

## How Roman Sumptuary Specialists Called Themselves: A Corpus-Based Study\*

Relying on a corpus of epigraphic materials, this paper focuses on the *formulae* that were used by urban artisans and merchants specialized in the making and selling of jewels and other goods made of precious metals to call themselves.<sup>1</sup> The corpus at hand, which contains around one hundred epigraphic testimonies related to these professionals in the city of Rome (see Appendix II), allows us to identify thirty different nouns or phrases that could refer to them (see Appendix I).

A detailed analysis of our corpus sheds new light on the debate initiated by Andreau and Veyne around the real meaning of this terminological variety. While Andreau claimed that it reflected a true “division du travail”,<sup>2</sup> Veyne thought that it resulted from the fact that different “appellations publicitaires”<sup>3</sup> were used for referring to the same activity. In a recent review of the *status quaestionis*, Tran has envisaged the possibility that this lexical wealth might respond to the explicit wish of these individuals to achieve social distinction:

les plèbes urbaines d’Italie romaine étaient hétérogènes, finement stratifiées. La manière d’envisager le travail et de lui donner une visibilité épigraphique est liée à la fragmentation des groupes sociaux inférieurs aux élites. Dans ces groupes, le travail et le métier, que certains ont choisi d’évoquer sur les pierres, constituent un critère fondamental de différenciation.<sup>4</sup>

In line with a Marxist historiographical approach, Tran conceives of the historian’s work as a means to “rendre justice à ces opprimés” (i.e. the less-favored social classes).<sup>5</sup> By contrast, Hawkins’ theory remains close to Andreau’s in

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<sup>1</sup> An interesting work by M. Muller-Dufeu analyzes the features that distinguished the terms ‘artist’ and ‘craftsman’ from each other in antiquity; cf. especially MULLER-DUFEU (2011), p. 56, 63-64.

<sup>2</sup> ANDREAU (2004), p. 120-121.

<sup>3</sup> VEYNE (1991-1992), p. 756.

<sup>4</sup> TRAN (2007), p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> TRAN (2011), p. 132.

that it relates the specialization in funerary epigraphy to the learning of the various decorative techniques (“the existence of several other artisans specializing in individual technical processes or decorative techniques”)<sup>6</sup> and to the fact that “ ‘artisans’ or ‘entrepreneurs’ were for the most part urban workers who applied skill in order to transform or enhance raw materials or semi-finished goods, or who performed skilled services”.<sup>7</sup>

The evidence available today suggests that Andreau’s proposal is the more reasonable. During classical antiquity, different professions and specialists took charge of the various tasks involved in the making, distribution and commercialization of sumptuary products. This interpretation is very close to other hypotheses about the terminology applied to Roman commerce. We can take as an example the discussion initiated by García Brosa and Remesal Rodríguez<sup>8</sup> around the meaning of the terms *negotiatores* and *mercatores*: as pointed out by Remesal Rodríguez, “si los romanos usaron contemporáneamente estos términos, y aunque tengan un cierto grado de sinonimia, es claro que representan funciones diversas”.<sup>9</sup> We thus agree with the general approach of Andreau by highlighting that the variability of the epigraphic formulas aimed at specifically identifying the artisanal and commercial functions of the individuals referred to as well as the various productive phases of their activity.

A clear example, belonging to our corpus, concerns the so-called *gemmarii* and *margaritarii*, who were involved in the selling of gemstones and pearls, respectively.<sup>10</sup> In Rome, two inscriptions from the first half of the first century A.D. refer to *gemmarii*: *L(ucius) Albius L(uci) l(ibertus) Thaemella* and *Q(uintus) Plotius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Felix*. Both are identified as freedmen who sold their goods in the *sacra uia*.<sup>11</sup> This testifies to the importance of location to sumptuary businesses. An inscription found at the Porta Maggiore reveals, in addition, that children were employed in the manufacturing of jewelry sets and in the production of precious gems,<sup>12</sup> as still happens today in some developing countries.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> HAWKINS (2016), p. 90.

<sup>7</sup> HAWKINS (2016), p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> GARCÍA BROSÁ (1999), p. 181 n. 28; REMESAL RODRÍGUEZ (2000), p. 795, (2008), p. 353-354.

<sup>9</sup> REMESAL RODRÍGUEZ (2008), p. 353.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. further PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ (2014a), p. 267-282; (2014b), p. 759-763; (2019), p. 139-151.

<sup>11</sup> *CIL* VI, 9434; Appendix II.25. *CIL* VI, 9435; Appendix II.26.

<sup>12</sup> *CIL* VI, 9437 = *CLE* 403 = *ILS* 7710 = *EDCS*-19100659 (found out Porta Maggiore in 1631 and published in *CIL* by Bormann). See WEEBER (1995); translation from the Italian edition (WEEBER [2010], p. 189): “Orafo non affrancato: già maestro a 12 anni. Egli sapeva creare abilmente monili per il collo e disporre intorno a gemme variopinte il duttile oro”. On golden hairnets, see BEDINI / RAPINESI / FERRO (2004), p. 86.

<sup>13</sup> ROUX (2000). Cf. *RIB* I n° 712 [*CIL* VII, 265], from Malton, Yorkshire in Britain: a young slave. An *aurifex* is also shown in SAS / THOEN (2002), p. 149-150, n° 32.

1. *Carving, engraving and beating: fabrication techniques of urban artisans specializing in precious gems*

Let us turn to discussing the testimonies on the specialists engaged in engraving gems, who are variously referred to by *cauator*, *signarius*, *insignitor*, (*gemmarum*) *sculptor* / *sculptor* and *gemmarius sculptor*.<sup>14</sup> The engraving of gems in antiquity was also known by the Latin name *sculptura*.<sup>15</sup> By the same token, the expression *sculptura ectypae* was applied to the carving in relief on gems known as cameos.<sup>16</sup> Aside from gemstones, the art of carving on precious metals was known as *caelatura*, a technique by which raw metal was worked into a single piece, creating different kinds of engravings that are common in the art of goldsmith.

The Latin term *caelatura* was also used to describe crafting on a single piece of raw metal.<sup>17</sup> This technique allowed producing reliefs as well as stamping, chiseling or engraving metal sheets – all activities related to the art of goldsmithing. We know of five individuals in the city of Rome who worked on the making of decorative elements by means of *caelatura*; they were each designated as a *caelator*.

An inscription in Rome contains the dedication made by a *caelator* named *Amiantus Germanici Caesaris* to a young silversmith who was 22 years old and who is designated as *Antigonus Germanici Caesaris l(ibertus)*, that is as a freedman of *Germanicus Iulius Caesar*.<sup>18</sup> According to Meloni, *Amiantus* would have been an imperial slave, while *Antigonus* would have already obtained his freedom. The inscription demonstrates that different associated professionals might belong to a single domestic unit, the Imperial House, and have a common business goal: the making and selling of silver goods. While *Antigonus* is described as a specialist in molding and working silver (*argentarius*), *Amiantus* describes himself as a silver carver (*caelator*). On another (incomplete) inscription found in Rome, we find the noun phrase *Caesaris caelatori*, which we believe could refer to the same individual.<sup>19</sup>

An inscription of Chérchell (*Mauretania Caesariensis*) mentions an artisan named *Vitulus* who died at the early age of 24 years old and whom it describes as an *argentarius caelator*. The association of these two professional skills in a single inscription is unique, so we can envisage either that he worked on both

<sup>14</sup> *Cuator* [= *sculptura*]: DE FOVILLE (1911); *CIL* VI, 9239. *signarius* [= *signum*]: CHAPOT (1911b) [= *sigillum*]: BLANCHET / POTTIER (1911). *insignitor*: AUGUST., *Ciu. Dei* XXI, 4. (*gemmarum*) *sculptor* or *sculptor*: PLIN., *HN* 20, 134; 29, 132; 37, 60 y 63. *gemmarius sculptor*: *CIL* VI, 9436.

<sup>15</sup> DE FOVILLE (1911).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. e.g. PLIN., *HN* 37, 174; SENEC., *De benef.* III, 26, 1.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. further SAGLIO (1887).

<sup>18</sup> *CIL* VI, 4328; Appendix II.31.

<sup>19</sup> *CIL* VI, 37750a; Appendix II.32.

crafts or that he was involved in the making of decorative elements on silver objects. The inscription also records that he was a member of the city's association of silversmiths.<sup>20</sup>

Lastly, there are another three epigraphic testimonies on *caelatores* who were servants, most likely of Greek / Eastern origin, viz. *Synestor*,<sup>21</sup> *Epagathio*,<sup>22</sup> and *Lucius Furius Diomedes* (whose commercial establishment was located in the *sacra uia*).<sup>23</sup>

Another type of specialized craft in the process of refining gems was *chryso-graphia*, its product being called *crusta* (hence the derivative *crustarius*).<sup>24</sup> This terminology applies to the encrusting of precious stones and to other forms of carving onto metals such as silver and gold. During the late Roman Empire, this technique was carried out by the *barbaricarii* (or *barbaricani*?), perhaps also designated by the abbreviated form *barbarii*.<sup>25</sup> These artists imitated the embroideries of gold, silver and multiple colors that were made on barbarian cloth, but were also involved in the working of gold and silver onto vases, weapons or other iron and bronze objects.<sup>26</sup> Only two inscriptions (epitaphs honoring the *Manes*) have been found that refer to them, both in the city of Rome.<sup>27</sup>

According to Rey-Coquais these artisans were “makers of cloth with gold and threads”.<sup>28</sup> He further points out that other jobs are known to involve the combination of precious metals with fabric, as can be deduced from the terms *auriuestrix* or *aurinetrix* (*CIL* VI, 9213-9214) and *segmentarius* (*CIL* VI, 9889).

<sup>20</sup> *CIL* VIII, 21106; Appendix II.36.

<sup>21</sup> *CIL* VI, 9432; Appendix II.33; SOLIN (1982), vol. II, n° 1091.

<sup>22</sup> *AE* 1969/70, 36; Appendix II.30; SOLIN (1982), vol. I, n° 52.

<sup>23</sup> *CIL* VI, 9221; Appendix II.34; SOLIN (1982), vol. I, n° 510. See further PAPI (2002); MONTEIX (2012); HOLLERAN (2012).

<sup>24</sup> GRAUX (1887); cf. further SAGLIO (1887).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. HUMBERT (1877). There is no clear evidence supporting the hypothesis that the form *barbaricani* is not a trivial corruption of *barbaricarii*, and that *barbarii* truly differed from *barbari*; cf. MÜNSCHER (1900-1906).

<sup>26</sup> The *Notitia Dignitatum*, elaborated at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., gives a picture of the administrative and military organization of the late Roman Empire. It mentions the *barbaricarii*, also known as *argentarii*, who are listed under the entry for the *magister officiorum* in the east and the *comes sacrarum largitionum* in the west, viz. in Arles, Reims and Trier. This evidence supports the conclusion that these three cities were officially known as production centers of silver in the west. Relying on PAINTER (1988), BARATTE (1987) p. 31-32 claims that the work and production of silver for decorative purposes, furniture, etc. stemmed from private initiative and were not under the control of the state. By contrast, SINNIGEN (1963) has suggested that some products (e.g. parade armor) were officially commissioned, while others only resulted from private initiative.

<sup>27</sup> *CIL* VI, 9641; Appendix II.94. *CIL* VI, 33766; Appendix II.95.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. GLEBA (2008), p. 63, and PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ (2017), p. 37-70, following REY-COQUAIS (1995), p. 78-79.

Since *Viccentia*<sup>29</sup> and *Sellia Epyre*<sup>30</sup> are described as embroiderers of cloth with golden thread, the *segmentarius* named *Decimus Auonius Thalamus*<sup>31</sup> might be, as has been proposed by Chioffi, a “fabbricante di placchette metalliche, precipuamente d’oro, utilizzate per applicazioni e guarnizioni de tessili”.<sup>32</sup> We can find a mention of this technique in Ovid, when he criticizes the use of purple dresses with gold embroideries (*Ars Am.* III, 169-170: *Quid de ueste loquar? Nec nunc segmenta requiro / nec quae de Tyrio murice, lana, rubes*). These thin sheets were probably obtained by means of goldbeating, carried on beforehand by the *brattiarum*.<sup>33</sup>

An inscription found in the *uia Appia*, dated to the end of the first and the beginning of the second century A.D., mentions a member of the same family, *Sextus Auonius Faustus*, whose profession was that of a *stragularius*.<sup>34</sup> Elaborating on a idea of Grandinetti’s, Chioffi speaks of a “commerciantefabbricante di *stragula*”<sup>35</sup> who could be specialized in the covering, tinturing and upholstery of fabric and furniture,<sup>36</sup> which means that he was involved, perhaps next to *Thalamus*, in another phase of the embroidering of cloth of diverse quality with precious metals; as suggested by Chioffi, “la sua attività potrebbe essersi svolta in collaborazione con altri suoi familiari”.<sup>37</sup>

## 2. Other terms referring to the chiseling of precious metals

In addition to *sculptor*, *caelator* and *crustarius*, other testimonies on professions related to the sculpting, carving, chiseling and polishing of metals and other elements are provided by the terms *anaglyptarius*, *excusor (argentarius)*, *tritor (argentarius)* and *samiator*.

