

Trade and Institution from Alexandria to Rome: The Amphorae from Pompeii

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Introduction

Concerning the main lines of research in the EPNNet Project,¹ one of the aims is to increase our knowledge on the trade dynamics by systematizing the study of the *tituli picti* from a wide range of amphorae. At the beginning of our work, the specialized CEIPAC Database was mostly composed of objects with stamps. Amphorae with *tituli* comprised just 14%. Most of them were attested in olive oil-amphorae from Baetica and Africa Proconsularis. In order to study the trade of other contents, such as wine and fish-based products, we must increase the amount of available data pertaining to other amphorae types. In that sense, we are incorporating the *tituli* from the fourth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)* to the CEIPAC Database. These *tituli* were attested on the pots from Pompeii and its surrounding archaeological context, generated by the eruption of the Vesuvius in 79 AD. In that way, we can duplicate the amount of available *tituli* for amphorae other than those that carried olive oil.²

The *CIL* has provided 2576 artefacts with *tituli picti*. The main recorded amphorae types are shown in figure 1. Central spots in the figure indicate the geographical provenance of these amphorae. In the case of the form Pompeii 12 (PO12), equivalent to the Dressel 2–4, the wide dispersion of sites of production is here reduced to one point in the Campanian region. The surrounding circles indicate the number of recorded amphorae with *tituli picti*. In the case of the PO12, some amphorae that were more recently reclassified as Dressel 2–4³ have been included in the total amount. In the case of the PO8, amphorae reclassified as Crétoise 2⁴ are included too, as well as other records from different parts of the Roman Empire.⁵ The amount of the PO7, a container for fish-based products is scantier. The olive-oil amphora PO11 also is quite reduced. The rest of them are wine amphorae. Some of the PO12 probably were Eastern in origin. PO13 probably contained the sweet wine known as *passum* or *γλυκός*. This wine was likely the most frequent content of the PO8 and 10.⁶ These amphorae were classified with the help of the table I *Vasorum Formae* in the *CIL* IV, before the current typological standards were defined. Under the PO10 shape, several current types were classified, most of them being Cretan amphorae types.⁷ The set of the PO8 fits quite accurately with the Cretan type 2,⁸ and it is the most outstanding.

For this reason, the current research focuses on the homogeneous and large set of the PO8 by following different research strategies, as explained in previous papers.⁹ Within this research, the specific goal of this paper is to provide a documentary base for the study case of the Tiberii Claudii, a familiar group frequently attested in the *tituli picti*, especially on the PO8. Its existence has been highlighted by the historiography on

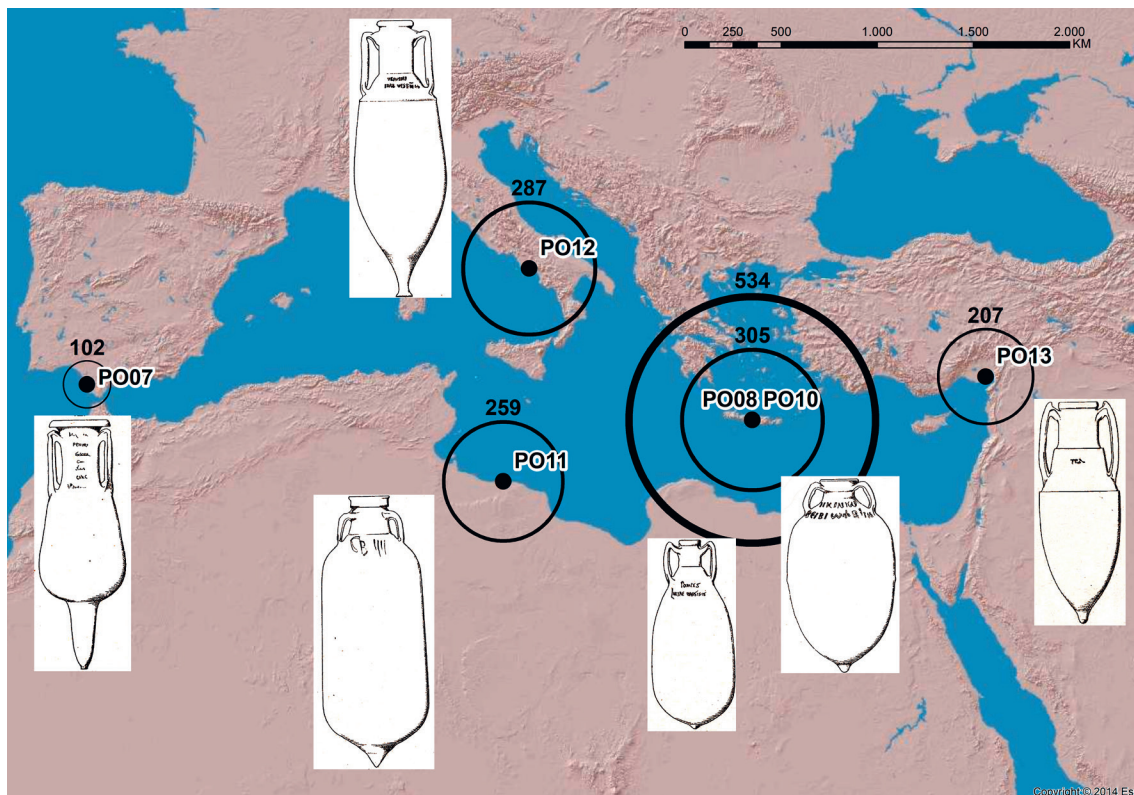


Fig. 1: The more recorded amphorae types in the EPNNet Database for CEIPAC. Central productive locations and quantitative representation of amphorae by type.

