D.14, 3, 11, 2-3</p>	<p>Berger: 1953, 534-5</p>
<p><i>Ius Coeundi</i></p>	<p>Privileges granted to certain <i>collegia</i> or associations to assemble and also grant of certain privileges. Agreed by the emperor on behalf of certain organizations that he wanted to help and impulse their activity</p>	<p>D. 3.4.1pr-2; D. 4.9.1.1; D. 50.6.6.12</p>	<p>Liu: 2009, 104</p>

<i>Jurist</i>	Individuals who know the law and use to give advice to individuals and even to lawyers in different kinds of cases. They build some fertile principles that were useful for different situations, but they applied them to different situations. Sometimes we know their names through quotations of later jurists that have their works compiled in the Digest, sometimes by their sources compiled in Justinian's code.		Gordley: 2013; Frier: 1985; Watson: 2008; Du Plessis: 2016
<i>Kalendaria</i>	Credit union to which both Ship owners and farmers resorted to finance their agricultural and commercial activities through loans bearing an interest (typically 1% per month) maturing coincided with the <i>kalendas</i> of the month.	D. 32.64; D.15.1.58; D.32.34.1; D.36.7.39.14; D.33.7.27.3; D.12.1.41; <i>CI</i> 4.31.3; Sen. <i>Ep.</i> 87.7; 14.18 / Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 2. 69-70 / Sen. <i>De benef.</i> 1.2.3; 7.10.3; <i>CIL</i> V 7468	Sez Fernandez & Lomas: 1981
<i>Laccatum</i>	This sauce it is not quoted by any ancient nor medieval literary source. The scholarship that encourages the interpretation of this denomination as a fish sauce is based on the shape of the amphorae. H. Dressel specifies that <i>laccatum</i> is a derivate of <i>lacca</i> , the alkanet whose red roots were used to dye liquors. Thus, the <i>laccatum</i> could be a fish sauce flavoured with a grass called <i>lacca</i> . Recently, Djaoui has argued that probably it can refer to <i>lacertus</i> , so small fish similar to mackerel		Zevi: 1966, 243; Liou & Marichal: 1978, 139; Etienne & Mayet: 2002, 52-53; Callender: 1965; Marichal : 1975, 535-6; Djaoui: 2016, 117ff.
<i>Lenuncularius</i>	One who sails in a small vessel	<i>CIL</i> XIV 5320; Inscr. Orell. 3248; 4054; 4104; <i>CIL</i> XIV 352	Meiggs: 1974, 297; Aldrete & Mattingly: 1999, 181
<i>Lex</i>	An agreement which binds one legal subject to the will of another		Mayer Maly: 1956, 107 ; Du Plessis : 2006
<i>Lex Collegii</i>	Statute of an association (<i>collegia</i>)	<i>AE</i> 1977 171	Tran: 2006

<i>Lex contractus</i>	Commonly used term to describe the agreement in private law		Du Plessis, 2006, 81
<i>Lex data</i>	A charter decreed by the Roman people, the senate, or later, by the emperor		Marrone: 2006
<i>Lex Irnitana</i>	The <i>lex Irnitana</i> is a collection of six bronze tablets containing fragments of Roman municipal laws found in 1981 near El Saucejo, Spain. Together with the <i>Lex Salpensana</i> and the <i>Lex Malacitana</i> they provide the most complete version of the <i>lex Flavia municipalis</i> , Flavian municipal law. The most interesting thing about these tablets is that through their text it is possible to appreciate the jurisdiction of the municipal magistrates.		Torrent: 2008; Metzger: 2013
<i>Lex locationis</i>	Contract on which the functions of the agent performing the <i>locatio conductio</i> are specified	D. 19.2.1-2	Du Plessis: 2012; Fiori: 2010
<i>Lex praepositionis</i>	Assignment of a business manager by the master, made by a bill or charter	P. Oxy, II 261; P. Oxy, I 94; P. III 501; BGU I 300; P.Mert I 18; P.Oxy. I 94	Aubert: 1994, 10-11
<i>Lex Romana Visigothorum</i>	By order of Alaric II, king of the Visigoths, a compilation of Roman Law was made for the use of Roman citizens in the Visigothic state. The sources excerpted in the collection are the three Codes, Gregorianus, Hermogenianus and Theodosianus, the post-Theodosian Novels, Gaius Institutes and Pauli Sententiae. The excerpts from the Sententiae and the Theodosian Code are provided with paraphrastic and explanatory notes, interpretationes, of unknown origin, but important for they often contain additional details.		Savigny: 1839; Escudero: 1985; D' Ors: 1956