### 2.1. The curious case of the *anaglyptarius*

There is no known attestation of *anaglyptarius* in Rome, but we can gain a better understanding of this profession by considering an inscription of the second century A.D found in Córdoba (Fig. 1). This *unicum* has generated much debate owing to the fact that the inscription is lost. At *CIL* II, 2243, Hübner reproduced under “*Ferr*, fol. 172” a transcription borrowed from Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini’s (1450-1492) *Antiquarium siue Antiquitatis*

<sup>29</sup> *CIL* VI, 9213; Appendix II.40.

<sup>30</sup> *CIL* VI, 9214; Appendix II.41.

<sup>31</sup> *CIL* VI, 9889; Appendix II.97.

<sup>32</sup> CHIOFFI (2004), p. 92; GUMMERUS (1915), p. 135; DI GIACOMO (2016), p. 47.

<sup>33</sup> CHAPOT (1911a).

<sup>34</sup> *CIL* VI, 12951; Appendix II.98.

<sup>35</sup> GRANDINETTI (1999), p. 160-165; CHIOFFI (2004), p. 92.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. SAGLIO (1911).

<sup>37</sup> CHIOFFI (2004), p. 92.

*Sacrarium* (ms. Regg. C 398) where the text was divided into two independent parts.<sup>38</sup> Hübner also reproduced under “*Aug.*” the transcription due to Antonio Agustín (1517-1586), which can derive from that of the antiquarian Juan Fernández Franco (ca 1520-25 – 1601); Fernández Franco was a disciple of Ambrosio de Morales (1513-1591), who mentioned the inscription in 1575.<sup>39</sup> A third transcription, under “*Alfaro*”, was elaborated by Hübner from a drawing of Enrique Vaca de Alfaro (1635-1685) that he found in José Vázquez Venegas’ (1713-1774) archives.<sup>40</sup>

The inscription has been recently transcribed in the *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* (EDH 028373).<sup>41</sup> The title of *caelator* was added before the word *anaglyptarius*, which creates a terminological association whereby the professional is shown to be involved in the carving of reliefs on raw metal. Many authors agree with this definition; in particular, Hernández Guerra believes that the profession of *C. Valerius Anempton* and his apprentice *C. Valerius Zephyrus*, who was a *caelator anaglyptarius*, must have been related to engraving.<sup>42</sup> According to Laes, the profession of *anaglyptarius* should be understood as that of a “relief tooler”.<sup>43</sup> Personally, we agree with the definition offered by Alonso Alonso, Iglesias Gil and Ruiz Gutiérrez, who emphasize the singular character of this specialist: “nuestro *caelator* de Córdoba era un cincelador especializado en un tipo particular de relieve, como indica el atributo *anaglyptarius*, que cabe relacionar con los *anaglypta* mencionados por Plinio el Viejo

<sup>38</sup> See <[http://digilib.netribe.it/bdr01/visore2/index.php?pidCollection=Ferrarini:1&v=-1&pidObject=Ferrarini:1&page=indice.01\\_r](http://digilib.netribe.it/bdr01/visore2/index.php?pidCollection=Ferrarini:1&v=-1&pidObject=Ferrarini:1&page=indice.01_r)>.

<sup>39</sup> A. DE MORALES (1575), p. 119. Juan Fernández Franco is mentioned in the revision of the *CIL* by A. U. Stylow (II, 7, 347).

<sup>40</sup> See STYLOW / GIMENO PASCUAL (2004), p. 335.

<sup>41</sup> EDH 028373; Appendix II.84. This transcription may give rise to serious doubts, since it derives from Agustín, while the image shown is that of Enrique Vaca de Alfaro. Another proposal can be found at EDCS-09000367. In addition, the age of the deceased apprentice is uncertain. Depending on whether after the *X* there is an *L* or an *I*, it varies from 40 years, 5 months and 6 days to just 11 years, 5 months and 6 days; cf. LAES (2008), p. 263.

<sup>42</sup> HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA (2013), p. 71: “*C. Valerius Zephyrus*, sucesor, liberto y alumno, dedica un monumento funerario a su patrono *C. Valerius Diaphanes*, de oficio *caelator anaglyptarius*, cincelador, un emigrante instalado en la ciudad, que le permitió tener un hijo prohijado, también en el oficio, con taller propio. La inscripción es de fines del siglo I d. C., aunque podría ser también un anaglyptográfico en *Corduba*. Así, *C. Valerius Anempton* y su alumno realizaron trabajos de *caelator anaglyptarius*, es decir un cincelador: el sistema de escritura en relieve utilizado por los griegos”. It is unclear why Hernández Guerra speaks of “*C. Valerius Diaphanes*”, all the more so since he relies on the text published in EDCS. In a similar way, CRESPO ORTIZ DE ZÁRATE (1992), p. 229 refers to *C. Valerius [Dioph[ane[s]]* as the *libertus, alumnus et successor* of *C. Valerius Zephyrus*. In our view, Hernández Guerra did not have a clear picture of the relationships between the individuals concerned, which led him to propose an erroneous reading of the inscription.

<sup>43</sup> LAES (2008), p. 263.

	<i>Ferr. (f. 172):</i>	<i>Aug.:</i>	<i>Alfaro:</i>
	C · VALERIVS	III VALERIVS	C · VALERIVS
	ANEMESTIONE C CIVS	ANEMESTION TVCCIVS	..... M · TVCCIT
	CAELATOR ANAGLYPTARIVS	CAELATOR ANAGLYPTARIVS	.....
	INCREMENTVM MAXIMVM	INCREMENTVM MAXIMVM	... M · MAXIMVM
▷	ANNOR · XI · M · V · D · VI	ANNOR · XI · MENS · V · DIES · VI	... XL · MEN · VI · DIER · VI
	P · III · H · S · E · S · T · T · L	P · IN · H · S · E · S · T · T · L	H · S · E · S · T · T · L
	C · VALERIVS · ZEPHYRVS	C · VALERIVS · ZAPHYRIVS · SV	C · VALERIVS · ZENODORVS
	CIRRIONEM · SVVM · LIB ·	CIRRIONEM SVVM LIB ·	CIBIORVM · SVVM · LIB
	HALYMVM · INDVLGEN	VALVMINVM INDVL	ET ALVMNVN INDVL
10	TISSIMVM · HIC	GENTISSIMVM HIC	GENTISSIMVM HIC
	CONSECRAVIT	CONSECRAVIT	CONSECRAVIT

## CIL II, 2243

Fig. 1. The three transcriptions in *CIL* II, 2243.  
 From left to right: Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini; Antonio Agustín;  
 Hübner's version from a drawing by Enrique Vaca de Alfaro.

[*Nat. Hist.* XXIII, 11, 49] y Marcial [*Epig.* IV, 39, 8]”.<sup>44</sup> Nowadays, the term *anaglypta* is still used in the Anglo-Saxon world to define a kind of parietal decoration in which a series of papers carved with different motifs is used to give a uniform appearance to the room's interior.

## 2.2. *Excusor (argentarius), tritor (argentarius), samiator*

Another *unicum* within lapidary epigraphy that does not belong to the city of Rome, on which this study focuses, is a fragmentary inscription found in Aquileia (Appendix II.83). It mentions a freedman who worked as *excusor argentarius*, that is as an artisan who worked silver. It is likely that *excusor* comes from the verb *excudere*, whose supine is *excusum*, “in order to negotiate, forge, mould”, which can help us understand the possible meaning of this term by linking the individual at hand to the forging or moulding of silver objects.

An inscription in the city of Rome (an epitaph in honor of the *Manes*; Appendix II.82) features four members of a single family; among them a man named *Publius Silius Victor* is referred to as *tritor argentarius*, and thus was involved as a silver polisher in the manufacturing of silver objects.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> ALONSO ALONSO / IGLESIAS GIL / RUIZ GUTIÉRREZ (2007), p. 533. Regarding the possible origin of the deceased *C. Valerius Anemtion*, who was a *Tuccii(anus)*, these authors believe he moved from his city of origin, *Tucci* (present day Martos, in the Jaén province), to *Corduba*, where he would work as a *caelator anaglyptarius* until the age of 40 (the authors use the transcription published by *EDCS*). ALONSO ALONSO (2010), p. 423 records similar movement of another seventeen individuals of different professions in Roman Hispania.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. JOSHEL (1992), p. 182, HOLLERAN (2012), p. 27 n. 71.



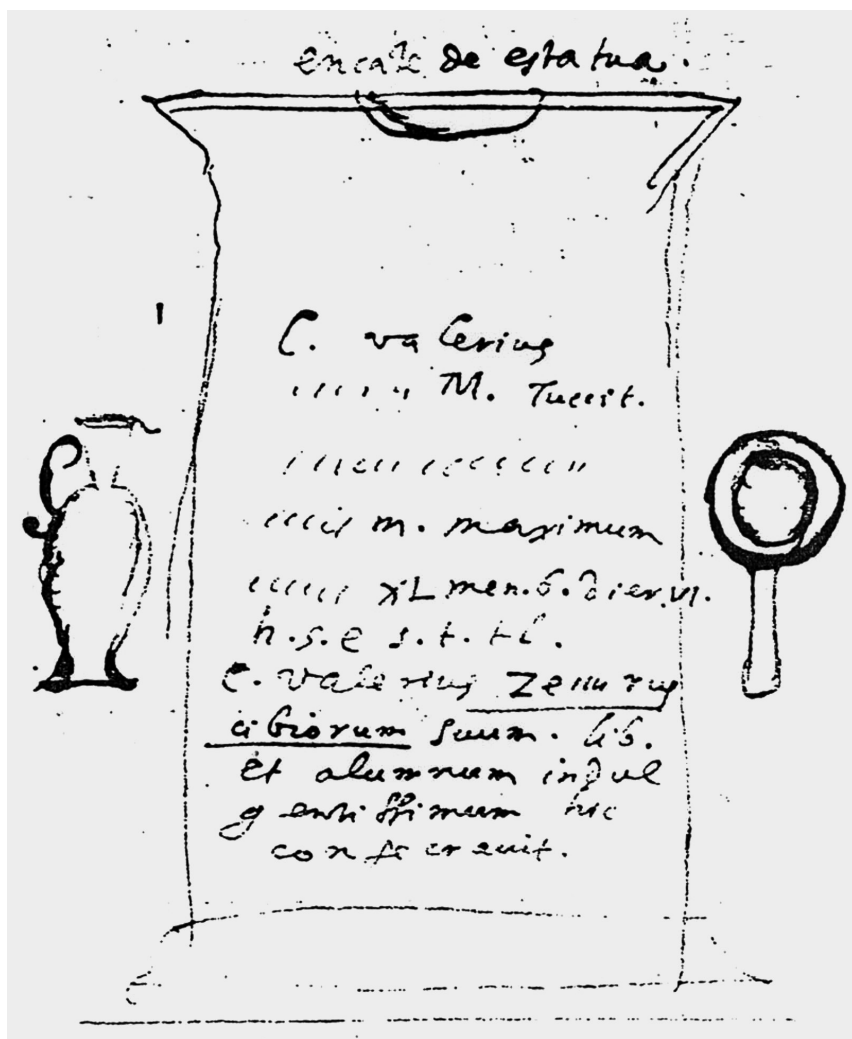


Fig. 2. Enrique Vaca de Alfaro's drawing.

By contrast, our lapidary evidence does not allow us to say anything about the profession of *samiator*, – presumably a worker of metals of some sort, i.e. a carver, sculptor, polisher, etc. –, nor on how it might have been related to other professions in the context of making and selling precious stones and metals.



### 3. Deauratores, inauratores, brattiarum and uascularum

Other professions related to the making and commercialization of objects made of precious metals were the *deauratores*, *inauratores*, *brattiarum* and *uascularum*.<sup>46</sup>

The first two were closely tied to the making and working of gold and similar materials, while the *uascularum* were artisans in charge of producing high quality vases and cups, especially made from silver, which were intended for use in Roman households. These craft names provide a clear indication of the artisans' specialization in this sector, divided first by material (gold, silver, gems, etc.), then by the technique applied, and lastly by the destination of the crafted object, namely whether it was intended for domestic use (tableware, cups, etc.), for adornment, or for display, as would have been the case with jewelry.

No inscription from Rome mentions the craft of gilding pieces for their later sale (*deauratores*), while there are three examples from the city with the title *inaurator*.<sup>47</sup> We believe that the *inaurator* was concerned with the making of gold jewelry, more specifically earrings and pendants, applying a technique based on creating curls<sup>48</sup> or braids by weaving several threads of gold or other golden materials. However, other authors maintain that the *inaurator* was in charge of gilding objects, using the sheets obtained from goldbeating.<sup>49</sup>

Goldbeating, known as *brattea* or *bractea*, was a widespread technique among artisans who worked with gold. In this sense, we might reasonably think that these individuals would have been known as either *bractearum* or *bractatores*; however, they always appear in inscriptions bearing the title *brattiarum*.<sup>50</sup>

The most common tool used by these artisans was the hammer, with which continuous pressure could be exerted on a piece of metal until the desired result was achieved. Goldbeating can also produce so-called gold leaf – very thin sheets of gold, which can be used as decoration on numerous types of objects.<sup>51</sup> Pure gold is a soft metal that proves impossible to reduce into thin sheets by

<sup>46</sup> PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ (2017) p. 37-70.