Pompeian amphorae¹⁰ and Cretan wine.¹¹ This is particularly because they could have been Imperial freedmen,¹² so they could show in a certain way how public and private business were intimately related to Roman politics and economy. However, a full understanding of who these people were and what their role was requires a detailed examination of the evidence as well as an open list of the possible historical explanations.¹³

Furthermore, the abundance of Cretan amphorae in Pompeii is regarded as evidence of the special involvement of Cretan wine in the grain-supply route from Alexandria to Rome, and particularly with the stopover in Puteoli, as the neighbouring city of Pompeii. The payment of *vectigalia* from the Cretan *praefectura* of Capua, another neighbouring city of Pompeii, has been considered as an alternative hypothesis for the mentioned abundance.¹⁴ Consequently, research on the identity of the Tiberii Claudii and their role in Cretan wine can help to understand the commercial success of this product and its relationship with Roman institutions.

Sources and Methodology

The *tituli picti* on the Tiberii Claudii have been compiled by different authors in the main tome and the *supplementa* to the fourth volume of the *CIL* from 1871 to 1970. In addition, there are other contributions to this corpus.¹⁵ These inscriptions were recorded as transcriptions and tracings.¹⁶

Previous evidence and its record conditioned the following transcriptions and readings, for example, in the case of Tiberius Claudius Secundus.¹⁷ The use of abbreviations and initials increases the difficulties. Examples have been selected that report the full or practically full names and the most evident abbreviations and initials. Those that contain the sequence *Ti. Cl.*, or its Greek equivalent *Ti. Κλ.*, have been accepted as valid abbreviations or initials. Occasionally, the omission of the characters *I(ai)*, *I(iota)*, *L(el)*, or Λ (lambda) has been accepted, especially when there are parallel *tituli* in which these characters appear or the corresponding *cognomina* match. For example, see the cases *Ti. C. O.* and *T. C. O.* in the cluster of signatures in number 18. See also the related cluster 19 for Ti. Claudius Orpheus (fig. 2, column B).

The resulting list provides 106 objects with inscriptions (fig. 2); 104 of them are *tituli picti* on ceramic pots (mostly amphorae).¹⁸ Two of them are stamps on building materials.¹⁹ Other *tituli* concern the *gens* Claudia.²⁰ Some of them are without a recorded *praenomen*, so they could have been Tiberii Claudii too. Although proposed to be [TI(berii)] CLAVDI/ALEXANDRI, the *praenomen* cannot be clearly read in the fragmented amphora Dressel 12 found in Ephesus. Its archaeological context dates from the later years in the reign of Augustus to the reign of Tiberius, perhaps even to the reign of Claudius.²¹ The name Ti. Claudius Nobilis is recorded in some *tituli* beta on Dressel 20. They have been dated from 145 to 161 AD,²² and from 174 AD.²³ Tiberius Claudius Nobilis is recorded in an inscription from Baalbek (Syria), but it is difficult to rely on eastern people for the trade of Baetican Dressel 20 amphorae to Rome.²⁴ Regarding the dates and provenance of these amphorae, Ti. Claudius Nobilis has been excluded from the list of Tiberii Claudii in this study. Within the general group of Claudii, some names were written on Cretan amphorae found in Rome and Ostia.²⁵ These are interesting data regarding the spatial and chronologic spread of the Claudii's activities related to the Cretan wine.

Within the group of the Tiberii Claudii, initials and abbreviations allow us to define 43 signatures (fig. 2, column B). Given the different manners of writing a name, signatures could attest to different individuals. A difference within the clusters of signatures 1 and 2 could be stated by the use of the Greek and Latin alphabets respectively. The degree of abbreviation in the *cognomina* is especially relevant. For example, regarding the case of object number 5 (cluster 3), the *cognomen* A. could be Anicetus, Antiochus, Anθ., or Atimetus (clusters 4 to 7). Some signatures have been established after transcriptions offered by the *CIL*, as in cluster 6. Minor differences in the way of writing the names are included as the same signature when the completeness of the *tituli* allows it