<i>Lex venditionis</i>	The conditions of sale in the case of sell of goods of an insolvent debtor. Generally <i>lex venditionis</i> indicates a specific clause in a sale which differs from the normal provisions of such a <i>contractus</i>		Zulueta: 1945; Zimmerman: 1996
<i>Libra</i>	Roman pound or scale to weight		Corti: 2001
<i>Liquamen flos</i>	Preparation of the fish for sauce		Martin-Kilcher: 1990; Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000
<i>Locatio conductio</i>	The specialization of the term <i>locatio</i> in a legal sense is related to the factual fact of the delivery of a thing to a person and the corresponding acceptance by the consignee. It carries the obligation of returning it after a certain time in the same identity or transformed according to the will of the parties, irrespective of the purpose pursued by the parties and of the inalienable remuneration. Contract of letting and hiring. It is bilateral, so it needs a locator and a conductor to be performed. That is why the Romans used both terms <i>lex locationis</i> and <i>lex conductionis</i> to refer to this contract. The use of two terms does not mean that the contract has two separate accounts, but it is employed to emphasize the bilateral nature of the contract	(<i>lex conductionis</i>) D.19.2.15.1; 19.2.25.3; 19.2.55.2; 50.8.3.2; <i>CI</i> 4.65.6; (<i>lex locationis</i>) D.17.2.77; 19.2.9.3; 19.2.61pr.	Du Plessis : 2006, 81
<i>Locupletes</i>	The rich, the wealthy, chiefly in landed property. Originally, the term was applied only to landowners, even of small parcels. After it embraced all kinds of riches (slaves, cattle, movables, money). The Digest uses that term to refer to the wealthy businessmen investing money in ships for annona supply	D. 50.6.6.8	
<i>Lumpa</i>	Fish sauce preparation		Martin-Kilcher: 1990; Liou & Rodriguez Almeida: 2000

<i>Lymphatum</i>	Fish sauce made with Lumpa or lympha, also called hydriogarum, due to the employment of water to produce it and deduct the strong flavour	Apic. <i>De re coquinaria</i> , I, 18	Liou & Marichal, 1978: 145 and 179; etienne, Mayet: 2002, 52; Liou: 1993, 140 and 143
<i>Macellum</i>	<i>Macellum</i> was an ancient Roman indoor market building that sold mostly provisions (especially fruits and vegetables)	<i>Vid.</i> Macellum magnum (Rome); pompeii and Pozzuoli	Holleran: 2012
<i>Magister navis</i>	Shipmaster. Person employed on board a vessel by the owner of cargo carried on the ship	<i>CIL</i> XI 5183	Fiori: 2011; Du Plessis: 2012
<i>Manceps</i>	One who at a public auction, conducted by a magistrate, through the highest bid obtained the right to collect taxes (a tax farmer) or custom duties,		Berger: 1953, 573
<i>Mandata</i>	Judicial and administrative rules or general instructions issued by the emperors to high functionaries of the empire, primarily to provincial governors to be applied by them in the exercise of their official functions. They were binding only in the province for which they were issued. We can find several of them on the late Codes as the <i>Codex Theodosianus</i> or the <i>Codex Iustinianus</i>	D. 1.4.1.pr.; G. 1.5 <i>Cth.</i> 7.1.13 = <i>CI.</i> 12.35.12	Millar: 1967; 1977; Honoré: 1994; Coriat: 1997
<i>Mansiones</i>	Tax offices located along the roads		Bowman & Wilson: 2013, 205
<i>Mensor</i>	Subject that play a key role measuring once the merchandize arrives to the port for storage, and again when it was transported to ther destination (f.r. from Ostia to Rome)		Cebeillac-Gervasoni: 1994
<i>Mercator</i>	Carries out his business in a minor scale than the negotiator, and sometimes resales the imported product	D. 14. 2.2.2; 14.2.4.1; <i>CIL</i> VI 1935; <i>CIL</i> IX 17 10; <i>CIL</i> XIV 4142	Tchernia: 1980, 157; Rico: 2003; Liou: 1977; Le Roux: 1986, 260, n.83; Etienne & Mayet : 1998, 163

<i>Misthoprasia</i>	This contract involves the lease-sale of ship. It involved a lease of a ship for a period of forty years, what finally could involve the acquisition of the ship	BGU IV 1157	Purpura: 1988; Rathbone: 2007
<i>Modius</i>	Artefact used to measure solid goods such as grain		Corti: 2001
<i>Munera</i>	Tasks meaning to serve the utilitas publica	Nov. Theod. 3.6; D. 27.1, 17.2; D. 49.10.1	Trisciuglio: 1998
<i>Munus naviculariorum</i>	A service, office, post, employment, function, duty:		Sirks: 1993; Broekaert, 2009
<i>Muria</i>	Brine on which many kinds of food are preserved: herbs, vegetables and fish; it is kind of considered as a sauce. Sometimes inscribed with the adjective "flos", indicating that the sauce is of excellent quality	Plin. <i>NH.</i> XXXI, 94	Desse-Berset & Desse: 2000, 75
<i>Mutuum</i>	Loan for consumption. A loan is concluded re, i.e., when its object (a sum of money, an amount of fungibles) was handed over to the debtor. The latter is obligated to return in due time the sum of money or the same quantity of fungibles of the same quality as was lent to him.	D. 12.1	Sirks: 2007
<i>Nauklerós</i>	Shipmaster (Greek)		Velissaropoulos: 1980
<i>ναυλοτική (naulotiké)</i>	Variety of maritime contracts, not only concerning the contract of transport	TPSulp. 13	Purpura: 1981, 453
<i>Nave codicaria</i>	Highly specialized vessels used to transport goods from Ostia and Portus up to the Tiber to Rome. They were hauled upriver by men trudging along towpaths running alongside the Tiber		Meiggs: 1973, 293-4; Richman: 1980, 19

