JOBS IN ROMAN SPAIN

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A l'économié? L'épitaphe peut-être révèlera un métier ignoré.

(Marc Bloch, Apologie pour l'histoire [Paris 1952] 73)

While the range of occupations attested for residents of the city of Rome has been the subject of several studies, considerably less attention has been focused upon jobs in the provinces. This disparity may be due partly to an understandably greater interest in the imperial capital than in peripheral regions, but also and perhaps chiefly to the fact that the columbaria of Rome provide convenient, "closed" samples of inscriptions from a single city within limited chronological bounds, whereas the epigraphic evidence (which is by far the largest segment of testimony) 2 for provincial jobs, being scattered over vast geographical tracts and extensive periods of time, is far less diagnostic. An analysis of the epitaphs from a single provincial city would in most cases yield only a handful of jobs, while an attempted study of a chronologically restricted sample would be considerably impeded by our inability to date closely the majority of the inscriptions. For better or worse, then, all the inscriptions of a province or region should be studied as a whole, preferably in constant comparison with available literary and iconographic evidence, and the provincial historian may thereby hope to reap a large selection of job titles from his chosen bailiwick.3

The present paper examines the types of jobs attested for the residents of Spain from the advent of the Romans in the late third century B.C. to the Germanic invasions of circa A.D. 260-80. For the period in question our presentation attempts to list all known jobs (excluding military, religious, political, and the higher administrative posts). Parallels have been elicited from later periods and from other provinces, although no claim is made to exhaustiveness in this regard.

A study of this kind is hampered not only by the geographical and chronological factors noted above but also by the drawbacks encountered in any such endeavour: scattered literary references; the fragmentary condition of many inscriptions; inadequate indexes to published inscriptions; obsolete epigraphic corpora; a dearth of epitaphs for poorer classes of workers, e.g. miners; the unclear or ambiguous meaning of certain job titles, especially those which permit an individual to be either a manufacturer or dealer of a certain product; and in some cases, doubt as to whether a certain word is the person's job or part of his name, like the English "Smith." Bearing these limitations in mind, we commence our survey of Spanish jobs.

It is perhaps natural to begin with the most basic and essential occupations, namely, hunting, fishing, and farming. In the 70's B.C. a certain Spanus rescued a doe from hunters (xuv $\eta\gamma$ £tal) and presented it to Sertorius, who adopted it as a mascot (Polyaenus 8.22, Plut. Sert. 11.2). In an inscription from Clunia another hunter boasts of his proficiency in killing boars and stags (II 6338 n = ILER 5758), while at Corduba a venator is described as a lover of groves (lucorum cultor, II 2314 = ILER 5787). Hunters are also portrayed on an Iberian bronze from Emerita, on Iberian pottery, on reliefs from Barcino, Almodóvar del Río, and Lara de los Infantes, and in fourth-century mosaics from the vicinities of Emerita, Conimbriga, Tarraco, and Tudela. The Spanish poet Martial (1.49) mentions the hunting of boars, hares and deer near Tarraco.

Some attestations of hunters are rather questionable. Strabo records rabbit-hunters in Baetica (3.2.6) and mouse-catchers in Cantabria (3.4.18), but these are evidently pest-exterminators rather than true hunters. Silius Italicus (Pun. 16.563) mentions the venator Aconteus who won third prize in the javelin contest in Scipio's games, but this character is otherwise unattested and presumably fictitious (perhaps inspired by Verg. Aen. 11.612-13). Nor can we assume that all the attested hunters were professionals; known amateurs include the Spanish emperors Trajan (Pliny Pan. 81)

and Hadrian (HA Hadr.2.1; 20.12-13; 26.3).

Fishermen (ἀλιεῖς, piscatores) are attested in 210 B.C. at Carthago Nova (Polyb. 10.8.7) and Tarraco (Livy 26.45.7). Coins from Carteia also depict a fisherman. ⁸ Catchers and retailers of fish (piscatores et propolae) formed a local guild at Carthago Nova (II 5929 = ILER 1414/6497); with this we may compare a similar guild at Ostia (XIV 409 = ILS 6146) and perhaps the piscatores et urinatores at Rome (VI 1080, 1872, 29700-02).

A young man named Q. Marius Optatus appears to have been a catcher of both fish and birds at Celti (II 2335 = ILER 5794). While on the subject of birds, we should note the existence of an observer of birds ($avium\ inspex$) at Asturica (II 5078 = ILER 5703) and a possible pigeon-keeper or pigeon-dealer, colo(m)ba(ria?) at Barcino (II 4592 = ILER 5706).

Farmers (agrestes) are first attested at Carthago Nova in 206 B.C. (Livy 28.36.6). Cultivators (γεωργοί) are mentioned by Diodorus (5.34.3) and female ones by Strabo (3.4.17) — the latter so hardy that they allegedly gave birth while working in the fields. A farm-bailiff (τῶν χωρίων ἐπίτροπος) belonging to the Spanish nobleman Vibius Paciaecus fed the future triumvir Crassus while he was hiding in Baetica (Plut. Cras. 4.3). In A.D. 26 a less charitable agrestis from Termes assassinated the provincial governor L. Calpurnius Piso (Tac. Ann. 4.45). Farm-labourers are also depicted in reliefs from southern Lusitania, Corduba, Carthago Nova and Emporiae. 10

It is ironic that, despite the scientific methods of agriculture advocated by the Spanish writer Columella (whose paternal uncle M. Columella was himself a diligentissimus atque illustris agricola of Baetica: Colum. 5.5.15; 7.2.4), primitive procedures and equipment continued in common use. In the early twentieth century, the peasants of New Castille and the Basque country were still to be seen "lazily . . . plowing with their prehistoric crooked sticks."

Spanish shepherds are mentioned by Livy (21.43.8) and Pliny (NH 19.27) and appear in reliefs from Emporiae and San Pedro de Arlanza; there are also *oviarii* (shepherds?) at Tugia (II 3334). Stesichorus (*apud* Strabo 3.2.11) records a cowherd of Gades; another cowherd, Auscus Boutius, is depicted on a stela from Hontoria de la Cantera. 12

A basic and all-too-frequent profession was banditry; many Spaniards took to heart the old proverb that "the lot of a thief is better" (Hyperides Fr. 48). Latrones, praedones, and the like are repeatedly mentioned in the literary sources. ¹³ The Balearic Islands were infested with pirates until

Metellus slaughtered them in 123-22 B.C. (Strabo 3.4.6; Oros. 5.13.1). The rebel Sertorius employed pirates to cut off the Roman supply lines (Sall. Hist. 2.90 [ed. Maurenbrecher]; Plut. Sert. 21.5); cf. Strabo 3.5.1 on the pirates of Dianium. Viriathus was universally denounced in antiquity as a lowly shepherd who became a hunter, then a bandit, then a general. When Augustus offered a substantial bounty for capture of the Spanish bandit Corocottas ("Hyena"), the impudent brigand himself appeared to claim the reward!

Cattle-rustling was also in vogue. Hadrian addressed a rescript to the Baetican Council concerning the respective punishments of *abigei* and ordinary fures, while the commentator Servius characterized the Spaniards as being nearly all *abactores*. ¹⁶ There were also fures (both free and slave) who stole ore in the mining districts. ¹⁷

Bandits were a menace to life and limb as well as to property. An inscription from Oteiza de Solana commemorates a man killed by *latrones* (II 2968). Nor were Spaniards safe from robbers abroad: a man from Carthago Nova was killed by *latrones* near Lugdunum Convenarum, probably in A.D. 194 (XIII 259).

Latrones were still a problem in the Late Roman period, ¹⁸ under the Visigoths, ¹⁹ and indeed into modern times. In the seventeenth century, there were at least a dozen types of thieves in Spain, including capeadores ("capestealers"), grumetes ("ship-boys," who entered houses by climbing ropes) and apostoles ("apostles," so called because they carried as many keys as St. Peter). ²⁰ In the nineteenth century, Spain and Sardinia were the two "classic" countries of bandits. ²¹ The activities of the brigands were eventually curbed by the Guardia Civil, organized in the early 1840's for exactly that purpose; none the less, on the eve of the First World War, Baedeker was still warning travellers of the persistence of bandolerismo. ²²

In terms of mineral wealth Spain has been lauded as "the richest province of the whole Empire," and accordingly we find a large number of persons engaged in mining or in metal industries. Our sources mention gold-miners in Asturia (Lucan 4.298; Florus 2.33.60), copper-miners in Baetica (Strabo 3.2.9; cf. Diod. 5.36.2), and silver-miners (including women) in Lusitania and around Carthago Nova, where 40,000 men were employed. Many of the mine-personnel were slaves, but some were free. A possible specialist-occupation was aquatini, bailers(?) -- "no doubt slaves, whose organization was neither voluntary nor pleasant."

reliefs from Linares. 27 Smelters included casters (flatores argentariorum aerariorum, II 5181.56) and scaurarii et testarii (ibid. 46) who handled scauria "scoria, slag" and testae "slabs" (cf. Pliny NH 33.69).

Among producers and dealers of finished metal products we may cite gold-smiths (aurifices: Cic. Verr. 2.4.25.56, Corduba; RIT 446, Tarraco), ²⁸ coppersmiths (aerarii: II 2238 = ILER 6153, Corduba; AE 1957, 3a = AE 1962, 189 = RIT 441, Tarraco; confectores aeris, II 1179 = ILER 5702, Hispalis; societas aerariorum, AE 1971, 181, Corduba), a possible silversmith, ²⁹ a maker of silver vessels (argentarius vasclarius, II 3749 = ILER 5700, Valentia), a leadsmith or leadmonger (plumbarius, II 6108 = RIT 440, Tarraco), ³⁰ an ironmonger (negotians ferrarius, II 1199 = ILER 5740, Hispalis), ³¹ and a gilder (inaurator, II 6107 = ILER 5719, Tarraco). ³²

There is evidence of large-scale metalware manufacture as well. Sertorius established an arms factory in Spain, and sought out smiths (fabri) to work in it (Livy Fr. 18). Rotundus Drusillianus, a rich dispensator of Tarraconensis, owned a factory producing gigantic silver plate (Pliny NH 33. 145), while Ampliatus and Sempronius Numida were apparently foremen of arms factories at Valentia and Segobriga respectively.