<sup>47</sup> The first of the inscriptions found in Rome (*ICUR*-08, 21405; Appendix II.80) is fragmentary, which makes it difficult to read the epigraph in full. The second testimony (*CIL* VI, 3928; Appendix II.79) shows an individual of servile origin who had already obtained freedom and who, with all probability, was of Oriental origin. Lastly, we include in this study an inscription found in the Sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine Hill, which mentions as an *inaurator* an individual named *Gelasius* (*AE* 1938, 61 = *AE* 1940, 75; Appendix II.81).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. POTTIER (1900).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. ALONSO ALONSO / IGLESIAS GIL / RUIZ GUTIÉRREZ (2007), p. 534.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. SAGLIO (1877).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. DOERNER (2005), p. 269.; DI GIACOMO (2012), p. 41.

itself (and in any case the cost of a single piece would be excessive). Thus, this technique requires the addition of some other metal or metals to form an alloy.<sup>52</sup>

Once the gold sheet is obtained, it is placed between sheets of parchment or leather to give it the desired thickness.<sup>53</sup> After this process is complete, the result is placed into a wood press, which contains thousands of sheets made from animal gut that serve as padding against further blows from a spring hammer. We do not know if the technique to obtain gold leaf known in modern times (and referred to in Spanish as *batihoja(s)* by the artisans who employed it) was similar to that developed in ancient Rome.<sup>54</sup> The technique of beating metals was used in antiquity to make jewelry and other decorative elements, along with writing stands of high quality, and even gold threads.<sup>55</sup> The latter was often used in the making of cloth, tablecloths, meshes, hairnets (*reticula*),<sup>56</sup> chains and dresses.

A representation of the goldsmith at work can be seen in a bas-relief conserved within the Vatican Museum, where the text *aurifex brattiar* is read as *aurifex brattear(ius)* uel *aurifex brattiar(ius)*.<sup>57</sup> It shows an artisan beating a piece of metal with a hammer and, alongside him in the bottom side of the relief, a stack of bun-shaped objects that are most likely ingots. This relief can be compared to an engraving from the modern era that shows a *batihoja* in the same position, the only difference being that the piece hammered is held by another member of the same craft, and perhaps that the metallic piece is covered by leather sheets to prevent its surface from receiving a direct hit (Fig. 3).

Another inscription found in Rome shows a freedman who worked as a metalsmith and who, according to the text that was originally recomposed by *Gatti* and *Fiorellius*, would have been known as a gold-sheet artisan: *A(ulus)*

<sup>52</sup> Cf. GONZÁLEZ-ALONSO MARTÍNEZ (1997), p. 127.

<sup>53</sup> Other artisans dedicated to the production of lead, tin, gold and silver objects were the *flaturarii* (from *flatura*). DI GIACOMO (2016), p. 127 states that the function of the *flatura* “era, infatti, quella di sottoporre le masse grezze di oro, argento piombifero e rame a un processo di raffinazione per trasformarle in lingotti (*lateres, solida*), barre (*regulae*) o altre forme di peso determinato (*massae constitutae*) mediante colatura entro stampi di argilla contrassegnati da marchi di garanzia”. HAWKINS (2016), p. 90 believes that “*flaturarii*, or casters, [...] could in some cases manufacture tableware or flatware but more commonly produced components such as handles and bases by casting them in molds made from models”.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. ALONSO ALONSO / IGLESIAS GIL / RUIZ GUTIÉRREZ (2007), p. 533: “El *brattiar(ius)* era, por lo tanto, un *batihojas*, es decir, un artesano encargado de golpear el metal hasta reducirlo a láminas finas para su posterior uso en la doradura o fabricación de diferentes joyas”.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. DI GIACOMO (2012), p. 41.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. BEDINI / RAPINESI / FERRO (2004), p. 84-87; BEDINI / TESTA / CATALANO (1995), p. 319-331; BEDINI / FERRO / RAPINESI (1997), p. 193-198; BEDINI / FERRO / RAPINESI (1999), p. 1371-1378.

<sup>57</sup> *CIL* VI, 9210.



Fig. 3. Top: A goldsmith from the Roman era (*CIL* VI, 9210)  
(image captured by the author).

Bottom: An engraving from the modern era showing a *batihoja*  
(GONZÁLEZ-ALONSO MARTÍNEZ [1997], p. 129).

[F]urius A(uli) l(ibertus) [--- aurifex] / brattia[rius].<sup>58</sup> The rephrasing of the text as referring to a goldbeater is surely due to the discovery of *CIL* VI, 9210.

There are another two individuals who can both be regarded as goldsmiths, linked together in a single inscription, where they are mentioned as being the owners of two funerary jars: A(ulus) Septicius A(uli) l(ibertus) / Apollonius / brattiar(us) / Septicia A(uli) l(iberta) / Rufa brattia[ria?] ollas II.<sup>59</sup> They would both have obtained their freedom within the same family group, where they were employed as metal beaters. It is noteworthy that a woman, known as *Rufa*, is also recorded as practicing the craft. However, this is not an isolated case, as there is another inscription from Rome, where a freedman called *Hermeros* also appears, which records a female goldsmith named *Fuluia Melema*: C(aius) Fulcinius C(ai) l(ibertus) / Hermeros / brattiarus / Fuluia Melema / uixit annis XXXXVIII / brattiar(a).<sup>60</sup> Yet we only know that her occupation was *brattiar(a)* and that she belonged to the family of *Caius Fulcinius*.

These different inscriptions reveal the level of control of certain families over the making and selling of objects made from gold and other metals. The inscriptions testify to the fact that certain production tasks were distributed among the members of the family, an example being the *gens Septicia*, a family specifically related to the buying, manufacturing and selling of gold goods in Rome.

A final epigraphic testimony shows two individuals, likely from the same family, who were members of Rome's association of goldsmiths:<sup>61</sup> *Concordiae / collegi(i) / Brattiariorum / inauratorum / Q(uintus) Hordionius / Primi-genius / Q(uintus) Hordionius / Pannychus / s(ua) p(ecunia) d(onum) d(ed-erunt)*.<sup>62</sup> The profession of *inaurator* was related to the making of gold jewelry or gilded objects. Thanks to these examples, we can further refine the description of the goldsmith as someone who was exclusively involved in working gold or other precious metals, from which sheets of gold were produced and intended for the production of jewelry and other decorative artifacts.

Another example of a Roman guild of merchant-artisans dedicated to the making of jewelry is that of the ring makers, or *anularii*. An inscription found

<sup>58</sup> *CIL* VI, 33836; Gatti apud Fiorellium *notizie degli scavi* 1888 p. 625, *Bull. Com.* 1888 p. 399, n° 4.

<sup>59</sup> *CIL* VI, 6939; Appendix II.43. PAVESE / THOMASSON (1997), p. 43-45, n° 35; GUMMERUS (1915), p. 161 n. 46; THYLANDER (1962), p. 141, 145, 151 n. 30, 46, 81 tabl. VIII, XII, XV; PANCIERA (1970), p. 137 n. 25; PANCIERA (1987), p. 85; PAVESE / THOMASSON (1997) p. 43 n. 35, fig. 4-6 (= *AE* 1997, 102); LANCIANI (2000), p. 400; DI GIACOMO (2012), p. 41-42.

<sup>60</sup> *CIL* VI, 9211; Appendix II.44.

<sup>61</sup> According to the index of associations from Waltzing's classic work, the artisans known as goldsmiths were grouped into the *collegium brattiariorum inauratorum* (of *brattiarum inauratores*); see WALTZING (1895), p. 328. On the interpretation of the term *brattea*, see also MAU (1897), p. 820-821

<sup>62</sup> *CIL* VI, 95; Appendix II.42.

in Rome, which can be dated to the end of the Republic's last century B.C., mentions the union of these craftsmen as the *collegium anularium*.<sup>63</sup> In spite of the fact that the inscription was found in the *uinea Pontificia*, Mau envisaged the possibility of locating the association's building next to the so called *Scalae Anulariae*.<sup>64</sup> This construction is mentioned by Suetonius in his *Life of Augustus*, where he notes that one of Augustus' first residences was located in the Roman Forum, and was originally owned by the orator Calvus.<sup>65</sup> There is no other mention of these ring merchants in the city of Rome, but epigraphic evidence testifies to their existence in other places within the Roman territory.<sup>66</sup> Thanks to Cicero, we also know that these artisans were present as itinerant vendors, which makes it more difficult to trace them.<sup>67</sup>

#### 4. Aerarii

Though gold and silver were undoubtedly the most valued metals in classical antiquity, we should not forget that bronze may also have been regarded as a precious metal owing to its use in the manufacture of sumptuary objects. The specialists who worked on bronze were known as *aerarii*.

There are few (four) epigraphic references to *aerarii* in Rome, so it is difficult to discern the actual function of these individuals, namely whether they were simple artisans involved in making bronze objects or rather merchants. Whatever they were, they made or sold statues,<sup>68</sup> tableware and other similar products. Relying on De Ruggiero, Alonso Alonso, Iglesias Gil and Ruiz Gutiérrez define the term *aerarius* as follows: "En el mundo romano, *aerarius* servía para designar al trabajador del metal en general, aunque dado el origen

<sup>63</sup> WALTZING (1895), p. 6-7. *CIL* VI, 9144; Appendix II.96.

<sup>64</sup> MAU (1894).

<sup>65</sup> SUET., *Aug.* 72. Cf. also CARANDINI (2010), p. 85, 98, 130, fig. 55.

<sup>66</sup> *CIL* XI, 4420 = *AE* 1999, 607 (*Amelia* / *Ameria*): [---] *Caletyche fe(cit) sibi et* / [---] *Trop(i)himo anulario* / [---] *qua l(iberta) Calyticeni* / [---] *ci Prisco filip* / [---]; *CIL* XII, 4456 = *CAG* XI-1, p. 264 (Narbonne): *Viu(us)* / *N(umerius) Consius* / *Dionysius anula(r)ius*] / *sibi et* / (*obito*) *N(umerio) Consio* / *Eroni patrono* / *in front(e) p(edes)* XV; *CIL* XIII, 7249 = *CSIR* D II-14, 96 (Mainz): *Marti et Victori* *AE in holnorem domus* / *diuin* *AE L(ucius) Bit(tius) Paulinus* / *anular(ius) uoto* / *suscepto pos(u)it*; *NSA* 1892, 124: *M(arcus) Tillius M(arci) l(iertus)* / *Secunus* / *anularius* / *uixit an(nos) XXXV h(ic) s(itus)*; *NSA* 1921, 34 = *AE* 1976, 205 (Bologna): *C(aius) Camonius* / *C(ai) f(ilius) Gratus* / *faber anular(ius)*.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. in Norfolk (Britain), an itinerant merchant / workshop: cf. further JOHNS (1997).

<sup>68</sup> An inscription from Britain, on the base of a bronze statuette found near the *colonia* of Lincoln, records the dedication made by two brothers to Mars and the intervention of an *aerarius* named *Celatus*; *RIB* I n° 274 and *CIL* VII, 180.



de este término latino, derivado del sustantivo *aes*, en concreto debía de servir para aludir al artesano del cobre o del bronce”.<sup>69</sup>

The first inscription mentioning a bronze smith has been found in the Esquiline Necropolis and is now preserved in the Baths of Diocletian Museum. It includes only one term, which has been interpreted as *aerar(ius)* by Dressel.<sup>70</sup>

A second inscription, found on a marble slab near *Porta San Sebastiano* at the Appian Way and preserved in the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale* (inv. 86224) of Florence, mentions *Caius Plotius Faustus*, freedman of *Caius* and *aerarius*. The text dates back to the first half of the first century A.D. Another inscription, dating to the third century, describes *Lucius Lepidius Hermes*, freedman of his homonym *Lucius Lepidius*, as a *negotiator aerarius et ferrarius*, that is a vendor of bronze and iron.<sup>71</sup>

Other epigraphic testimonies in Rome allude to the trade of iron and other metals by mentioning an *argentarius coactor inter aerarios*<sup>72</sup> or an *argentarius uicus auctionum ferrariarum*, which suggests that this profession was related to that of the bronze artisans and that a *uicus* may have specialized in the manufacture of iron objects.<sup>73</sup>

An inscription precisely dated to 380 A.D., thanks to a consular date, again resorts to the term *aerarius*.<sup>74</sup> Lastly, we note an inscription from *Santa Maria Capua Vetere* that dates back to the first century B.C., by *Lucius Auius Eunicus*, freedman of a certain *Marcus*, who was recognized as a master bronze artisan with the title of *aerarius magister*.<sup>75</sup> Also worth noticing is the popular propensity to include aspects related to a particular profession or object in certain parts of the *tria nomina*.<sup>76</sup>

## 5. Coronarii

The craft of *coronarius*, which was concerned with the making of crowns, either from precious metals or from flowers and garlands of flowers and fruit, is also attested in Rome. A *coronarius* of the *gens Septicia* named *Alexander* worked in the *uia sacra*; according to Di Giacomo, it is possible that he took in charge, with the help of his two freedpersons *Crheste* [= *Chreste*] and

<sup>69</sup> DE RUGGIERO (1895), vol. I., s.v. *aerarius*, p. 311; ALONSO ALONSO / IGLESIAS GIL / RUIZ GUTIÉRREZ (2007), p. 530.

<sup>70</sup> *CIL* I, 426b; Appendix II.52.