<p><i>Navicularius</i></p>	<p>As documented in literary and legal texts as well as in inscriptions from the end of the Roman Republic to Late Antiquity, the <i>navicularii</i> undertook the transporting goods by sea on ships which were either rented or owned.</p>	<p><i>CIL</i> II 242 ; <i>CIL</i> XIV 279; D. 50.4.5; <i>CIL</i> XIV 4549, 14 = <i>AE</i> 1913, 203; <i>CIL</i> XIV 4549,17; <i>CIL</i> XIV 4549,18; <i>CIL</i> XIV 4549,19: <i>CIL</i> XIV 4549, 21; <i>CIL</i> XIV 4549,32-33 = <i>AE</i> 1917, 18, 109; <i>CIL</i> XIV 4549,34-36</p>	<p>Aubert: 1999; Virlovet: 2004; Broekaert: 2012</p>
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<i>Negotiator</i>	Merchant of the product (and generally owner of the fund)	CIL VI 1625b; Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 3. 42; 14.33; Martial. <i>ep.</i> 11. 66	Verboven, K. 2007 Le Roux, 1986, 260, n.83; Etienne & Mayet, 1998, 163
<i>Obligatio (Greek)</i>	Greek law was not familiar with the abstract concept of obligation. It is even questionable whether the expectations of the parties to a contract would have entailed an idea of being “bound” to future performance at all. The way of enforcing the fulfilling of a performant previously agreed was through a claim, meaning that they follow the path of tort law.		Pringsheim: 1950, 157; Biscardi: 1982; Sanchez-Moreno and Kramer: 2017
<i>Obligatio (Roman)</i>	The obligation is a legal tie that binds the parties of a contract or delict a performance according to the law. When we examine the idea of an obligation, it is possible to distinguish between the debtor’s duty and the debtor’s potential liability. The concept of “duty” expresses that someone (the debtor) owes something to another (the creditor). The concept of “liability” adds that the debtor can be held responsible if he breaches such a legal duty: the creditor can seek the assistance of the courts if he does not receive what was owed to him.	I. 3.13pr	Zimmerman: 1998, 237fff; Dedek & Schiemeier: 2012
<i>Officina</i>	Workshop		Aubert: 1999
<i>Officinator</i>	Manager of a workshop	CIL XI 9; 285; CIL XV 705	Aubert: 1993, 2
<i>Olearius</i>	Oil merchant		Pancieria: 1980
<i>Oliva dextra</i>	Ripped olives	CIL IV 10294, 10295a & b, 10296b, 10757 et 10758	Bonifay <i>et al.</i> 2015
<i>Oliva picena</i>	Piceno olives are produced in a large hilly area in eastern Italy, about 240 kilometers northeast of Rome	AE 2006, 00940; AE 2005, 01057	

<i>Olivae uirides</i>	Green olives	<i>CIL</i> IV 6214, 9353, 9366, 10304, 10306, 10307, 10309a-d	Bonifay <i>et al.</i> 2015
<i>Onera fiscalia</i>	State cargoes		Peña: 1998, 165
<i>Optio</i>	Responsible for food distribution or compensation within the military unit		Fink: 1976, 78; Remesal Rodriguez: 1986, 94
<i>Pactiones</i>	Private agreements/ The agreement ('lacturn) and of two or more persons, concerning the same (in idem). It conferred the faculty of derogating with a wider of lesser capacity the lex.	D. 2.14.1.2	Maganzani, 2002, 88
<i>Palingenesia Iuris civilis</i>	Reconstruction of Roman civil law made by Lenel by matching the different fragments of diverse jurists		Lenel: 1899
<i>Passum</i>	<i>Passum</i> was a raisin wine apparently developed in ancient Carthage and transmitted from there to Italy, where it was popular in the Roman Empire.		Tchernia & Salviat: 2013
<i>Pauli Sententiae</i>	Compilation of fragments attributed to Paul but made in the 3rd and 4th cent AD. They can be found in the <i>Lex Romana visigothorum</i>		Archi: 1956; Levy: 1969; Bianchi Fossati Vanzetti: 1995
<i>Patrimonio</i>	Under the Principate the crown property of the emperor, inherited from his predecessor and left by him to his successor. It gradually assumed larger and larger dimensions through inheritances, purchases, and confiscations and was administered by <i>procuratores patrimonii</i> .		Brunt: 1966; Boulvert: 1982
<i>Pecunia communis / arca communis</i>	This is the common patrimony of a <i>societas</i> or a <i>collegia</i>		Aubert: 1999, 3