The sources record a variety of other craftsmen and manufacturers. Polybius mentions artisans and tradesmen of Carthago Nova in 210 B.C. (10.8, 16, 17, 20): two thousand of these opifices were made into servi publici by Scipio (Livy 26.47.2; 51.7; 27.17.7). In the second century B.C., τεχνίται from Gades accompanied Eudoxus on his voyage to India (Strabo 2.3.4). Attested specialists include bakers (pistores, II 5975 = ILER 5744, Gandia; HAEp 97 = ILER 6477, Carthago Nova), the cheesemakers (τυροποιοί, Strabo 3.5.4, Gades), colleges of lamp-wick makers (ellychniarii, AE 1972, 272, Corduba) and clock (i.e. sundial or water-clock) makers (horilegium [sc. horologiorum] fabri, II 4316 = ILER 5718, Tarraco), and producers of shoe-nails (clavarius, II 5812 = ILER 5825, Segisamo; qui . . . [clavom cali]garem fixerit venditaveritve, II 5181.32-3, Vipasca). The inscriptions designate only one person as a figulus "potter" AE 1954, 95 = HAEp 361, Citania), but there are hundreds of Spanish potters' marks as well as frequent mention of their workshops (officinae, fabricae, figlinae). 36

Spain was justly famed in antiquity for her textile industries. ³⁷ Strabo mentions flax-workers at Emporiae (3.4.9) and weavers at Salacia (3.2.6). The inscriptions attest a *lanificus* "wool-worker" at Tucci (II 1699 = *ILER* 5782), two linen-weavers or, less likely, linen-sellers (*lintearius*, AE 1965,

79 = ILER 5720, Tucci; lintearia, II 4318a = RIT 9, Tarraco), ³⁸ and a woolcomber (pectenarius, II 5812 = ILER 5825, Segisamo). ³⁹ There are two ordinary dyers (infector, II 5519 = ILER 2670, Obulco; offector, Eph. Epigr. ix p. 93 no. 248, Sacili), ⁴⁰ two dyers (less likely sellers) ⁴¹ of purple cloth (purpurarii, II 2235 = ILER 5745, Corduba), ⁴² several fullers or launderers (fullones, II 5812 = ILER 5825, Segisamo; II 2405 = ILER 658, Caldas de Vizella; also a dedication by fulones in an unpublished inscription from Bracara) ⁴³ as well as fullers' shops (tabernae fulloniae, II 5181.43, Vipasca), and a clothes-dealer (vesti[arius], II 2240, Corduba).

We find a cuirass-maker, or perhaps simply leatherworker, at Aurgi (loricarius, II 3359 = ILER 5606), and several cobblers, who perhaps both manufactured and sold shoes 44 (sutores, II 5812 = ILER 5825, Segisamo; II 5125/5934 = ILER 5750, Carthago Nova; II 5181.32-3, Vipasca; HAEp 5137 bis = ILER 3461, Várzea do Douro; cf. [s?]utor, II 619, Turgalium; collegium sutorum, II 2818 = ILER 870, Uxama), although the number represented is dwarfed by, e.g., the 300 sandal-makers (baxiarii) of Rome (VI 9404 = ILS 7249). Centonarii, ragmen who made patchwork garments and quilts (centones), are collectively cited twice (corpus centonariorum, II 1167 = ILER 1126, Hispalis; colleg. cent., II 4318 = RIT 436, Tarraco); their collegia acted as municipal fire brigades (using centones, presumably dampened, as extinguishers) in the Western provinces, although they were considered illegal and subversive societies in the East. 45

Nero's brethren the artifices (Suet. Nero 49.1) included the sculptors Virinius of Hispalis (II 1251 = ILER 2116), Proserius of Tarraco (ILER 2117 = RIT 467), Nonius, Demetrius, Hyllus, Rop(ios?), Francia, Maison(?), M. Sargeas, and C. Aulius Fidus, all of Emerita (Eph. Epigr. viii p. 364 no. 21; AEA 28 [1955] 6-8; ILER 2118-20) and P. Publicius Fortunatus, marmorarius signarius of Corduba (a public freedman, ILER 5723); the mosaic-workers Belcilesis of Segobriga (artifex a fundamentis, Eph. Epigr. viii p. 436 no. 183 = HAEp 826), Valerius of Igabrum (II 1624 = ILER 6548), Annius Ponus, Seleucus, and Anthus of Emerita (HAEp 2580; II 492 = ILER 2112), Mascellio and Marcianus of Italica (AEA 28 [1955] 12), and Caecilianus and Felix of Gerunda (II 6180 = ILER 2104; ILER 2105); the tomb-painter C. Silvanus of Carmo (II 5416 = ILER 2127); and the bas-relief engraver [Dioph]ane[s?] . . . caelator anaglyptarius, of Corduba (II 2243 = ILER 5699).

There are ample representatives of the construction industry in Spain.

Architecti include C. Iulius Lacer, who built the highest bridge in the

Roman Empire, at Alcántara (II 761 = ILER 5755), and C. Sevius Lupus of Aeminium, who designed the Trajanic lighthouse (the only surviving example from the Roman world) near Brigantium (II 2559/5639 = ILER 250). There is also mention in a late-Latin inscription from Feberga, near Oviedo, of the architecton who built the Church of St. Michael the Archangel (IHC 276). Another architectus appears in the fake inscription II 219* from La Coruña, evidently inspired by II 2559.

Builders or craftsmen of unidentified speciality include a *collegium* fabrum at Barcino (II 4498 = ILER 389) and a corpus fabrum at Tarraco (ILER 4809 = RIT 351). 47 Fabri subidiani (sc. subaediani, II 2211 = ILER 5822, Corduba) were interior builders, 48 while tectores et pictores were interior decorators (plasterers and painters, II 4085 = ILER 2083/6074 = RIT 39, Tarraco). Tignarii "carpenters" are alluded to in an inscription from Miranda (ars tign(ari) orum, II 2924). Stone-workers included sawyers (serrariorum Augustorum, II 1131 = ILER 2099; [se]rrar., II 1132, both from Italica where there was probably an imperial quarry), 49 masons (lapidarii, II 2404 = ILER 780, Sta. Eulalia; II 2772 = ILER 713, Clunia; a possible lapid[arius], II 5952, Ilici; faber lapidarius, AE 1977, 458, Carthago Nova; saxo fab[er?], II 6075 = ILER 5712 = RIT 369, Tarraco) 50 and marble-workers (marmorarii, II 1724 = ILER 2076/6444, Gades; II 133 = ILER 826, Villaviçosa; one Erennius in an unpublished inscription from Italica).51

Commerce played an important role in Spanish economic life, and we should not be mistaken in expecting a record of mercantile activity. The Phoenicians and Greeks had established trading stations and colonies in Spain. Gades was unquestionably the chief commercial centre, and Strabo mentions the large ships outfitted by her merchants ($\dot{\epsilon}\mu\pi$ opot, 2.3.4; 3.4.3; 3.5.3). There can also be little doubt that Roman merchants (mercatores), contractors (redemptores), and financial agents (negotiatores, a term which later comes to designate businessmen in general) were active in Spain from the end of the Second Punic War onward. While specific evidence is lacking, it seems likely that here, as in other provinces, the early merchants of the Roman period would have been largely freedmen of Italian trading houses. 53

Roman mercatores were captured by bandits from Astapa in 206 B.C. (Livy 28.22.3). In 195 B.C. Cato dismissed the redemptores who supplied the army with grain (Livy 34.9.12). Scipio Africanus Minor expelled all traders from the Roman camp before Numantia in 134 B.C. (App. Iber. 85). But persistent businessmen wasted little time in following the advancing frontier. North-west

Spain was conquered with difficulty by Augustus' unsung generals, yet already under Tiberius we find a dedication there by the cives Romani qui negotiantur Bracaraugusta (II 2423). 54 Negotiatores came from afar to establish business in Spain, as witness the corporation of Syrian merchants at Malaca (IG xiv 2540; cf. the corpus negotiantium Malacitanorum at Rome, VI 9677 = ILS 7278). Individual merchants include the negotians Q. Ovilius Venustianus at Tarraco (II 4317 = ILER 5736 = RIT 449); Pompeius Fae... of Auso, who died at Tarraco on business (mercandi causa) in the second century A.D. (II 6110 = ILER 6679a = RIT 381); and, on a lower scale, a peddler of Hispalis who frequented auctions (circulator auctionum, Cic. Ad Fam. 10.32.3). Auctioneers are mentioned in the Vipascan mining regulations (praecones, II 5181.7, 10, 14, 17, 18).

More specialized traders include a pearl merchant (margaritarius, II 496 = ILER 5722, Emerita), 55 an olive-oil dealer (diffusor olearius, II 1481 = ILER 1697, Astigi), and negotiatores salsarii, Spanish merchants selling salt fish (or garum sauce?) in Italy (VI 9677 = ILS 7278; Aelian NA 13.6). 56 At Rome we also find distributors and dealers (diffusores, negotiatores) of oil ex Baetica, but the latter phrase surely refers to the origin of the oil rather than the patria of the merchants. 57 On the other hand, a negotiator ex Hispania citeriore at Ostia (XIV 397) appears to be a genuine Spaniard. 8An inscription from Narbo Martius mentioning a mercator [Cor?]dubensis may corroborate ceramic evidence connecting the Corduban export trade with the Fadii of Narbo. 59 And a pair of Spaniards who died at Burdigala and were commemorated by their freedmen may be plausibly considered as merchants, perhaps of Spanish oil (XIII 162, 621).

Two unusual merchants warrant lengthier comment. "G. Avidius spartarius" of Gades (II 1774 = ILER 5749) appears to be a seller of broom, although the job spartarius is a hapax. (The word is otherwise attested only as an adjective, meaning "of, or belonging to, broom.") Hübner (in CIL) does not think spartarius is a noun here; however, it would be difficult to interpret as an adjective. Kajanto considers it a cognomen, perhaps rightly, but it could equally be an occupation. Spartum was grown in the district of Carthago Nova (Pliny NH 19.26-30; Isid. Etym. 15.1.67, 72) and exported at least as far as Italy (Strabo 3.4.9), though perhaps no farther (Pliny NH 19.30). Since it was made into ships' ropes (Pliny NH 19.29) and perhaps tuna-nets, 61 it would find a natural market in the harbour-town of Gades.