<sup>71</sup> *CIL* VI, 9135; Appendix II.54. *CIL* VI; Appendix II.56.

<sup>72</sup> *CIL* VI 9186; ANDREAU (1987), p. 608; GARCÍA MORCILLO (2005), p. 214.

<sup>73</sup> *CIL* VI 9185; ANDREAU (1987), p. 403; GARCÍA MORCILLO (2005), p. 214.

<sup>74</sup> *ICUR*-06, 15774; Appendix II.53: *Gratianus Augustus* consul 380 A.D.

<sup>75</sup> *CIL* X, 3988.

<sup>76</sup> *CIL* VI, 7542 and 11177. For a similar example see: *CILA*-3-2, 362 = *CLEHisp* 168 = *CLENuovo* p.53 = *Hep*-4, 495 = *Hep*-5, 526 = *AE* 1991, 1076 = *AE* 1994, 1060.

*Hermia*, the manufacture of gold crowns.<sup>77</sup> Another *coronarius*, *Caius Iulius Philargyrus*, was associated with a *candelabrarius* named *Tiberius Claudius Primigenius*.<sup>78</sup> The making of gold crowns (*aureae coronae*) is attested in the available sources.<sup>79</sup>

One inscription refers to an artisan specialized in painting crowns, named *Lucius Domitius Menocrates*, who is introduced by the formula *pictor coronarius*, which differentiates his specialization from that of the rest of his crown-making colleagues.<sup>80</sup> Most likely, he was specialized in the painting of crowns or garlands as decorative elements in Roman frescoes.<sup>81</sup>

Finally, one remaining inscription, which mentions an association of *coronarii*, was written on a memorial stone, with the sole objective of determining the space that this collective had reserved for itself in the monumental site dedicated to *Claudia Marcella Minor*, daughter of Octavia (Augustus' sister), which was inaugurated in the year 10 A.D.<sup>82</sup>

## 6. Vascularii and fabri argentarii

As already mentioned, other artisans involved in the making of luxury items were the *vascularii*, producers of high-quality vases or cups to be used in Roman households.

The existence of artisans and merchants related to the production of silver objects can be certified by the conjunction of the adjective *argentarius* with

<sup>77</sup> *CIL* VI, 9283; Appendix II.46. DI GIACOMO (2012), p. 47-48.

<sup>78</sup> *CIL* VI, 9227; Appendix II.77. The two individuals mentioned were most likely imperial freedmen; cf. PARISINI (2017), p. 340-341.

<sup>79</sup> *ThLL*, IV, col. 977, 26, s.v. *corona*. See, for a comparison, BULGARI (1958), p. XIII on the activity of artisans involved in the making of gold crowns during the 17<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

<sup>80</sup> *CIL* VI, 4414; Appendix II.49.

<sup>81</sup> Crown or garland motifs on parietal frescos are not unusual in classical antiquity. One of the most illustrative and recognized examples is a fresco fragment with garlands and objects belonging to the Dionysus rites from the villa of P. Fannius Synistor (in the well-known archaeological area of Boscoreale); see THOMPSON (2007), p. 138-139.

<sup>82</sup> The area reserved for the members of the association, who were involved in the making and selling of crowns and garlands, lies to one side of the area of the funerary pyre, in a zone that adjoins an area reserved by the *collegium symphonicorum* or orchestra. A spatial reconstruction of the monument honoring Marcella Minor was already proposed by Mommsen in *CIL* VI, 4414-4417 (p. 908). Epigraph 4415 describes the location of each of the elements that form the funerary complex. This tomb found in the *uinea Codinorum* (Rome), and excavated in 1847 (HENSEN [1847], p. 49-51), contains numerous inscriptions of slaves and freedmen of *Marcella*; *CIL* VI, 4418-4880. The *columbarium* was located between the *uia Appia* and the *uia Latina* in the zone belonging to Marcella's family; see KOKKINOS (1992), p. 67. By means of the epigraphic evidence we know that the funerary complex was finished in the year 10 A.D., when the urns were divided among the parties that took part in its construction.



expressions that imply the treatment of metal.<sup>83</sup> This idea was defended by Andreau who claimed that, at a terminological level, such collocations aimed at settling the ambiguity of *argentarius*, which could convey several meanings applying either to Roman bankers or to master silversmiths:

À ces époques, les métiers de l'orfèvrerie en argent étaient désignés par des expressions telles que *faber argentarius*, *argentarius vascularius*, *caelator argentarius*. [...] l'adjectif *argentarius* contribue à désigner un métier, mais en rapport avec l'argent métal (non monnayé). Le mot entre alors dans des expressions telles que *flator argentarius*, *faber argentarius*, *argentarius vascularius*, *negotiator argentarius vascularius*, *argentarius artifex*, *argentarius caelator*, *tritor argentarius*, *excus(s)or argentarius*, *artis argentariae excussor*. Toutes ces expressions désignent des métiers de l'orfèvrerie en argent, ou du travail du métal argent.<sup>84</sup>

The individuals mentioned as *fabri argentarii* were urban artisans who fashioned silver objects, while an *argentarius* was a silver merchant or banker.<sup>85</sup>

Thanks to the discovery of a silver ingot from Šabac (Serbia), where a man named *Flavius Nicanus* is said to have been a *uascularius*, we can say that this profession was at least related to the working of silver.<sup>86</sup> In Rome, fifteen inscriptions of various origins record individuals recognized as *uascularii*.<sup>87</sup> Another individual is known by the title *argentarius uascularius*, which suggests a task related to the working of silver, but distinct from the work of the *argentarius* or *faber argentarius*.<sup>88</sup>

Other artisans related to the trade of these precious goods are known as *negotiantes uascularii*. Thanks to an inscription found in Rome that honors the emperor Caracalla, we know that, from the third century A.D. onwards, they formed a corporation.<sup>89</sup>

An inscription found at Isola Farnese, but attributed to the city of Rome, refers to the *Basilica Vascularia*, and reads [---] *de basilica uascularia aurario*

<sup>83</sup> DE RUGGIERO (1895), vol. I, s.v. *argentarius*, p. 657.

<sup>84</sup> ANDREAU (1987), p. 62, 105-106, 677-678. On the *argentarius caelator* mentioned in an inscription of Chercell, see above, discussed above.

<sup>85</sup> *AE* 1928, 77; Appendix II.85. *CIL* VI, 2226; Appendix II.86. *CIL* VI, 9390; Appendix II.87. *CIL* VI, 9391; Appendix II.89. *CIL* VI, 9392; Appendix II.90. *CIL* VI, 9393; Appendix II.91. *NSA* 1919, 283; Appendix II.92.

<sup>86</sup> VASIĆ (1969), p. 110-111. The *Digestum* (XIX, 5, 20; 2; XLIV, 7, 61) relates this to 'silversmith'. The word *uascularius* was already used by Cic., *Verr.* II, 4, 53).

<sup>87</sup> *AE* 1991, 263; Appendix II.57. *CIL* VI, 3592; Appendix II.59. *CIL* VI, 1818; Appendix II.61. *CIL* VI, 9953-9955; Appendix II.60, 62 and 63. *CIL* VI, 9956; Appendix II.64. *CIL* VI, 9957-9958; Appendix II.65 and 66. *CIL* VI, 33918-33919; Appendix II.58 and 67. *CIL* VI, 33919a; Appendix II.68. *CIL* VI, 37824; Appendix II.69. *CIL* VI, 9138 and *CIL* VI, 9952; Appendix II.70 and 71.

<sup>88</sup> *CIL* VI, 9958; Appendix II.66. Other examples: *CIL* V, 3428 and *CIL* II, 3749; Appendix II.72 and 73.

<sup>89</sup> *CIL* VI, 1065; Appendix II.74. *Negotiator uascularius argentarius* in Lyon (*CIL* XIII, 1948; Appendix II.76) and Puteoli (*AE* 1996; Appendix II.75).

*et argentario*.<sup>90</sup> The *Basilica Vascularia* was only mentioned at the time of the Emperor Constantine in the *Regio VIII* of the Regionary Catalogue (*Cat. Reg.*), between the Temple of Concord and the barracks of the fifth cohort of the Vigiles. Its actual location is usually placed in the area that connects Trajan's Forum with the Forum of Caesar, along what is known as the *clivus argentarius*, descending from the east of the Capitolium.<sup>91</sup> This building was originally adjoined to the Temple of *Venus Genetrix* and the Forum of Julius Caesar, and formed an extension of the southern entrance of the Forum into the ascending avenue.<sup>92</sup> This central area of the city of Rome would be refashioned at the time of the emperor Trajan, the period in which the Basilica was constructed.<sup>93</sup>

In the inscription at Isola Farnese and the Regionary Catalogue, the *Basilica* is qualified as *Vascularia* rather than *Argentaria*. This building may have functioned as a meeting place for all the artisans and merchants involved in the making or selling of cups and other silver or bronze goods.<sup>94</sup> We do not know whether the *Basilica* was merely the meeting place of the artisans and merchants known as *vasculares* or was also used by other people employed in the making of objects of the same material, such as the *argentarii*, the *fabri argentarii*, the *candelabrarii*, etc. Regarding the latter, two inscriptions have been found in Rome that reflect their commercial activity in the capital of the Roman Empire; they were distinct from the other artisans in that they concentrated exclusively on the making of candelabra<sup>95</sup>.

## 7. Conclusions

Funerary epigraphy shows the complexity of the terminology used for describing specialists involved in the confection and commercialization of jewels and other precious objects. The way they called themselves varied according to the task performed in the various production or trading phases. Though it is unlikely that all the individuals concerned took part in the final marketing of the prestige good at hand, they nevertheless took part in the same phase of its production or subsequent marketing. The *inauratores*, *caelatores*, *brattarii* or *cautores* could thus have been more closely related to the elaboration and

<sup>90</sup> *CIL* XI, 3821; Appendix II.39.

<sup>91</sup> On the application of the adjective *argentarius* to the *clivus*, see PLATNER / ASHBY (1929), p. 122. On *Cat. Reg. VIII*, HABEL (1896).

<sup>92</sup> COARELLI (2008), p. 125-128 s.v. *Basilica Argentaria*.

<sup>93</sup> On the *Basilica Vascularia* or *Argentaria*, excavated in 1930-1933, see RICCI (1932); RICHARDSON (1992) p. 167 s.v. *Forum Iulium*; MORSELLI (2001); FÖRTSCH (2002).

<sup>94</sup> Owing mainly to the discovery of several graffiti (notably verses from Vergil's *Aeneid*) in the back wall of the *Basilica*, COARELLI (2008), p. 128 surmises that the building may have housed a school located between the Forums of Augustus and Trajan.

<sup>95</sup> *CIL* VI, 9227; Appendix II.77. *CIL* VI, 9228; Appendix II.78.

decoration of the product in an internal phase of the production, while individuals such as the *margaritarii*, the *aurifices* or the *argentarii* would have been responsible for its retail sale. This level of differentiation may surprise us, given that we now group the artisans and merchants of similar goods under just one title – that of jeweler.

In short, our study allows identifying the following specialists. The *margaritarii* were pearl sellers and the *gemmarii* sellers of precious stones. The engraving of the stones was taken in charge by the gem engraver (*cauator*, *signarius*, *insignitor*, (*gemmarum*) *sculptor* / *sculptor*, *gemmarius sculptor*). The *crustarii* used the technique called *chrysographia*, that is the incrustation of precious stones and other reliefs onto precious metals. The *caelator*, the *samiator*, the *anaglyptarius*, the *excusor* and the *tritor* were craftsmen specialized in making reliefs, prints, stamps or engravings on raw metal. The *uascularii* and *candelabrarii* made tableware and candelabras. The *fabri argentarii* fashioned silver objects, while the *argentarii* took in charge the trade of such products. The *aerarii* and *aurifices* were bronze or gold dealers. The *deauratores*, *inauratores*, *brattarii*, *barbaricarii*, *auriuestrices* and *stragularii* specialized in the finest productions, applied metallic threads or embroidered precious metals on fabrics. The *segmentarii* were involved in the manufacture of metal plates. Finally, the *coronarii* were associated with the confection of gold and silver crowns, and the *anularii* with the elaboration of rings.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS<sup>96</sup>

AE = *L'Année épigraphique*, 1888 -

ArchClass = *Archeologia Classica*

BCAR = *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, 1872-

CAG-11-1 = M. DELLONG *et al.* (2002), *Carte archéologique de la Gaule. Narbonne et le Narbonnais*, Paris.

CAG-69-2 = A.-C. LE MER / C. CHOMER (2007), *Carte archéologique de la Gaule. Lyon*, Paris.

Cat. Reg. = *Regional Catalogue = Notitia urbis Romae regionum & Curiosum urbis Romae regionum.*

CEMNR = R. FRIGGERI (2001), *La collezione epigrafica del Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano*, Roma.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae editum*, 1863-

CLE = *Anthologia Latina sive poesis latinae supplementum. II. Carmina Latina Epigraphica 1-2*, ed. F. BÜCHELER, Leipzig, 1895-1897 et *Supplementum*, ed. E. LOMMATZSCH, Leipzig, 1926.

<sup>96</sup> See also usual abbreviations in BÉRARD *et al.* (2010<sup>4</sup>); BRUUN / EDMONSON (ed.) (2015).

