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THE FISH SAUCE TRADER L. IUNIUS PUTEOLANUS

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 80 (1990) 72–78

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A vital economic activity in the Greco-Roman world during the later Republican and imperial periods was the production and commerce of garum or fish sauce.¹ Certainly, substantial fortunes could be made in the garum trade. A case in point seems to be that of the Sestii - active in the politics of the late Republic - part of whose wealth evidently derived from the production and commerce of fish sauce, a manufacture which was based in Cosa.² Curtius, furthermore, has demonstrated a connection between the prosperous Pompeian A.Umbricius Scaurus and the commerce and possible production of various fish sauces, including garum.³ The purpose of this paper is to augment the dossier of known or inferable fish sauce merchants in the Greco-Roman world. More generally, I will place the specific activity of the new fish sauce trader, L.Iunius Puteolanus, active in Baetica, within the context of freedman involvement in manufacture and trade during the Principate.

The evidence for L.Iunius Puteolanus comes in the form of an altar found at Suel (Fuengirola, Prov. Málaga).⁴ The inscription on the altar reads:

* Research on this article was facilitated by a Fulbright-Hays grant in Spain (1984-1985). I wish also to acknowledge the help and advice of Dr. M.Ponsich, Dr. P.Rodríguez Oliva and Dr. Armin U.Stylow. Any remaining errors are the fault of the author.

¹ On garum and related fish products, see, in general, R.I.Curtis, *The Production and Commerce of Fish Sauce in the Western Roman Empire. A Social and Economic History* (Diss.: University of Maryland, 1978) (= Curtis 1978). The following are cited throughout in abbreviated form: Atencia, R.-Sola, A. (1978) "Arqueología romana Malagueña," *Jábega* 23: 73-84; Beltrán Lloris, M. (1970) *Las ánforas romanas en España*. Zaragoza; Curtis, R.I. (1984) "A Personalized Floor Mosaic from Pompeii," *AJA* 88: 557-566; D'Arms, J.H. (1981) *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge, Mass.; Dressel, H. (1879) "Di un grande deposito di anfore rinvenuto nel quartiere del Castro Pretorio," *BCAR* 7: 36-112 and 149-196; Edmondson, J.C. (1987) *Two Industries in Roman Lusitania. Mining and Garum Production*. BAR International Series, 362. Oxford; Gorges, J.C. (1979) *Les villas hispano-romaines*. Paris; Mackie, N. (1983) *Local Administration in Roman Spain A.D. 14-212*. BAR International Series, 172. Oxford; McCann et al. (1987) *The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa*. Princeton; Ponsich, M.-Tarradell, M. (1965) *Garum et industries antiques de salaison dans la Méditerranée occidentale*. Paris; Rodríguez Oliva, P. (1981) "Municipium Suelitanum. 1ª parte: Fuentes literarias y Hallazgos Epigráficos y Numismáticos," In: *Arqueología de Andalucía oriental: siete estudios*. Málaga; Idem (1982) *La arqueología de Benalmádena*. Benalmádena.

² McCann et al. (1987) *passim*, esp. 41-42 and 336-341.

³ Curtius (1984) and idem, "The Salted Fish Industry of Pompeii," *Archaeology* 37 no.6 (1984) 58-59 and 73-75.

⁴ CIL II 1944 = ILS 6914.

NEPTVNO · AVGV
 SACRVM
 L · IVNIVS · PVTEOLANVS
 VI · VIR · AVGVSTALIS
 5 IN MVNICIPIO · SVELITANO
 D · D · PRIMVS · ET · PERPETVVS
 OMNIBVS · HONORIBVS · QVOS
 LIBERTINI · GERERE · POTVERVNT
 HONORATVS · EPVLO · DATO · D · S · P · D · D

The text reveals a dedication to Neptune Augustus, offered by the 'sevir Augustalis' L.Iunius Puteolanus. The reference to the 'municipium Suelitanum' (I.5) leaves open the Flavian or later date of the dedication.⁵ The cognomen, Puteolanus, of the dedicant would 'prima facie' seem to link the Augustalis with Puteoli (Pozzuoli) in Campania. The following considerations suggest a Puteolan connection in the production and/or commerce of garum and, specifically, link L.Iunius Puteolanus with that industry.

