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## **Garum of Herod the Great (a Latin-Greek Inscription on the Amphora from Masada)\***

A series of systematic archaeological excavations in Masada, an inaccessible fortress situated in Judea, on the western coast of the Dead Sea, were carried out between the years 1963–5 by the mission of Yigael Yadin. A regular publication of the results of the excavations was delayed considerably. In 1989 the first volume came out entitled '*Masada. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965. Final Reports*'. To this day six consecutive volumes have been published. They include the following items: Aramaic and Hebrew ostraca and jar inscriptions (*Masada I*), Latin and Greek inscriptions and papyri (*Masada II*), art and architectural objects (*Masada III; Masada V*), lamps, textiles, basketry, cordage and related artefacts (*Masada IV*), Hebrew fragments and *Sira Scroll* from Masada (*Masada VI*)<sup>1</sup>.

The archaeological objects from Masada considerably enrich the contemporary narrative testimonies and provide a wide variety of evidence which 'tells' us a lot about the life of the residents of this fortress in the periods of its inhabitation<sup>2</sup>. Many artefacts from Masada are of a unique character. One fine example of this is a bilingual Latin-Greek inscription to be found on the Dressel 38 amphora, discovered along with jars for wine and other products. The amphora, which was imported to Masada probably at Herod's the Great request, was filled in with garum – the fish sauce very popular at the Roman 'table'. The inscription from Masada throws light not only on Herod's culinary preferences, but at the same time provide significant data on the overseas trade of processed fish products. In the face of the

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<sup>1</sup> See the bibliography at the end of the paper. The seventh volume of the series including ceramics, weapons and stone and other artefacts is forthcoming.

<sup>2</sup> One can distinguish here the reign of Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.), who built one of his numerous residences in Masada (Netzer, 1996, 33–4), the period of the great Jewish revolt during 66–73 A.D and the years after capture of the fortress in 73 or 74 A.D. when the Roman garrison was stationed in Masada. Single inscriptions are dated to the early Byzantine period (six to seven century A.D.) and confirm the presence of monks in the fortress.

enormous disproportions in the distribution of sources connected with the fish salting industry in the Mediterranean basin (a disproportion unfavourable to the *pars orientalis*), our delight should increase twofold with every amphora of fish sauces found in the East. In such a case where the amphora bears *titulus pictus* – i.e. a painted inscription (which is a great rarity among the transport jars in the East), and it is additionally bilingual, it can be characterized as a unique object, which (apart from the benefits mentioned above) greatly expands our knowledge about Greek and Latin ceramic epigraphy.

## The Amphora

The inscription is painted on a poorly preserved amphora. The archaeologists were fortunate to be able to reconstruct from the fifteen salvaged fragments a part of the shoulder, a fragment of the neck and a lower handle attachment<sup>3</sup>. The *titulus pictus*, which consists of several lines, is situated on the relatively wide neck of the amphora. The clay of the jar is light red – 2.5YR 6/6 according to the colour classification of Munsell<sup>4</sup>. The exterior surface was covered with a yellow slip – 2.5YR 8/6. On the basis of the preserved fragments the authors of the publication classify the amphora as Class 14 in Peacock and Williams typology (in Dressel typology, still commonly used today, it is type 38)<sup>5</sup>. The Dressel 38 amphorae are dated from either the reign of the Emperor Tiberius (the earliest dating) or, as others claim, the mid-first century A.D., to the end of the second century A.D. (in certain provinces we know of examples dated from the very beginning of the third century A.D.)<sup>6</sup>. The vast majority were produced in the Spanish province of *Betica* in the vicinity of Gades; although Lusitania has been confirmed as an

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<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact in the volume *Masada II*, 166, one can find the information that “almost a whole jar” was found, and yet in the paper published few years later the authors state *explicite* that the state of the preservation of the amphora is as mentioned above. This is confirmed additionally by published figure and photo. See Cotton, Lernau, Goren (1996), 226–7. All the information about typology of the amphora, its dating etc. comes from this paper. One can search in vain for these in *Masada II* volume.

<sup>4</sup> See Munsell colour.

<sup>5</sup> Cotton, Lernau, Goren (1996), 226. Cf. Peacock, Williams (1991). Alternative typologies are Beltrán IIA, Pélichet 46, Ostia LXIII, Camulodunum 186C and others.