<i>Penuaria</i>	Sort of fish sauce		Lagostena Barrios: 2004
<i>Periculum rei venditae</i>	The risk of deterioration or destruction of a thing which was sold and not immediately delivered to the buyer. As a matter of rule such risk was with the buyer from the moment the sale was concluded (<i>emptio perfecta</i>), if the loss was caused by accident. He, therefore, had to pay the sale price for the thing perished or deteriorated before the delivery. Exceptions favor of the buyer were introduced in some cases, in particular if the vendor assumed responsibility in specific events or neglected his duties of custody.		Meylan: 1948, 388ss.; Alonso Perez: 1961, 363ss.; Provera: 1962, 693 y ss.; Maccormack: 1972, 149ss.; Ortega Carrillo de Albornoz: 1974, 285ss.; Harder: 1975, 17ss.; Maccormack: 1979, 129ss.; 1979, 11ss.; Arangio-Ruiz : 1980, 250ss.; Volterra: 1986, 504ss.; Molnar: 1988, 25 y ss.; Yaron : 2004, ; Jakab: 2009, chap. 3
<i>Phalancarius</i>	Specialized departing clans unloading the barrels with the help of poles or rails, used later for other packaging. <i>Saccarii</i> and <i>phalancarii</i> louse vaient fill those same spots with cages and nets	<i>CIL VI 1785</i>	Vera: 2006, 306
<i>Picatum</i>	Resinated wine		Tchernia: 1980
<i>Pignus</i>	Both the thing given as a real security (pledge) to the creditor by the debtor and the pertinent agreement under which the security was given (<i>pignerare</i> , <i>pignori dare</i> , <i>pignus obligare</i>). The agreement was a contract concluded by the delivery of the pledge to the pledgee. <i>Pignus</i> implies the transfer of possession (not ownership) of the thing pledged to the creditor who held it until his claim was fully satisfied	TPSulp. 45; D. 2.8.15.2; D. 13.5.14.1	Berger: 1952, 630; Rascón: 1976
<i>Ponderator</i>	Office (kiln) and person who controls the weight of the oil filling The Dressel 20		Carreras Momfort: 1998, 2; Cooley: 2012, 193
<i>Portorium</i>	Tax paid at ports for the goods imported and exported.	Cic. Ver. 2.74.182; Suet. Jul. 43; D. 19.2.60.8; D. 50.16.17.1	Cagnat: 1882; De Laet: 1949; Nicolet: 1993; Gunther: 2016,
<i>Portorium Circumvectionis</i>	Supposedly, it was the tax paid for goods entering in a port, even if these were brought by one side of the province to the	Cic. Att. 2.1. 6.4	Marek: 2006, 175ff.

	other. However, the meaning is still confusing to some scholars		
<i>Possessio</i>	<p>The factual, physical control of a corporeal thing (<i>possessio or possidere corpore</i>) combined with the possessor's intention to hold it under physical control, normally as the owner (animus possidendi, animus domini). The first element, a material one, gives the possessor the opportunity to exercise his power over the thing, the second is a psychical one, based normally on a legal ground (<i>causa possessionis</i>) by which the thing came under the power of the possessor. Possessio is distinguished from the mere physical holding of a thing (<i>tenere, in possessione esse</i>) on the one hand; on the other, it differs from ownership (<i>proprietas, dominium</i>) since at times one person may be the owner and another the possessor of the same thing. Possessio is qualified as a <i>res facti</i>, a factual situation, although it produces legal effects and is protected by the law inasmuch as public order and social interests and security require that the existing possessory situations be protected against any one and any disturbance. In certain circumstances the possessor is even protected against the owner if he is entitled under the law or an agreement with the owner to have the factual control over the thing.</p>	D.21.2.12.1	Berger: 1956, 636-637
<i>Pozzolana</i>	Sand original from Puteoli, in the coast of Naples, used for many things because its resilience, but in our work applies to a sort of stopper marked with the name of the merchant and laced on the top of a clay stopper from the container		Gianfrotta & Hesnard: 1994
<i>Praedia naviculariorum</i>	Belongings of the <i>navicularii</i> mortgaged by the public service as a warranty in case of fail of the service. It is hereditary		Broekaert: 2009

