



JOURNAL OF ANCIENT HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY



Institute of Archeology and Art History of
Romanian Academy Cluj-Napoca
Technical University Of Cluj-Napoca



Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14795/j.v10i3>

ISSN 2360 266x

ISSN-L 2360 266x



Scopus®



Clarivate
Analytics



Central and Eastern European Online Library



No. 10.3/2023

CONTENTS

STUDIES

ANCIENT HISTORY

Stanislav GRIGORIEV

ORIGINS AND MIGRATIONS OF THE THRACIANS 5

Haggai OLSHANETSKY

THE BEST EVIDENCE FOR JEWISH SERVICE IN THE ROMAN ARMY: A NEW LOOK AT THE JEWISH EXEMPTIONS FROM MILITARY SERVICE AS APPEARING IN JOSEPHUS, AND JEWISH MILITARY SERVICE IN THE LATE REPUBLIC AND EARLY PRINCIPATE 30

Rada VARGA

NEGOTIATOR ALLECARIUS: NOTES ON A VERY RARE OCCUPATIONAL TITLE 46

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL AND REPORTS

Beatrice CIUȚĂ

NOVEL ARCHAEOBOTANICAL INSIGHTS AND NEW AMS C14 DATING FROM THE SANCTUARY OARȚA DE SUS-GHIILE BOTII (MARAMUREȘ COUNTY, ROMANIA) 53

Cristian Ioan POPA

CONCERNING BRONZE AGE FUNERARY FINDS FROM MEDIAȘ 65

Vitalie BÂRCĂ, Cristinel PLANTOS, George Valentin BOUNEGRU, Andrei MELINCIANU

PRELIMINARY DATA ON THE RESCUE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS OF ALBA IULIA — REPUBLICII BLVD. NO. 3 75

Alexandru GUDEA, Călin COSMA, Cristian MARTONOS

FRAGMENTS OF A SECOND AVAR HORSE DISCOVERED IN SÂNCRAIU DE MUREȘ
AN ARCHAEOZOOLOGICAL REPORT 136

Akin TEMUR, İlknur GULTEKIN GENC

SEBASTOPOLIS EXCAVATIONS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE BYZANTINE CHURCH 146

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOPOGRAPHY

Cristina-Georgeta ALEXANDRESCU, Christian GUGL, Gerald GRABHERR, Barbara KAINRATH

MILITARY AND CIVILIAN SITES IN THE HINTERLAND OF TROESMIS (TURCOAIA, TULCEA COUNTY, RO) 162

Florin-Gheorghe FODOREAN

MAPS OF ROMAN DACIA. IV. GRIGORE TOCILESCU AND „LA DACIE ROMAINE” IN 1900 171

NUMISMATICS

Nathaniel S. KATZ

LEGIONARY COINS IN THE YEAR OF THE FOUR EMPERORS 174

Metodi MANOV

THE COINS OF PAUTALIA FOR CLODIUS ALBINUS AS CAESAR (193 – 195) – A PHENOMENON OF ROMAN PROVINCIAL COINAGE 187

DIGITAL AND VIRTUAL HISTORY

María-Pilar MOLINA-TORRES

METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY OF ROMAN EPIGRAPHY WITH DIGITAL SUPPORT (HISPANIA 3.0) 196

IN MEMORIAM

Marius-Mihai CIUȚĂ

IN MEMORIAM BARBARA DEPPERT-LIPPITZ.
A DESTINY UNDER THE SIGN OF TREASURES 204

REVIEWS

Annamária – Izabella PÁZSINT

THIBAUT CASTELLI, CHRISTEL MÜLLER (EDS.), *DE MITHRIDATE VI À ARRIEN DE NICOMÉDIE : CHANGEMENTS ET CONTINUITÉS DANS LE BASSIN DE LA MER NOIRE ENTRE LE IER S. A.C. ET LE IER S. P. C., ACTES DU COLLOQUE DE PARIS NANTERRE, 2 ET 3 MARS 2018*, BORDEAUX, AUSONIUS ÉDITIONS (SCRIPTA ANTIQUA 166), 2022, 278 P., ISBN 978-2-35613-526-1. 208

Csaba SZABÓ

REVIEW: *CORPUS SIGNORUM IMPERII ROMANI. NORTH MACEDONIA, VOLUME 1/1. SCULPTURE IN THE ROUND*. EDITED BY VERA BITRAKOVA GROZDANOVA, ALEKSANDRA NIKOLOSKA, MACEDONIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ART AND RESEARCH CENTER FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE “CVETAN GROZDANOV”, SKOPJE, 2022, PP. 302, ISBN 978-608-203-358-7. 210