<sup>6</sup> Peacock, Williams (1986), 123; Sciallano, Sibella (1991), 59; Dyczek (2001), 115.

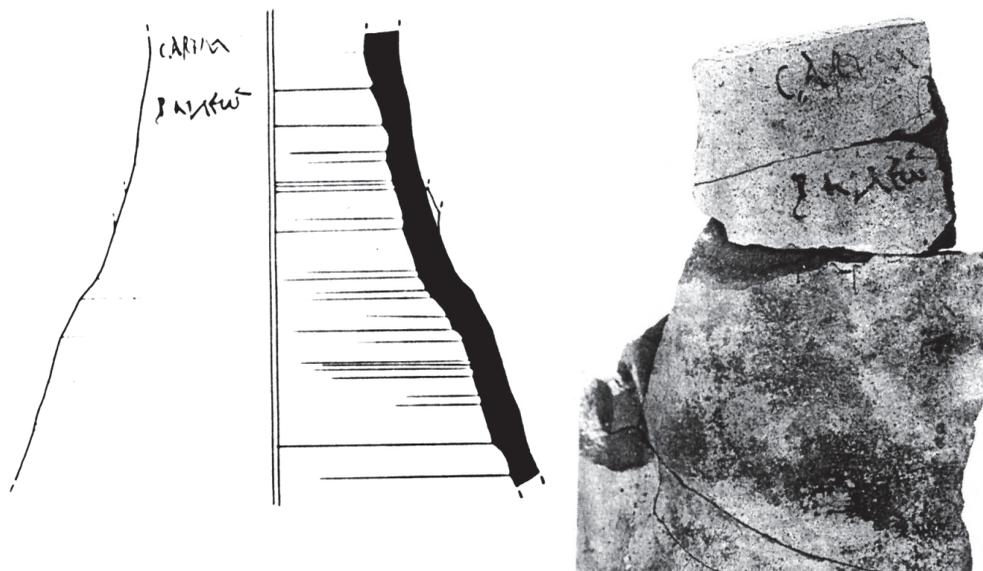


Fig. 1–2. The amphora from Masada; Inv. no. 1047–650 (after Cotton, Lernau, Goren (1996), 228).

alternate source<sup>7</sup>. It is a fact that the Dressel 38 amphorae there were used to transport the fish products, especially fish sauces such as *garum*<sup>8</sup>. The existence of products like *cordula*, *laccatum*, *lumpa* (*lymphatum*) are attested as well<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Sciallano, Sibella (1991), 59.

<sup>8</sup> The Romans knew four kinds of fish sauces, the most popular of which was *garum*. It was manufactured from different species of fish mixed with salt in large vats and exposed to the sun for one to three months. During this period of time the process of the hydrolysis of naturally occurring enzyme caused the fish mass to almost completely melt. The final stage of the production was straining the fish sauce from the dregs. Thus *garum* became a clear and thin fish sauce used as an obligatory condiment in Roman cuisine. The leftovers after the process of straining constituted another kind of fish sauce called *allec*. The third type of sauce *liquamen* was very similar to *garum*, but not as popular as the latter. From the second or the third century A.D. *liquamen* and *garum* started to be used interchangeably. The last type of the Roman fish sauce was *muria*. However this term was more frequently referred to brine used to preserve different types of food. For more on the subject of fish sauces, see Grimal, Monod (1952), 27–39; Jardin (1961), 70–96; Curtis (1991).

<sup>9</sup> Callender (1965), 14–6; Zevi (1966), 243; Liou (1987), 116, n. 73; Arata (1994), 494–5.

However the identification of the amphora from Masada as Dressel 38 type raises one fundamental problem because the dating of the jar stands in contradiction to the date of the inscription, which is dated to the reign of the king of Judea – Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.). There are strong arguments to consider this dating as firmly fixed (I will develop the question later in the section devoted to the inscription). Cotton, Lernau and Goren are conscious of this discrepancy. They also underline that the petrological analyses of the jar support rather different forms than Dressel 38, namely Dressel 12–13 (=Peacock, Williams Class 14)<sup>10</sup>. This type of amphorae was manufactured in *Betica* from the mid-first century B.C. to the mid-second century A.D. at least. There is no doubt that, above all else, these containers were used to transport fish sauces and salted fish (*salsamenta*)<sup>11</sup>. The Dressel 12–13 type seems to fit perfectly to the inscription's chronology, but evidently the taxonomic features differ from those of the photograph published in their paper. The Dressel 12–13 amphorae have a smooth body and relatively thin neck and are smaller than Dressel 38. In fact, Cotton, Lernau and Goren leave the problem of the discrepancy between the amphora and the inscription dating unresolved. Even the question of the amphora typology remains undecided<sup>12</sup>.