<i>Praefectus annonae</i>	Official in charge of the annona romana in its whole extent, has control over other praefectus annona as the one located for the provincia of africa		Pavis d' Escurac: 1976
<i>Praepositio</i>	Mechanism by which the dominus was appointing an institor to the head of an enterprise, the principal was expressing his willingness (voluntas) to have his business run by an agent, and consequently to incur full liability for the legal transactions negotiated by him with third contracting parties, as long as these transactions pertained to the operation of the business. Therefore, praepositi never enjoyed the same unlimited power of administration as procurators or servi cum peculio. The appointment determined the extent and limits of the liability of the principal, but it had no bearing on the nature of the legal relationship between principal and agent.	G. 4, 71; D. 14.3.5	Aubert: 1994
<i>Praepositus horreorum</i>	Functionaries in charge of the administration of the state storehouses located at the local collection centers rather than the storehouses located at the ports of embarkation. The texts of the CTh. suggest that the procedure for their election was the same than for the susceptores	CTh. 7.4.1; 12.1.49; 12.6. 5; 12.6.8; 12.6.24	Alzon: 1964; Du Plessis: 2012
<i>Praetor</i>	The praetors were the highest magistrates in the Republic after the consuls and were vested with full imperi and far-reaching authority in military, administrative and judicial matters. But their principal domain was jurisdiction; for their creative activity in the development of the law. They were obliged to reside in Rome and were not allowed to leave the capital for more than ten days. Under the Principate the activity of praetors was almost exclusively jurisdictional.	D. 1.14; CI. 1.39; 12.2	Kelly: 1966; Watson: 1970; Brennan: 2000

<i>Pro forma contract</i>	A pro forma contract is a rough copy or general use document that outlines the terms of an agreement without including specifics in some areas. The use of such a contract can allow a business or organization to let a possible contract partner examine the basic terms of a contract while using a general form that can be altered as needed. <i>Pro forma</i> or model contracts were recurrently used for different issues, such as sales, transport contracts, loans, etc.	P. Muziris (SB XVII); TPSulp. 51	Rathbone: 2000; 2003; Abatino: 2012, 323
<i>Probatio</i>	Proof, evidence, the act of proving. The word probatio points to an approbatory statement, delivered by the magistrate or another public authority, in connection to a document or work presented for examination		Geraci: 2004; Santamato: 2012;
<i>Procurator</i>	One who administers another's affairs under his authorization (<i>mandatu</i>)/ manager, overseer, superintendent, agent, administrator, deputy, keeper	D. 3.3.1pr; Plaut. Ps. 2, 2, 14; Cic. <i>Caecin.</i> 20, 57	Houston: 1980, 157
<i>Procurator annonae</i>	Officer in charge of the control of the annona, management, traffic, supply		Lo Cascio: 1990; Keay: 2010; Sanchez-Moreno: 2015

<i>Procurator metallorum</i>	Each province in the Roman Empire, whether imperial or senatorial, was headed by a governor, who typically handled, inter alia, matters of state and military affairs. Each procurator would, in turn, head his own smaller hierarchy of sub-procurators, who typically oversaw the running of small-scale local operations of a chiefly economic nature. The procurator metallorum, for example, might delegate power to a procurator ferrararium (procurator of the iron mines), a local on-the-ground functionary charged with ensuring the smooth day-to-day running of one particular mine. Among other responsibilities, the procurator of the mines was typically in charge of collecting corporate tax on the proceeds of all mining operations under his jurisdiction and seeing that said revenues were duly deposited with the fiscus, or imperial treasury. It is this particularly important function of the procurator metallorum that we see, not unreasonably, most emphasized in the Vipasca tablets.	Vipasca tablets	Domergue: 1983; Elkington: 2001; Matias Rodriguez: 2004; P. F. Girard & F. Senn: 1977
<i>Procurator pugillationis et ad naves vagas</i>	Subject that kept track of the destinations of ships other than those in the Alexandrian fleet and dispatched imperial communications on them. He had a tabellarius assigned for him.	Sen. Ep. 77.3; D.14.1.12	Boulvert: 1974, 135
<i>Professio</i>	Declaration of value of the merchandise	Inscr. Marin. Frat. Arv. p. 151.	Cottier <i>et al.</i> : 2006
<i>Professionarius</i>	A register of wares, one who fixed the duties on imported goods		Vera: 2006, 308
<i>Proscriptio</i>	To announce publicly (palam) by a poster, easily accessible to the public, containing information which concerned a larger number of people, for instance, the appointment of an institor in a business.	D. 14.3.11.2-3	Aubert: 1994, 9ff; Berguer: 1953, 658