Onur Sadık KARAKUŞ

ERIKA MANDERS, DANIËLLE SLOOTJES (EDS.), *LEADERSHIP, IDEOLOGY AND CROWDS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY AD*, HEIDELBERGER ALTHISTORISCHE BEITRÄGE UND EPIGRAPHISCHE STUDIEN, BAND 62, FRANZ STEINER VERLAG, STUTTGART 2020, 200 PAGES, ISBN 978-3-515-12407-2. 213

Design & layout:
Petru Ureche

Studies

ANCIENT HISTORY

NEGOTIATOR ALLECARIUS: NOTES ON A VERY RARE OCCUPATIONAL TITLE

Abstract: The current investigation focuses on the rare epigraphic attestations of *negotiatorii allecarii*. Trying to distinguish why this occupational title is attested only in the context of Germania Inferior, we analyse the etymology of the word and its evolution into late antique and medieval Latin, the specificities of the *allec* trade, and the merchants' attestations within the context of the region's and the province's occupational epigraphy. The conclusions lead to placing the rare attestations of this trading specialization at the intersection of local consumption and epigraphic habits alike.

Keywords: *allec*, *Ganuenta*, *trading routes*, *consumption habits*.

Rada VARGA

Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
rada.varga@ubbcluj.ro

DOI: 10.14795/j.v10i3.914

ISSN 2360 – 266X

ISSN-L 2360 – 266X

The present investigation focuses on an occupational title of extreme scarcity. While historiography generally registers *negotiator allecarius* as a 'fish sauce merchant',¹ a detailed analysis reveals that the title is a rarity within Latin texts, be them literary or epigraphic. In this context, we try to review the etymology of the term, the trading context in which it was attested and the persons with whom it was associated. The *allecarii* are epigraphically recorded only in Germania Inferior, as dedicators to *dea Nehalennia* and in the current article we intend to investigate if this is a trade/consumption specificity, or rather part of a peculiar pattern of local epigraphic habits.

THE ETYMOLOGY

Our investigation has to start from the etymology of the word: *alec-**ecis* (with the variations *allec*, *halec*, *hallec*)² canonically means a specific fish sauce, the residual sediment of *garum*. In literature, references to this product are made by Plautus,³ Cato,⁴ Plinius,⁵ and others. The *allecarius* was the producer and/or seller of this sauce.

The various fish sauces (*garum*, *liquamen*, *allec*, *muria*), so popular in the Roman cuisine, were the primary condiments in food preparation.⁶ After the fish went through fermentation and decomposition, the clear liquid at the top of the vessel was the more expensive, good quality *garum*, while the rough paste settling at the bottom was the *allec*. As one can see on the chart below, the *allec* was not only of poorer quality and cheaper than the *garum*,

¹ PETRIKOVITS 1981, 84; BROEKAERT 2013, 43; VARGA 2020, 57.

² Oxford Latin Dictionary, 104-105; RE II 1584.

³ *Aul.* 5.

⁴ *Agr.* 58.

⁵ *Nat. Hist.* 9.66.

⁶ CURTIS 2017.