Of course, not having access to the preserved fragments of the jar, it is difficult to argue with the authors, but on the basis of the published illustrations, it would appear that the taxonomic characteristic fits better to the variant of the Dressel 38 amphora distinguished by Loris Beltrán as the Beltrán IIB form<sup>13</sup>. It was either manufactured in *Betica* during the time of the Emperor Tiberius or from the very beginning of the first century A.D. (as others claim), and their existence has been attested throughout the Roman Empire<sup>14</sup>. Both fish sauces and *salsamenta* were transported in the Beltrán IIB amphorae.

<sup>10</sup> Cotton, Lernau, Goren (1996), 226.

<sup>11</sup> Peacock, Williams (1986), 114; Sciallano, Sibella (1991), 62; Dyczek (2001), 66.

<sup>12</sup> Cotton, Lernau, Goren (1996), 226–7: “The discrepancy between the identification arrived at by the typological analysis (Peacock & Williams Class 18) and that arrived at by the petrological analysis (Peacock & Williams Class 14) may well be the result of the absence of specific petrological description in (Peacock & Williams). In either case, we can suggest with a great deal of certainty that Inv. no 1047–650 is an import from Spain and that the *garum* which it contained was manufactured there”.

<sup>13</sup> Beltrán (1970), 420–33.

<sup>14</sup> Sciallano, Sibella (1991); Dyczek (2001), 115. The Beltrán IIA form (i.e. the form identical to Dressel 38) is commonly thought as a little bit younger than Beltrán IIB form and was manufactured from the mid I century A.D.

However combining the jar from Masada with the Beltrán IIB form does not solve the problem completely. As a matter of fact the chronological hiatus between the amphora and the inscription is in this case insignificant, but still the composition and the colour of the clay better match the Dressel 12 form (as underlined by Cotton, Lernau and Goren) or Beltran IVB (a variant of the Dressel 14 form), than Beltrán IIB.

The connection of the jar from Masada to the reign of Herod is strengthened by the archeological context. The amphora was found in locus 1047 where fragments of a jar for wine (No. 812), dated thanks to a fragment of inscription bearing the consular date of 19 B.C., were also found. The inscription on the jar indicates that the PHILONIAN(um) wine was intended for the King himself<sup>15</sup>. It is possible that both garum and wine were imported at the same time. However, the place where the garum amphora was found does not leave us with an unambiguous date of arrival to Masada: we know of many examples of the artificial deposits in the fortress, where objects from different periods were stored.

## The Inscription

The bilingual inscription is situated on the partly preserved neck of the amphora under discussion. The text is incomplete and far from comprehensible. According to Cotton, Lernau and Goren, the diplomatic transcription and the reconstructed version (cf. the photo) are as follows.

### *Diplomatic transcript:*

1. GARUM
2. [symbol]
3. Δ[
4. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ. [
5. ...P.O..[
6. Α

### *Reconstructed text:*

1. Garum
2. [symbol]
3. Δ[
4. Βασιλέω(ς)
5. ...r.o..[
6. Α(mphorae) vel Α(nnorum)

The editors interpret the genitive Βασιλέως as relating to Herod the Great who figures here as the recipient of the amphora of the fish sauce. It seems highly probable, but reading and interpretation of the other elements of the inscriptions are controversial and it must be studied with more care.

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<sup>15</sup> This inscription is one from the whole series marked in turn from No. 804 to 816. The rest of the series was discovered in different locations in Masada. As inscriptions clearly indicate, all the jars contained wine from the Italian producer *L. Lenius*. See *Masada II*, 149–57; Cotton, Lernau, Goren (1996), 236.