- CLENuovo = P. CUGUSI (2007), *Per un nuovo corpus dei Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Materiali e discussioni*, Roma.
- EDB = *Epigraphic Database Bari* <<http://www.edb.uniba.it>>
- EDCS = *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby* <<http://www.manfredclaus.de>>
- EDR = *Epigraphic Database Roma* <<http://www.edr-edr.it>>
- EPSG = *Epigraphische Sammlung. Onlineportal Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde Graz* <<https://gams.uni-graz.at/context:epsg>>
- GLEUSA = J. BODEL / S. TRACY (1997), *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA: A Checklist*, Roma.
- GLISwedish = M. PAVESE / B. E. THOMASSON (1997), *A Survey of Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Stone in Swedish Collections*, Stockholm.
- HD = *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* <<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de>>
- ICUR = G. B. DE ROSSI (1857-1861), *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores*, Roma.
- ICVaticano = I. DI STEFANO MANZELLA (1997), *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano*, Città del Vaticano.
- ILCV = E. DIEHL (1925-1966), *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, Berlin.
- ILLRP = A. DEGRASSI (1965), *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*, Firenze.
- ILMN = G. CAMODECA (2000), *Catalogo delle iscrizioni latine del Museo nazionale di Napoli, 1: Roma e Latium*, Napoli.
- InscrAqu-I = J. B. BRUSIN (1991-1993), *Inscriptiones Aquileiae*, Udine.
- IMCCatania = K. KORHONEN (2004), *Le iscrizioni del museo civico di Catania*, Helsinki.
- MNR = *Museo Nazionale Romano*.
- NSA = *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*.
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## APPENDIX I.

Terms used to refer to the different urban artisans and merchants that specialized in the making and selling of jewels and other goods made of precious metals.

<b>Trader/Craftsman &amp; Skill</b>	<b>English equivalent</b>
<i>margaritarius</i>	pearl seller
<i>gemmarius</i>	gemstone seller
<i>cauator</i>	engraver
<i>signarius</i>	seal-engraver
<i>insignor</i>	engraver
<i>(gemmarum) sculptor</i>	gem-cutter
<i>(gemmarum) sculptor</i>	gem-cutter
<i>gemmarius sculptor</i>	gemstone sculptor
<i>chrysographia</i>	gemstone inlay on precious metals (skill)
<i>crustarius</i>	artisan in charge of gemstone inlay on precious metals
<i>caelator</i>	metal working craftsman (a profession related to production of reliefs, carving, chiseling and engraving of metals and other elements)
<i>samiator</i>	metal working craftsman (e.g. engraver, sculptor, burnisher, etc.)
<i>uascularius</i>	artisan in charge of producing high-quality vases and cups
<i>anaglyptarius</i>	metal working craftsman and relief sculptor
<i>excusor</i>	silversmith? / chiseller?
<i>tritor</i>	silver polisher
<i>faber argentarius</i>	silversmith
<i>argentarius</i>	banker or silversmith
<i>candelabrarius</i>	craftsman dedicated to the making of candelabra

<b>Trader/Craftsman &amp; Skill</b>	<b>English equivalent</b>
<i>aerarius</i>	bronze seller
<i>deaurator</i>	goldsmith and craftsman in charge of gilding objects
<i>inaurator</i>	goldsmith and craftsman in charge of gilding objects
<i>brattarius</i>	a metallurgist who beats gold
<i>aurarius</i> and <i>aurifex</i>	gold seller
<i>coronarius</i>	craftsman dedicated to the making of crowns
<i>segmentarius</i>	craftsman of metal sheets, mainly made of gold, and applied onto fabric
<i>stragularius</i>	craftsman dedicated to the covering, tincturing and upholstery of fabric and furniture, who perhaps also took part in the embroidering of precious metals on fabric
<i>auriuestrix</i> and <i>aurinetrix</i>	embroiderer of gold onto fabric
<i>barbaricarius</i>	imitator of embroideries made of gold, silver and multiple colours on 'barbarian' cloth, in addition to the working of gold and silver on vases, armaments or other iron and bronze objects
<i>anularius</i>	craftsman dedicated to the making of rings

APPENDIX II. Epigraphic evidence  
(with mention of the author(s) of the datation(s) proposed)

Nº	Profession	Chronology	Inscription	Bibliography & Database
1	<i>margaritarius</i>	1-100 A.D. ( <i>nomina</i> ), EDR; G. Crimi.	<i>Julia Schole fecit sibi et / C(aio) Aspanio Clymeno / uiro suo margaritario et / Ti(berio) Claudio Archelao et / libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum / et A(ulo) Cottio Eunomo / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).</i> <i>Diogenes / Sostrati &lt;seruus&gt; / mar(margaritarius) d(e)curio.</i>	CIL VI, 9544 = EDCS-19200257 = TM 574564
2	<i>margaritarius</i>	14-100 A.D. (archaeology), EDR; V. Di Cola.	<i>Celeuthi Litiuae / marg(aritarii) dat Dionysio / patri suo Megiste Celeuthi / mater.</i>	CIL VI, 5199 = EDR 137749 = EDCS-18700552 = TM 571879
3	<i>margaritarius</i>	25 B.C. - 25 A.D. (prosopography, archaeology, palaeography), EDR; G. Crimi.	<i>[Marga]ritarius.</i>	CIL VI, 3981 = EDR 119456 = EDCS-200000117 = TM 278029
4	<i>margaritarius</i>	1-50 A.D. (archaeology, palaeography), EDR; G. Di Giacomo.	<i>M(arco) Vipsanio Felici agitatori / M(arco) Vipsanio Maiori sutori / M(arco) Vipsanio Scitleno sarcin(atori) / M(arco) Vipsanio Primitigen(io) marg(arit(ario) / Vipsania Flora oll(as) IIII d(ono) d(edit).</i> <i>M(ar)[ga]ritarij[us] / alri / lulialis.</i>	CIL VI, 37804 = EDR 160977 = EDCS-20800419 = TM 597784
5	<i>margaritarius</i>	—	<i>L(ucius) Valerius / Primus / negotiator / margaritarius) / ab Roma.</i>	CIL VI, 3051 = ILMN-01,642 = EDCS-17200087 = TM 569471
6	<i>margaritarius</i>	300-399 A.D., EDB; A. Enrico Felle.		ICUR-09, 24854,1 = EDCS-30500076 = EDB 6220
7	<i>margaritarius</i>	1-75 A.D. (palaeography), EDR; C. Gomezel.		<i>InscrAqr-1, 718 = IEAquil 290 = EDR 117667 = EDCS-01300365 = TM 289578 = Ubi erat lupa 13466</i>

Nº	Profession	Chronology	Inscription	Bibliography & Database
8	<i>margaritarius</i>	151-200 A.D. (archaeology, palaeography), EDR; S. Orlandi.	<p><i>Silvano Dendrophoro sacrum / M(anus) Poblucius Hilarus margaritarius q(uin) q(uennalis) p(er)petuus) cum liberis / Magno et Harmoniano dendrophoris M(atris) d(eum) M(agnae) de suo fecit.</i></p>	<p>CIL VI, 641 = CCCA-3, 208 = EDR 124085 = EDCS-17300784 = TM 124085</p>
9	<i>margaritarius</i>	131-170 A.D. (archaeology; palaeography), EDR; G. Crimi.	<p>a) Mosaic:  <i>Intranibus hic deos / propitios et basilic(ae) / Hilaritanae.</i></p> <p>b) Marble statue base:  <i>M(atio) Poblucio Hilaro / margaritario / collegium dendrophorum / Matris deum M(agnae) I(daeae) et Attis / quinq(uennali) p(er) p(etuo) quod cumulata / omni erga se benignitate / meruisset cui statua ab eis / decreta poneretur.</i></p>	<p>CIL VI, 30973a y b (p. 3758) = CCCA-03, 211 = AE 1890, 59 = AE 1890, 60 = EDR 121795 = EDCS-18600563 = TM 279301</p>
10	<i>margaritarius</i>	101-200 A.D. (archaeology, palaeography, formulae), EDR; R. Centola; ca. 50-299 A.D.? (formulae), TM.	<p><i>D(is) M(anibus) Euprosiecto alumno dulcissimo M(anus) Poblucius Hilarus.</i></p>	<p>CIL VI, 17389 = EDCS-00600387 = TM 580901</p>
11	<i>margaritarius</i>	101-230 A.D. (formulae, nomina), EDR; S. Orlandi.	<p><i>Tutic(ius) Hylas hic positus / qui fuit margaritarius hic / habuit dec(uriam) uiatorum) consularem et colleg(ii) den[d]r(ophorum) / Roman(orum) q(uin)q(uennalis) p(er)petuus) fuit / qui reliquit collegio s(upra) s(cripto) / HS decem mil(ia) n(ummum) uti ex usuris / eius omnibus annis parentet / ei hoc loco aut si non factum / fuerit ante terminal(ia) inferet / aerario p(opuli) R(omani) decem mil(ia) n(ummum).</i></p>	<p>CIL VI, 1925 = EDR 154289 = EDCS-18100741 = TM 570562</p>

Nº	Profession	Chronology	Inscription	Bibliography & Database
12	<i>margaritarius</i>	1-50 A.D. ( <i>formulae</i> , palaeography), <i>EDR</i> ; D. Papili.	columna I: <i>[L(ucius)] Caecilius L(uci) [libertus] / Plutus / margaritarius de / sacra uia sibi et / Corneliae [mulieris] [libertae] Sosini / et L(ucio) Caecilio L(uci) [liberto] / Epaprodito fratri suo.</i> columna II: <i>Cornelia [mulieris] [liberta] / Sosis / arbitra[rum] / L(uci) Caecili L(uci) [liberti] / Athenionis.</i>	<i>CIL X, 6492 = EDR 136781 = EDCS-21200068 = TM 538949</i>
13	<i>margaritarius</i>	100-1 B.C. (prosopography, <i>formulae</i> ), <i>EDR</i> ; I. Gabrielli; 82-44/1 B.C. (SOLIN: <i>Sulla-Caesar</i> ).	<i>Hospes resiste et hoc ad grunum ad laeum aspice ubet / continentur ossa hominis boni misericordis amantis / pauperis rogo te uiator monumento hic ni(hi) male feceris. / C(aius) Aetilius Serrani [libertus] Euhodus margaritarius de sacra / uia in hoc monumento conditus est uiator uale. / Ex testamento in hoc monumento neminem inferri neque / condi licet nis(e) eos [libertos] quibus hoc testamento dedi tribuique.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9545 = CIL I, 1212 = CLE 74 = ILLRP 797 = AE 2007, 126 = EDR 134542 = EDCS-19200258 = TM 574565</i>
14	<i>margaritarius</i>	1-30 A.D. (history, <i>formulae</i> , nomina) <i>EDR</i> ; G. Di Giacomo; 27 B.C.-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus-Nero</i> ).	<i>L(ucio) Calpurnio Nicaei [fili]o Cor[n]elia Antiocho / margaritario de sacra uia / L(ucio) Calpurnio L(uci) [liberto] Rufo / L(ucio) Calpurnio L(uci) [liberto] Stratoni / Calpurnia L(uci) [liberta] (H)el[?]ale patrono suo / et fratribus suis et sibi fecit.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9546 = EDR 161003 = EDCS-19200259 = TM 574566</i>
15	<i>margaritarius</i>	1-200 A.D. (SOLIN: 1/2 Jh.).	<i>C(ai)io Fufio Zmaragdo / margaritario de / sacra uia arbitratu / Fufiae Gallae uxoris / et Attineti et Abascanti / libertorum / libertis libertabus / posterisque eorum.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9547 = EDCS-19200260 = TM 574567</i>
16	<i>margaritarius</i>	1-100 A.D. (SOLIN: 1. Jh.).	<i>L(ucius) Sllaecius L(uci) [libertus] / Eros / margaritarius / de sacra uia.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9548 = EDCS-19200261 = TM 574568</i>