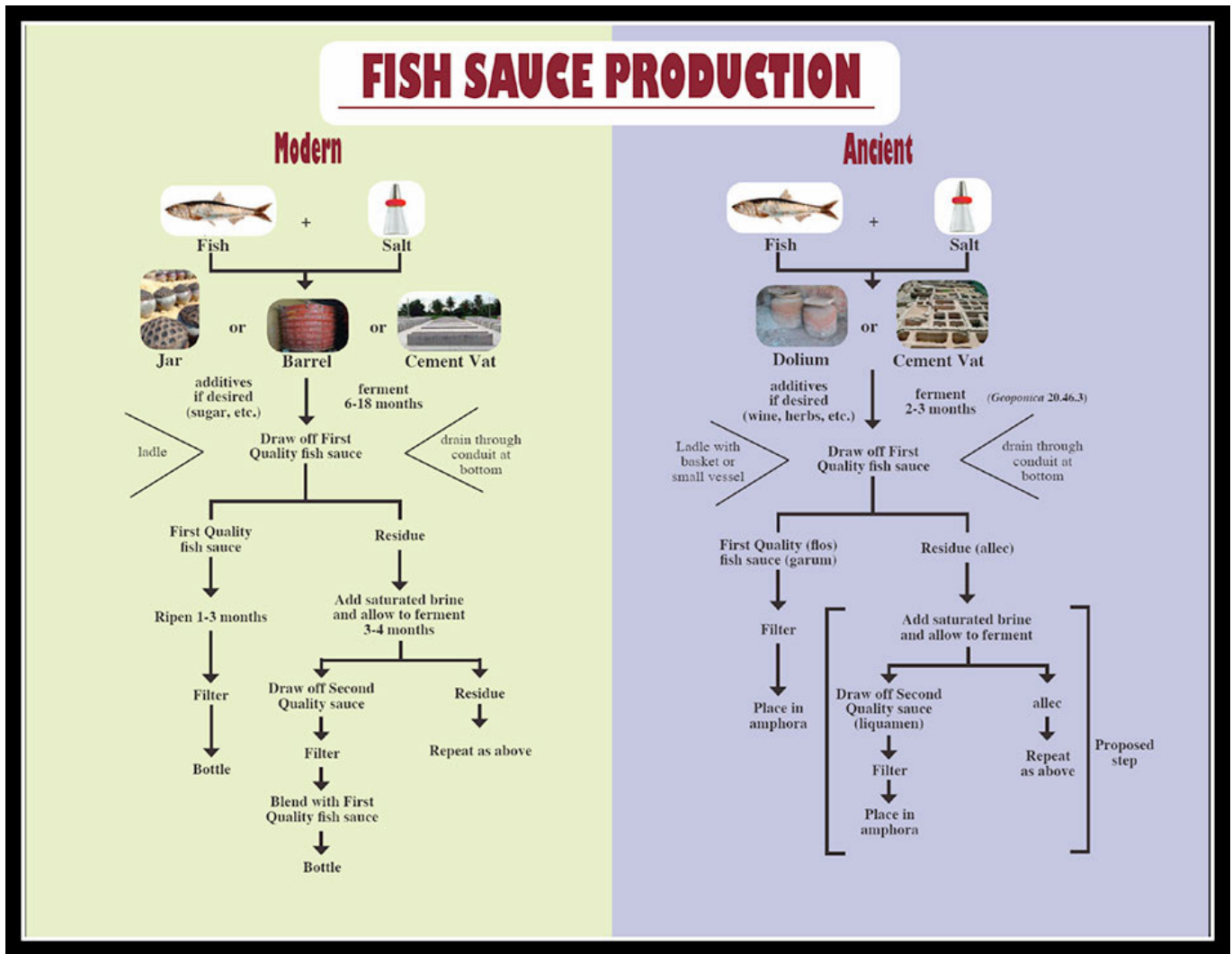


Fig. 1. The production process of modern and ancient fish sauces (after CURTIS 2017).

but it was also produced quicker. The sauces were produced both on a household level, and on an industrial one. Romans used these typical fish products instead of cooking salt, as a sauce poured over food, or for dipping⁷ (Fig. 1).

In classical Latin, the word *allec* seems to have also given the name of a fish: a small river fish, *hallecula*, which Columella mentioned in his treaty.⁸ At the beginning of the 7th century AD, the bishop of Seville, Isidore, mentioned the *allec* again, saying it was a small fish suitable for producing fish sauces, from which it took its name.⁹ So, the Latin sauce became in late Antiquity associated with a specific species of fish, and this association will carry on, even if with a little twist. Linguistically, in Romance languages, the word for anchovy seems to be the modern derivation of *hallec*: *alice* as a regionalism of the Naples area, *lacha* in Catalonia, and *haleche* in southern Spain.

But the evolution of the term goes in a different direction in northern Europe, the area of our focus. The term *allecarius* as a specificity of this certain area has more implications. In medieval Latin, *allec* (with variations) meant

herring, be it fresh, dried, salted or otherwise conserved. This association was common in northern Europe, on the continent as well as on the British Isles.¹⁰ Herring merchants in medieval France were called *alleciarii* in the official Latin documents of the time and a place for salting herring near Durham was called a *domus alleciaria* during the 13th century.¹¹

What's most interesting at this point is not the linguistic association with a singular species of fish, but the occupational title attested in medieval times, in almost identical form with the classical Latin one.

THE EPIGRAPHIC ATTESTATIONS

For the Roman Principate, all epigraphic attestations of *negotiatores allecarii* were discovered in Germania Inferior, namely from the area of the sanctuary of Dea Nehalennia at Ganuenta (Colijnsplaat). At a first glance, these concentrated and singular occurrences come as rather surprising and raise some questions regarding the actual use of this nomenclature at the scale of the Empire.

⁷ Nat. Hist. 31.87-88.

⁸ Rust. 6.8.2; 8.15.6 (river fish); 8.17.12; 8.17.14 (sea fish, apparently).

⁹ Orig. 12.6.39-40, apud CURTIS 1984, 152.

¹⁰ CURTIS 1984, 147.

¹¹ CURTIS 1984, 147.