| A | B | C | COGNOMEN | INSCRIPTION | REFERENCE | TYPE |
|----|----|---|------------------------|---|-------------------|-------|
| 1 | 1 | | ... | Tl. Κλ(---) | 10887 | AMP |
| 2 | 2 | | ... | T. I. C. && Ti. C. | 6198 | PO10 |
| 3 | | | ... | T. C. | G-C 1991, 321–322 | PO14 |
| 4 | | | ... | T. C. | G-C 1991, 389 | PO04 |
| 5 | 3 | | A. | T. C. A. | 9510 | AMP |
| 6 | 4 | 1 | Anicetus | Ti. · Cl(audi-) · Anicet[1] | 5805 | PO08 |
| 7 | | | Anicetus | Ti. Cl. Aniceti | 6930 | PO36 |
| 8 | | | Anicetus/ Antiochus | Ti. · Cl(audi-) · An[i](icet-) && An[t](ioch-) | 5806 | PO08 |
| 9 | 5 | 2 | Antiochus | Ti. Cl(audi) Anti(ochi) | 5751 | PO11 |
| 10 | 6 | 3 | Anθ. | T. Cl. · An^θ. | 9315 | DR2–4 |
| 11 | | | Anθ. | T. Cla^u^pi / A^n^θii | 9483 | PO14 |
| 12 | | | Anθ. | Ti. · Claudi · A^f[---] | 9484 | AMP |
| 13 | | | Anθ. | Ti. · C[l]au(di) A[nt]p. && Ti. Κλαυ(δίου) Αρ(ιστοτελλους) | 9485 | CR2A |
| 14 | 7 | 4 | Atimetus | Ti. Cl. Atimeti | 10736 | AMP |
| 15 | 8 | 5 | C. | T. I. C. · C. && Ti. C. · C. | 6199 | PO08 |
| 16 | 9 | 6 | D... | Ti. Cl. D[l][---] && DL[---] | 5523 | PO12 |
| 17 | 10 | | E. | Ti. C. E. | 9424 | PO11 |
| 18 | 11 | 7 | Eutychus | Ti'. · Claudi E'ut[y]c(h). | 10326 | PO10 |
| 19 | 12 | 8 | Evenus | Ti. H. && Tib. / Cl. · Eveni | 10772 | AMP |
| 20 | | | Evenus | T'i. · Cl'audi Eu[liodi] && Evi[---] | 5807 | AMP |

Fig. 2: List of objects (A) with regards to the number of signatures (B) and the minimum amount of resulting *cognomina* (C). Conservation of the *tituli picti* after the CEIPAC rules of transcription. References to *CIL* IV. Typology of objects: *ignotae* (IGN), *tegula* (TEG), ceramic pot (CER), amphorae (AMP), amphora types Pompeii (PO), Dressel (DR), and Crétoise (CR).

| A | B | C | COGNOMEN | INSCRIPTION | REFERENCE | TYPE |
|----|----|----|-----------|---|---------------|------|
| 21 | 13 | 9 | Ha. | T. C. / Ha. | 9643 | PO10 |
| 22 | 14 | 10 | I. | Ti. I. Cli. | 10324 | PO08 |
| 23 | 15 | 11 | L. B. (?) | Ti. Claudi- / L. B. | 5803 | PO13 |
| 24 | 16 | | M. (?) | T. · C. V.^M. && T. · C^I.^M. | 6226 | AMP |
| 25 | 17 | 12 | Moschus | ticisimesch && Ti. CisiMcschi | 2632 | CER |
| 26 | 18 | | O. | T. I. C. O. && Ti. C. O. | 6196a | PO13 |
| 27 | | | O. | T. I. C. O. && Ti. C. O. | 6196b | PO13 |
| 28 | | | O. | T. C. O. | 6197a | AMP |
| 29 | | | O. | T. C. O. | 6197b | AMP |
| 30 | | | O. | T(i). C. O. | 6341a | PO13 |
| 31 | | | O. | T(i). C. O. | 6341b | PO13 |
| 32 | | | O. | Ti. C. O. | 6500 | PO13 |
| 33 | | | O. (?) | cccc && CCCC | 6354 | PO08 |
| 34 | | | O. (?) | c[c]cc && C[C]CC && Ti. C. [O.] | 6355 | PO08 |
| 35 | 19 | 13 | Orpheus | Ti'. Claudi' Orp<h>ei' / vect(ura) · | 5894 | PO31 |
| 36 | 20 | | P. | Ti. C. P. | 10325 | PO08 |
| 37 | | | P. | Ti. · C. P. | 9487 | PO08 |
| 38 | 21 | 14 | Pa. | T. · C. · Pa. && Ti. C. · Pa. | 9511 | PO13 |
| 39 | 22 | 15 | Potiscus | TI·CLA·POTISCI· | G-C 1991, 151 | TEG |
| 40 | | | Potiscus | TI CLAVDI AVG·L·POTISCI | G-C 1991, 170 | IGN |
| 41 | 23 | 16 | Sim. | Ti. Cl(aud-) Sim(il-) && Sim(pl-) | 5809 | PO10 |
| 42 | 24 | 17 | So. | Ti. · Ci. · So. | 10327 | AMP |