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17	<i>margaritarius</i>	51-100 A.D. ( <i>formulae, nomina, palaeography</i> ), EDR; G. Di Giacomo; 1-100 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>CIL VI</i> , 9549, 1. Jh.), 27 B.C.-14 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>CIL VI</i> , 33872, <i>Augustus</i> ).	<i>L(ucius) Calpurnius / Antiochi (libertus) Alexa / maior margarit(arius) / de sacra iuta / uixit ann(os) LXXVIII.</i>	<i>CIL VI</i> , 9549 = <i>CIL VI</i> , 33872 = <i>ArchClass-2016-242</i> = <i>EDR</i> 161007 = <i>EDCS-24100642</i> = <i>TM</i> 594843
18	<i>margaritarius</i>	100-1 B.C. (archaeology), EDR; I. Grossi (Scheithauer).	<i>[--] ? / Eulodius ma[rgarit] = / arius de Velabr[o], / sibi et Tampiæ L(uci) (libertae) / Stratonicæ et liber[ti]s?].</i>	<i>CIL VI</i> , 37803 = <i>AE</i> 1907,129 = <i>EDCS-16500057</i> = <i>EDR</i> 072169 = <i>EDH</i> 023669
19	<i>ad margarita</i>	11-1 B.C. (prosopography), EDR; I. Dortente.	<i>Phoebæ Marciae / Massimi(uxoris) ad margarita / [e]t Arescusæ uicariae / eius / [C]l[ymenus] conlega.</i>	<i>CIL VI</i> , 7884 = <i>EDR</i> 107842 = <i>EDCS-18700309</i> = <i>TM</i> 273908
20	<i>ad margarita(s)</i>	1-50 A.D. (archaeology), EDR; S. Orlandi.	<i>C(aius) Clodius Fausti (libertus) / Felix ad. marg(aritas), / C(aius) Clodius Phoebi (libertus) / Bathyllus.</i>	<i>CIL VI</i> , 9543 = <i>EDR</i> 162869 = <i>EDCS-19200256</i> = <i>TM</i> 574563
21	<i>auraria et margaritaria</i>	—	<i>Marcia T(iti) f(ilia) Seuera / auraria et margaritaria / de uia sacra legauit codicillis / testamenti / libertis libertabusque suis / posterisque eorum</i>	<i>CIL VI</i> , 3405* F.I.R.
22	<i>faber oculararius</i>	14-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Tiberius-Nero</i> ); 51 A.D. / 150 A.D. (archaeology), EDR; M. Giocoli.	<i>Dis Manibus / L(ucio) Licinio L(uci) f(ilio) Statotrial no L(ucius) Licinius L(uci) (libertus) Patroclus / faber oculararius / frat(ri) cariss(im)o f(icit).</i>	<i>CIL VI</i> , 9402 = <i>ILMN</i> , 1, 133 = <i>EDCS-19100623</i> = <i>EDR</i> 143289 = <i>TM</i> 574446
23	<i>ab ara marmorea status</i>	1-25 A.D. (archaeology; palaeography), EDR; G. Crimi; 27 B.C.-14 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus</i> ).	<i>M(arcus) Rapilius Serapio hic / ab ara marmore(a) / Oculos reposuit status / qua ad uixit bene.</i>	<i>CIL VI</i> , 9403 = <i>CLE</i> 208 = <i>SupplIt Imagines - Roma 3</i> , 3633A = <i>EDCS-19100624</i> = <i>EDR</i> 123378 = <i>TM</i> 279948



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24	<i>gemmarius</i>	50-150 A.D. (SOLIN: 50-150 A.D.); 50-299? A.D., TM.	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / Marcus Lollius Alexander / gemmarius et Flavia Sabina · fecerunt / acedem cum suo sibi / hypogaeo sibi et suis / Libertis libertabus / que posterisq(ue) suis poste/risque eorum h(inc) a(besto) d(olus) m(alus).</i>	CIL VI, 9433 = EDCS-19100655 = TM 574471
25	<i>gemmarius</i>	—	<i>L(ucius) Albius L(uci) l(ibertus) / Thaemella / gemmarius d[e] sacra uia / Albia L(uci) l(iberta) / Primigenia / uix(it) ann(os) XXIII.</i>	CIL VI, 9434 = EDCS-19100656 = TM 574472
26	<i>gemmarius</i>	14-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Tiberius-Nero</i> ).	<i>V(ius) Babbia (mulieris) l(iberta) Asia / u(tiuus) C(aius) Babbius (mulieris) l(ibertus) Regillus / (obit) Q(uintus) Plotius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Nicep(h)or / u(tiuus) Q(uintus) Plotius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Anteros / u(tiuus) Q(uintus) Plotius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Anteros / u(tiuus) Q(uintus) Plotius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Felix / gem(m)ari(i) de sacra uiam.</i>	CIL VI, 9435 = EDCS-19100657 = TM 574473
27	<i>gemmarius sculptor</i>	1-50 A.D. (archaeology; palaeography), EDR; G. Crimi; 27 B.C.-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus -Nero</i> ).	<i>L(ucius) Vitellius Hermias / gemmarius sculptor / ann(os) uix(it) XLV.</i>	CIL VI, 9436 = <i>SupplIt Imagines - Roma I</i> , 1059 = EDCS-19100658 = EDR 119032 = TM 249812
28	<i>gemmarius</i>	—	<i>Ossa P(ubli) Licini Primi / gemmari(i).</i>	CIL IX, 4795 = EDCS-14805866 = TM 553267
29	<i>caelator and gemmarius</i>	before 79 A.D.	<i>Priscus caelator / Campano / gemmario / fel(icitier).</i>	CIL IV, 8505 = AE 1912, 258 = EDCS-24600316, EDCS-16300551 = EDR 072555 = EDH 028506 = TM 249812
30	<i>caelator</i>	14-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Tiberius-Nero</i> ); 1-70 A.D. (palaeography), EDR; A. Carapellucci (Scheithauer).	columna I: (-sine texto) columna II: <i>Epagathio / caelator.</i>	AE 196970, 36 = EDCS-09700820 = EDR 074916 = EDH 012796 = TM 264331

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31	<i>caelator</i> and <i>argentarius</i>	4 B.C.-19 A.D. (prosopography), <i>EDR</i> ; S. Meloni; 37-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Tiberius-Nero</i> ).	<i>Antigonus Germanici / Caesaris l(iberus) argentarius / uixit annis XXII / Amanianus Germanici Caesaris (seruus) / caelator, fecit.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 4328 = ArchClass 63 (2012), p. 603, n° 2 (S. Meloni) = EDCS-19100524 = EDR 106078 = TM 273379</i>
32	<i>caelator</i>	1 - 100 A.D. (palaeo-graphy), <i>EDR</i> ; L. Benedetti (Scheithauer). <a href="http://usepigraphy.brown.edu">http://usepigraphy.brown.edu</a> ; c. first-second century CE.	<i>[---] / [---]s[---] / [---]i Caes[ris] / [---] caelatori [---] / [---] et [---] / [---].</i>	<i>CIL VI, 37750a = AE 1901, 145 = EDCS-20601011 = EDR 071787 = EDH 03670 = TM 263187</i>
33	<i>caelator</i>	1-200 A.D. (SOLIN: 1./2. Jh.).	<i>Sindes Aiaes / munus d(edit) / Synestor [c](a) elator.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9432 = EDCS-19100654 = TM 574470</i>
34	<i>caelator</i>	50-100 A.D. (SOLIN: 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh.).	<i>L(ucius) Furius / L(uci) l(iberus) Diomedes / caelator de / sacra uia / Corneliae L(uci) filiae) / Tertullae uxori / Pusillut(s) Nimphic(us).</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9221 = EDCS-19000670 = TM 574302</i>
35	<i>caelator?</i>	—	<i>[---] Exulperi caelatoris ---] / [---] sutoris [---] / [---] V[ictor]is [---].</i>	<i>ICUR-05, 13735c = EDCS-34100311 = EDB 9646 = TM 299367</i>
36	<i>argentarius caelator</i>	—	<i>Vitulus argentarius / caelator ann(orum) XXIII / hic situs est / cura conleg(i) fabri argentari(ii) / et conleg(i) Caesariensium crescent(es) / terra tibi leuis sit.</i>	<i>CIL VIII, 21106 = EDCS-27600340 = TM 339156</i>
37	<i>aurarius argentarius</i>	1-100 A.D. (SOLIN: 1. Jh.).	<i>D(is) M(ambus) s(acrum) / [Ti]berius) Cl[audius] Hymeneus / [au]rarius argentar(ius) / [fecit] sibi et Cl[audiae] / [Fortu]nat(a)e sanctissimae.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9209 = EDCS-19000658</i>
38	<i>aurarius</i>	100-200 A.D. (SOLIN: 2. Jh.).	<i>[---] Albius / Apollonius / [a]urarius de uelabr(o) / fecit sibi et / [V]lpiae Triphaerae / [---] r[ar]fissimae / [---] Al[biae] Piae fil[iae] / liberis libertabus(ue) / posteris(ue) eorum.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 33933 = EDCS-24100448</i>
39	<i>aurarius et argentarius</i>	—	<i>[---] / de basitica / uascularia / aurario et / argentario.</i>	<i>CIL XI, 3821 = EDCS-22700775</i>

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40	<i>aurinetrrix</i>	271/400 A.D. (palaeo-graphy), EDR; A. Ferraro.	<i>Viccentia dall'cissima filia / aurinetrrix q(u)ae / uixit ant(nos) XVIII, m(enses) VIII.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9213 = ICUR-04, 12503 = ILCV 633 = ICVaticano p. 323 = AE 1997, 166 = EDCS-19000662 = EDB 38347</i>
41	<i>auriuestrix</i>	1-50 A.D. (archaeology, <i>formulae</i> , palaography), EDR; A. Ferraro; 27 B.C.-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus-Nero</i> ).	in operculo: <i>Sellia Epyre, / de Sacra uia / auriuestrix.</i> in aluceo: <i>Q(uinti) F(uit) Olympici.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9214 = CEMNR, p. 141 = Terme, p. 492 = EDR 126738 &amp; EDR 004919 = EDCS-19000663 = TM 281172 &amp; TM 268775</i>
42	<i>collegium brattiariorum inauratorum</i>	1-50 A.D. (archaeology, history, <i>antiquitates</i> ), EDR; A. Ferraro.	<i>Concordiae / collegi / brattiariorum / ((centuria?)) inauratorum / Q(uintus) Hordionius / Primitigenius, / Q(uintus) Hordionius Pannychus / s(u)a p(tecunia) d(ono) d(ederunt).</i>	<i>CIL VI, 95 = EDCS-17200195 = EDR 161226 = TM 569564 = EPSG 72</i>
43	<i>brattiarus and brattiarra</i>	1-50 A.D. (archaeology), EDR; E. Vasselli; 27 B.C.-37 A.D. (August-Tiberius); G. Di Giacomo (2012); 27 B.C.-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus-Nero</i> ).	<i>A(ulus) Septicius A(uli) ((ibertus) / Apollonius / brattiar(us) / Septicia A(uli) ((ibert) / Rufa brattiar[ria?] / ollas II.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 6939 = ILSanMichele 30 = ILSanMichele 46 = GLISwedish 35 = AE 1997, 102 = EDCS-19300990 = EDR 108311 = TM 281917</i>
44	<i>brattiarus and brattiarra</i>	27 B.C.-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus-Nero</i> ).	<i>C(aius) Fulcinius C(ai) ((ibertus) / Hermeros / brattiarus / Fulvia Melema / uixit annis XXXXVIII / brattiarra.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9211 = EDCS-19000660 = TM 574294</i>
45	<i>auri acceptor</i>	1-30 A.D. (archaeology, <i>formulae</i> , palaography), EDR; G. Di Giacomo.	<i>A(ulus) Septicius A(uli) (;et)((mulieris)) ((ibertus) / Saluius, / de Sacra uia lauri a(c) ceptor.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9212 = EDCS-19000661 = EDR 160883 = TM 574295</i>
46	<i>coronarius or coronarius</i>	27 B.C.-17 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus</i> ); 25 B.C.-25 A.D. (archaeology, palaography), EDR; G. Crimi.	<i>A(ulus) Septicius Sal(ui) ((ibertus) / Alexander, coronar(arius) de sacra u(ia), / Septicia A(uli) ((ibert) / Chreste / patrono opseques, / A(ulus) Septicius A(uli) ((ibertus) Hermia.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9283 = EDCS-19000732 = EDR 119810 = TM 278227</i>
47	<i>coronarius</i>	1-200 A.D. (SOLIN: 1./2. Jh.).	<i>Dis Manibus / M(arcus) Canius Zethus / fecit sibi et suis / posterisq(ue) eorum / coronarius / Vitellianus.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9282 = EDCS-19000731 = TM 574350</i>

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48	<i>coronarius</i>	200-300 A.D. (SOLIN: 2. Jh.); 1-200 A.D. ( <i>for-mulae, nomina</i> ), <i>EDR</i> ; A. Di Benedetto.	<i>D(is) [M(anibus)] / Timotheu[s], / ser(uus) corona[r]tus]], / coitugi pie[ntis]/sima[e] bene[m]erenti] fe[ci]t] / et suis poster[is]q[ue]], / q[uae] uixit annis [---].</i>	<i>CIL VI, 7009 = EDCS-18300443 = EDR 113236 = TM 275856</i>
49	<i>socii coronarii</i>	30 B.C.-30 A.D. (palaeography, archaeology), <i>EDR</i> ; N. Balistreri.	<i>Sociorum / corona[ri]o[rum]. / in fronte] p[re]des] XIX, / in agr[o] p[re]des] XII ((semis?)).</i>	<i>CIL VI, 4414 = EDCS-19101016 = EDR 122534 = TM 571760</i>
50	<i>coronarii</i>	51-130 A.D. (archaeology, palaeography), <i>EDR</i> ; N. Balistreri.	<i>[--V]tialis / [sibi] et / [--] Prepusae / [et liber]tis libertab[us] / [suis] poste[r]is]q[ue] eorum / et area usirina inter adfines?) / areat(s?) symphoniae[orum] et corona[ri]o[rum] / me[di]a est et popul[um]. In fronte] p[re]des] XIII s[em]is), in at[ro] p[re]des] XI ((semis)).</i>	<i>CIL VI, 4415 = EDCS-19101017 = EDR 129667 = TM 571761</i>
51	<i>pictor coronarius</i>	1-100 A.D. (SOLIN: 1. Jh.); 1-100 A.D. (palaeography), <i>EDR</i> ; A. Carapellucci (Scheithauer).	<i>L[ucius] Domitius / Menocrates, / pictor corona[ri]us), / sibi et Hilarae.</i>	<i>Pittori 1 = AE 1936, 24 = EDCS-16000068 = EDH 024228 = EDR 073307 = TM 263728</i>
52	<i>aerarius</i>	—	<i>Aerar[us] (ius).</i>	<i>CIL I, 426b = CIL XV, 6074a y 6074b = EDCS-19700602 = TM 568869</i>
53	<i>aerarius</i>	380 A.D. (consular date), <i>EDB</i> ; A. Enrico Felle.	<i>Hic positus Pulu[er]inus / qui uixit ann[os] ---] I[---]VII / et uixit cum ux[ore] sua] annos III et m[en]ses] VII / aerarius August[us] consulat[us] [Gratia]no August[us] et Theod[osio] cc[o]</i>	<i>ICUR-06, 15774 = EDCS-32804843 = EDB 13693 = TM 303364</i>
54	<i>aerarius</i>	1 - 50 A.D. (archaeology, palaeography), <i>EDR</i> ; G. Crimi.	<i>Ollas VI et iure quod / ceteris sociis emit C[aius] Plotius / C[ai] (libertus) Faustus, aerari[us] / de P[ub]lio Oppio P[ab]li] (liberto) Anterote, / quod fuit iuris M[arci] Heremi M[arci] (liberti) / Agathonis.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9135 = EDCS-19000585 = EDR 123892 = TM 280253</i>