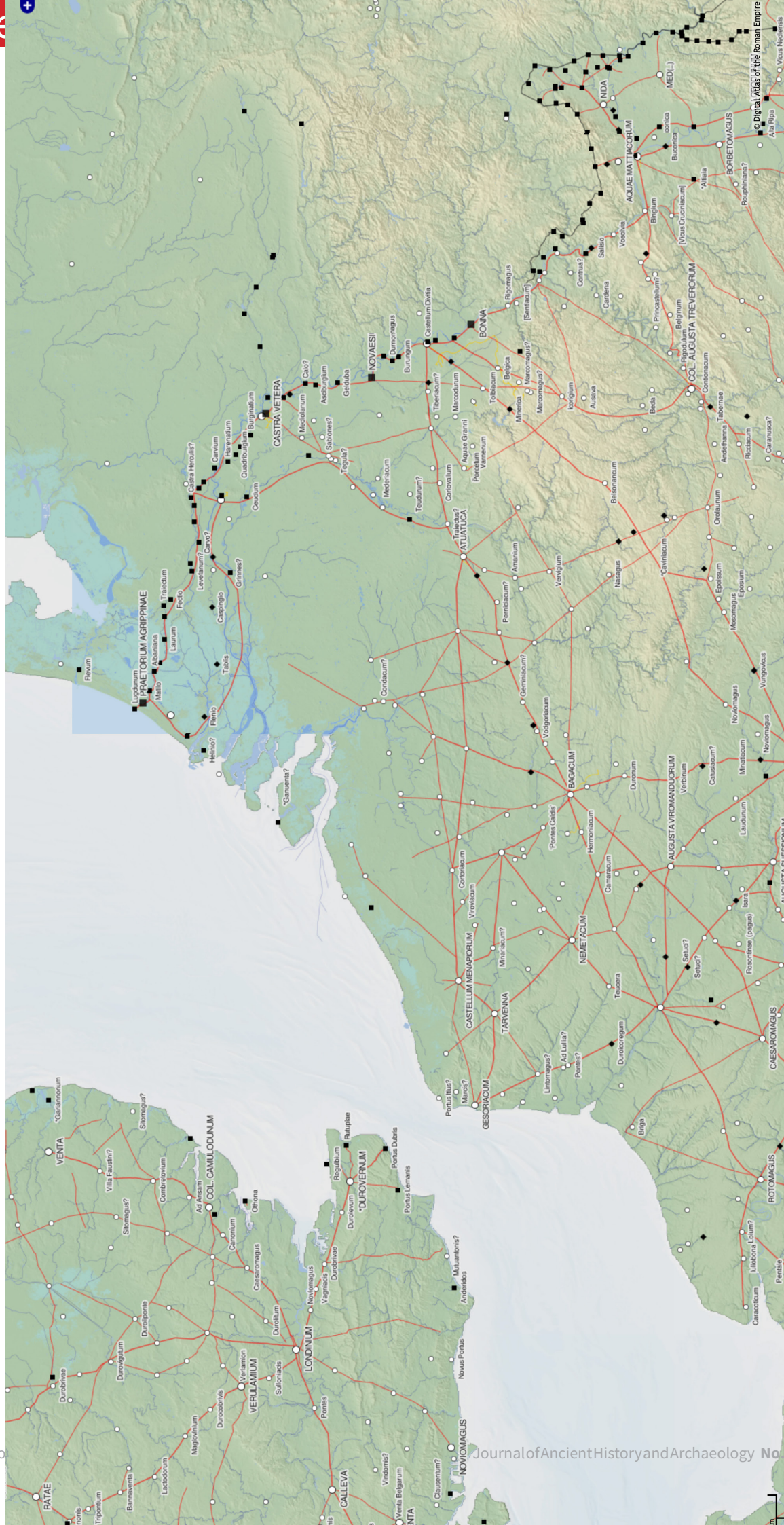


Fig. 2. Gannenta and its geographic surroundings (from Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire: <https://imperium.ahfeldt.se/>).



Fig. 3. Some of the altars dedicated to Dea Nehalennia in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

Dea Nehalennia was a goddess exclusively attested in the Low Rhine area, thus of stipulated Germanic or Celtic origins. Temples dedicated to her were discovered at Domburg (on the Zeeland coast),¹² Cologne-Deutz,¹³ and of course Colijnsplaat. The deity is generally depicted with maritime symbols and a dog at her feet. The former probably indicate her role as protector of sea travellers, including naval traders.