First of all attention should be drawn to the number of lines of the inscription. The photograph published in *Masada II* (and reproduced below), shows that it is highly implausible that five or six lines can be distinguished. The number of lines of the inscription is one aspect, but we should consider the possibility that two or even three separate inscriptions could be painted on the amphora (not necessary inscribed simultaneously) which complement each other. We know of sufficient examples of the ‘compound’ *tituli picti* on the jars of fish sauces, olive oil and wine, also on Dressel 38 amphorae. Usually there were three inscriptions. The first, marked conventionally as  $\alpha$ , contained the name of the product transported in the jar, its features and advertising elements. The second inscription, marked as  $\beta$ , preserved the name of the *mercator*. The third, marked as  $\delta$ , identified the producer of the foodstuff. In some cases additional inscriptions were present<sup>16</sup>.

Let’s consider both options, i.e. that the *titulus pictus* from Masada was composed of two or more inscriptions, and that it was written at one time by a single hand. Unfortunately, the analyses of tiny samples of the ink from the letter G in garum and the letter  $\Omega$  in Βασιλέω(ς) were inconclusive<sup>17</sup>. The editors say mention only their impression that all parts of the *titulus pictus* were written by the same hand. Of course this does not settle the issue.

If the *titulus pictus* was ‘compound’, it is most probable that the Greek part of the inscription was inserted at a later date (even in Judea) than the original Latin text. The latter could follow the general pattern characteristic of Spanish *tituli picti* from Betica and Mauretania – on the opposite side of the Gibraltar Strait. It would be the inscription classified as  $\alpha$ <sup>18</sup>. If the last line was read correctly it was part of the sequence which referred to the length of time the garum matured<sup>19</sup>.

It is inconclusive as to whether the editors interpretation of the letter  $\Delta$  is correct. According to the structure proposed by R. Etienne and F. Mayet,  $\Delta$  could be a part of the  $\delta$  inscription in which the information about a producer or owner of an *officina* usually was preserved<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Étienne, Mayet (1998), 150-1; cf. Lagóstena Barrios (2004), 197–219.

<sup>17</sup> The samples of pigment were studied by Fourier Transform-Infrared (FTIR) Spectrometry. Probably the amount of the samples was too small for mineralogical analyses. See. Cotton, Lerna, Goren (1996), 228.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Étienne, Mayet (1998), 150-1.

<sup>19</sup> It is not completely certain that some fish sauces were matured in the same way as wine, but relatively numerous inscriptions on the Spanish amphorae bearing numbers, referring probably to the age of the fish sauce, makes it likely. Cf. Étienne and Mayet (1998), 151.

<sup>20</sup> Étienne and Mayet (1998), 151.

However, the placement of the possible  $\delta$  inscription should be shifted a little bit to the right. The idea that the Latin core of the inscription was completed by the later addition of the Greek, can be supported by the argument that we are unaware of any examples of bilingual Latin-Greek inscriptions on the Roman amphorae from Spain. On the other hand such bilingual *tituli picti* were found in Masada on jars of wine<sup>21</sup>. Without a doubt they are imports from the Western provinces. There is no reasonable explanation for the bilingual character of these *tituli picti*. However, if the garum inscription was supplemented in Judea, the use of the Greek language is not a major surprise.

The alternative explanation is that the entire inscription was painted in Spain when the amphora was filled with fish sauce; then the jar was transported to Judea<sup>22</sup>. It is true to say that we are unaware of a parallel example from Spain, but bilingual Latin-Greek *tituli picti* on the wine amphorae discovered in Masada (written probably in Italy) support the option of the garum inscription's integrity.

In both cases the proper interpretation of the word βασιλεύς remains crucial for an understanding of the destination of the fish sauce. The last letter in this word is indisputably  $\omega$ . After it there is enough free space to think that it was not followed by a suffix. Thus we can reconstruct the abbreviation in two different ways: the genitive singular βασιλέω(ς) or the genitive plural βασιλέω(ν). In my opinion this leads to the three plausible explanations:

- 1) the phrase garum βασιλέως means 'garum for the king'
- 2) or 'garum of the king' i.e. garum produced by royal shops
- 3) the phrase garum βασιλέων means 'garum of the kings' that should be understood metaphorically 'the royal garum' i.e. garum of the highest quality.

In the first two instances we have to determine who the term 'king' is referred to. The strongest candidate is Herod the Great<sup>23</sup>. All the datable inscriptions on the amphorae from Masada, which were imports from the Western provinces, belong to the Herodian period (37–4 B.C.). The rest of the *tituli picti* and the majority of uninscribed jars

<sup>21</sup> *Masada* II, 134-9 (no. 795–99).