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55	<i>aerarius magister</i>	100-1 B.C., <i>EDR</i> ; M. Foglia.	<i>L(ucius) Auius M(arci) (i)bertus Eunic[us], / aerarius, mag(ister) / fani [---].</i>	<i>CIL X, 3988 (1) = Epigraphica, 1960, 25 = AE 1980, 221 = EDCS-18000373 = EDR 077661 = EDH 004123 = TM 250929</i>
56	<i>negotiator aerarius et ferrarius</i>	1-200 A.D. ( <i>formulae</i> ), <i>EDR</i> ; G. Crimi; 200-300 A.D. (SOLIN: 2. Jh.).	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucius) Lepidius L(uci) lib(ertus) Hermes, / negotiator aerarius et / ferrarius sub aede Fortunae / A.D. lacum Aretis et / Obellia Threpte / fecerunt / L(ucio) Lepidio L(uci) filio) Pallatina) Hermeroti / qui uixit annis VIII, mense I, diebus XXII et / Lepidia L(uci) filiae) Lucillae / quae uixit annis V, diebus VIII, / filis dulcissimis et piissimis erga se et / lib(erts) libertabusque posterisque eorum. / Haec taber(na) cum aedificio) huius monum(enti) tutela est. / H(oc) m(onumentum) siue aedificium quod est heredem non sequet(ur).</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9664 = EDCS-19301205 = EDR 163841 = TM 574617</i>
57	<i>uascularius</i>	101-150 A.D. (history, <i>nomina</i> , palaeography), <i>EDR</i> ; G. Di Giacomo.	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / T(iberio) C(laudio) Hermeti, / uasculario, et / C(laudiae) Atticillae, / Valeria Procula / coing(i) optimo) et / fil(iae) piissim(ae) et / Achilleus et / Aprto lib(erti) fecer(unt).</i>	<i>AE 1991, 263 = EDCS-02700762 = EDR 139732 = TM 267278</i>
58	<i>uascularius</i>	101-200 A.D. ( <i>nomina</i> , palaeography), <i>EDR</i> ; R. Marchesini, <i>EDR 145827</i> ; M. L. Caldelli, <i>EDR 153579</i> .	<i>L(ucio) Arrio Hermeti / uasculario / A(ulus) Egrilius Plarianus.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 33918 = CIL XIV, 467 = EDCS-05700468 = EDCS-24100431 = EDR 145827 = EDR 153579 = TM 594877 = TM 542607</i>
59	<i>uascularius</i>	—	<i>Dis Man[lib(us)]. / C(aio) Fictorio [Attico?] / uasculario, / Fictoriae Pithusa[e] / matri, / C(aio) Fictorio C(ai) filio) Attico / ((centurioni) leg(ionis) III Gallicae / fratri, uix(it) an(nis) XXV, / Fictoria C(ai) filia) / Atticilla parentibus / suis fecit.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 3592 = EDCS-19700283 = EDR 158639 = TM 571423</i>

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60	<i>uascularius</i>	27 B.C.-14 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus</i> )	<i>P(ublius) Monetius soc(tetatis) (libertus) / Philogenes uascular(us) / Veturia C(at) (liberta) Salua / sibi et suis.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9953 = EDCS-19600392 = TM 574842</i>
61	<i>uascularius</i>	27 B.C.-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus-Nero</i> ); 1-200 A.D. (formulae, <i>EDR</i> ; G. Crimi.	<i>L(ucius) Maelius L(uci) (libertus) Thamyrus / uascularius sibi et / Durdenae P(ubli) (libertae) Cytheridi et / L(ucio) Maelio L(uci) filio Ant(ensi) Flacco / filio eius scr(iba)e aed(iliu)m cur(tulium) et scr(iba)e q(uaestorio) / et libertis libertabusque suis / posterisq(ue) eorum. / H(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) [n(on)] s(equetur).</i> <i>A(ulus) Albius A(uli) D(ecimi) (libertus) Anubio uascul(arius) / sibi et libertis / libertabus.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 1818 = EDCS-18100629 = EDR 163834 = TM 570474</i>
62	<i>uascularius</i>	27 B.C.-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus-Nero</i> ).	<i>P(ublius) Clodius P(ubli) (libertus) / Dida / uascularius</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9954 = EDCS-19600393 = TM 574843</i>
63	<i>uascularius</i>	—	<i>Memoriae L(uci) Iuli Athenaei, uascul(arii) / qui uixit annis LXXV. / Iulia Lais coniugi bene merenti.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9955 = EDCS-19600394 = TM 574844</i>
64	<i>uascularius</i>	31-70 A.D. (archaeology, <i>nomina</i> ), <i>EDR</i> ; C. Ferro; 14-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Tiberius-Nero</i> ).	<i>P(ublius) Vigellius P(ubli) (libertus) Chilo. / uascularius, / P(ublius) Videllius P(ubli) (libertus) Faustus. / P(ublius) Vigellius P(ubli) (libertus) Hilarus.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9956 = MNR-01-02, p. 162 = MNR-01-06, p. 95 = EDCS-19600395 = EDR 127022 = TM 281502</i>
65	<i>uascularius</i>	50-1 B.C. (archaeology, <i>formulae</i> ), <i>EDR</i> ; S. Orlandi; 1-100 A.D. (SOLIN: 1. Jh.).	<i>P(ublius) Vigellius P(ubli) (libertus) Chilo. / uascularius, / P(ublius) Videllius P(ubli) (libertus) Faustus. / P(ublius) Vigellius P(ubli) (libertus) Hilarus.</i> in margine inferiore: <i>In fr(onte) p(edes) XIX. in agr(o) p(edes) XII.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9957 = EDCS-19600396 = EDR 138073 = TM 574845</i>
66	<i>argentarius uascularius</i>	41-200 A.D. ( <i>nomina, formulae, palaeography</i> ), <i>EDR</i> ; G. Crimi; 100-200 A.D. (SOLIN: 2. Jh.).	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berius) C[laudis] Phaeder / [arge]ntarius uascularius / [fecit] sibi et libertis libertabus / = [que et a]lumnis suis poste» = / «[risque eo]rum. Hoc monumentum» / «[heredem ex]terum no'n' sequetur» .</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9958 = AE 2000. 132 = EDCS-19600397 = EDR 164457 = TM 574846</i>

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67	uascularius	30 B.C.-30 A.D. (archaeology, palaeography), <i>EDR</i> ; G. Crimi; 1-100 A.D. (SOLIN: 1. Jh.).	columna I: [A(ulus) Fuluius] A(uli) [(ibertus) Doroth]eu[s uasculariu[s], / [Fulua A(uli)] [(iberta) Laïs Tarent(inus?)], / [Fulua A(uli)] [(iberta) Ephemeris], / [A(ulus) Fuluius] A(uli) (: et) ((mulieris)) [(ibertus) Antel]os, / [A(ulus) Fuluius] A(uli) [(ibertus) Felix], / [Fulua A(uli)] [(iberta)] Artimisia, / [A(ulus) Fuluius A(uli)] [(ibertus) Eros], / [A(ulus) Fuluius] A(uli) [(ibertus) Statu]s], / [---] Eleuther, / [---Ph] ilarcurus, / [---Epa]phra, / [---] Ja, / [---]Iula columna II: Fulua [---], / A(ulus) Fuluius[---], / ((theta nigrum)) Fulua A(auli) [(iberta)---], / A(ulus) Fuluius A(uli) [(ibertus)---], / A(ulus) Fuluius [---], / A(ulus) Fuluius A(uli) [(ibertus)---], / A(ulus) Fuluius] / [---].	<i>CIL</i> VI, 33919 = <i>EDCS</i> -24100432 = <i>EDR</i> 122698 = <i>TM</i> 279658
68	uascularius	131-100 B.C. (history, archaeology, palaeography), <i>EDR</i> , I. Grossi (Feraudi); ca. 190/200 B.C. (SOLIN: Ende des 2. Jh.v.Chr.).	<i>EDR</i> : <i>Adulescens, tam et si properas, / hic te saxolus rogat tu se / aspicias, deinde ut quod scriptust / legas. Hic sunt ossa Maeci Luci sita / Pilotimi uasculari. Hoc ego uoleba, / nescius ni esses. Vale. 'Posteris ius' / 'Luci Maeci L(uci) [(iberti) Salui, Manchae Manchae filius]': / 'Rutilia Rutiliae [(iberta) Hethaera'] / 'Maecia L(uci) filia':</i> <i>EPHG</i> : <i>Adulescens tameisi properas / hic te saxsolus (!) rogat ut se / at(d)spicias deinde ut quod scriptu(m) (e)st / legas hic sunt ossa Maeci Luci sita / P(h)ilotimi uasculari hoc ego uoleba(m) / nescius ni esses uale posteris ius / L(uci) Maeci L(uci) [(iberti) Salui Manchae (!) Manchae (!) filiae] / Rutilia Rutiliae [(iberta) Hethaera] / Maecia L(uci) filia).</i>	<i>CIL</i> VI, 33919a = <i>CIL</i> I, 1209 = <i>CLENiuvio</i> p. 109 = <i>CLE</i> 847, 848 = <i>RIRIOe</i> 122 = <i>D</i> 7703 = <i>ILCV</i> 4888 = <i>ILLRP</i> 821 = <i>Epigraphica</i> , 1998, 184 = <i>AE</i> 1895, 66 = <i>AE</i> 1997, 177 = <i>AE</i> 1998, 189a = <i>EDCS</i> -24100433, 35200424 = <i>EDH</i> 019839 = <i>EDR</i> 071640 = <i>TM</i> 263123 = <i>EPHG</i> 145



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69	<i>uascularius</i>	—	<i>M(arcus) A(tius) D(ometius) / uascularius de uita sacra / M(arcus) A(ti) A(nterotus) uasculari(i) / lib(ertus) u(icit) a(mnos) LXII / et heres in parte sexta.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 37824 = EDCS-20800443 = TM 597795</i>
70	<i>uascularius</i>	1-200 A.D. ( <i>formulae, palaeography, EDR; G. Crimi.</i> )	<i>L(ucius) N(aeuus) E(leuther) / et N(aeuus) N(arcissus) / et L(ucius) N(aeuus) T(hesmus) h(eredes) / L(ucio) N(aeuo) H(eleno) patr(ono) / suo ex testamento eius / fecerunt sibi et suis / et lib(ertis) lib(ertibus)que et / posterisque erari uasc(ari). / H(oc) m(onumentum) s(iue) s(epulcrum) e(st) h(eredem) 'non' sequetur.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9138 = CIL X, 1089, 146 = IMCCatania 408 = AE 2010, 225 = EDCS-19000588 = EDR 164828 = TM 574231</i>
71	<i>decuriae uasculariorum</i>	1-200 A.D. (SOLIN: 1,2. Jh.).	<i>[---] decuriarum / uasculariorum) / P(ublius) D(urdenus) E(ros) / patri optimo / patrono / indulgentissimo / optico de se merito D(is) [M(anibus)] / Publio / Lentulo[---].</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9952 = EDCS-19600391 = TM 574841</i>
72	<i>argentarius uascularius</i>	—	<i>[---] / L(ucio) l(ibertus) S(oterichus) / V(uir) argen(tarius) / uasc(ularius).</i>	<i>CIL V, 3428 = EDCS-04202473 = TM 557760</i>
73	<i>argentarius uascularius</i>	—	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) Iul(io) Ap(olau)s]to argen(ario) / uasc(ario) fecit) / Lettia Valentinia marito optimo.</i>	<i>CIL II, 3749 = CIL 2-14-01, 36 = IRVT-1, 66 = IRVT-2, 72 = HEp-7, 1043 = EDCS-09100037 = TM 231280</i>
74	<i>negotiantes uascularii</i>	213 A.D. ( <i>prosopography, history, EDR; S. Pastor.</i> )	<i>Imp(eratori) C(aes)ari) M(arco) Aurel(ico) / Antonino Pio Felici / Inuicto Aug(usto) Parth(ico) / max(imo), Britann(ico) max(imo), / pont(ifici) max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVI, / imp(eratori) II, co(n)s(uli) IIII, p(atr)i p(atr)iae, proco(n)s(ul), / domino / indulgentissimo / negotiantes / uasculari / conseruatori suo / numini eius / deuoti.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 1065 = EDCS-17600015 = EDR 104192 = TM 272706</i>