Fig. 2 (continued)

| A | B | C | COGNOMEN | INSCRIPTION | REFERENCE | TYPE |
|----|----|----|------------------------|--|-------------------|------|
| 43 | | | So. | Ti. · Ci. · So. | 10327a | PO11 |
| 44 | | | So. | Ti. Cl. [T]o. | 5808 | AMP |
| 45 | | | So. | Ti. Cl. So. | 9319 | PO09 |
| 46 | | | So. | Ti. Cl. So. | 9425 | AMP |
| 47 | | | So. | Ti. · Cl. · So. | G-C 1991, 208–210 | PO11 |
| 48 | | | So... | Ti. · Cl(aud-) So[---] | 5760 | AMP |
| 49 | 25 | 18 | T. | τιςτ[---] | 10897 | AMP |
| 50 | | | T. | Ti. C. · T. | 9488 | PO11 |
| 51 | | | T. | T. C. T. && P. C. T. | 9512 | PO08 |
| 52 | 26 | 19 | V. | tic · lam && Ti. · Clau[dii] V[eri] | 2631 | CER |
| 53 | 27 | 20 | αινεικου (Αινειος?) | Ti. Κλα(---) / αινεικου | 5535 | PO37 |
| 54 | 28 | 21 | Ανα[---] | Ti. K. / Ανα[---] && Αναρ[---] | 6992 | PO08 |
| 55 | 29 | | αναυκας | Ti. K(---) / αναυκας | 10436 | PO08 |
| 56 | 30 | 22 | Ανικητος | Ti. K. / Αν{ε}ικητω | 10437 | PO08 |
| 57 | 31 | 23 | Αντιμιος | Τ'ι'. · Κ'. / Αντιμιω | 10438 | PO08 |
| 58 | 32 | 24 | Αντιοκος | Ti. / Κλα(---) / Αντιοκου | 9760 | PO08 |
| 59 | 33 | | Αντιοχος | (Ti.) Κ'(λαυδιου) Α'ν'τ'ι'οχ'ου' | 10439a | PO08 |
| 60 | | | Αντιοχος | (Ti.) Κ'(λαυδιου) Α'ν'τ'ι'οχ'ου' | 10439b | PO08 |
| 61 | | | Αντιοχος | (Ti.) Κ'(λαυδιου) Α'ν'τ'ι'οχ'ου' | 10439c | PO08 |
| 62 | | | Αντιοχος | (Ti.) Κ'(λαυδιου) Α'ν'τ'ι'οχ'ου' | 10439d | PO08 |
| 63 | | | Αντιοχος | (Ti.) Κ'(λαυδιου) Α'ν'τ'ι'οχ'ου' | 10439e | PO08 |
| 64 | 34 | 25 | Αντιφιλος | Ti. K. / Α[v][---]φ'ιλο[-] | 6405 | PO08 |
| 65 | 35 | 26 | απαρολα | Ti. · Κ(---) · / Απαρολα | 10440a | PO08 |

Fig. 2 (continued)

| A | B | C | COGNOMEN | INSCRIPTION | REFERENCE | TYPE |
|----|----|----|-------------|---------------------------------|-----------|------|
| 66 | | | απαρολα | Τι. · Κ(---) · / Απαρολα | 10440b | PO08 |
| 67 | | | απαρολα | Τι. · Κ(---) · / Απαρολα | 10440c | PO08 |
| 68 | | | απαρολα | Τι. Κ(---) Α[παρολα] | 10440d | PO08 |
| 69 | | | απαροχα | Τι. · Κ. · / Απαρ'οχα | 6406a | PO08 |
| 70 | | | απαροχα | Τι. · Κ. · / Απαρ'οχα | 6406b | PO08 |
| 71 | | | απαροχα | Τι. · Κ. · / Απαρ'οχα | 6406c | PO08 |
| 72 | | | απαροχα | Τι. · Κ. · / Απαρ'οχα | 6406d | PO08 |
| 73 | 36 | 27 | Αριστοτελης | Τι. Κλαυδίου / Αριστοτελους | 9763 | CR1A |
| 74 | 37 | 28 | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ[λ][---] / Επαφροδιτου | 10443 | PO08 |
| 75 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ(λ)[---] / Επαφ[ρο]διτου | 10444a | PO08 |
| 76 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ(λ)[---] / Επαφρο[δ]ιτο[v] | 10444b | PO08 |
| 77 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ(λ)[---] / Επαφροδιτου | 10444c | PO08 |
| 78 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ. / Επαφροδ{ε}ιτου | 10889a | PO08 |
| 79 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ. / Επαφροδ{ε}ιτου | 10889b | PO08 |
| 80 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ. / Επαφροδ[ιτου] | 10890 | AMP |
| 81 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ(λαυδίου) · Επαφροδιτου | 5942 | PO08 |
| 82 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ. / Επαφ'ρ'οδιτου | 6408a | PO08 |
| 83 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ. / Επαφ'ρ'οδιτου | 6408b | PO08 |
| 84 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ. / Επαφ'ρ'οδιτου | 6408c | PO08 |
| 85 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ. / Επαφ'ρ'οδιτου | 6408d | PO08 |
| 86 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ. / Επαφ'ρ'οδιτου | 6408e | PO08 |
| 87 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ. / Επαφ'ρ'οδιτου | 6408f | PO08 |
| 88 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Τι. Κ(λαυδίου) / Έπαφροδίτου | 9764 | PO08 |
| 89 | | | Επαφροδιτος | Έπαφροδίτου | 9765 | PO08 |