Ganuenta was a riverine settlement, most probably hosting a port or a harbour;¹⁴ such installations have not been archaeological discovered so far, but both the geographical position of the settlement (Fig. 2) and the epigraphic evidence strongly support it being part of the riverine and maritime trade routes. Ganuenta connected northern Gaul with Britannia and the Rhine commerce routes. The finds from this area, the dedications for Nehalennia, are one of the most consistent and coherent epigraphic sources we have related to commerce workers operating and living in northern Europe.¹⁵ One of the most interesting features of the dedications is the fact that

several dedicators mention their origin (*civitas Treverorum*,¹⁶ *civitas Veliocassorum*,¹⁷ etc.) as well as their area of trading interest (*negotiator Britannicianus*,¹⁸ *negotiator salarius Coloniae Claudiae Arae Agrippinensium*,¹⁹ etc.), thus allowing historians to reconstruct mobility as well as trading networks.²⁰

The occupational titles vary, from different types of *negotiatores*,²¹ to a representative (*agens rem adiutor*),²² a shipper (*nauta*),²³ a ship captain (*actor navis*),²⁴ etc. But the ones we are focusing on are the *negotiatores allecarii* (Fig. 3). Nonetheless, before getting to the details of the *allec* trade and the prosopography (as much as such reconstructions are possible) of the attested merchants, we must dwell into the specificities of occupational epigraphy of the Germanic area.

¹⁶ AE 1973, 375.

¹⁷ AE 1975, 651.

¹⁸ AE 1975, 651.

¹⁹ AE 1973, 362; AE 1973, 378; AE 2001, 1464.

²⁰ VARGA/PÁZSINT 2019; VARGA 2020.

²¹ *Negotiator* without further (conserved) specifications (AE 2001, 1475; AE 1983, 721), or *saliarius* (AE 1973, 362; AE 1973, 364; AE 1973, 378; AE 1975, 651), *cretarius* (AE 1973, 370)

²² AE 2001, 1458.

²³ AE 1973, 372.

²⁴ AE 2001, 1489.

¹² DEKKER 1999, 209.

¹³ SIMEK 2007, 228-229.

¹⁴ BONGERS 2020, 38-39.

¹⁵ STUART/BOGAERS 2001; COOLEY *et alii* 2007.