Firstly, Dressel 12 amphorae from the 'castra praetoria' attest 'G(arum) sc(ombri) f(los) Puteolani'.⁶ We possess, consequently, independent evidence for the participation in the production and/or commerce of garum of an individual connected, in all probability, with Puteoli through manumission.⁷ Of 36 instances of the cognomen Puteolanus catalogued by Kajanto, 18 come from Campania and 13 of the 18, moreover, are attested in Puteoli.⁸ Curtis implicitly catalogues the Puteolanus of the 'castra praetoria' as a Spaniard, unaware of the ramifications of the cognomen.⁹ Puteolanus may very well, in reality, be a Spaniard, though Puteolan epigraphy records numerous Iunii and a L.Iunius;¹⁰ at a minimum, the cognomen signifies a link with Puteoli. McCann too quickly takes what is evidently a toponymically derived cognomen on the amphorae in Rome as a toponym and thereby

⁵ Mackie (1983) 76 n.36 attaches a temporal meaning to primus in Puteolanus' title and, accordingly, suggests the Flavian or later date of the altar. But, cf. J.H.Oliver, "Gerusiae and Augustales," *Historia* 7 (1958) 490-491, who suggests, against Premerstein, that a 'sevir Augustalis' 'adlectus inter primos' means one "singled out to bear an expense" and not "appointed to the chronologically first board of seviri." But cf. also the example of Baelo (Bolonja, Prov. Cádiz), an important center of garum production, which achieved municipal status in the Julio-Claudian period: R.Wiegels, *Die Tribusinschriften des Römischen Hispanien* (Berlin, 1985), 20-21. The date of Suel's municipalization and, consequently, of the altar, remains an open question.

⁶ CIL XIV 4687-4688 and Dressel (1879) 103 no.83.

⁷ The cognomen Puteolanus indicates a Puteolan connection: so, implicitly, D'Arms (1981) 132, on A.Manlius .I.Putiolanus (sic) in Ostia (CIL XIV 1305). Curtis (1978) 277 identifies Puteolanus in Rome as an independent shipper, though admitting the possibility that some of the names in the 'tituli picti' signify producers (277 n.62).

⁸ I.Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki, 1965) 191 and CIL X ad loc.

⁹ Curtis (1978) 264 and 277 for the Spanish origin of the amphorae naming Puteolanus and 281 for a "near monopoly" in fish sauce commerce by Spanish producers and merchants during the Principate. Cf. also Beltrán (1970) 269 for the Spanish origin of Dressel 12 amphorae.

¹⁰ Puteolan Iunii: CIL X 2617-2630; L.Iunius: CIL X 2620. The Puteolan Iunii are adduced on the reasonable identification, on which, see, further, below, of the Puteolanus in Rome with the one at Suel.

suggests the importation into Rome of Puteolan garum.¹¹ On the other hand, evidence for fish salteries at Puteoli and a Puteolan connection in the production and commerce of fish products comes from an anecdote of Aelian NA 13,6, who describes an octopus raid on the salted fish (τάριχος) of Spanish merchants in Puteoli.¹²

Secondly, unknown to Ponsich and Tarradell, Suel and its immediate surroundings seems to have fostered garum production.¹³ 'A priori' we might have expected its production there: the city lies at the mouth of a continuously running river, the Fuengirola, which would have supplied fresh water, a critical element in garum production.¹⁴ Additionally, the headland of the Cabo Calaburra, located 2.2 km southwest of the municipium, would have acted to brake and concentrate the westward moving tunny and mackerel runs. In fact, up until a generation ago, Fuengirola supported a thriving fishing port.¹⁵

More generally, the same regime of intensive garum production as existed on the Atlantic side of the Pillars of Heracles seems to have been a feature of the Mediterranean litoral of Iberia as well.¹⁶ On the Atlantic side, the Algarve alone attests nine salteries between Cacela and Boca do Rio.¹⁷ Modern urbanization has obliterated many probable garum centers on the Mediterranean shore of Baetica. Even so, Fuengirola is located between the known fish salteries of Torremolinos and 'Las Bóvedas,' the latter of which is located 8.5 km west of Marbella; both sites are no more conducive to garum production than Fuengirola and environs.¹⁸

Theory becomes reality in the form of unpublished remains of garum vats lined with 'opus signinum' situated at the foot of the Arab castillo, at the mouth of the Río Fuengirola on its right bank, where the altar naming Puteolanus was found.¹⁹ The vats below the castillo are not the only evidence of garum production in the immediate vicinity of Suel. Villa

¹¹ McCann et al. (1987) 40. Were it Puteolan fish sauce, as opposed to the fish sauce of Puteolanus, we should sooner expect the form 'G(arum) sc(ombri) f(los) Puteolanum'; cf. 'Liq(uamen) Antia(tinum)' (CIL XV 4712) and 'G(arum) Pompeian[um]' (CIL XV 4686). Curtis (1978) 139 n.158, following Zevi, sees the 'tituli picti' as referring to the producer Puteolanus rather than the point of origin.