The other merchant, also from Gades, is apparently a pepper-seller

([pi]peraria, II 1743 = ILER 5746). This restoration is probably to be preferred over [pur] peraria, for even the aberrant orthography of Spanish Latin was unlikely to admit "e" for "u", especially when it represented Greek "y" (πορπύο -, cf. modern Spanish purpúr-). Neither purperaria (sic) nor piperaria (as a noun) is attested elsewhere, but prima facie there is no reason why either trade should not be represented at Gades. The technology for extracting purple dye from the porphyrai (Murex shellfish) which inhabited the coastal waters of Baetica (Strabo 3.2.7) was undoubtedly transmitted to Gades at an early date by her founders the Phoenicians, who had in turn acquired it from the Minoans. 62 Purple-trimmed garments were indeed the Spanish national dress in the pre-Roman period (Polyb. 3.114; cf. Diod. 5.33.3), and the wide-bordered tunics which the Phoenicians introduced in the Baleares (Strabo 3.5.1) may have been of this type. But the Phoenicians also introduced pepper to their colonies in the western Mediterranean, 63 of which Gades was reputedly the oldest. In addition to the Mediterranean trade, ships sailed directly from Gades to the Orient by circumnavigating the African continent (Pliny NH 2.169-70; cf. Strabo 2.3.4; 3.5.3), and India was only too willing to barter her spices for Spanish metals. 64 The Gaditanian writer Columella was familiar with both white and black pepper (12.59.4), although he may have encountered them at Rome, where he spent most of his life and which was the chief market for Indian pepper. Piperarius is not otherwise attested as a trade but would be, like purpurarius (or spartarius) a natural secondary meaning for the adjective of the same spelling. The editors of the Oxford Latin Dictionary do not even list the adjective, seemingly unaware that the Latin term for "pepper-mill" is mola piperaria (Ps.-Caper in Keil, Gramm. Lat. vii p. 93).

Closely akin to commerce was the banking profession. Nummularii "money changers" are attested at Saguntum (II 4034 = ILER 5738) and Emerita (II 498 = ILER 5739: freedman?). Galba, governing Tarraconensis in the 60's, lopped off the hands of a dishonest nummularius and nailed them to the counter (Suet. Galba 9.1). Even less popular were the money-lenders (δανεισταί) whom Caesar had to reconcile with their debtors (Plut. Caes. 12). Settling the estate of a Gaditanian money-lender posed problems for Scaevola (Dig. 32.1. 41.6). In the early twentieth century, a visitor to Ronda discovered that the town's only "bank," in the person of the local dry-goods merchant, was an incompetent amateur who had never seen a traveller's cheque before and who could not cash it except in burdensome coppers. 65

Names of Spanish exporters were painted (rather than stamped) on amphorae; the recent recovery of a cargo shipwrecked off Port-Vendres (between Emporiae and Narbo Martius) in the A.D. 40's has contributed significantly to the prosopography of these exporters. 66 Prominent Baetican oil-exporters such as L. Aelius Optatus (second century A.D.) are amply attested among the painted amphora legends in Rome's Monte Testaccio. 67 Yet despite the extensive travels of Spanish amphorae, the Peninusla's fine wares could not compete with the superior Italian and South Gaulish products; not only is Spanish sigillata confined to Spain and its immediate environs, but even within Spain we do not find counterparts of the pottery-dealers (negotiatores cretarii, negotiatores artis cretariae) so often attested in Gaulish inscriptions (XIII 1906, 6366 = ILS 7531, 7587; XIII 2033, 4336, 7588; ILS 4751). 68

The Spanish shipping industry is represented by skiff-men (scaphari qui Romulae negotiantur, II 1168-9 = ILER 1119, 1132; scapharii Romul. consist., II 1183 = ILER 6445/6494; scapharii Hispalenses, II 1180 = ILER 1294; all from Hispalis), boatmen (lyntrari Canamenses, Oducienses, Naevenses, II 1182 = ILER 5721, Hispalis), ⁶⁹ ship-owners (navicularii, II 1180 = ILER 1294, Hispalis; ναύχληρος, SEG xix 640, Lucentum), ⁷⁰ outfitters (στέλλοντες, Strabo 3.5.3; cf. 2.3.4, both Gades), barge-owners (L. Iulius Maelo caudicarius, II 260 = ILER 1584, Olisipo; ⁷¹ an anonymous codicarius from Mirobriga, II 25 = ILER 1518), a (fictitious) skipper (navis Hispaniae magister, Hor. Odes 3.6.31), and sailors (nautici, Avienus, Ora Marit. 220; 357; Strabo 3.3.5; 3.4.6).

A considerable number of Spaniards were educators. Sertorius, we are told (Plut. Sert. 14), established a school at Osca and provided teachers of Greek and Latin for the sons of noble Spaniards. (His school was refounded in the fourteenth century and flourished until the nineteenth.) Under the Empire we find schoolmasters (ludi magistri, II 5181.57, Vipasca) and rhetoricians (Troilus retor Graecus, II 1738 = ILER 5748, Gades; Antonius Iulianus rhetor, docendis publice iuvenibus magister, Gell. NA 19.9.2; PIR² A 844). The elder Seneca was probably not a professional rhetorician but knew many Spanish rhetores, e.g. Porcius Latro, Gavius Silo and Clodius Turrinus (Sen. Controv. 9 praef. 3; 10 praef. 14, 16). Another of his acquaintances, a certain Quintilianus, is possibly the father of the renowned Calagurritan rhetor Quintilian. A later Spanish rhetor, Helpidius, influenced Priscillian (Sulp. Sev. Chron. 2.46; cf. Jerome Ep. 133). Ausonius

mentions the fugitive *rhetor* Dynamius of Burdigala who taught at Ilerda under an assumed name (*Comm. Prof. Burdig.* 23.10), while Ausonius' *rhetor*-uncle Aemilius Magnus Arborius influenced the Spanish law-courts (Auson. *De Parent.* 3.12-14).

Grammarians include Annius Florus ("est mihi professio litterarum": Florus, Verg. Orator an Poeta 3.2), who ran a school at Tarraco; Asclepiades (Strabo 3.4.3); C. Iulius Hyginus (Suet. Gram. 20); an anonymous grammaticus (II 5079 = ILER 5713, Asturica); L. Aelius Caerialis magister artis grammaticae (II 3872 = ILER 5715, Saguntum); Domitius Isquilinus magister grammaticus Grecus (II 2236 = ILER 5717, Corduba); L. Memmius Probus of Clunia, grammaticus Latinus (II 2892 = ILER 5714, Tritium Magallum); Demetrius magister grammaticus (ILER 5716 = RIT 443, Tarraco). Of paedagogi "elementary teachers" there are three inscriptions (one of them recording a possible freedman) as well as representations in art. There are also inscriptions of Licinius Politimus libert(us) et educator and L. Aemilius Hippolytus collibertus et educator, but the precise connotation of educator here is uncertain: did these freedmen simply rear their charges, or actually give them schooling?

The rhetoricians apparently succeeded in producing public speakers. Four known Spanish senators were noted oratores: Iunius Gallio of Corduba (cos. A.D. 55), L. Licinius Sura of Nearer Spain (cos. suff. A.D. 97?, cos. ord. 102, 107), Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator of Barcino (cos. ord. A.D. 116), and Q. Iulius Maximus Nepotianus of Ebora (mid-third century A.D.). 75 agricultural writer Columella was also an insignis orator (Isid. Etym. 17.1.1). Other orators included M. Oppius of Carthago Nova (II 3493), M. Caecilius Novatillianus of Tarraco (II 4113 = ILER 1307), and Maternus of Bilbilis (Mart. 10.37). Accusatores, subscriptores, and defence counsels (qui pro reo dicunt) are mentioned in the Lex Ursonensis (II 5439.iii.4.27 ff.). L. Cornelius Balbus was prosecuted in 56 B.C. by an accusator from Gades (Cic. Balb. 32, 41), possibly a political exile. ⁷⁶ Herennius Senecio, advocatus provinciae Baeticae under Domitian, impeached the provincial governor, Baebius Massa, but was himself prosecuted for maiestas not long afterwards (Pliny Ep. 1.5.3; 3.11.3; 7.19.5; 7.33.4-7; PIR² H 128). Atvocati of the Ilercetani are mentioned on two tabellae defixionum from Emporiae, A.D. 75-78, 77 while another Spanish advocate apparently specialized in defending young people in the canabae (atsertor iuventutis, ILER 4827, Legio VII Gemina). The younger Pliny's friend, Voconius Romanus, was a wealthy lawyer

from Saguntum (PIR^2 L 210). Other beneficiaries of rhetorical art included philosophers (e.g. Moderatus of Gades and the younger Seneca) and presumably sophists, although none is actually attested until the sixth century (ICERV 349.4).

Professional entertainers were not lacking in Roman Spain. We find a chorister (Primigenia synponiaca, II 3565 = ILER 3220, Lucentum), ⁷⁸ some flautists (tibicines, II 5439.i.3.14, 18, 24; 4.1, Urso), and a musicar[ius] (II 2241 = ILER 5735, Corduba), ⁷⁹ whose exact duties are obscure; possibly he was a teacher of music and poetry rather than a composer or conductor. A tibicina is depicted on a relief from Osuna and a female guitarist(?) on a tombstone from Emerita, although these are not necessarily professional musicians. ⁸⁰

Spanish dancers, particularly those from Gades who performed to the music of castanets, were as celebrated in antiquity as flamenco dancers are today (Strabo 2.3.4; Pliny Ep. 1.15.3; Mart. 6.71; 11.16; Juv. 11.162-4; Stat. Silv. 1.6.71; VI 9013).81 Equally famous were the poets of Corduba (Cic. Arch. 26; Sen. Suas. 6.27), although the most accomplished of these, Lucan, was not considered a poet at all by some critics. 82 Other poets included Decianus of Emerita; Martial, Lucius, and Licinianus of Bilbilis; and Canius Rufus of Gades. 83 The Trajanic poet Manilius Vopiscus (Stat. Silv. proem. 1.3) was possibly both the son and father of consuls. 84 The Balbi of Gades were both writers, as were Acilius Lucanus of Corduba, Turranius Gracilis of Mellaria, Cornelius Bocchus of Salacia, the historian Fabius Rusticus of Baetica, and the geographer Pomponius Mela of Tingentera; there was also a playwright, Statorius Victor of Corduba, and a writer of mimes (Aemilius Severianus mimographus) at Tarraco. 85 An actor (histrio) of Gades was imprudently granted the privileges of a knight by L. Cornelius Balbus Minor in 44 B.C. (Cic. Ad Fam. 10.32.2), while one Patricius was perhaps an actor in farces ([e]xodi[ar]ius, II 65 = ILER 5711, Pax Iulia).86 Histriones also performed for Metellus in 74 B.C. (Sall. Hist, 2.70 [Maurenbrecher]). Lastly we may mention Sempronius Rufus, a sorcerer and juggler (φαρμακεὺς καὶ γόης) who held great sway over the Roman Senate in A.D. 214 (Dio 78.17.2; cf. 78.18.4).87