<i>Publicanus</i>	This title belongs to the <i>publicanus</i> . <i>Publicanus</i> are, who collect the public revenues (that is why they have that name), and that vectigal or tax collect: and that all, that work for the fiscus, we correctly call publicanus.	D. 39.4.1.1	
<i>Quadrantal</i>	General capacity unit used for containers such amphorae	Festus, 288 L (<i>lex Silia de ponderibus publicus</i>)	Corti: 2001
<i>Ratihabitio</i>	Ratification, approval. <i>Ratihabitio</i> occurs when a person on whose behalf another had concluded a transaction or accomplished a legally important act (e.g., by appearing for him in court and defending his interests) without authorization, approved of what had been done for him.	D. 21.2.39.1; D.6.1.41.1; D. 13.7.20pr; <i>CI</i> . 2.12.16	Aubert: 1994
<i>Ratio</i>	Imperial institution in charge of the distribution of goods addressed for public supply or for the use of the Roman state	<i>AE</i> 1907; <i>AE</i> 1954	Boulvert: 1982
<i>Rationarii</i>	Contractors, account holders		Pensabene: 2012; Russell: 2013, 46
<i>Ratio marmorum</i>	Imperial institution in charge of the distribution of marble for constructing public buildings. Created under Augustus	<i>CIL</i> VI 8631; 301; 8482; 33790; XI 3199	Peacock & Maxfield: 1997; Fant: 1999, 2008

<i>Receptum nautarum</i>	An agreement by which a shipowner (the keeper of an inn or of a stable) assumed goods for transportation or custody, with the addition of a specific proviso <i>salvum fore</i> (<i>recipere</i>), will be safe. The responsibility of such persons was greater than in a simple <i>locatio conductio</i> . They were not liable for <i>vis maior</i> (shipwreck or a major assault of robbers which could not be resisted) but they had to make good damages or destruction. caused by themselves or their personnel and they were answerable if the goods were stolen. Innkeepers were even responsible for any persons living permanently in their inns. The extended responsibility of those persons was established in the praetorian Edict with the justification that the "dishonesty (<i>improbitas</i>) of this kind of persons" required such measures	D. 4.9.3.1	De Robertis: 1952; Menager: 1960; Thomas: 1960
<i>Receptum res salvam fore</i>	Liability for safekeeping of goods assumed by the sailors, stablekeepers and inkeepers.	D. 4.9.1pr.; D. 4.9.1.4	Aubert: 1994
<i>Redemptor</i>	Tax-farmer, contractor		Berguer: 1953, 668
<i>Relatoriae</i>	Bills of landing that attested the species <i>annonariae</i> entrusted to the various <i>navicularii</i> . It must be showed for controlling every year to the <i>praefectus annonae</i> and the <i>Vicarius</i> of Rome		Sirks: 1991, 146-192; Vera: 2006, 315
<i>Res fungibles</i>	Fungible things are those that can be replaced by others of the same category, taking in quantity, by weight, count or measure such as wine, wheat, money		Cerami & Petrucci: 2004
<i>Rescripta</i>	Written answers given by the emperor to queries of officials (<i>relatio</i> , <i>consultatio</i> , <i>suggestio</i>) or to petitions of private persons (<i>libellus</i> , <i>supplicatio</i>). Several of them can be found inserted on the works of jurists (1), in isolated sources (2) or late compilations as the Iustinian code (3).	D. 14.2.9; Plin. <i>Ep.</i> X, 115; <i>CI.</i> 10.16.9	Millar: 1967; 1977; Honoré: 1994; Coriat: 1997

<i>Saburrarius</i>	Sand carrier / transporter	<i>CIL</i> XIV 102; <i>CIL</i> XIV 448	Lo Cascio: 1990, 244; Pavolini: 1985; Gianfrotta: 2015
<i>Sacomarius</i>	Officer in charge of the weighing of the amounts of sacks on the port	<i>CIL</i> X, 1930; <i>CIL</i> I 1623; D 7739; <i>AE</i> 1993 715; <i>AE</i> 2004, 566	<i>Vid.</i> Painting <i>Isis Geminiana</i>
<i>Sale on delivery</i>	Scholar denomination for a kind of wine sale. It implied that the buyer bought an amount of wine in advance (the documents ae dated around springtime) and the wine would be collected next summer. It implied warranty for the quality of the wine, and sometimes implied that the buyer had to provide their own vessels to collect the wine.	BGU XII 2176, 2207, 2209	Kruit: 1992; Jakab: 1999; Bagnall: 2011; Gallimore: 2012
<i>Sekomata</i>	Tables for measuring		Geraci, 2012, 351ff.
<i>Salsamenta</i>	Whole fish cut in pieces, simply salted or preserved in brine		Desse-Berset & Desse: 2000, 74
<i>Sapa</i>	Grape mash cooked until it takes the consistency of a thick syrup. Also called defrutum or caroenum	Plin, <i>NH.</i> 14. 81; Columela, <i>RR.</i> 12.16.1	Tchernia: 1998; Tchernia & Brun: 1999; Aguilera Martín: 2004
<i>Sarcina</i>	Packages charges in a ship	D. 47.5.1.2	Menager: 1960, 392
<i>Sarcinator</i>	Charger of a ship		Menager: 1960
<i>Scomber japonicus</i>	Spanish mackerel		Desse-Berset & Desse: 2000, 76
<i>Scomber scombrus</i>	Common mackerel		Desse-Berset & Desse : 2000, 76; Djaoui ; Botte & Piques : 2014, 178
<i>Scombridae</i>	Mackerel		Lagostena Barrios: 2004