Fig. 2 (continued)

| A | B | C | COGNOMEN | INSCRIPTION | REFERENCE | TYPE |
|-----|----|----|-----------|--|-----------------------------|-------|
| 90 | 38 | 29 | ετασεμεσα | ΤΙΗ && Τιη(---) / Κλετα·σεμ[εε]α | 6994 | PO36? |
| 91 | 39 | 30 | Κακκιανος | Κακκιανυ(ε) && Κακκιαν(ο)υ / Τι. Κλαυδιου && Τι. Κλαυδιος | Marangou-Lerat 1995, P29 | CR2B |
| 92 | 40 | 31 | Μι... | Τ && Τ(ι.) Κ(λαυδίου) / μι[---] && Μι[---] | 9766 | PO10 |
| 93 | 41 | 32 | Ο. Α. | Τι. · Κ. / Ο. Α. | G-C 1991, 420–421 | PO08 |
| 94 | 42 | 33 | Σεκουνδος | ΤΙΗ && Τιη(---) / Κλ. Σεκουν(δ-) | 10891 | AMP |
| 95 | | | Σεκουνδος | [Τιβ. / Κλ. Σε]κο[υνδ-] | 2672 | PO08 |
| 96 | | | Σεκουνδος | Τιβ. / Κλ. · Σεκ[ουνδ-] | 2673; 6430 | PO08 |
| 97 | | | Σεκουνδος | Τιβ. / Κλ. Σε[κουνδ-] | 2674; 6431 | PO08 |
| 98 | | | Σεκουνδος | ΤΙΗ && Τιη(---) / Κλ. · Σεκουνδ- | 5920; 6432 | PO08 |
| 99 | | | Σεκουνδος | ΤΙΗ && Τιη(---) / Κλ. Σεκο(υνδ-) | 6433 | PO08 |
| 100 | | | Σεκουνδος | ΤΙΗ && Τιη(---) / Κλ. · Σεκο(υ) ν[δ-] | 6434 | PO08 |
| 101 | | | Σεκουνδος | ΤΙΗ && Τιη(---) / Κλ. Σε[κουνδ-] | 6435 | PO08 |
| 102 | | | Σεκουνδος | ΤΙΗ && Τιη(---) / Κλ. Σεκο[υν] δ- | 6436 | PO08 |
| 103 | | | Σεκουνδος | Τιβ. / Κλ. · Σεκουν(δ-) | 6437 | PO08 |
| 104 | | | Σεκουνδος | ΤΙΗ && Τιη(---) / Κλ. · Σεκουν(δ-) | 6947 | PO08 |
| 105 | | | Σεκουνδος | ΤΙΗ && Τιη(---) / Κλ. · Σεκουνδ- | 9767 | AMP |
| 106 | 43 | 34 | Σκιου. | Τι. Κλλυδιο(υ) ...λ Σκιου. | G-C 1991, 290–291 | PO08 |

Fig. 2 (continued)

(cluster 42), or when it is suggested in the consulted bibliography (cluster 17). For object 95, the very partial preservation of the *titulus* regarding the name Tiberius Claudius Secundus is compensated by the epigraphic context. In such a way, the red *titulus* C · V · FRE appears also in objects 96 to 98.

The identification of other names depends on how the inscription is understood. For example, *tria nomina* divided in two lines are found in the clusters 12 and 13. In the first case, the *praenomen* is isolated and it could be transcribed as *Ti. H.* or *Tib.* If the first transcription is accepted, the relationship with the *nomen* *Cl(audius)* can be refused. However, the letter beta in Tιβ. is often transcribed as H (aith) or H/Η (eta). In that sense, see also the clusters 38 and 42. Another option is a transcription as the Greek number TIH (315). Furthermore, just one name recorded in the version online for the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN)* starts with Tῆ-.²⁶ Thus the hypothesis of the *praenomen* Tiberius for these Latin inscriptions can be supported. In clusters 15 and 41, the separation of *praenomen-nomen* and the initials of a hypothetic double *cognomen* *L. B.* and *O. A.* could be proposed. However, sometimes *praenomen* and *nomen* can appear without *cognomen*, as observed in clusters 1 and 2. Such doubts and others concerning the preservation and trace of some letters (objects 24, 33 and 34), or the identification of names (object 53) are highlighted in the column *Cognomen* by question marks (?). Some Greek names have been transcribed without initial capital letters in the column *Cognomen* (clusters 29, 35, and 38) because any related record has been found in the *LGPN* online.