¹² The altar naming L.Iunius Puteolanus in Suel is evidence of a Spanish-Puteolan connection: so Rodríguez Oliva (1981) 61.

¹³ Ponsich-Tarradell (1965) are silent on Fuengirola and environs.

¹⁴ Importance of fresh water: Curtis (1978) 111 and McCann et al. (1987) 42.

¹⁵ I owe the observation on Fuengirola's recent economy to Dr. Michel Ponsich of the Casa Velázquez in Madrid. For the annual migration of tunny between the Atlantic and Mediterranean and utilization, additionally, of mackerel (scomber) in Spanish fish sauce, see Edmondson (1987) 111-113.

¹⁶ As kindly suggested to me by Dr. Ponsich.

¹⁷ See Ponsich-Tarradell (1965) 89 and Edmondson (1987) 100-198 for Lusitanian garum production and commerce in general.

¹⁸ Torremolinos and 'Las Bóvedas' (San Pedro de Alcántara): Ponsich-Tarradell (1965) 83-84.

¹⁹ Unpublished vat remains: I owe this information to the kindness of Dr. P.Rodríguez Oliva. On Fuengirola, in general, and the castillo yielding the altar, see S.L.Spaar, *The Ports of Baetica: A Study of Provincial Harbors and Their Functions from an Historical and Archaeological Perspective* (Diss.: University of Colorado, 1981) 168. For the frequent emplacement of garum factories near river mouths, see McCann et al. (1987) 42.

remains, 2.5 km north of Fuengirola, obliterated in the course of modern road construction, revealed the vestiges of garum vats lined with waterproof cement along with amphorae fragments, while a third site, the so-called 'villa Mauretania,' situated 7 km east of Fuengirola at Torremuelle, exhibits salting vats.²⁰ Rodríguez Oliva connects two amphorae - one a Beltrán III and the other a Dressel 7 - with garum manufacture at Torremuelle or "Torre de Benalmádena", as it is alternatively designated; the two containers, used to transport fish products, were discovered in the cove of Torremuelle immediately below the villa.²¹ Three sites in Suel and environs, at a minimum, are identifiable centers of garum manufacture or of a related product. Moreover, the conjunction of garum production and villa is commonly paralleled, most notably in the villa 'El Faro' at Torrox (Prov. Málaga).²²

L.Iunius Puteolanus - whose cognomen is a 'hapax' in the Spanish corpus - was not making an idle, accidental gesture in offering a dedication to Neptune; clearly, the 'sevir Augustalis' had something to do with the sea. What was the connection? All the circumstantial evidence points to his involvement in the manufacture and trade of fish sauce. The case for connecting Puteolanus with garum can only be strengthened by the discovery of altars to Neptune, one at Villagarcía de Arosa in Galicia (Prov. Pontevedra) and the other on the beach "Le Ris" (Plomarch', Douarnenez) in Brittany; both were erected in immediate proximity to, and in obvious relation with, sites of garum production or precisely that conjunction of divinity and garum which is evident at the site of the Arab fortification at Fuengirola.²³

Is L.Iunius Puteolanus in Suel the same or connected with the Puteolanus of the 'tituli picti' from Rome? There are reasons to doubt it: the amphorae recording 'G(arum) sc(ombri) f(los) Puteolani' from the 'castra praetoria' date no later than c. A.D. 50, according to Dressel, while the altar naming L.Iunius Puteolanus may date no earlier than the Flavian

²⁰ Obliterated villa remains: Atencia-Sola (1978) *passim*, esp. 83. The villa, on the 'arroyo de Pajares', is situated in relatively close proximity to the sea. 'Villa Mauretania': see S.Giménez Reyna, *Memoria arqueológica de la provincia de Málaga hasta 1946* (Madrid, 1946) 60, who mislocates it between Fuengirola and the Cabo Calaburra, followed by Spaar (1981) 169 and Gorges (1979) 304.

²¹ See Rodríguez Oliva (1982) 9-12 and 18-19 for the correct location of the villa and significance of the amphorae.

²² 'El Faro': see Gorges (1979) 304 with bibliography. For the conjunction of villas and garum production, cf. also McCann et al. (1987) 42 and Edmondson (1987) 108 and 128-129 (evidence of the Algarve).