<sup>22</sup> The jar could also have been inscribed in Italy in the event that Herod had ordered it as a part of a larger import, for example along with Italian wines, honey, apples (all of them appear in the *tituli picti* on the jars found in Masada). If the garum amphora was a gift for the king it could also have been inscribed in Italy.

<sup>23</sup> As a matter of fact the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ also appears on the coins of Herod Agrippa I and Agrippa II, but it is highly improbable that during their reign the garum amphora landed in Masada. Cf. RPC I 4974, 4991–2; II 2265.

which constitutes the western imports are very likely dated to the reign of the Herod the Great as well<sup>24</sup>. If we decide to complete the genitive of the βασιλεύς in plural form βασιλέω(ν) the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ would be the general term for stressing the high quality of the garum. In this case it would not necessary be associated with Herod the Great<sup>25</sup>.

If the king mentioned in the *titulus pictus* was Herod it is essential to know if he was the producer or the recipient of the garum. Although first option is less plausible we cannot exclude it completely. Our knowledge of the fish salting industry in Syria and Palestine is fragmentary and incomplete but there is no doubt that this tradition reaches at least Hellenistic period<sup>26</sup>. For the Roman period sparse archaeological and papyrological material is supplemented by both parts of the Jewish Talmud (*Mishna* and *Gemara*). It is no surprise because the consumption of fish products was, as other foods, the subject of detailed religious regulations<sup>27</sup>. We know that *muria*, a kind of fish sauce (known also in Rome) was produced in Pelusium, Akko, Aspamia and Cesarea<sup>28</sup>. The Talmud often distinguishes between muries produced by Jews and non-Jewish producers. Apparently it was important for the sake of the ritual purposes. We do not know if the Palestinian salteries exported fish sauces but imports from Egypt are well attested<sup>29</sup>. The amphorae from Masada (including the garum jar) confirm also the imports from the Western provinces such as Italy or Spain<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> *Masada* II, no. 795–825, 827–850.

<sup>25</sup> The presence of garum and other fish sauces in legionary documents from different provinces of the Roman Empire clearly shows that the Roman soldiers consumed it. See. Egypt: *P. Sakaon* 77 (=SB VI 9614); Rémondon (1954), 199–210; Britannia: *AuE* I 5.190,c; 5.202,a; 5.302,R; Davies (1971), 131; Bowman (1974), 368–9. The amphorae discovered in the places where legions were stationed supplement this picture. See. Curtis (1991), 79–85; Bezczky (1996), 329–36. In this context, it is not implausible that some of the products attributed to Herod were imports for the needs of the Roman soldiers laying siege to Masada, it is, however, unlikely. Cf. Cotton, Lernau, Goren (1996), 232–6.

<sup>26</sup> The traces of this activity are proper names as *Magdala* (*Migdal Nuna-ja*) ‘the tower of fish’ or *Betsaida* ‘the house of fish’. The former was translated by Strabo as Ταριχέαι i.e. ‘the place where fish are salted’. See Strabo 16.2.45. On fishing in Palestine see Masterman (1908), 50–51; Hanson (1997), 99–111. On the earlier, Phoenician tradition see Curtis (1991), 65–6.

<sup>27</sup> Krauss (1910), 110–12; Curtis (1991), 143–5.

<sup>28</sup> Sperber (1968), 265–9; idem (1976), 121.

<sup>29</sup> *P. Meyer* II 65; Sperber (1976), 119–23; Curtis (1991), 143. On ταρίχου Γαζίτια mentioned in papyri see *P. Oxy* XVI 1924; Glucker (1987), s. 95.

<sup>30</sup> Also one of the Rabbies in the second century A.D. mentions the tuna from Spain. See. BT. *Makshirin* 6.3; BT. *Aboda Zara* 39a; Curtis (1991), 143.

As we see during the reign of Herod fish sauces were produced in Judea and it would not be impossible that the royal salteries operated during the first century B.C. It is worth underlining that apart from the garum amphora, the remains of *allec* were found in a locally-made vessel in Masada. *Allec* was another kind of fish sauce obtained as a co product during the processing of garum, or was produced as separate entity<sup>31</sup>. However if the garum from Masada was filled with fish sauce descended from the royal fish factories, why was it transported in Spanish amphora? Why did the jar bear a bilingual Greek-Latin inscription, not Hebrew, Aramaic or even Greek?

