

ROMAN ARTISANS AND THE URBAN ECONOMY

This book offers the first comprehensive study of economic conditions and economic life in Roman cities during the late Republic and early Empire. By employing a sophisticated methodology based upon comparative evidence and contemporary economic theory, the author develops interlocking arguments about the relationship between four key attributes of urban economic life in Roman antiquity: the nature and magnitude of consumer demand; the structure of urban labor markets; the strategies devised by urban artisans in their efforts to navigate their social and economic environments; and the factors that served to limit both the overall performance of the Roman economy and its potential for intensive growth. While the author's methodology and conclusions will be of particular interest to specialists in economic history, other readers will profit from his discussion of topics such as slavery and manumission, the economic significance of professional associations, and the impact of gender on economic behavior.

CAMERON HAWKINS is Assistant Professor of History at Queensborough Community College, City University of New York. His published work focuses on the social and economic history of the Roman world during the late Republic and early Empire.



ROMAN ARTISANS AND THE URBAN ECONOMY

CAMERON HAWKINS

Queensborough Community College







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107115446

© Cameron Hawkins 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2016

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data Hawkins, Cameron, 1973– author.

Roman artisans and the urban economy / Cameron Hawkins (assistant professor, Department of History, Queensborough Community College).

Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. LCCN 2016015480 | ISBN 9781107115446 (hardback)

LCSH: Rome – Economic conditions. | Cities and towns – Rome – History. | City and town life – Rome – History. | Artisans – Rome – History. | Consumption (Economics) –

Rome – History. | Labor market – Rome – History. | Slaves – Emancipation – Rome – History. | Production (Economic theory) – Social aspects – Rome – History. | Rome – History –

Republic, 265–30 B.C. | Rome – History – Empire, 30 B.C.–284 A.D. | BISAC: HISTORY / Ancient / General.

LCC HC39 .H38 2016 | DDC 331.7/94–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016015480

ISBN 978-1-107-11544-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will

remain, accurate or appropriate.



coniugi carissimae parentibusque optimis



Contents

Li	st of tables	e viii ix
Αι	knowledgments	X
	Introduction	I
Ι	Seasonality, uncertainty, and consumer demand in an ancient city	23
2	Specialization, associations, and the organization of production	66
3	Manumission and the urban labor market	130
4	The artisan household and the Roman economy	192
	Epilogue	268
Ā _ļ Bi	opendix A The annualized costs of freed slaves' operae opendix B Occupational inscriptions from CIL 6 used in succession study bliography	273 276 278
In	dex	299



Figures

I.I	The tomb of Eurysaces (Photo: Cameron Hawkins).	page 2
3.I	The altar of Atimetus, sales scene (Photo: Vatican Museum,	131
	Galleria Lapidaria/@Photo SCALA, Florence).	
3.2	The altar of Atimetus, workshop scene (Photo: Vatican, Galleria	131
	Lapidaria/De Agostini Picture Library/Getty Images).	
3.3	The funerary monument of C. Iulius Helius. Musei Capitolini	162
	(Photo: Zeno Colantoni, courtesy Musei Capitolini, Centrale	
	Montemartini).	
3.4	Labor costs: direct and opportunity.	170
3.5	Labor costs: direct only.	173
4. I	Roman relief of butcher's shop (Photo: bpk Berlin/Staatliche	262
	Kunstsammlungen, Dresden/Elke Estel/Art Resource, NY).	



Tables

4.I	Commemorative patterns.	page 207
4.2	Commemorations to adult males.	213
4.3	Commemorations to adult males in the occupational inscriptions,	215
	by occupational category.	
4.4	Juridical status of males commemorated with occupational title,	217
	by occupational category.	
4.5	Deceased fathers with surviving sons, freeborn lower orders.	218
4.6	Deceased fathers with surviving sons, senatorial and equestrian	219
	orders.	



Acknowledgments

This book has been a long time in the making. Now that it is finally complete, I take great pleasure in expressing my gratitude to those who helped along the way.

Thanks are due first to the advisors of the dissertation project from which this book emerged: Richard Saller, Cam Grey, Jonathan Hall, and Walter Scheidel. Each offered valuable guidance not just during the process of writing the dissertation itself but also while I struggled to refine my arguments for presentation in this book.

I am no less grateful to the many friends and colleagues who have provided support over the years, some from the earliest days of graduate school. Too many to count offered advice, help, and commiseration. Those who went above and beyond the call of duty in this respect include Adam Darlage, Fanny Dolansky, John Deak, Jodi Haraldson, John Hyland, Sharon Hyland, Paul Keen, Tania Maync, Matt Perry, and Phil Venticinque.

In the later stages of the project, I was lucky to benefit from the feedback of several scholars who share my interest in economic history, some of whom read the developing manuscript in whole or in part. These include Fredrik Albritton-Jonsson, Alain Bresson, Miko Flohr, Claire Holleran, Emanuel Mayer, Corey Tazzara, and the two anonymous reviewers at Cambridge University Press, all of whom I am very pleased to acknowledge for their assistance. My students over the years have also contributed to the final form of the project more than they know by offering me the opportunity to explore ideas with them in class, and I thank them for their patience.

I presented early versions of many of the specific arguments in this book at workshops or conferences, where the feedback and questions I received often prompted me to modify my views. I am most grateful to the organizers of those conferences or panels I found especially stimulating. Alain Bresson, Elio lo Cascio, and François Velde organized a conference



Acknowledgments

хi

called *Growth and Factors of Growth in the Ancient Economy*, which took place at the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago in January 2011; there, I had the opportunity to present the core of what is now Chapter 3, which elicited a number of critical and productive questions from the audience. Elements of Chapter 2 formed the basis of a talk I delivered at a panel on Roman labor markets at the 2012 ESSHC in Glasgow; I am grateful to Miriam Groen-Vallinga for inviting me to participate. My central arguments in Chapter 4 benefitted tremendously from discussions with historians of early modern Europe during an ESF-sponsored conference in Oxford, *Urban Economic Life in Europe and the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, organized by Miko Flohr and Andrew Wilson. Finally, I learned much about current research on workshop archaeology and labor markets at a 2013 conference at Ghent University on *Work, Labor, and Professions in the Roman World*, organized by Koenraad Verboven and Christan Laes.

Several stages of my project also benefitted from institutional research support. The Franke Institute for the Humanities provided a fellowship to support work on what became Chapter 2, and organized a productive workshop in which I was able to present my ideas to scholars from a range of disciplines. The Introduction to the book was conceived and written during a delightful visit to Ghent University, where I spent a short time as a visiting scholar with *Structural Determinants of Economic Performance in the Roman World*, a research network sponsored by the FWO; I am profoundly grateful to the directors of the network for providing the intellectual space necessary for me to stand back and survey my project, and to Paul Erdkamp for the opportunity to present a lecture based on that project to students at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

Finally, my deepest gratitude goes to my family. Without the unflagging support of my parents, Blaine and Lois Hawkins, this book would not have been written. Nor would it exist had it not been for my partner, Emily Jusino, who has invested almost as much time in the project as I have myself, and who sustained me when I had all but lost hope of finding my way out of the woods. Thank you.