A great many persons worked as administrators, either private or public. Among supervisory staff we encounter a private *curator* (II 1637, Ipolcolbucola), two private *procuratores* (II 3437 = *ILER* 1412, Carthago Nova; II 5463, Ulia), and numerous stewards. 88 There are also secretaries (*commentarienses*, II

4179, 4184, 6085 = ILER 5638-40, Tarraco), a stenographer (notarius, II 3119 = ILER 5737, Segobriga), scribes and copyists (scribae, librarii: Sall. Hist. 3.83 [Maurenbrecher]; II 5439.i.3 passim, ii.3.14 ff., 24, Urso; II 3596 = ILER 6430, Ondara; II 3424 = ILER 1411, Carthago Nova; II 3423 = ILER 6081, Carthago Nova; II 5941 = ILER 1413, Asso [same man]), 89 and a maker of wills (testamentarius, II 1734, Gades). Middle-grade clerks are tabularii, junior ones adiutores. 90 Contractors are designated as conductores (II 5181, referring to lessees of various concessions in the mining town of Vipasca, e.g. conductor balinei "contractor of the baths") or redemptores (II 5439.i. 5.30, 35; ii.l.1, Urso). Collectors of taxes or debts include two exactores (Eph. Epigr. viii p. 523 no. 307; ibid. no. 308 = ILER 1136, both La Coruña) and a coactor (II 2239 = ILER 5707, Corduba). Lastly we have the heralds (praecones, II 5439.i.3.13, 17, 24, 27; 4.1, Urso) and apparitors (viatores, ibid. i.3.13, 23, 26, Urso; HAEP 2680, Corduba).

Turning from administrative to domestic staff we find two hairdressers (ornatrices, II 1740 = ILER 5742, Gades; Eph. Epigr. viii p. 524 no. 311 = ILER 5102, Lucus Augusti), 92 a valet (cubicularius, II 4065 = ILER 3847, Dertosa), a doorman (ostiarius, HAEp 1574, Saguntum), 93 several unspecified types (domestici, II 6165 = ILER 4932, Barcino; AE 1977, 460, Carthago Nova), and numerous wet-nurses (nutrices). 95 Libertine wet-nurses, when not performing operae, would work for a wage; servile ones, when not needed in their owner's household (where they would nurture slave-children as well as the master's) could be lent to relatives or rented out. 96 Until the present century, the ladies of Madrid engaged Asturian wet-nurses, who during periods of unemployment suckled puppies in order to maintain lactation. 97

The arena provided employment (seldom agreeable) for many. Scipio presented a gladiatorum spectaculum at Carthago Nova in 206 B.C. (Livy 28.21.2). Two pairs of gladiators are mentioned in 139 B.C. (Dio 33.21a); another is attested at Gades in 44 B.C. (Cic. Ad Fam. 10.32.3). They appear frequently in inscriptions and art. Specialists include a netter (retiarius, II 499 = ILER 5690a, Emerita; cf. VI 10184), an (h)oplomachus (II 1739 = ILER 5689, Gades), "Thracians" (t[h]races: ILER 5683, 5685-6; AE 1975, 506, all Corduba; cf. XII 3332 = ILS 5087, a Spaniard at Nemausus), an archer (sagittarius, ILER 5685, Corduba, and a trainer, doctor sagittar., AE 1971, 209, provenance unknown), and several murmillones. Managers of gladiatorial troupes (lanistae) occur in II 6278 (Italica). A gatekeeper (ostiarius) buried in the gladiators' graveyard at Corduba (ILER 5688)

presumably worked at the amphitheatre, like his counterpart at Rome (VI 6227 = ILS 5157). At Canania, an energetic keeper of wild animals (presumably for the games) doubled as a gymnasium attendant (possessor leopardorum, denudator gimnasius, II 6328b = ILER 993). Boxers also appear to have been popular (pugiles, II 13 = ILER 449, Balsa; II 4514 = ILER 5838, Barcino; cf. Strabo 3.3.7). Nor would any games be complete without charioteers, both in the amphitheatre (essedarii: ILER 5687, Corduba; AE 1965, 53 = ILER 403, Tarraco) and in the circus. The noted charioteer, C. Appuleius Diocles (fl. A.D. 122-46), was a native of Lusitania.

The occupation most frequently recorded in the inscriptions is medicus "physician." ¹⁰³ Literary references, on the other hand, are comparatively scanty. Strabo (2.3.4) mentions the physicians (ἐατροί) of Gades who participated in Eudoxus' abortive expedition to India in the second century B.C. Augustus' freedman physician Antonius Musa (of uncertain origin) treated him at Tarraco in 25 B.C. and was later rewarded with a statue. ¹⁰⁴ When Hadrian visited that city some years later the medici were again required — to examine a would-be assassin (HA Hadr. 12.5). While there is no medical school known in Roman Spain to compare with that at Massalia (Pliny NH 29.9), Spanish doctors were none the less noted for their medical discoveries (ibid. 20.215; 22.120; 25.18, 84, 85, 101).

Despite the large number of epigraphic attestations, the physician's social status is only occasionally mentioned (servus, II 5389 = ILER 5725, Hispalis; libertinus, II 4313 = ILER 5733, Tarraco). At least one of the physicians is female. 105

Medical specialists 106 include two eye-doctors (medici ocularii, II 1737 = ILER 5726, Gades; II 5055 = ILER 5730, Ipagrum); we also have several stamps used by oculists to label their eye-ointments. 107 The art of labelling remedies in Latin was later lost: Howells found Spanish physicians writing prescriptions in Spanish "because the Spanish apothecaries were so unlearned that they could not read even so little Latin as the shortest prescription contained."

A host of occupations defies classification in any of the foregoing categories. The world's oldest profession is attested at Numantia in 134 B.C., when Scipio evicted an alleged two thousand harlots from his camp (Val. Max. 2.7.1; App. *Iber*. 85). 109 Also expelled were the soothsayers and diviners, who find later counterparts at Urso (II 5439.i.3.14, 17, 18, 25, 38), Gades (Suet. *DJ* 7.2), Tarraco (II 4311 = *ILER* 5704), Clunia (Suet.

Galba 9), Caesarobriga (II 898), in Gallaecia (Sil. Pun. 3.344), Lusitania (Strabo 3.3.6), and the Basque country (HA Alex. Sev. 27.6). Otho's astrologer (mathematicus) Ptolemaeus accompanied him to Lusitania (Tac. Hist. 1.22), while Hadrian's great-uncle was allegedly an astrologer at Italica (HA Hadr. 2.4). There are also two aquilegi "water-diviners", a trade still of use, to archaeologists. 111

There is only one *copo* "innkeeper" (*RIT* 420, Tarraco), although an epitaph from Emerita depicts a *tabernaria* dispensing wine from a keg. 112 While there is no Roman prototype of the Barber of Seville, the Vipascan mining regulations make provision for those who practise the barbering profession (*tonstrinum*, II 5181.25) there, at the same time outlawing itinerant barbers (*circitores*). 113

Of undoubtedly higher social status than the ditchdiggers (Strabo 3.4.17) were the surveyors, one of whom eventually became a Caesarian senator. 114 Perhaps the least enviable of all jobs was that of the slaves who cleaned the public toilets. 115 An unusual guild, unique to Spain, is that of the grooms or equerries (collegium strato [rum] ILER 395 = RIT 43, Tarraco). In north-eastern Spain we find $\delta\rho\nu\tau\delta\mu\alpha\iota$ "wood-cutters". 116

Finally we may cite the cryptic inscription II 3442, from Carthago Nova: "...situlari...s Ser(gia) circumgestator." Neither sitularius (if this is a complete word) nor circumgestator is otherwise attested. The former might be a maker or seller of buckets (situlae). The latter title, meaning "one who carries around," is too vague to permit a precise understanding of its significance. Van Nostrand, perhaps influenced by sitularius, translates circumgestator as "water boy," a job which might indeed find parallels in the young Galician aguadores who peddled water in the streets of nineteenth-century Madrid and Lisbon, 117 and in the boys (and girls) selling water in stone jars to railroad passengers in and around twentieth-century Córdoba. 118 But surely the Latin term for those who carried and sold water was aquatores (the root of the modern Spanish word). 119 Circumgestator, then, might better be taken as a synonym of circumitor (in classical Latin, circitor), a travelling salesman or hawker, who in this instance perhaps sold the very buckets produced by the sitularius.

The principal aim of this paper has been to illustrate the extensive range of jobs, many of them specialized or unusual, attested in the Spanish provinces. A secondary aim has been to emphasize my belief that the study of ancient jobs should be based on the maximum utilization of diverse types

of evidence -- including literary, archaeological, legal, and numismatic -- and not merely the indexes to CIL. Interesting though the Spanish evidence may be, however, it is difficult to assess in isolation. Meaningful results can only be achieved through comparative analysis of the range and nature of jobs in all the western provinces, or for that matter, in the entire Empire. Obviously this will not be possible until other provincial specialists collect and make available the complete evidence, from all sources, in their respective provinces. The present paper is an illustration, if not a model, of what can be done in this regard. It is hoped that other "provincialists" will now be encouraged to follow suit, placing at our disposal the raw materials for an eventual synthesis which will contribute a significant new chapter to Roman socio-economic history. 120

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NOTES

¹ E.g. H.J. Loane, Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome (50 B.C. - 200 A.D.) (Baltimore 1938); M. Maxey, Occupations of the Lower Classes in Roman Society (Ph.D. Diss. Chicago 1938; rpr. New York 1975); S.M. Treggiari, "Domestic Staff at Rome in the Julio-Claudian Period, 27 B.C. to A.D. 68," Social History 6 (1973) 241-55; "Jobs for Women," AJAH 1 (1976) 76-104; "Lower Class Women in the Roman Economy," Florilegium 1 (1979) 65-86; "Urban Labour in Rome: mercenarii and tabernarii," in P.D. Garnsey, ed., Non-Slave Labour in the Greco-Roman World (Cambridge 1980) 48-64.