<i>Sitologo</i>	The sitologos was an official in Greco-Roman Egypt in charge of state granaries, in villages, toparchies, and metropoleis, responsible for the receipt of tax grain in kind, the issuing of receipts to tax-payers, drawing up day-books and regular reports of grain received for Strategoi, Nome officials in charge of the land economy and taxation.	P. Austin inv. 33, 35-39 and 41	Herring: 1989; Adams: 2012
<i>Societas</i>	It's a consensual agreement by which two or more persons agree to give reciprocally goods, money, etc, to manage unitarily and to divide the loss and gains obtained	D. 17.2; CI. 4. 37	Cerami & Petrucci: 2004
<i>Soleidae</i>	Sole, flounder		Djaoui; Botte & Piques: 2014, 178
<i>Solutio</i>	In a broader sense, <i>solutio</i> indicates any kind of liberation of the debtor from his debt. Obligations contracted in a specific form (<i>litteris, verbis</i>) had to be extinguished in a similar form;	D. 46.3; CI. 8.42	Berger: 1952, 710
<i>Species</i>	A kind, individual thing inside a category, despite the fact that it can be applied to different meanings. In the most important one, indicates fungibles, in which one thing can be replaced by another of the same quality since economically they exercise the same function, such as corn, oil, wine, money. In obligatory relations the distinction genus-species becomes important when the thing due perished. In the case of a species the fulfillment of the obligation is impossible and the problem as to who is responsible becomes actual.	D. 12.1.2.3	Talamanca: 1977; Berguer: 1953, 482
<i>Statera</i>	Sort of scale composed by a bar in which the weights hang on one side and balanced with weights in the other		Corti: 2001

<i>Statio</i>	The word <i>statio</i> is one of the vaguest in the Latin language. It applies to any place where one stays. This may be a human settlement, a place to stop and stay-in in a voyage, as well as an office or guard-post. Actually, only three of the loculi at Piazzale delle Corporazioni are explicitly named "statio".	<i>CIL</i> XIV 4549, 14 = AE 1913, 203; <i>CIL</i> XIV 4549, 38-39	Bowman & Wilson: 2013, 205; Arnaud: 2015, 19ff.
<i>Stationarius</i>	<i>Stationarii</i> were station masters stationed at the stations of public transport partially employed to see that the customs laws were not violated. Their duties were not confined to that, however.	<i>CI.</i> 12.22.1; <i>D.</i> 39.4.9.7; <i>D.</i> 39.4.9.8; <i>CI.</i> 4.61.5	France: 2009; 2014
<i>Stipulatio</i>	An oral, solemn contract performed in the form of a question and answer. The object and aims of it needed to be defined and it can be only performed between Roman citizens. Non-Roman citizens could have used a later form of this contract, called <i>sponsio</i> and involving less formality. This contract could be used for everything, since performing a task until establishing a payment.	<i>PS.</i> 5.7.2; <i>D.</i> 44.9	Berger: 1953, 617; Biondi: 1953
<i>Stuppator</i>	Ship caulker		Aldrete, Mattingly, 1999, 183
<i>Summaur</i>	Adjective to qualify fish sauces as excellent, coming from <i>summus</i>	<i>CIL</i> IV 9609; <i>CIL</i> IV 5632-5637	Liou & Marichal: 2000; Lagostena Barrios: 2004
<i>Susceptor</i>	Tax receiver. They carried out the acceptance and handling material and accounting provisions.	<i>CTh.</i> 11.1.6; <i>CTh.</i> 11.1.8; <i>CTh.</i> 7.4.11; 12.6.3; <i>CIL</i> VI 1741	Peña: 1998, 158; Vera: 2006; France & Nelis Clement: 2014, 225
<i>Syngraphon</i>	Documents written by the debtor and the creditor of an obligation, who signed both documents and kept them as receipt. Gaius attested its use by the peregrines, but it kept on being used in Roman transactions in a foreign country as hellenized Egypt.	<i>G.</i> 3.134; <i>P.Lond.</i> II, 256 r l. 10; <i>P. Strasb.</i> IV, 205, ll	Brecht: 1962; Worp: 1976; Meyer-Termeer: 1978; Velissaropoulos: 1980; Purpura: 2002