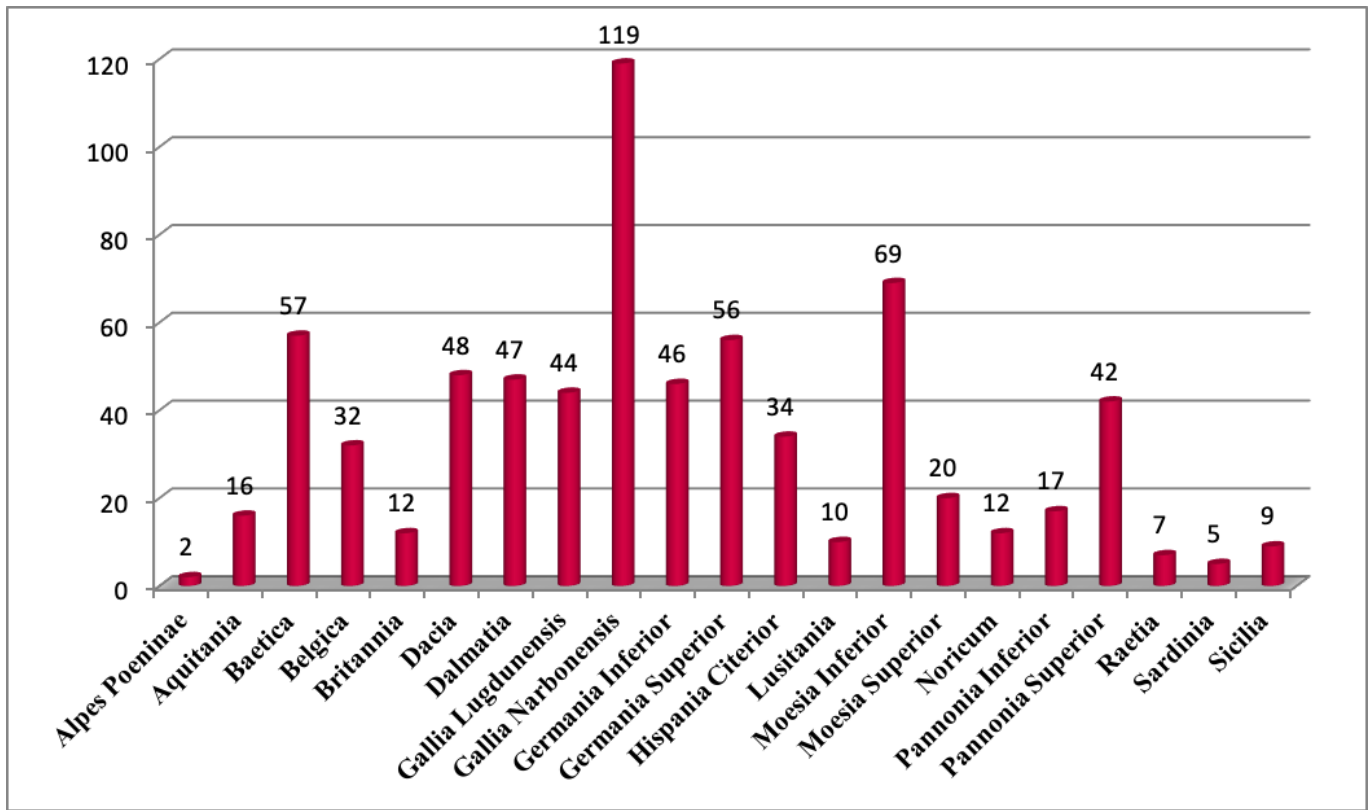


Fig. 4. The provincial distribution of occupational inscription (after VARGA 2020, 21).

OCCUPATIONAL TITLES IN GERMANIA

When analysing this specific occupational title, context is paramount. The geographical distribution is important in the context of regionality – political, social, linguistic particularities reflected by the epigraphic habits. Regarding the occupational titles of Roman Europe, over 200 singular titles were identified in epigraphy, from a total of approx. 690 individuals associated with their respective professions.²⁵

As can be seen on Fig. 4, the best represented provinces are the Gallic and Germanic ones. While Gallia Narbonensis is a province with general high epigraphic representativeness,²⁶ Germania Superior and Inferior both generally have a relatively modest epigraphy, which make the (comparatively) large number of attested professionals even more relevant for the area’s epigraphic habits. Gallia Narbonensis is remarkable in terms of both quality and quantity, with almost all professions represented: merchants, medics, many and various types of craftsmen, private administrative personnel, architects and artists. On a smaller scale, the situation is replicated by Gallia Lugdunensis and Belgica.

In the two Germanic provinces, the situation is a bit different. In Germania Inferior, 85% of the attested professionals were commercial workers, whereas Germania Superior is characterized by a slightly greater variety of occupations. Germania Inferior comes with a plethora of

detailed commercial branches, among which rare (or even unique) occupational tiles, such as *negotiator pistoricius*²⁷ (unique), *negotiator infectorius*²⁸ (unique), *negotiator lanius*²⁹ (attested solely in the two Germaniae and the aforementioned Gallia Narbonensis), or *negotiator lignarius*³⁰ (one more *faber lignarius* is attested in Moesia Inferior).

In this wide context, we have to inquire if these very minutely recorded specializations were more or less a feature of the area. Of course, the trades in themselves – with *allec*, with wheat, with dye, etc. – existed all over Europe and the Roman world, but we can suspect that the detailed occupational titles had more meaning and played a more important self-defining role in this area.

THE TRADING OF ALLEC

Was the selling of *allec* a specificity of the area? Or was it factually more important and on a larger scale here? It could have been. Besides necessity, human diets also reflect social and cultural preferences.³¹ The eating habits of the North Sea coast had certainly been altered by the presence of Roman soldiers and the multitude of civilians, from different areas of the Empire, that implicitly came along. Among the top Mediterranean imported products (and associated consumption patterns) were olive oil and *garum*.

²⁵ VARGA 2020, 15.

²⁶ WOOLF 1998, 82. We are not aware of more recent calculations of this sort.

²⁷ CIL XIII 8338.

²⁸ AE 2010, 1005.

²⁹ CIL XIII 8351 (Germania Inferior); AE 1997, 1187 (Germania Superior); CIL XII 4482 (Gallia Narbonensis).

³⁰ FINKE 1927, 294 (Germania Inferior); IGB II 690 (Moesia Inferior).

³¹ Garnsey 1999.

Allec was the residual part of the *garum*, limpid, more intense, and probably not to everybody's taste, but certainly much cheaper than the genuine Mediterranean sauce.³² We must assume that the traders attested at Ganuenta were selling local products, as all one needed for producing fish sauce was fish, salt and water. At the Nehalennia sanctuary, altars were also dedicated by salt merchants³³ – of course, salt was not traded only for being used in sauces. While this type of sauce existed in most of the Roman world, its popularity in the northern area is also supported by archaeological finds: at Aardenburg (Germania Inferior) a *grafitto* was found on a large storage vessel, reading *aliic XI s(emis)*,³⁴ thus indicating that the vessel contained 11 units of *allec*. As well, in terms of zoo archaeological finds, when bones are discovered in storage or transport recipients, it usually means that they held *allec*,³⁵ not the 'cleaner', more fluid *garum* – and these types of discoveries were made and documented in the area.³⁶