²³ Villagarcía de Arosa: 'Nep / tun(o) / sac(rum), / Q(uintus) C / eli / us (?) / l(ibens) p(osuit)': AE 1969-70, 270. For the connection of the altar with the local fish sauce industry, see A.Tranoy, *La Galice Romaine* (Paris, 1981) 244. Douarnenez (Finistère): P.Wuilleumier, *Inscriptions Latines des Trois Gaules* (Paris, 1963) 136 no.338 = AE 1952, 22. The reading is disputed but securely reveals a dedication to Neptune by the Narbonensis (i.e. province) C.Varenus Voltin(ia) Varus, a 'c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) quartum'. For salteries (over 15) at Douarnenez, see McCann et al. (1987) 36 and 40 n.233 with bibliography. For the connection of the altar with garum, see R.Sanquer, "Une nouvelle lecture de l'inscription à Neptune trouvée à Douarnenez (Finistère) et l'industrie du garum amoricain," *Annales de Bretagne* 80 (1973) 215-236, who supposes, without substantiation, the state control of that local industry, followed by McCann et al. (1987) 36.

era.²⁴ On the other hand, chronological considerations alone do not utterly exclude the identification. To take one potential parallel: the Pompeian fish sauce merchant A.Umbricius Scaurus may have been active from c. A.D. 25-35 to 79, a roughly fifty year period.²⁵

It remains to set the activity of L.Iunius Puteolanus in the context of freedman involvement in manufacture and trade during the Principate. Although freedman participation in production and commerce is a well-noted phenomenon, it is, of course, impossible to quantify that activity.²⁶ Of greater interest here is the degree to which Puteolanus was engaged in independent activity. While some scholars have viewed Spanish garum production as being a state-owned activity, more recent commentators are agnostic on the matter, admitting the possibility of widespread private management.²⁷ The question may even be irrelevant if the activity of private freedmen traders contributing to Rome's grain supply in the first century A.D. were analogous to the situation of contemporary fish sauce traders.²⁸

More to the point still: to what degree was Puteolanus under patronal control? Garnsey's conception of the independent freedman is of some value in treating the Spanish evidence for freedmen. Garnsey outlines two criteria according to which independent freedmen may be identified: 1) wealth - even moderate - and 2) positions of responsibility such as the ownership or management of or partnership in a profitable business.²⁹

We may advance a third criterion by which independent freedmen are to be identified and one which may involve one or both of Garnsey's criteria: it is the one of geographical mobility itself. We know from Ulpian, reflecting a development which dates to some point after the reign of Nerva, that a slave, upon manumission, became not only a *municeps* in the

²⁴ Chronology of amphorae at Rome: Dressel (1879) 194-195. Date of Suel altar: above, n.5. Beltrán (1970) 249 n.485 denies the connection of the Puteolanus of the 'tituli picti' with the "dumviro augustal (sic)" at Suel and simply speaks of "el Puteolano, que tal vez radicó en Fuengirola" without any conception of Puteolanus' likely trade.

²⁵ Scaurus' chronology: Curtis (1984) 563-564.

²⁶ For freedman involvement in manufacture, finance and trade, see, e.g., D'Arms (1981) 97-148; L.Casson, "The Role of the State in Rome's Grain Supply," In: *MAAR* 36 (1980) 26-28 (evidence of Murecine tablets); J.Andreau, "Modernité économique et statut des manieurs d'argent," *MEFR* 97 (1985) 373-410; H.W.Pleket, "Urban Elites and the Economy in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire," *MBAH* 3, 1 (1984) 3-36 and M.Finley, *The Ancient Economy*. 2nd ed. (London, 1985) 57-61. For some other producers/merchants of Spanish garum of obviously freedman status, see, e.g., *CIL* XV 4692-4693 (L.Annius Hymnus) and *CIL* XV 4704 (L.Baebius Anthus). We will never know what proportion of activity was carried on by freedmen; we can only describe it as qualitatively significant.

²⁷ For previous views and discussion, see McCann et al. (1987) 36-37. Curtis (1978) 277 certainly categorizes the names in the 'tituli picti' of Spanish fish sauce amphorae as identifying independent merchants/shippers.

²⁸ Grain traders: see Casson cited at n.27 above.

²⁹ P.Garnsey, "Independent Freedmen and the Economy of Roman Italy under the Principate," *Klio* 63 (1981) 368. W.Jongman, *The Economy and Society of Pompeii* (Amsterdam, 1988) 178, is guessing when he alleges that independent freedmen were "less affluent" than those operating with the backing of their patrons.

locality where his patron was *municipes* but, in the event of his patron's dual local citizenship, was 'ipso facto' a *municipes*, i.e. possessed *origo*, in both places.³⁰

On the other hand, the jurists are equally explicit concerning the freedom of a *libertus* to become a *municipes* in the place where he fixed his domicile:

'Municipes sunt liberti et in eo loco, ubi ipsi domicilium sua voluntate (con)tulerunt, nec aliquod ex hoc origini patroni faciunt praeiudicium et utrobique muneribus adstringuntur.' (Dig. 50,1,22,2 [Paulus])

Before becoming a *municipes* in the domicile "of his choice" ('sua voluntate') the freedman in most instances probably went through the intermediate stage of *incolatus*. In brief, Roman public law recognized the ability of a freedman to engage in free migration. Patronal control or supervision, in theory, is lacking in such migrations, though the freedman remained liable, as a general rule, to the *munera* of the place where his patron had his *origo*, as well as becoming liable to the *munera* of the place where he became a citizen ('nec aliquod ex hoc origini patroni faciunt praeiudicium et utrobique muneribus adstringuntur').³¹

To be sure, L.Iunius Puteolanus satisfies the first of Garnsey's criteria for identifying independent freedmen, i.e. the possession of wealth. This wealth is evidenced by Puteolanus' erection of an altar to Neptune, his subsidization of an *epulum* and his primacy of place in the college of *Augustales* at Suel ('*primus et perpetuus*' [1.6]). I have argued the case above for his close involvement with *garum*; thus, Puteolanus would seem to satisfy Garnsey's second criterion for identifying independent freedmen. In this context it may be relevant to note that D'Arms has cogently argued that the majority of *Augustales* at Ostia and Puteoli fall into the category of independent freedmen.³² This independence was, no doubt, a widespread characteristic of *Augustales*. Finally, though I cannot prove the matter, Puteolanus' free migration to Suel is a reasonable inference from the data provided by the Neptune altar and its likely chronology. *Ingenuus*, free Italian migrants are totally absent from Spanish epigraphy after the reign of Augustus, while the altar naming Puteolanus may

³⁰ Dig. 50,1,27. For the possibility of an interpolation in the passage, see W.V.Harris, "The Imperial Rescript from Vardagate," *Athenaeum* 59 (1981) 350 n.54, and cf. also idem 348-350 for the option of a freedman, as late as the reign of Nerva, not to become a *civis* in the community where his patron was co-opted. On *origo*, in general, see D.Nörr, "Origo," *RE Suppl.* 10 (1965) 433-473.

³¹ Intermediate stage of *incolatus*: R.Portillo Martín, *Incolae*. Universidad de Córdoba, Departamento de Historia Antigua (Córdoba, 1983) 76-78, who discusses, in full, the passage from Paul's *Sententiae*, published in the late third century, but which probably incorporates earlier material, including that of the Severan jurist Paulus (P.Garnsey, "Aspects of the Decline of the Urban Aristocracy in the Empire," *ANRW* 2,1 (1974) 249). For the liability of freedmen to *munera* and the obligations involved, see Harris (1981) 348-350.

³² D'Arms (1981) 140-148, esp. 148.

very well date to the Flavian era at the earliest.³³ Thus, it is unlikely that Puteolanus came to Baetica in the familia of a free Italian emigrant. Furthermore, Puteolanus' cognomen implies manumission at Puteoli rather than in Spain, and his testamentary manumission remains a possibility.³⁴ Puteolanus' honores and civic benefactions at Suel in no way suggest the presence there or at Puteoli of some unnamed patron benefiting from his activity. In short, Puteolanus fits the profile of other likely free migrants in Iberia of freedman status and, consequently, would seem to satisfy the third, and new, criterion for identifying independent freedmen.³⁵

To sum up, a Puteolan-Spanish trading connection in fish products existed during the Principate. This link is illustrated by the activity of L.Iunius Puteolanus in Suel (Fuengirola, Prov. Málaga), whose cognomen indicates a relationship with Puteoli through manumission. All the circumstantial Spanish and Gallic evidence points to garum as the basis of L.Iunius Puteolanus' wealth. It is possible, though definite proof is as yet unavailable, that L.Iunius Puteolanus is the same individual as a homonym appearing on Spanish fish sauce amphorae from the praetorian camp in Rome. Finally, the wealth, commercial activity and geographical mobility of L.Iunius Puteolanus suggest his status as an independent freedman, i.e. one operating free of patronal control.

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³³ Date of the altar discussed at n.5 above. For Italian emigration to Iberia during the Principate, see E.W.Haley, *Foreigners in Roman Imperial Spain. Investigations of Geographical Mobility in the Spanish Provinces of the Roman Empire 30 B.C.-A.D.284* (forthcoming).

³⁴ On testamentary manumission, in general, see D'Arms (1981) 142 and K.R.Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1987) 87-91 and 96-99.

³⁵ Profile and evidence: E.W.Haley, *Foreigners in Roman Imperial Spain* (forthcoming) ch.5.