Names were normally written in a genitive form but dative forms can be found occasionally (clusters 30 and 31). Additional information has been added for objects 35 and 40. In the first case, the genitive form refers to the *vectura*, the transportation of the related merchandise. Tiberius Claudius Orpheus was involved as a *vector* in the trade of grain, as recorded in an eastern shaped pot (PO31) containing a sample of such type of cargo.²⁷ In the second case, relevant information about the social status of Tiberius Claudius Potiscus is given by the abbreviated idiom *Aug(usti) l(ibertus)*.

The inscriptions in the column *Inscription* (fig. 2) have been recorded by following the transcription rules from the CEIPAC database. They reproduce alternative transcriptions of the *tituli* (&&) proposed by the authors of the *CIL* or the author of this study; some interpretations as personal names were noted in the *CIL* commentaries of the related inscriptions. The resulting list is open to the criticism and the refutation or corroboration of the proposed *nomina* and abbreviated forms.

Results

The minimum number of resulting *cognomina* is 34 (see fig. 2, column C). For such calculation, inscriptions without *cognomina* (objects 1 to 4) have been excluded. Inscriptions with abbreviated *cognomina* also have been excluded when it is possible to

identify them with another more completely written *cognomen*. Previously, Łos compiled 22 Tiberii Claudii, more than 25% within his list of Roman citizens mentioned on amphorae, and 21 among these produced Greek *cognomina*.²⁸ The aforementioned 34 *cognomina* are an astonishing number, as other Roman *gentes* are recorded by two or three individuals on a small quantity of inscriptions. For example, see the *nomina* Annius, Antonius, Epidius, Licinius and Stablorius in Łos' appendix of people mentioned by the inscriptions on Cretan amphorae.²⁹ They have only two related individuals for each one. Any of these individuals has more than the four inscriptions related to Likinius Beibios (Licinius Vibius). Only the *nomen* Iulius has three entries, but one of them without an associated *cognomen*.

Within the group of the Tiberii Claudii, there are 55 Greek and 51 Latin inscriptions (fig. 3). The proportion of Latin entries in the *CIL* are higher³⁰ than in the researched group of the Tiberii Claudii. The *tituli picti Graeca* from *CIL* reach 796 (approximately 31%) out of 2569 entries. 286 (57%) amphorae carried *tituli picti Graeca* out of 503 PO08.³¹ 52% of the Tiberii Claudii's inscriptions were written with Greek characters. This figure is closer to the ratio of Greek inscriptions on PO08. Actually, this amphora type reached 52% out of the total of the recorded objects for this study.

The use of inks fits the observed general distribution for inscriptions on PO8.³² When recorded, most of Greek *tituli picti* were written with black ink, while the Latin ones were written with a higher diversity of inks. Out of 104 *tituli*, 23 Greek³³ and 16 Latin³⁴ lack information about the ink. Greek *tituli* were written with black ink on 31 occasions³⁵ and only in one case with red ink.³⁶ Latin *tituli* were written with black ink on 14 occasions,³⁷ with red ink in 8 cases,³⁸ and with other less frequent types in 11 cases.³⁹

This study involves 19 typological categories (fig. 3), from which PO8 is clearly highlighted, especially regarding Greek inscriptions. If we consider other Cretan types, as the current types Crétoise 1 and 2, plus the PO10 (Crétoise 1, 2 or 3) and 36 (Crétoise 4),⁴⁰ the resulting amount is 50 Greek and 15 Latin inscriptions. These add up to 65 Cretan amphorae out of 106 objects. At least 25 out of 34 *cognomina* are involved in the inscriptions on Cretan amphorae. These 25 *cognomina* are the result of the presence of at least one of the aforementioned Cretan types within the clusters from column C (minimum amount of resulting *cognomina*) in figure 2. In the case of objects 36–37, the abbreviated *cognomen* *P.* was on two PO08. This initial can be assumed as the abbreviated form of the following *cognomina*, in clusters 14 and 15 respectively, where any Cretan amphora has been recorded. Then *P.*, even if it is in any cluster, can be incorporated to the list of *cognomina* on Cretan amphorae.