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75	<i>negotiator uasularius (argentarius)</i>	101-200 A.D. ( <i>formulae</i> , palaeography, prosopography), EDR; G. Camodeca.	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Claudio Trypholoni, Augustali dupliciario, negotiato/ri uasulario ar/gentario, et Marie Quartae, uxori eius / M(anius) Mummeius Eualthius, amicus et / heres Claudi / Tryphonis.</i>	AE 1996, 416 = EDCS-0300096 = EDR 101507 = TM 253673
76	<i>negotiator argentarius uasularius</i>	—	<i>[---] / Cn(aeus) Danius Cor[n]elia? / M[in]uso IIIIIuir Aug[ustalis] [---] / Lugudani negotiator argentar[us] / uasularius sarcophagum / alumnus posuit et aram infra script[am] / uiuus sibi inscripsit tu animae / ablatatae corpore condito multis / annis celebraretur eoque fato / [---].</i>	CIL XIII, 1948 = D 7704 = CAG-69-2, p. 683 = EDCS-10500903 = TM 487242
77	<i>candelabarius and coronarius</i>	—	<i>Ti(berius) Claudius / Primigenius / candelabr(a-rius) C(aeus) Iulius / Philargyrus / coronar(ius) oll(as) d[edit].</i>	CIL VI, 9227 = EDCS-19000676 = TM 574305
78	<i>candelabarius</i>	200-400 A.D. (SOLIN: 2./3. Jh.).	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / F(auo) Aquilo / Hedoni / candelabario / uixit ant[er]nos XXXIII / mens(es) IV d[ies] X.</i>	CIL VI, 9228 = EDCS-19000677 = TM 574306
79	<i>inaurator</i>	25 B.C.-50 A.D. (archaeology, palaeography), EDR; G. Crimi; 27 B.C.-14 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus</i> ).	<i>Philomusus / Terri l(ibertus) inaur[ator].</i>	CIL VI 3928 = EDCS-19900628 = EDR 119393
80	<i>inaurator</i>	300-399 A.D.	<i>[--- inaurator / [--- q]ui uixit / [--- qui]nque / [--- no]uem</i>	ICUR-08, 21405 = EDCS-33400248 = EDB 15267 = TM 304925
81	<i>inaurator</i>	212-250 A.D. ( <i>nomina</i> , palaeography), EDR; S. Evangelisti.	<i>B(oniae) F(ortunae). Ex praeecepto I(ouis) O(ptimi) M(aximi) D(olicheni) Aet(erni) Cons(eruatoris), / Annius Iulianus et Annius Victor, patroni huius / loci, donum posuerunt tabulam marmoream et / honorem fratribus suis, patronis etiam et</i>	ISDoli 6 = CCID 373 = AE 1938, 61 = AE 1940, 75 = EDCS-15700185 = EDH 020859 = EDR 073423 = TM 263779

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			<p><i>candidatis, / per M(arcum) Aur(eliu)m Oenopionem Acacium sacerdotem) et patrem candidatorum).</i></p> <p>columna I:  <i>Par(onus) Aur(elius) Malignesius / Lamprias; / patronus / Mem(mius) Leo.</i></p> <p>columna II:  <i>Par(oni) / Aur(elius) Sarapiacus / G(e)m(inius) Felix, / Vi(bius) Eutyctianus, / Cor(nelius) Crescentianus, / Aur(elius) Victorinus, / Aur(elius) Timotheus.</i></p> <p>columna III:  <i>Par(oni) / Aur(elius) Asclepiodotus; / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Eutyces / Alurnarurius, / T(itus) Ann(ius) Nicevitus, / Flor(---) Aelianus, / Campanus Junior.</i></p> <p>columna IV:  <i>Par(oni) Suetrius Clodiani; / Aur(elius) Antoninus, / Aur(elius) Antoninus Iunio(r), / Gelasius inaurator), / Aur(elius) Gelasius Acaci, / Gr(---) Deuterius.</i></p> <p>columna V:  <i>Par(onus) / Fl(avius) Campanus ; / Suetrius Exuperanus), / Suetrius Primus, / Suetrius Ampliatius, / Aur(elius) Romanus sacerdos), / Aur(elius) Maximus sacerdos), / Suetrius Bacradis.</i></p> <p>columna VI:  <i>Par(onus) / Aur(elius) Vitalio; / Aur(elius) Masculinus, / Aur(elius) Fortunatus, / Bulcacius Festus.</i></p>	

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82	<i>tritor argentarius</i>	101-300 A.D. (palaeography), <i>EDR</i> ; M. Giocoli.	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / Silio Victori filio / et Naebiae Anebe / coigi et Siliae Victoriae / filiae suae P(ubli) Silius Victor, / tritor argentarius f(ecit) s(ibi) et s(uis) / (libertis) (libertsibusque) posterisque eorum.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9950 (p. 3896) = ILMN-01, 151 = EDCS-19600389 = EDR 142953 = TM 574839</i>
83	<i>excusor argentarius</i>	1-100 A.D. (palaeography), <i>EDR</i> ; C. Gomezel.	[---] / Mansuet[il] / lib(ernus) / Primigenius, / excusor / argentarius, / et Pulliae Merope / [---].	<i>InscrAqu-I, 701 = PAIS 215 = D 7698 = ECDS-01300357 = EDR 117661 = Ubi erat lupa ID 17003 = TM 289572</i>
84	<i>anaglyptarius</i> or <i>caelator anaglyptarius</i>	101-200 A.D., <i>EDH</i> ; F. Feraudi-Gruénais.	<i>EDCS:</i> <i>C(aius) Valerius / Anempton anaglyptarius / incrementum maximum / annor(um) XL mens(ium) V dier(um) VI / p(ius) i(n) s(uis) h(ic) s(tus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(euis) / C(aius) Valerius Zephyrus suc/cessorem suum lib(er)um / et alumnum indulgentissimum hic / consecrauit.</i> <i>EDH:</i> <i>C(aius) Valerius / Anempton Tuccit(anus) / caelator anaglyptarius / incrementum maximum / annor(um) XL mens(ium) V dier(um) VI / p(ius) i(n) s(uis) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(euis) / C(aius) Valerius Zephyrus suc/cessorem suum lib(ertum) / et alumnum indulgentissimum hic / consecrauit.</i>	<i>CIL II, 2243 = CIL II, 7, 347 = AE 1987, 716 = EDCS-0900367 = EDH 028373 = TM 223703</i>
85	<i>faber argentarius</i>	71-150 A.D. (palaeography, archaeology), <i>EDR</i> ; A. Carapellucci (Scheithauer); 1-200 A.D. (SOLIN: 1./2. Jh.).	<i>Sex(tus) Rubrius Log[is]mus? / faber argentari[us] / sibi et / Rubriae Aurae libertae suae et / Sex(to) Rubrio Saturnino filio s[uo] / et libertis libertab[us]que suis / posterisque [eor]um / testamento f[el]ri i[us]sit.</i> <i>[Dis] Manibus / Rubria Philusa sibi et / sacerdoti suae / sanctissimae.</i>	<i>AE 1928, 77 = AE 1928, 78 = EDCS-16200723 = EDR 073079 = EDH 023260 = TM 263654</i>

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86	<i>faber argentarius</i>	1-200 A.D. (archaeology, palaeography), EDR; V. Lupo; 1-200 A.D. (SOLIN: 1./2. Jh.).	<i>Gurtilus Hermeros / fecit sibi et / Curtiliae Thediti / coniugi suae carissimae / et libertis libertabusque / suis posterisque forum, / magister utici ab Cyclopiis / region(e) pri(m)ma, faber argentarius.</i>	CIL VI, 2226 = EDCS-18100940 = EDR 163384
87	<i>faber argentarius</i>	31-70 A.D. (archaeology, palaeography), EDR; G. Crimi; 14 B.C.-68 A.D. ( <i>Augustus-Nero</i> ).	<i>L(ucius) Gaudius Eros, / faber arg(entarius), u(icit) a(mnos) LXX, / Gaudia Cleopatra / patrono fecit.</i>	CIL VI, 9390 = EDCS-19100611 = EDR 124079 = TM 280398
88	<i>faber argentarius</i>	1-50 A.D. (archaeology, palaeography), EDR; L. Benedetti (C. Caruso).	<i>P(ublius) Curtilius P(ubli) (libertus) Aga[us] / faber argentarius.</i>	GLEUSA, p. 14 = EDCS-64500064 = EDR 000863 = TM 267241
89	<i>fabri argentarii</i>	27 B.C.-68 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus-Nero</i> ).	<i>C(aius) Iunius C(ai) (libertus) Saluius / C(aius) Iunius C(ai) (libertus) Aprodisi / C(aius) Iunius C(ai) (libertus) Trypho / C(aius) Iunius C(ai) (libertus) Timolaus / C(aius) Iunius C(ai) (libertus) Antiochus Scaet( ) / fabri ar[gi]e(ntarii).</i>	CIL VI, 9391 = EDCS-19100612 = TM 574439
90	<i>faber argentarius</i>	27 B.C.-14 A.D. (SOLIN: <i>Augustus</i> ).	<i>L(ucius) Vetilius L(uci) (libertus) Nestor / faber argentarius / Vetilia L(uci) (liberta) Chrysarium.</i>	CIL VI, 9392 = AE 2000, 132 = EDCS-19100613 = TM 574440
91	<i>faber argentarius</i>	—	<i>[---]anus / [post aedem] Castoris decurio / [---] intanae / [---] Nice[phor] faber arg(entarius) / [---] A.D. Vor[ri]umnum / [---] uixit cum suis / [---]a / [---] Phi[li]eros f[ecit].</i>	CIL VI, 9393 = EDCS-19100614
92	<i>faber argentarius</i>	30 B.C.-50 A.D. (archaeology, formulae, palaeography), EDR; A. Carapellucci (Niquet).	<i>L(ucius) Petronius L(uci) f(ilius) Pall(atina) / Patronus / faber argentari(us).</i>	NSA 1919, 283 = AE 1920, 104 = EDCS-16201590 = EDR 072836 = EDH 027523 = TM 263551
93	<i>argentarius and ornatix</i>	—	<i>[---]arus argenta(rius) / [---]a ornatix / [---]r de suo / [---] possit.</i>	CIL VI, 9174 = ILCV, 697 = Epigraphica 1981, 43 = EDCS-19000623 = TM 574260

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94	<i>barbaricarius ministrator</i>	ca.50-299 A.D.? ( <i>formulae</i> ), <i>TM</i> .	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / Plaetoriae / Augaeni coniugi / b(ene) m(erenti) q(uae) u(xiti) a(mnos) XXIX fecit / Hermes barbaricari(i)s / mini(istrator) / (ibertus).</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9641, 37772 = EDCS-19301183 = TM 574602</i>
95	<i>barbaricarius</i>	100-150 A.D. (SOLIN: 1. Hälfte des 2. Jh.); ca. 50-299 A.D.? ( <i>formulae</i> ), <i>TM</i> .	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / Diasmeno / bar-baricario / Caes(aris) n(ostri) ser(uo) / fec(it) Tychicus / conliber(tus) / / Titul[---]</i>	<i>CIL VI, 33766 = EDCS-24000140 = TM 594787</i>
96	<i>collegium anularium</i>	50-1 B.C. ( <i>formulae</i> ), <i>EDR</i> ; M. Giovagnoli.	<i>[---]anus ad[---] / duomuir / conleg(i) anular(i) / locum sepulch(r)i m[---]. / In fronte pedes XXV, / in agro pedes XXV / de sua pequinia / conlegio anulario dedit.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9144 = CIL I, 1225 (p. 971) = ILLRP 769 = EDCS-19000594 = EDR 126004 = TM 574236</i>
97	<i>segmentarius</i>	—	<i>Dis Manibus / D(ecimo) Auonio / Thalamo / segmentario / patrono bene / merito / D(ecimus) Auonius / Heuretus (ibertus) / fecit.</i>	<i>CIL VI, 9889 = EDCS-19400121 = TM 574788</i>
98	<i>stragularius</i>	end first century B.C.; 82-44 B.C. (SOLIN: <i>Sulla-Caesar</i> ); 71-130 A.D. (archaeology, <i>formulae</i> , palaeography), <i>EDR</i> ; G. Crimi (C. De Santis).	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / Sex(to) Auo[n]io Fausto / Mar(tia)l(is) lib(erto), stragular(i)o / Auonia Pr[i]i nigenia / coniux Auon[ia] Soteris fil(ia) / et / Sex(tus) Auon[ilius] Valens / lib(ertus) patron[o] bene / merenti posuit. / Te rogo praeter[ite]ns quisquis es ut dicas / Auon[ili] Fa[uste] sit t[ibi] terra leu[is].</i>	<i>CIL VI, 12951 = CIL VI, 17768 = CLE 1456 = BCAR-1980/81-121 = Epigraphica 1999, 161 = AE 1999, 217 = EDCS-15400007 = EDR 029563 = TM 270915</i>