<i>Tabularius</i>	A keeper of archives, a register, scrivener	Sen. <i>Ep.</i> 88, 9; D.11.1.6	Houston: 1980, 157; Russell: 2013, 51
<i>Tabula contrebiensis</i>	Local law/ Roman law		Richardson: 1983; 2013
<i>Telè</i>	Custom duties		Arnaud, 2015,10
<i>Tesserarius</i>	Bearer of a Tessera that entitled this subject to have access to some goods of the public supply		Virlouvet: 1995; 2009
<i>Token / méreau</i>	The Méreau can be a "good-for," a sign of recognition or a pass that takes the most commonly in the form of a metal token		Sciallano: 1987
<i>Traditio</i>	The transfer of ownership over a res nee Mancipi through the handing over of it to the transferee by the owner. A simple delivery of res Mancipi did not transfer ownership, the transferee acquired only the so-called bonitary ownership which could be converted in quiritary ownership (under ius civile) through usucapio. The classical traditio required a fair cause (iusta causa) since, being only a transfer of possession of a thing from one person to another, it had, in order to transfer ownership, to be based on a special legal relationship of an obligatory or another nature between transferor and transferee.	D. 41.1.31pr.	Berger: 1956, 739
<i>Trutina</i>	Balance, pair of scales		Corti: 2001
<i>Universitas</i>	The philosophical division of things (<i>Res</i>) in the widest sense of the term, is into things Corporeal (<i>Res Corporales</i>), objects of sense, and things Incorporeal (<i>Res Incorporeales</i>), objects of intellect only; and this division was applied by the Roman Jurists to things as the objects of Rights. In a thing corporeal we may consider that there are parts, in reference to which the whole is a <i>universitas</i> or a unit	Cic. <i>Top.</i> 5	Aubert: 1999, 5

<i>Utricularii</i>	Among the scholars, there is no agreement on what was the business of the <i>utricularii</i> , since their inscriptions are unexplicit about it. Le Glay (1964, 410-2) thinks that they developed a function helping river sailors; Ursatus (1735) thought they they produced bagpipes; and Hirschfield (1884, 239) thought that they played bagpipes. Other theory is that they produced <i>utri</i> , lead bags to carry liquids inside (Waltzing: 1896, 157). The commonest translation is that they were sailors of boats that lightened larger merchantmen at sea before entering at one river (Djaoui & Marlier: 2014, 117-24); finally, people as Kneissl (1981) or Deman (2002) think that these were muleteers helping river transport.		Ursatus: 1735; Hirschfield: 1884; Waltzing: 1896; Le Glay: 1964; Kneissl: 1981, 169ff. Deman: 2002, 233-46; Marlier; Djaoui: 2013
<i>Vectigal</i>	Vectigal was one branch of the regular revenues of the Roman state, consisting of the duties paid on different situations that imply economic dependence from one subject or population to the Roman state (e.g. circulation; sales, use of the <i>ager publicus</i>). That would be the difference with <i>stipendium</i> , later assumed by the term <i>tributum</i> , which was the tax paid by a provincial population (generally defeated) to the Roman state	D. 24.1.21pr. D. 39. 4.13.1; D. 50.10.5.1; D. 50.16.17.1	De Laet: 1949 France: 2007, 350; 363
<i>Vector</i>	Supervisor that controlled and accompanies the cargo and the selled samples until the unload of the product was located in the deposits in the capital and the conclusion of the operations		Marichal: 1975, 527
<i>Vectura</i>	Goods to be transported or the sum paid (or charged) for their transportation. The term is primarily used with regard to transportation by sea. If the ship was lost, restoration of any freight charges paid in advance could be claimed. Vectura not included only the delivering to the place, but also the transport of the supplies to all the area of operations. It started in the Republic	Livy, 37, 5; Livy, 43, 6, 12; Caes. B.Gall, VII, 34; B. civ. I, 60, 3; III, 42, 3	Berger: 1953, 759; Roth: 1999

<i>Vilicus</i>	Person to whom the management of any business was entrusted. Vilicus is a term which represents any kind of business manager working for private individuals, towns, the Roman state or the emperor.	<i>CIL</i> VI 9991	Aubert: 1993, 2
<i>Vis maior</i>	Superior force, an accident which cannot be foreseen or averted because of "human infirmity", like a flood a storm incursion of an enemy, violent attack by robbers or pirates (not a simple theft) which, be repulsed, and the like.-	D. 44.7.1.4; D.4.9.3.1; D.47.9.3.7	Berger: 1959, 769; Gerken: 2005
<i>Voluntas</i>	A wish, a desire, a will, an intention. Voluntas as an element of one's action in the legal field acquires importance in the legal life of a social group and of an individual when it is expressed orally or in writing or is manifested in some other manner in a clear, unambiguous way, either in a unilateral act (e.g. a testament) or in a contract.	D. 34.5.3; Inst. orat. 7.6.1	Berger: 1953, 770-1