Inscriptions from CIL are indicated by Roman numerals followed by
Arabic, e.g. II 1337. The following abbreviations should be noted: AEA =
Archivo Español de Arqueología; BRAH = Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia; HAEp = Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica (Madrid 1950-); ICERV = J. Vives,
Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda (Barcelona 1969);
IHC = E. Hübner, Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae (Berlin 1871-1900);
ILER = J. Vives, Inscripciones latinas de la España romana (Barcelona 1971-2);

RIT = G. Alfoldy, Die romischen Inschriften von Tarraco (Berlin 1975).

- ³ As A. Grenier rightly points out (in Tenny Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, III [Baltimore 1937] 382), one should not infer from the mention of a certain job at a particular place and time, that the same profession was practised at all sites or in all periods. None the less, the social historian must make the best of the sometimes meagre evidence at hand.
- ⁴ The survey of Spanish jobs by J.J. Van Nostrand in Frank (at n. 3) 200-03 is now out of date; in any event it omitted most of the literary evidence. The article by S. Crespo Ortiz de Zárate and L. Sagredo San Eustaquio, "Las profesiones en la sociedad de Hispania romana, " Hispania Antiqua 6 (1976) 53-78 deals with only 41 inscriptions, mostly recording educators and physicians.
- ⁵ The last (and only) supplement to CIL II (Spain) was published in 1892 and only recently has L'Année Epigraphique made any determined effort to search the numerous Spanish journals and monographs for new inscriptions.
- ⁶ I. Kajanto, The Latin Cognomina (Helsinki 1965) 16, points out this very problem with regard to Faber "Smith," and cites the Spanish inscription II 2610 as an example.
- 7 Bronze: R. Menéndez Pidal, Historia de España, I,3 (Madrid 1963)
 fig. 98. Pottery: ibid. figs. 195, 211, 574; L. Pericot Cerámica ibérica
 (Barcelona 1977) pls. 270, 276, 412, 417. Barcino: E.S. Bouchier, Spain
 under the Roman Empire (Oxford 1914) 99. Almodóvar: M. Tarradell, Iberian
 Art (New York 1968) pl. 12. Lara: Menéndez Pidal, Historia de España, II
 (Madrid 1962) fig. 272. Mosaics: J.-G. Gorges, Les villas hispano-romaines
 (Paris 1979) 194, 321, 411-12; A. Blanco Freijeiro, Mosaicos romanos de
 Mérida (Madrid 1978) pl. 107; R. Etienne et al., Fouilles de Conimbriga, II:
 Epigraphie et sculpture (Paris 1976) no. 100 a-c (pls. xx-xxi); M.A. Mezquíriz,
 Museo de Navarra (Pamplona 1978) 17. On later hunters cf. Lex Visigothorum
 8.4.23.
- 8 A. Vives, La moneda hispánica (Madrid 1926-8) pls. 128:9, 129:3-4; O. Gil Farrés, La moneda hispánica en la edad antiqua (Madrid 1966) nos. 1626-7, 1818; cf. Strabo 3.2.7; Pliny NH 31.94. A piscator is mentioned in a Latin inscription of A.D. 1000 from Badajoz (IHC 213.8); cf. also Lex Visigothorum 8.4.29.
- 9 Cf. Treggiari, AJAH 1 (1976) 84 n. 31. The avium inspex might be some sort of augur. On bird-catchers (aucipes) cf. Dig. 7.1.9.5; 9.2.29.3; 19.1.11.18; 33.7.12.13, all Ulp.; 8.3.16, Call.; 32.99.1, Paul (= Sent. 3.6.71).

- ¹⁰ A García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal (Madrid 1949) nos. 269-71, 320, 323 (pls. 212-22, 252, 254).
- 11 W.D. Howells, Familiar Spanish Travels (New York and London 1913) 169-70; K.L. Bates, Spanish Highways and Byways (New York 1920) 365-66.
 - ¹² García (at n. 10) nos. 271, 276, 376 (pls. 218-19, 230-31, 271).
- 13 Diod. 5.34.6-7; 33.1.2; Cic. Ad Fam. 10.31.1; Anon. Bell. Hisp. 40; Livy 28.22; 28.32; 34.21; 35.7; Strabo 3.3.5-8; cf. 3.4.5, 15; Plut. Marius 6.1; Sert. 14.1; 18.1; App. Iber. 100; Isid. Etym. 9.2.113; cf. Varro RR 1.16.1-2; Sall. Hist. 2.88, 92, 96 (ed. Maurenbrecher); Vell. Pat. 2.90.4; Herod. 1.10.2; Dig. 3.5.20(21) pr., Paul. On bandits in general cf. R. MacMullen, Enemies of the Roman Order (Cambridge, Mass. 1976) 194-201, 255-68.
- 14 Diod 33.1.1, 5; Livy Per. 52; Strabo 3.4.5; Vell. Pat. 2.1.3; Sen. Epigram 19.11 (in Poetae Latini Minores, vol. 4, ed. Baehrens); Frontin. Strat. 2.5.7; Florus 1.33; Dio 22 fr. 73; Eutrop. 4.16.2; Anon. De Viris Illustribus 71.1; Oros. 5.4.1.
- Dio 56.43.3; cf. D.C. Braund, "Corocottas: Bandit and Hyena,"

 Liverpool Classical Monthly 5, 1 (Jan. 1980) 13 f.
- 16 Coll. (in FIRA² i) 11.7.1-2; Dig. 47.14.1 pr., Ulp.; Serv. Ad Georg. 3.408 (I owe this reference to M.S. Goodfellow).
 - 17 Lex Metallis Dicta (FIRA i no. 104) 27-9; cf. Dig. 48.13.8.1, Ulp.
- ¹⁸ The decree of Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, authorizing inhabitants of provinces to punish robbers publicly, demonstrates the continuing seriousness of the problem: *Cod. Just.* 3.27.2 (A.D. 391). The responsibility for catching thieves had previously rested with the provincial governor: *Dig.* 1.18.13, Ulp.
 - ¹⁹ Braulio, Ep. 24 = PL 80.673; Lex Visigothorum 7.2.13; 8.4.22; 9.1.19.
- M. Defourneaux, Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age, tr. N. Branch (New York and Washington 1970) 220.
 - E.J. Hobsbawm, Bandits (London 1969) 19.
- K. Baedeker, Spain and Portugal: Handbook for Travellers, 4th and last ed. (Leipzig 1913) xxx.
- 23 M.P. Charlesworth, Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire (Cambridge 1924) 157.
 - 24 Strabo 3.2.9-10; Livy 28.3.3; Lex Metallis Dicta, passim.
- Diod. 5.36.4; 5.38.1; Lex Metallis Dicta, 27-42; II 5181 = ILS 6891, lines 49, 55. On the social and working conditions of the miners see A. Blanco Freijeiro and J.M. Luzón Nogué, "Mineros antiguos españoles, "AEA

39 (1966) 77-83.

Pliny NH 33.97 (for the implausible reading Aquitani); cf. Diod.
5.37.3; Van Nostrand (at n. 4) 198.

Menéndez Pidal (at n. 7) II fig. 220; J.M. Blázquez in Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites (Princeton 1976) 800.

L.C. West, Imperial Roman Spain: The Objects of Trade (Oxford 1929) 54 n. 8, followed by Van Nostrand (at n. 4) 200, claims that Gaius, Inst.
3.147 mentions a goldsmith of Corduba. Gaius indeed mentions a hypothetical aurifex, but of no particular nationality. Evidently West confused the Gaius and Cicero references. Inscriptions from Rome mentioning goldsmiths are conveniently collected by Treggiari in Non-Slave Labour (at n. 1) 60 n.
42. A female aurifex is apparently attested in Gallia Narbonensis (AE 1936, 59), but women normally worked only on gold-leaf and gold-thread: Treggiari, Florilegium 1 (1979) 66 f. On ancient goldworking cf. T. Hackens, ed., Etudes d'orfèvrerie antique (Louvain-la-Neuve 1980); and on Iberian goldworking, J. Maluquer de Motes, "Desarrollo de la orfebrería prerromana en la Península Ibérica," Pyrenae 6 (1970) 79-109.

"A. Vergilius argentarius," II 3440 = ILER 5701, Carthago Nova. As J.M. Blázquez observes (in Symposion de ciudades augusteas, I [Zaragoza 1976] 115), the provenance of this job in the silver capital of Spain should make Vergilius a silversmith, rather than a banker (as proposed by A. García y Bellido, "Los mercatores, negotiatores y publicani como vehículos de romanización," Hispania 26 [1966] 497-512, esp. 507). It is true that a silversmith should properly be called faber argentarius, but the inclusion of faber was hardly essential (cf. argentarius vasclarius), and parallels can be cited (DE i 658). Kajanto (at n. 6) 321 calls Argentarius a cognomen here, but in all other Spanish inscriptions (II 1562, 3283, 5493 = ILER 6549, 3705, 3484; HAEP 506 = ILER 6692; HAEP 507; A. Recio Veganzones, Boletín de Estudios Gienenses 22 [1976] 98 no. 36; and probably HAEP 2323 = ILER 997) it is a nomen -- and Vergilius already has one. In practice, the business of silversmiths and bankers may have overlapped (cf. mediaeval goldsmiths).

30 More specifically the *plumbarius* might be a manufacturer of lead pipes: cf. Frank (at n. 3) V, 207; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford 1960) 272.

31 Cf. the negotiatores ferrarii in VI 9664 = ILS 7536, IX 6083 = ILS 7535. Van Nostrand (at n. 4) 201 thinks that "M. Rai. Rufi fer." in II 6247.3 may have been an iron-worker. But a likelier reconstruction is "M.

Rai(us) Rufi f. Er(coles)."