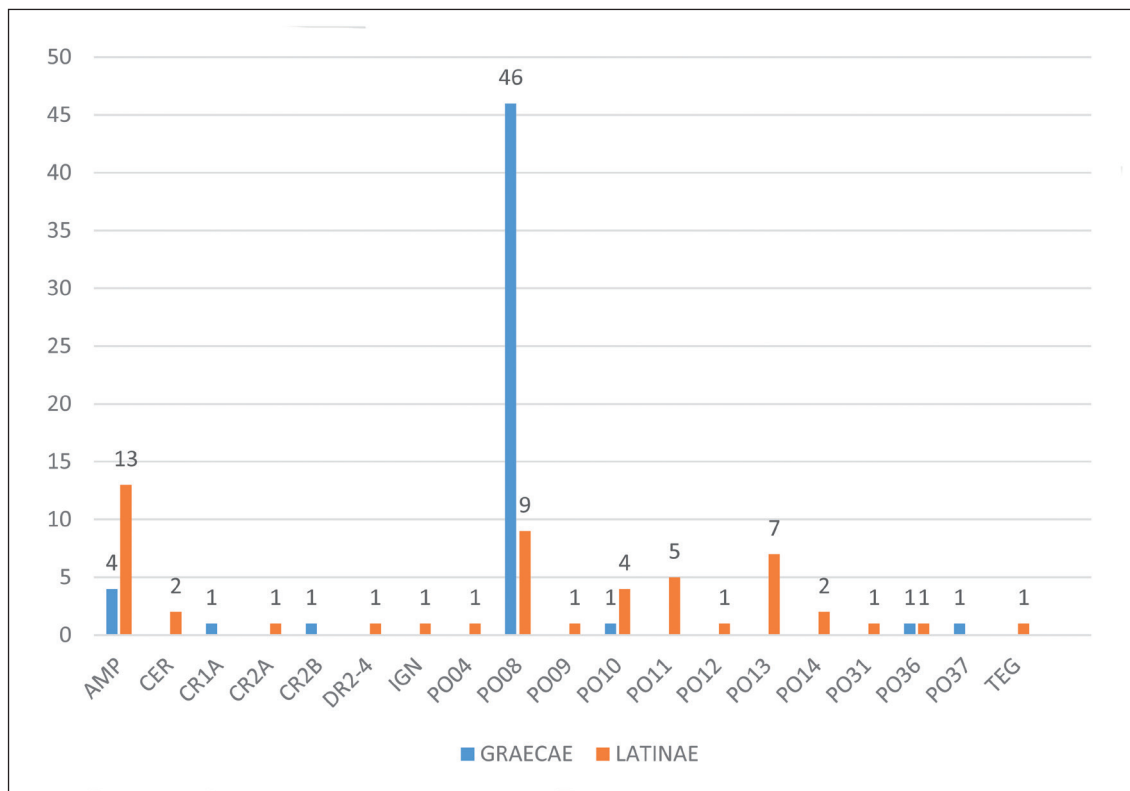


Fig. 3: Typology of carrying objects and used language for the Tiberii Claudii's inscriptions. Typology of objects: *ignotae* (IGN), *tegula* (TEG), ceramic pot (CER), amphorae (AMP), amphora types Pompeii (PO), Dressel (DR), and Crétoise (CR).

Conclusion

Epigraphy and ancient economy studies will benefit from a more systematic and comprehensive analysis of the *tituli picti* on amphorae from Pompeii and its surrounding area. This corpus provides a considerable volume of information, unusual for the ancient epigraphic record. Within this dossier, the Cretan amphorae and the family group of the Tiberii Claudii have a remarkable significance. The detailed analysis of the evidence is crucial to overcome previous views, which repeat hypotheses that become platitudes. In that sense, this study presents new approaches to deal with a documentation (the *CIL* IV), which provides an ever-partial archaeological evidence (the *tituli picti*) together with the added difficulties of former record methods. The offered list of Tiberii Claudii is a research tool to be improved and interpreted. It is a starting point for research on the identity and the role of these people within the Roman trade and institutional systems.

Notes

¹ Production and Distribution of Food during the Roman Empire: Economic and Political Dynamics (FP7/2007–2013/ERC grant agreement n° 340828).

² Martín-Arroyo – Remesal 2017, 257–263 figs. 1. 2.

³ Panella – Fano 1977, 157–163.

⁴ Rediscovered amphorae in Marangou-Lerat 1995, 131–146.

⁵ Martín-Arroyo 2018, fig. 3.

⁶ Martín-Arroyo 2020.

⁷ Markoulaki et al. 1989, 570 f., as a criticism on the recorded amphorae in Panella 1976, 151–161 pl. 43.

⁸ Martín-Arroyo 2018, 320 f.

⁹ Martín-Arroyo et al. 2017; Martín-Arroyo 2018; Martín-Arroyo 2020.

¹⁰ Panella 1976, 156 f. n. 34; Marangou-Lerat 1995, 154.

¹¹ Los 1997, 66–71; Paluchowski 2003, 586; 592 f.; 596–599.

¹² For example, this hypothesis is fully accepted by Tchernia 2007, 62.

¹³ Martín-Arroyo 2020b.

¹⁴ Marangou-Lerat 1995, 157; 159; Tchernia 2007, 61–63; Rizzo 2014, 324.

¹⁵ Giordano – Casale 1991; Marangou-Lerat 1995.

¹⁶ For example, *CIL* IV 9319 and 10327a respectively. Perhaps there are some freehand drawings too. For example, *CIL* IV 10327. The following references to *CIL* IV are abbreviated by keeping just the number of every inscription in the *Corpus*.