Installations to produce fish sauce were not found at Gauenta, but they were discovered on the Atlantic shore, as far as Brittany,³⁷ and heating installations believed to be used during the fermentation process in cold weather regions were discovered in Zeeland.³⁸

Ganuenta was perfect for transportation of low cost goods coming from the river Scheldt valley, North Sea coast and even the Somme, as an analysis of accessibility and cost per distance demonstrates.³⁹ It surely was an important point in the regional transport network, and was maybe even a node in large scale commerce, which implied transporting goods from Hispania to the Rhine region, via an Atlantic route. But in our case, we are talking about the local routes, which were focused on locally produced and traded goods, such as wool, salt, meat and fish products. These are perishable goods and don't leave too many archaeological traces, but their presence in the area left epigraphical traces: besides the *negotiatores allecarii*, we have attested salt traders,⁴⁰ a grain trader (*negotiator frumentarius*) who came from the *civitas* of the Nervi to *civitas Batavorum*,⁴¹ menapian ham was mentioned by Martialis⁴² and later on by Diocletian's Edict,⁴³ which also mentions wool from the Nervi.⁴⁴ *Allec*, on the other side, is not mentioned by the Edict, suggesting its general cheapness and marginal status on the food market.

THE MERCHANTS

It is quite safe to assume that a merchant that dealt in a certain type of sauce or fish, also sold on occasion the rest. There were a lot of herring and herring-like fishes in the North Sea and Atlantic Ocean that resembled the small fish

of the Mediterranean and similar products might have been the outcome, as well as taking over the name.

Regarding the four attested *allec* merchants, we can only know what the inscriptions reveal – which unfortunately is not much, and definitely not sufficient for proper prosopographic analyses. On the first, most complex, monument⁴⁵ of the lot, we have two *negotiatores allecarii*, Lucius Secundius Similis and Titus Carinius Gratus, who dedicate together, thus suggesting that they also did business together. They might have worked together within an association or a *societas*. The idea of a *societas* of the *negotiatores allecarii* operating between Britannia and the Atlantic coasts of Gaul and Germania Superior has been stipulated before⁴⁶ and seems plausible. Similis bears a potentially interesting *nomen*, as he might be connected to other traders from the German provinces.⁴⁷ While Secundius is not a rare name, it's worth mentioning that it also appears on some of the other Nehalennia altars.⁴⁸ A family relationship is not implied due to the honouring of the same cult, but trade, even if of different types of goods, was often a family business, so the hypothesis is not to be discarded either.

A relatively complex dedication is that of Caius Catullinius Secco,⁴⁹ citizen of Trier (*cives Trever*), who honours Nehalennia *in honorem domus divinae*. Augusta Treverorum was not a coast city, so our man might have chosen a profit-generating trade between the coastal region and his hometown, where his connections were. Secco is a Celtic name, so we can assume the trader's descent from a local family. Unfortunately, family connections, which would have been so illuminating on the traders' identity and networks lack from these dedications.

The last name is badly preserved, as we have an A(...) us Gratus.⁵⁰ The name could be Atius, Attius, or Ateius, as it had been suggested.⁵¹ Nothing else can be said about him, except he was a seller of *allec* and was praying to Nehalennia in the sanctuary of Ganuenta.

ENDING REMARKS

Our investigation started with the hope that we could establish if the term (*negotiator*) *allecarius* was *de facto* a regionalism. Given the sources, their small quantity and their irregular nature, this is hard to establish. At this point, we strongly believe we are dealing with a combination of factors. First, we have the trading networks which flourish on the Low Rhine area and the Atlantic coast, due to the multitude of trading routes intersecting here. Additional, we have the lucky discovery of all the dedications from the sanctuary of Nehalennia.

The above are intertwined with a series of local traits: the many inscriptions of traders from the Germanic

³² BROEKAERT 2013, 43.

³³ See note 20.

³⁴ LOUWE KOOLJMAN/STUART/BOGAERS 1971, 40.

³⁵ VAN NEERN/LENTACKER 1994, 58.

³⁶ VAN NEERN/LENTACKER 1994; CURTIS 2015.

³⁷ SANQUER/GALLIOU 1972; IMMERZEEL 1990.

³⁸ IMMERZEEL 1990.

³⁹ BONGERS 2020, 43, fig. 7.

⁴⁰ AE 1973, 362; AE 1973, 364; AE 1973, 378; AE 1975, 651.

⁴¹ CIL XIII 8725.