- ³² "A decorator who added touches of gold" (Frank [at n. 3] V, 214). Parallel: VI 3928 = *ILS* 7689. These should not be confused with *brattiarii* inauratores (VI 95 = *ILS* 7281) who worked in gold-leaf. Vives' attempt to restore "inaur(ari)us" in II 6109 = *ILER* 6432 is surely misguided: see *RIT* 448.
- 33 "qui fabricae a[rm(orum?)] et signorum praefuit," II 3771 = ILER 1398; cf. Van Nostrand (at n. 4) 201; M.M. Sadek, "Excavations at Cerro de la Muela, Spain, 1974," EMC 19 (1975) 6-9, esp. 8.
- ³⁴ A bakery excavated on the south side of the forum at Emporiae contained a huge volcanic millstone: E. Ripoll Perelló, Ampurias: Description of the Ruins and Monographic Museum⁴ (Barcelona 1976) 71.
- 35 M.A. Mezquíriz de Catalán, Terra sigillata hispánica (Valencia 1961) 45-50; M. Beltrán Lloris, Las ánforas romanas en España (Zaragoza 1970) 112-96.
- ³⁶ Figlinae teg(u)lariae at Urso were restricted to production of 300 tiles per day (II 5439.ii.2.24-5). Justa and Rufina, potters of Hispalis, were martyred in A.D. 287: J. Bolland, Acta Sanctorum, Iul. iv (Paris 1868) 583-86.
- West (at n. 28) 59-63. On the pre-Roman textile industry (attested by Iberian loom-weights and spindle whorls and the relief from La Albufereta showing a woman spinning flax) cf. A. Arribas, *The Iberians* (London n.d.) 124.
- The latter is the only known female in this profession: Treggiari, Florilegium 1 (1979) 69 f. Cf. West (at n. 28) 61.
- 39 Carminatores were carders, pectinarii combers. Cf. V 2543, 4501, 4505, XI 1031 = ILS 7556c, 7290a, 7557, 7290; AE 1946, 210. On the combing process: J.P. Wild, Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces (Cambridge 1970) 25 f. A.H.M. Jones thinks the carminatores and pectinarii teased woven fabrics rather than raw wool (The Roman Economy [Oxford and Totowa 1974] 360); one wonders what title he would then assign to the real carders and combers.
- 40 ILER reads Infector as a proper name, but the man already has a cognomen; it is accepted as a job by Van Nostrand (at n. 4) 202 and tacitly by Kajanto (at n. 6). Other infectores include V 997 and VI 33861, other offectores IV 864 = ILS 6425 and XIII 7553. On the difference between the two jobs see Paulus, Festi p. 112 M. On dyeing techniques see Wild (at n. 39) 79-82; and on the dyeing industry, Van Nostrand 179. On a possible

dyeing vat at Emporiae cf. Ripoll Perelló (at n. 34) 71; on late Roman dyeworks in the Baleares, Not. Dign. 11.71.

A seller should be mercator purpurarius (AE 1972, 74), negotiator artis purpurariae (III 5824 = ILS 7598), or venditor purpurae (M. Reinhold, History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity [Brussels 1970] 54 and n. 3). This is not to deny that self-employed dyers might sell their products in their tabernae, but they were not primarily merchants.

42 On a possible purpuraria at Gades see below, p. 40. On purpurarii at Rome cf. Loane (at n. 1) 75-77; Treggiari, Florilegium 1 (1979) 71 f., Non-Slave Labour (at n. 1) 54 f. There are at least 9 attested in the rest of Italy but few in the provinces. In the East the purple industry was controlled by the emperor as early as the Julio-Claudian period: AE 1977, 800 (Nero); III 536 = ILS 1575 (Alexander Severus). On the technique of purple production cf. D.S. Reese, "Industrial Exploitation of Murex Shells," Libyan Studies II (1980) 79-93 (including a reference on 86 to material remains of this industry at Carthago Nova).

43 "Fullers not only finished newly worn garments but cleaned soiled ones," Jones (at n. 39) 361. On their role in cleaning and pressing cf.
Gaius, Inst. 3.143, 162, 205. On their liability for garments gnawed by mice or otherwise lost, see Dig. 19.2.13.6, Ulp.; D. Hughes, "D. 12.7.2," Juridical Review, n.s. 21 (1976) 156-63. Fullers could also be domestics, but there is no reason to suspect this in the examples from Spain. The unpublished inscription is referred to briefly in A. do Rosário, ed., in Falam Documentos no. 31-66 (Braga 1973) 3.

44 Such at any rate appears to be the case at Ostia: Meiggs (at n. 30) 271.

45 J.P. Waltzing, Etude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains (Louvain 1895-1900) II, 195; Loane (at n. 1) 73 f.; Frank (at n. 3) V, 204 (q.v. on the nature of centones); G. Alföldy, Noricum (London and Boston 1974) 190 f. Banned: Pliny Ep. 10.33-4; A.H.M. Jones, The Greek City (Oxford 1940) 215.

46 A. García y Bellido, "Nombres de artistas en la España romana," AEA 28 (1955) 3-19.

The latter inscription mentions "[corpo]ris fabrum [V]iatensium," on the meaning of which see J.M. Santero Santurino, Asociaciones populares en Hispania romana (Sevilla 1978) 117.

⁴⁸ Waltzing (at n. 45) I, 283; II, 122, 151.

- 49 West (at n. 28) 67. Waltzing (at n. 45) II, 236 sees these workers as imperial slaves. That serrarii were stone-cutters rather than carpenters is clear from Corp. Gloss. Lat. II, p. 360.62: "λιθοπρίστης serrarius, lapidarius." Stone was trimmed before leaving the quarry: cf. A. Burford, Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society (London 1972) 76. Cf. VI 9888 = ILS 7282, conlegei secto(rum) serrari(or)um.
- Alfoldy (in RIT) reads "saxo fat(um)", but his photographs (pls. cxxviii.2, cxxx.l) seem to allow either "fab" or "fat".
- ⁵¹ A pagus Marmorarius is attested by conpagani Marmorarienses in II 1043.= ILER 5346, Curiga.
- ⁵² Cf. García (at n. 29) 497-98. The *negotiatores* were often representatives of senators, who could not legally participate in trade or banking.
- 53 Cf. Alföldy (at n. 45) 72; A. Mócsy, Pannonia and Upper Moesia (London and Boston 1974) 71. Par contre the merchants of the Visigothic period were largely Jews: P.D. King, Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom (Cambridge 1972) 198; L. García Iglesias, "Profesiones y economía familiar de los judios españoles en la antigüedad," Revista Interacional de Sociología, 13-14 (1975) 165-83.
- 54 On the date of this inscription see G. Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses (Wiesbaden 1969) 67-70. West (at n. 28) 75 is probably right in seeing these as Italians.
- 55 On the use of pearls cf. II 2060, 3386 = ILER 1724, 358. A margaritarius could also be a pearl-setter, according to Treggiari, Non-Slave Labour (at n. 1) 63. But from whom did people obtain the pearls to be set (especially at the inland site of Emerita)? Presumably then the margaritarius sold pearls both singly and made them into jewelry by his own hand. The Romans were fond of both strung and unstrung pearls (Dig. 9.2.27.30, Ulp.).
- 56 Cf. a negotiator salsamentarius at Rome: VI 9676 = ILS 7486. On garum at Naples cf. AE 1905, 191. On possible export of Lusitanian fish sauce to Britain cf. R.P. Wright et al., "Roman Britain in 1973," Eritannia 5 (1974) 397-480, esp. 467 n. 41.
- VI 1625b, 1935, 29722 = ILS 1340 (probably an Italian, as West [at n. 28] 78 reasonably posits), 7489-90; AE 1973, 71; S. Panciera, "Clearii," Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome 36 (1980) 235-50, esp. 242; cf. R. Etienne in D. Colls et al., L'épave Port-Vendres II (Paris 1977) 137, 139.
 - 58 He presumably dealt in oil and wine. On the Spanish wine trade with

Ostia see A. Tchernia and F. Zevi in Recherches sur les amphores romaines (Rome 1972) 35-67; cf. AE 1955, 165.

59 AE 1916, 41 = E. Espérandieu, Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise) (Paris 1929) no. 586; Grenier (at n. 3) 471; R. Thouvenot, Essai sur la province romaine de Bétique (Paris 1940) 270; Meiggs (at n. 30) 289. There seems to be some confusion as to whether the nomen of the mercator is Fadius or Fabius; for a similar confusion cf. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, "Two Tribunes, 57 B.C., "CR 12 (1962) 195-97. Another Narbonese, P. Olitius Faustus, sold his wares between Rome and the Portum (sc. Gaditanum: XV 3976). On Mercator as a cognomen in Spain cf. II 5812 = ILER 5825; ILER 4514 = RIT 488.

- 60 Kajanto (at n. 6) 336.
- B.W. Treumann, "West-Phoenician Presence on the Iberian Peninsula,"

 The Ancient World 1 (1978) 15-32, esp. 22.
- 1bid.; L. Curchin, "Minoans at Chalcis," *Quaderni di storia* 9 (1979) 271-78, esp. 274; D.S. Reese, "Finfish and Shellfish in Mediterranean Archaeology," *Old World Archaeology Newsletter* 5,2 (June 1981) 8-10. *Purpura* and *murex* appear to be synonymous, although Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.13.12, lists them separately.
 - J.I. Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire (Oxford 1969) 82.
- 64 E.H. Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (2nd ed., London and New York 1974) 263-69. Cf. J. Gagé, "Gades, 1'Inde et les navigations atlantiques dans l'antiquité," Revue historique 205 (1951) 189-206.
- 65 H.A. Franck, Four Months Afoot in Spain (Garden City 1911) 53 f.

 Roman women could not be involved in banking, at least in the third century (Dig. 2.13.12, Call.), although there were exceptions earlier: Val. Max.

 8.2.2; cf. S.B. Pomeroy, Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves (New York 1976)

 200. Money-lenders were taxed on their profits (Dig. 50.4.18.23).
 - 66 B. Liou and R. Lequément, in Colls et al. (at n. 57) 49-103.
- E. Thévenot, "Una familia de negociantes en aceite establecida en la Baetica en el siglo II: los Aelii Optati," AEA 25 (1952) 225-31; cf. idem, "Les amphores de provenance espagnole importées dans le département du Cher, "Revue archéologique du Centre 3 (1964) 203-16 esp. 214; Beltrán Lloris (at n. 35) 218-19, no. 8; E. Rodríguez Almeida, "Monte Testaccio: i mercatores dell' olio della Betica," MEFRA 91 (1979) 873-975.
 - 68 On the possible role of these dealers in the distribution of terra

sigillata cf. C.M. Wells, "Manufacture, Distribution and Date," RCRFActa 17-18 (1977) 132-40 at 136-37; idem, "L'implantation des ateliers de céramique sigillée en Gaule," Figlina 2 (1977) 1-11, esp. 6; C. Delplace, "Les potiers dans la société et l'économie de l'Italie et de la Gaule," Ktema 3 (1978) 55-76, esp. 56, 73-75.