¹⁷ 2673 (Tab. XLIV 12) and 5920.

¹⁸ List of references according to the order established in *CIL* IV and the following publications: 2631–2632; 2672–2673–2674 (= 6430–6431); 5523; 5535; 5751; 5760; 5803; 5805–5809; 5894; 5920 (= 6432); 5942; 6196 (two amphorae)–6197, (two amphorae)–6198–6199; 6226; 6341 (two amphorae); 6354–6355; 6405–6406 (four amphorae); 6408 (six amphorae); 6433–6437; 6500; 6930; 6947; 6992; 6994; 9315; 9319; 9424–9425; 9483–9485; 9487–9488; 9510–9512; 9643; 9760; 9763–9767; 10324–10327 (two amphorae); 10436–10439 (five amphorae)–10440 (four amphorae); 10443–10444 (three amphorae); 10736; 10772; 10887; 10889 (two amphorae)–10891; 10897; Giordano – Casale 1991, 208–210 (one amphora); 290–291 (one amphora); 321–322 (one amphora); 389; 420–421 (one amphora); Marangou-Lerat 1995, P29.

¹⁹ Giordano – Casale 1991, 151. 170.

²⁰ Including those with the abbreviated form CL or KA, the related amphora types are: PO04 (Giordano – Casale 1991, 366); PO06 (6921; 9418); PO07 (5629; 5640; 5649; 10286 (one of two amphorae)); PO08 (5570; 5804; 6297; 6996; 9486; 10770 (two amphorae); Giordano – Casale 1991, 339); PO10 (6407; 6425; 9817); PO11 (5998); PO12 (10441); PO13 (10442); Crétoise (Casaramona et al. 2010, 116 (four amphorae)); Crétoise 1A (Rizzo 2014, 325); and some specimens, simply classified as amphorae or *fragmenta* (5734; 5810–5812; 6913; 9499; 10770 (one *fragmentum* with two PO08)–10771; 10803). See too the results of the search %claud% in CEIPAC: Amphora incerta (23449); Dressel 20 (02217; 21874–21877; 21879–21886; 29765; 30209; 43554–43556).

²¹ González 2012, 117 f.

²² CEIPAC 03019; 21873.

- ²³ CEIPAC 43553.
- ²⁴ Remesal – Aguilera 2014, 47. The inscription from Baalbek in *CIL* III, 14386a = IGLS-06, 02721 = EDCS-ID: EDCS-17700142.
- ²⁵ Rome: Casaramona et al. 2010, 116 (four amphorae). Ostia: Rizzo 2014, 325.
- ²⁶ V1-1287: Τύρας, masculine name from inscription found in the Cycladic island of Andros, dating from the 1st–2nd century AD (*IG* XII (5) 777).
- ²⁷ Martín-Arroyo 2020.
- ²⁸ Los 1997, 66.
- ²⁹ Los 1997, 73–75.
- ³⁰ Martín-Arroyo – Remesal 2017, 269 fig. 5.
- ³¹ Martín-Arroyo et al. 2017, 188 fig. 2; 189.
- ³² Panella 1976, 156.
- ³³ 5535; 6405–6406 (four amphorae); 6408 (six amphorae); 6433–6437; 6994; 10887; 10889 (two amphorae)–10891.
- ³⁴ 2631–2632; 5760; 5803; 5805; 5807; 5809; 5894; 6199; 6226; 6354–6355; 6930; 10736; 10772; 10897.
- ³⁵ *Atramentum*: 2672–2674; 5920; 5942; 6947; 9760; 9763–9765; Giordano – Casale 1991, 290 f. (one amphora); Giordano – Casale 1991, 420 f. (one amphora); Marangou-Lerat 1995, P29. *Nigrum*: 9766–9767; 10436–10439 (five amphorae)–10440 (four amphorae); 10443–10444 (three amphorae).
- ³⁶ *Rubrum*: 6992.
- ³⁷ *Atramentum*: 9319; 9424; 9485; 9487; 9643; Giordano – Casale 1991, 321 f. (one amphora). *Nigrum*: 9425; 9483; 9512; 10324–10327 (two amphorae).
- ³⁸ *Rubrum*: 5751; 5806; 9315; 9484; 9488; 9510–9511; Giordano – Casale 1991, 389.
- ³⁹ *Albus* (white): 5523; 6198. *Carbone* (charcoal): 5808; Giordano – Casale 1991, 208–210 (one amphora); *Gilvus* (yellow): 6196 (two amphorae)–6197 (two amphorae); 6341 (two amphorae); 6500.
- ⁴⁰ Marangou-Lerat 1995, 67–89.

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Fig. 1: after Martín-Arroyo Sánchez. – Fig. 2: after Giordano – Casale 1991; Marangou-Lerat 1995; Martín-Arroyo Sánchez. – Fig. 3: after Daniel J. Martín-Arroyo Sánchez.

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