⁴² Mart. XIII 54.

⁴³ Ed. Diocl. XIX 44.

⁴⁴ Ed. Diocl. XIX 44.

⁴⁵ AE 1973, 365.

⁴⁶ CURTIS 1984, 149; CURTIS 2015, 174.

⁴⁷ BROEKAERT 2013, 98.

⁴⁸ AE 1973, 370 (*negotiator cretarius*); AE 1975, 649; AE 1997, 1161; AE 2001, 1447 (*beneficiarius consularis*); AE 2001, 1478.

⁴⁹ AE 1973, 375.

⁵⁰ AE 2001, 1460.

⁵¹ BROEKAERT 2013, 43.

provinces and the area's appetite for epigraphically recording specializations of merchants must be regarded as enhancing factors: the chances to have rare or even unique trading branches attested in the area rise within this epigraphic pattern.

Last but not least, we have the *allec*: cheap, coarser than the *garum*, easily produced and maybe alluding to some local taste. The conservation of the term in medieval Latin, with explicit associations, makes us believe this was not a marginal consumption habit and an insignificant branch of local trade.

The conjunction of all these factors lead to an epigraphic rarity, an occupational title which sheds more light on local society, trade and persistent eating patterns.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was supported by grants of Ministry of Research, Innovation and Digitization, CNCS - UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.1-TE-2021-0544, within PNCDI III.

REFERENCES

- BONGERS 2020
Bongers, T., Connectivity in the Scheldt Basin: The role of the river Scheldt in the Roman-era transport network, *Digital Classics Online* 6, 1, 33-58.
- BROEKAERT 2013
Broekaert, W., *Navicularii et negotiantes: a prosopographical study of Roman merchants and shippers* (Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf).
- COOLEY *et alii* 2007
Cooley, A./Mitchell, S./Salway, B. (eds.), Roman Inscriptions 2001-2005, *Journal of Roman Studies* 97, 176-263.
- CURTIS 1984
Curtis, R. I., *Negotiatores allecarii* and the herring, *Phoenix* 38, 147-158.
- CURTIS 2015
Curtis, R. I., Storage and transport. In: Wilkins, J./Nadeau, R. (eds.), *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell), 173-182.
- CURTIS 2017
Curtis, R. I., Salted fish products, in Oxford Classical Dictionary <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.8076>; published online 27 July 2017.
- DEKKE 1999
Dekke, C., *The origins of old Germanic studies in the Low Countries* (Leiden: Brill).
- FINKE 1927
Finke, H., Neue Inschriften, *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 17 (Boston: De Gruyter).
- GARNSEY 1999
Garnsey, P., *Food and society in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- IMMERZEEL 1990
Immerzeel, M., Profession: *Negotiator Allecarius*, Fabrication et commerce de sauce de poissons dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Empire romain, *OudheidKundige Mededelingen uit het RijksMuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 70, 183-192.
- LOUWE KOOLJMAN/S/STUART/BOGAERS 1971
Louwe Kooijmans, L. P./Stuart, P./Bogaers, J.E., *Deae Nehalenniae* (Middleburg: Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen).
- van NEER/LENTACKER 1994
van Neer, W., Lentacker, A., New Archaeozoological evidence for the consumption of locally-produced fish sauce in the northern provinces of the Roman Empire, *Archaeofauna* 3, 53-62.
- PETRIKOVITS 1981
Petrikovits, H. V., Die Spezialisierung des römischen Handwerks. In: Jankuhn, H./Janssen, W./Schmidt-Wiegand, R./Tiefenbach, H. (eds.), *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 63-132.
- SANQUER/GALLIOU 1972
Sanquer, R./Galliou, P., Garum, sel et salaisons en Armorique gallo-romaine, *Gallia* 30, 199-223.
- SIMEK 2007
Simek, R., *Dictionary of Northern Mythology*, translated by Hall, A. D. S. (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer).
- STUART/BOGAERS 2001
Stuart, P./Bogaers, J.E., *Nehalennia. Römische Steindenkmäler aus der Oosterschelde bei Colijnsplaat* (Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden).
- VARGA 2020
Varga, R., *Carving a professional identity. The occupational epigraphy of the Roman Latin West* (Oxford: Archaeopress).
- VARGA/PÁZSINT 2019
Varga, R./Pázsint, A.-I., Trade Economy in Riveran Provinces: A Close-Up Look at Traders' Networks and Mobility. In: Mihailescu-Birliba, L. (ed.), *Limes, economy and society in the lower Danubian Roman provinces* (Leuven-Paris-Bristol: Peeters), 31-56.
- WOOLF 1998
Woolf, G., *Becoming Roman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).