69 On these jobs see J. Rougé, Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Mediterranée sous l'Empire Romain (Paris 1966) 192 f.

Scapharii also occur at Rome and Ostia (VI 1872, XIV 409 = ILS 7266, 6146), and lyntrarii at Ostia (ILS 1442; AE 1974, 123 bis).

Navicularii Hispaniarum were granted certain privileges in the fourth century: Cod. Theod. 13.5.4 (A.D. 324); 13.5.8 (336). On corporations of ship-owners in the provinces cf. Dig. 3.4.1 pr., Gaius.

71 On the meaning of codicarius cf. Frank (at n. 3) V, 248. At Rome, caudicarii and piscatores formed a joint guild: AE 1926, 124.

Tac. Ann. 3.43; Fronto, Amic. 1.7. Parallels from Britain: Tac. Agr. 21; Plut. Mor. 410; IG xiv 2548; S. Frere, Britannia (2nd ed., London 1978) 128, 134 n.7. A British educator fathered the Spanish emperor Bonosus (SHA Quad. Tyr. 14,1). On the importance of a Greek education among upper-crust Romans see M.H. Crawford in P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker, eds., Imperialism in the Ancient World (Cambridge 1978) 199 f.; cf. N.K. Petrochilos, Roman Attitudes to the Greeks (Athens 1974) 171-74.

73 II 1482 = ILER 6423, Astigi; II 1981 = ILER 5743, Abdera; G. Fatás and M.A. Martín Bueno, Epigrafía romana de Zaragoza (Zaragoza 1977) no. 60, Celsa. The first of these is "Istoricus 1(ibertus?) paedagogus." Reliefs from Tarraco and Ventipo: García (at n. 10) nos. 258-59 (pls. 194-96).

74 F. Lara Peinado, Epigrafía romana de Lérida (Lérida 1973) no. 103, Aeso; II 4319 = RIT 393, Tarraco. On the double meaning of educator see DE ii 2088. The word appears to indicate a teacher or tutor in Cic. Planc. 81; Tac. Ann. 11.1; 14.3.

Gallio: Quint. 9.2; Jerome Praef. ad. Ies. 8. Sura: Mart. 7.47.1-2; PIR^2 L 253. Salinator: Pliny Ep 6.26.1; cf. I Rodá, "La gens Pedania barcelonesa, "Hispania Antiqua 5 (1975) 223-68, esp. 233-36. Nepotianus: II 354 = ILER 5741, Collippo; PIR^2 I 428. His father was praetor designatus in the early third century (PIR^2 I 424).

E.J. Weinrib, The Spaniards in Rome from Marius to Domitian (Ph.D. Diss. Harvard Univ. 1968) 70.

M. Almagro, Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas (Barcelona 1952) nos. 114, 116 = ILER 5919, 5917.

78 Vives takes Synponiaca as a cognomen. For other symphoniaci see ILS Index xiii ad loc. A non-professional chorister is the choir-leader (princeps cantorum) in the church at Mertola in A.D. 525 (ICERV 93); cf. a societas cantorum in the first-century B.C. Rome: AE 1927, 167.

79 Parallels: VI 4454, 9649 = ILS 5252, 5254.

Menéndez Pidal (at n. 7) I,3 fig. 472a; M. Almagro, Guía de Mérida (Madrid 1979) pl. xxxvi. Cf. tibicinae on Iberian pottery: Menéndez Pidal, fig. 591; Pericot (at n. 7) pls. 199, 277. Also from Spain comes a gold statuette of a flautist, of Greek manufacture, now housed in Madrid: J. Camón Aznar, Las artes y los pueblos de la España primitiva (Madrid 1954) fig. 641.

Martial also refers to a dancing-master (1,41: de Gadibus magister); cf. the statuette of a Gaditanian(?) dancing-girl: M.A. Levi, Roma antica (Torino 1963) 635. Dancing priests (salii) occur regularly in the epigraphy of Saguntum. For Christian dancers (praesules) see IHC 213, 239; ICERV 559. Modern parallels: L. Higgin, Spanish Life in Town and Country (New York and London 1902) 58 f., 113-15.

⁸² Isid. Etym. 8.7.10; cf. Mart. 14.194. On the Corduban poet Sextilius Ena, see Sen. Suas. 6.27; M. Griffin, "The Elder Seneca and Spain," JRS 62 (1972) 1-19, esp. 5, 12 f.

Mart. 1.61; 4.55. Rufus: PIR² C 397. Martial also mentions a self-styled poet called "Gaditanus" (10.102) and the plagiarisms of an anonymous poet from Corduba (12.63). A later generation saw the poet Prudentius (born A.D. 348) from Hispania Tarraconensis.

M. Manilius Vopiscus, cos. suff. A.D. 60; P. Manilius Vopiscus, cos. ord. A.D. 114. See RE s.v. "Manilius" (30-31).

Balbus Maior: Suet. DJ 81; Sid. Apoll. Epist. 9.14.7; HA Max. et Balb. 7.3. Balbus Minor: Cic. Ad Fam. 10.32.5; Macrob. Sat. 3.6.10; Serv. Ad Aen. 4.127. Acilius: Vacca, Vita Lucani. Gracilis: Pliny, NH 3.3; 9.11; 18.75; R. Etienne and G. Fabre, "C. Turranius Rufus de Conimbriga," Conimbriga 11 (1972) 193-203, esp. 196 f. Fabius: PIR² F 62; R. Syme, Tacitus (Oxford 1958) 289-94. Bocchus: ILS 2920-21; II 2479 = ILER 1546; PIR² C 1333. Mela: Mela, Chor. 2.96. Victor: Sen. Suas. 2.18. Severianus: II 4092 = ILER 489; Vives takes Mimographus as a cognomen, but Aemilius already has one.

Hübner reads "[I]xodi[np]ius", implausibly. Other exodiarii occur at Rome (VI 1064, 9797 = ILS 2179, 5173). The scholiast on Juv. 3.175 provides a job description: "exodiarius apud veteres in fine ludorum intrabat, qui ridiculus foret." Actors with masks and lyres are depicted in a mosaic from Emerita: P. MacKendrick, The Iberian Stones Speak (New York 1969) 141. On the infamy attached to the acting profession cf. Dig. 3.2.1.

87 Canon 6 of the Council of Illiberis (circa A.D. 306) punished with excommunication all those who killed by sorcery (per maleficium: PL 84.302; the Laws of the Twelve Tables, 7.14, had prescribed death for the same crime). Visigothic sorcerers received 200 lashes and a scalping, often followed by imprisonment; malefici could also be put to death (Lex Visig. 6.2.4-5; 6.5.16; cf. Cod Theod. 9.16.3-5; Cod. Just. 9.18.5; P.D. Garnsey, Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire [Oxford 1970] 109-11). Priscillian was executed on a trumped-up charge of sorcery, although he condems the practice in his writing.

88 Actores: II 5463, Ulia; 5181.5, 8, Visasca; Eph. Epigr. IX p. 69 no. 176, Perceiana. Vilici: II 1552 = ILER 2827, Ulia; II 1980, Abdera; II 1742 = ILER 6403, Gades. Vilicus et arcarius: II 2214 = ILER 4592, Corduba. Dispensatores: II 2234 = ILER 5710, Corduba; II 3525-7 = ILER 546, 546a, 382, all Murcia; II 6112 = ILER 2495, Tarraco; II 1198 = ILER 5709, Hispalis; II 5164 = ILER 175, Balsa. Aug. dispensator: II 2644-45 = ILER 4505, 5083, Asturica; II 1197 = ILER 1467, Hispalis; Pliny, NH 33.145. Dispensator portus Ilipensis: II 1085 = ILER 6015, Ilipa. In the imperial civil service the dispensator was a comptroller, with the arcarius as his assistant (P.R.C. Weaver, Familia Caesaris [Cambridge 1972] 241).

⁸⁹ In Pannonia, *scribae* were sometimes decurions and even magistrates: Mócsy (at n. 53) 144.

90 Tabularii: II 1480 = ILER 5694, Astigi (servile); II 4183 = ILER 5692, Tarraco. Tabularii provinciae: II 4518 = ILER 5693, Barcino; II 4089, 4184 = ILER 304, 5639, Tarraco; II 486 = ILER 4493, Eph. Epigr. viii p. 366 no. 26, both Emerita. Aug. lib. tabul. prov.: II 4181 = ILER 5697, Tarraco; II 485 = ILER 4947, Emerita; II 3235 = ILER 5695, Mentesa Oretanorum. Aug. lib. tabul. ludi Gallic. et Hisp.: II 4519 = ILER 5691, Barcino. (This official would be concerned with the organization of public spectacles; cf. I. Rodá, El origen de la vida municipal y la prosopografía romana de Barcino [Barcelona 1974] 16, 23.) Ex tabulario: ILER 5696 = F. Arias Vilas et al., Inscriptions romaines de la province de Lugo (Paris 1979) no. 28, Lucus

Augusti. Adiutor principis: II 6111 = ILER 6306, Tarraco. Adiutor tabularii: II 5210 = ILER 970, Villaviçosa (servile). On the status of all these see Weaver (at n. 88) chaps. 17-18.

- 91 In other examples Viator appears to be a *cognomen*: so II 1579 = *ILER* 4131, and probably also *HAEp* 489, 1928 = *ILER* 6218, 930.
 - 92 Note that ornatrices occasionally worked in shops, at least in Rome.
- 93 Cf. the *ostiarius* at the arena of Corduba (below). Another ostiarius appears in a late inscription (A.D. 528): ICERV 489.
- 94 Cf. Domesticus as a cognomen: II 847 = ILER 4665, Capera; II 4305 = ILER 5575, Tarraco. Boy-servants are depicted on a silver cup from northern Spain (García [at n. 10] no. 493 [pl. 345]) pouring water for patrons of a health spa. A late literary source (Claudian, In Eutrop. 2.345-49) records a Spanish slave-cook, Hosius by name, who eventually became magister officiorum under Arcadius.
- Justin-Trogus, Epit. 44.4.8 (pre-Roman); II 545 = ILER 4800, Emerita (libertine); II 3190, Valeria; ILER 6264, Gades (Vives wrongly brackets "nutrix": see M.J. Jiménez Cisneros, Emerita 30 [1962] 301 no. 28); AE 1960, 190 = ILER 4461, Valhelhas (two nurses); ILER 4799 = AE 1966, 197, Barcino (probably libertine); Etienne et al. (at n. 7) no. 41, Conimbriga; Almagro (at n. 77) no. 45 and p. 262, Emporiae; AE 1972, 277, Corduba.
- Treggiari, AJAH 1 (1976) 88; J.A. Straus, "Quelques activités exercées par les esclaves d'après les papyrus de l'Egypte romaine," Historia 26 (1977) 74-88, esp. 80; K.R. Bradley, "Sexual Regulations in Wet-Nursing Contracts from Roman Egypt," Klio 62 (1980) 321-25.
 - 97 Higgin (at n. 81) 27.
- 98 II 5439.i.5.9, Urso; II 6278.30 ff., Italica (some of these are designated as "hired" auctorati; cf. A. Balil, La ley gladiatoria de Itálica [Madrid 1961]); II 2473 = ILER 661/5992, Aquae Flaviae; AE 1976, 351, Castulo; AE 1971, 178, Corduba; 195, San Orente; A. García y Bellido, AEA 33 (1960) 138 no. 11, Corduba; ILER 5689a, Emerita; 5690, Gades; P. Piernavieja Rozitis, "Un gladiator ampuritano: Pardus," Ampurias 33-34 (1971-2) 381-84, Emporiae. On Spanish gladiators in Britain cf. Frere (at n. 72) 230. A gladiator is also portrayed on a fourth-century wall at Baelo: MacKendrick (at n. 86) 211. For some other artistic representations see J.M. Blázquez, "Representaciones de gladiadores en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional," Zephyrus 9 (1958) 79-94.

99 ILER 5681-84, 5686; AE 1971, 179 (a murmillo contrarete); A. Marcos Pous, "Aportación al estudio de las inscripciones funerarias gladiatorias de Córdoba," Corduba 1 (1976) 15-27, all Corduba. Cf. ILS 9343, Gaditanian at Brixia. A murmillo battles a retiarius in a mosaic from Pompaelo; Bouchier (at n. 7) 101. A venator appears in a late fourth-century mosaic from Puigvert d'Agramunt (A. Balil, "Su gli spettacoli di anfiteatro," Mélanges André Piganiol [Paris 1966] 357-68, esp. 364-66). There may also be a painted representation of a venator in the amphitheatre at Tarraco: cf. AE 1965, 18.

An inscription from Ancyra (III 249 = ILS 1396) mentiona a "pro-c(urator) fam(iliarum) glad(iatoriarum) per Gallias Bret(anniam) Hispanias German(ias) et Raetiam." For a parallel cf. AE 1890, 151.

Under the Romans, boxing was more a gladiatorial event than an athletic contest (cf. OCD^2 179). But at(h) letae are mentioned in a Christian inscription of A.D. 1000 from Badajoz: *IHC* 213.

102 Aurigae: II 3181 = ILER 5705, Valeria; II, 4314 = ILER 5764, Tarraco; Iscolasticus regnator famosus, II 5129, Barcino; cf. II 4315 = ILER 5766, Tarraco. Diocles: VI 10048 = ILS 5287; XIV 2884; cf. AE 1967, 127; A. García y Bellido, "El español Diocles," Arbor 32 (1955) 252-62. Names and portrayals of charioteers appear in mosaics: A. Balil, "Mosaicos circenses de Barcelona y Gerona," BRAH 151 (1962) 257-349; cf. AE 1967, 123; idem, Colonia Iulia Augusta Paterna Faventia Barcino (Madrid 1964) figs. 64-65; A. Blanco Freijeiro, "Mosaicos romanos con escenas de circo y anfiteatro en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional," AEA 23 (1950) 127-42; idem, Mosaicos romanos de Italica (I) (Madrid 1978) pl. 76; idem (at n. 7) pls. 78, 104; K.M.D. Dunbabin, "The Victorious Charioteer on Mosaics and Related Monuments," AJA 86 (1982) 65-89, esp. 87 f. and pls. 8-9. The other kind of auriga, i.e. a wagoner, is depicted on a relief of the seventh century (IHC 377).

In addition to those cited in the text: II 21 = AE 1927, 164 = ILER 188, Mirobriga (inscription from Pax Iulia); II 470 = Eph. Epigr. viii p. 363 no. 16 = ILER 417, Emerita (where another medicus is attested in the sixth century: ICERV 288); II 1483 = ILER 5724, Astigi (physician's wife); AE 1971, 181, Corduba; II 2237 = ILER 5729, Corduba (possibly the same man as ILER 5098, Barcino); II 2348 = ILER 5728, Mellaria; II 3118 = ILER 5727, Segobriga; II 3593 = ILER 5731, Dianium; II 3666 = ILER 5732, Ebusus; M. de Figueiredo, Beira Alta 12 (1953) 186, Aritium. The "doctor's hands" (medicae manus) are mentioned in a metrical inscription (II 4314 = ILER 5764, Tarraco)

on which see Treggiari, Florilegium I (1979) 80 f. On Spanish medici see J.L. Cassani, "La medicina romana en España y su enseñanza," Cuadernos de Historia de España 12 (1949) 51-69; J.B. Zaragoza Rubira, Medicina y sociedad en la España romana (Barcelona 1971). On Visigothic physicians cf. King (at n. 53) 203 f. On surgical instruments cf. M. Almagro Basch in Augusta Emerita (Madrid 1976) 133.

104 Suet. DA 59, 81; cf. Dio 53.25.7; 53.30.3.

"Iulia Saturnina medica optima": II 497 = ILER 5734, Emerita. Another possible physician is "Ambata Medica Placidi f." (J.A. Abasolo, Epigrafía romana de la región de Lara de los Infantes [Burgos 1974] no. 81), but the position of "Medica" suggests a cognomen. Women with two cognomina are not rare at Lara. On women doctors at Rome cf. Treggiari, AJAH 1 (1976) 86. Others include V 3461, Verona; VIII 24679, Carthage; IX 5861, Auximum; X 3980, Capua; XII 3343, Nemausus; XIII 4334, Mediomatrici; AE 1972, 83 Anacapri.

We also know of a late Spanish veterinary surgeon (mulomedicus)
named Aemilius, a fragment of whose treatise on horse-diseases survives:
Hippiatrici Berolinensia (in Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum, ed. E. Oder and
C. Hoppe [1924; rpr. Stuttgart 1971] I) 4.14.

107 E.g. ILER 5932, Norba; Almagro (at n. 77) no. 123, Emporiae; T. Mañanes, Durius 2 (1974) 393-96, Cauca. On this trade see V. Nutton, "Roman Oculists," Epigraphica 34 (1972) 16-29. Spanish rock-salt was used to treat certain eye ailments of man and beast (Colum. 6.17.7; Pliny, NH 31.80, 87, 100; Veget. Art. Vet. 4.27); perhaps this remedy was discovered by a Spanish oculist.

108 Howells (at n. 11) 110.

The Lex Visigothorum (3.4.17) similarly expelled prostitutes from the towns, with the additional punishment of 300 lashes; the Council of Illiberis (Canon 12) had them excommunicated. The carnal sins of the Spaniards were deplored by Salvian, De Gubernatione Dei 6.12; cf. Mart. 1.41 and 5.78 on the licentiousness of the Gaditanians.

Diviners and soothsayers were outlawed by Constantine and Constantius (Cod. Theod. 9.16.1-4; Cod. Just. 9.18.5 [A.D. 357]; cf. Amm. Marc. 16.8.2) and by the Lex Visigothorum 6.2.1, while penalties were imposed on clergy who consulted such persons (Conc. Tol. iv, 29 = PL 84.375). Cf. J. Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville et l'astrologie," Revue des études latines 31 (1953) 271-300, esp. 280-82.

- III 2694/5726 = ILER 656, Boñar; ILER 614, Leire. Cf. aquileges: Varro apud Non. 2.8; Pliny, NH 26.30; Pliny, Ep. 10.37.3; Serv. Ad Georg. 1.109; Dig. 50.6.7(6); VI 152 (references courtesy S.M. Treggiari). Diviners helping archaeologists: R. Birley, Vindolanda (London 1977) 65; F. Golden, Time 23 March 1981, 51 (Deir el Balah).
- 112 García (at n. 10) no. 324 (pl. 254). Van Nostrand (at n. 4) 202 cites a caupo Calagurritanus, father of that bishop Vigilantius whom St. Jerome attacks (Contra Vigil. 387). However, the Calagurris in question is not that in Spain but rather Calagurris Convenarum in Narbonensis.
- Details of the barbering profession are described in F.W. Nicolson, "Greek and Roman Barbers," *HSCP* 2 (1891) 41-56; J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (Harmondsworth 1962) 175-83.
- Mensor: Eph. Epigr. ix p. 65 no. 163, Badajoz (for parallels see ILS Index xiii). Agrimensor: II 1598 = ILER 5698, Itucci; a collegium agrimensorum is repeatedly mentioned in the dubious inscription II 128*. The future senator was the metator L. Decidius Saxa (Cic. Phil. 11.12; 14.10) on whose career see R. Syme, Roman Papers (Oxford 1979) 36-41.
- 115 "(de de?)stercora(ndis latrinis)" , AE 1961, 97, Italica; cf. Dig.
 7.1.15; 39.1.5.11; 43.23, all Ulp.
- In the Pyrenees: Anth. Palat. 9.419; cf. Strabo 3.4.11. On a bas-relief from Emporiae: A. García y Bellido, Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine (Leiden 1967) fig. 5.
- 117 Van Nostrand (at n. 4) 102; Th. Gautier, Voyage en Espagne (Paris 1845) 65, 106; Higgin (at n. 81) 26, 292. In an earlier century all the water-carriers were foreigners: Defourneaux (at n. 20) 22. On Roman waterboys cf. above, n. 94.
 - 118 Bates (at n. 11); Howells (at n. 11) 196, 201.
- Aquatores were originally military, it seems, but civilian ones are attested at Aquileia (V 8307-8); perhaps these aquatores sold fresh water to ships using the harbour. The aquatarius depicted in a relief from Ostia (M. Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire [2nd ed., Oxford 1957] pl. xxxii, 2) is patently a water-seller, but in a shop. The commonest type of water-carrier, aquarius, is a domestic servant, not a hawker.
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