The amphora could have been refilled and used a second time (we know such examples), though it is unlikely. It is more difficult to explain the bilingual character of the Latin-Greek inscription, particularly the presence of the Latin part<sup>32</sup>. This makes the possibility that ‘garum of the king’ means the garum produced by the salteries of Herod the Great very low. Finally, the archaeological context from Masada suggest that the garum amphora was a part of the luxurious imports which were intended for the Herod himself<sup>33</sup>. Consequently, the amphora under discussion, filled with the best Spanish garum, was also intended for the king and possibly his court as well. This was not coincidental.

## Toward a Definition of the Herodian Court Dining

The arguments presented above suggest that the most plausible interpretation of the presence of the garum amphora in the Masada is to connect it to king Herod. Most probably he ordered the fish sauce for himself in the Spanish saltaries<sup>34</sup>. It was no coincidence that the King chose garum made in Spain, for it had to be garum of the highest quality. Spanish fish sauces held a good reputation throughout the Roman

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<sup>31</sup> On *allec* see Curtis (1991), 7–8. Cotton, Lernau, Goren (1996), 237, allow for a possibility that “the word *helek* or *hilek* in *mAbodah* 2.6 may well represent Jewish pronunciation of *allec* = *hallec* at this time”.

<sup>32</sup> In the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire there was not a habit of inscribing transport containers as amphorae etc. Greek *tituli picti* on jars are extremely rare.

<sup>33</sup> A series of the jars for wine from Masada (no. 804–816) bear *tituli picti* with the clear statement that the wine was intended for Herod himself. See *Masada* II, 140–58. The former reading of the name of Herod in the dative case had to be modified since 1996 when the new inscription was discovered in Masada in which the name of Herod stands in the genitive: *Regis Herodis Iudaici*. See Cotton, Lernau, Goren (1996), 233.

<sup>34</sup> Alternatively, one can assume that it was a gift for the king.

Empire<sup>35</sup>. Pliny the Elder praised the *garum sociorum* from Carthago Nova which was sold for HS 500 per *congius*. An average amphora of this kind of *garum* could cost as much as HS 2500–3000 per jar, which was – as Pliny underlines – surpassed only by perfumes<sup>36</sup>. The *garum* of the Herod was indisputably a luxurious product, but it had at the same time to fulfil an additional criterion, one which was fundamental for Jews; it had to be kosher<sup>37</sup>.

Reading the Jewish rabbinic texts (e.g. Talmud) shows that rabbis spared no effort in instructing Jews which fish product was allowed and which was denied them, as it is clearly stated in the Old Testament that Jews were prohibited to consume fish without scales<sup>38</sup>. In practice, the information about the species of fish could be painted on the jars or different labels could be attached<sup>39</sup>. On the local market it is probable that personal acquaintance with the producer of the fish products (they were both Jews and non Jews) was sufficient assurance of ritual purity. In *B. Avoda Zara* 39A one can read that Rabbi Abbahu (fl. at the turn of the third and fourth century) lets Jews buy oil, eggs and fish in Caesarea from everyone<sup>40</sup>. The Caesarean market seemed to be monopolized at this time by deliveries from Aspamia and Pelusium<sup>41</sup>. It is difficult to imagine how it was organized on a practical level, but the quoted text shows that Jews had no problem with the separating of kosher and non kosher foodstuff in the local market. In all probability this practice was similar during the time of Herod the Great.

In the case of an import from the Western provinces of the Roman Empire it was more difficult to determine if the food was kosher or not. As a matter of fact, the Romans had a general concept of the idea of kosher and non kosher food among Jews, but – as demonstrated in the example of the Pliny the Elder – this knowledge was at best, cursory. Pliny states: “But another kind [of *garum*] is devoted to superstitious sex-abstinence and Jewish rites, and is made of fish without scales”<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Curtis (1991), 46–64.

<sup>36</sup> Plin., *HN* 31.94. See also Hor., *Sat.* 2.8.46; Sen., *Ep. ad Luc.* 95.25; Mart. 13.102; Étienne (1970), 297–313.

<sup>37</sup> See on forbidden foods in the ancient societies Garnsey (1999), 82–99.

<sup>38</sup> *Deut.* 14.10; *Lev.* 11.10.5

<sup>39</sup> It is possible that one inscribed amphora referred to the whole series of the transported jars. See Cotton, Geiger (1996), 169.

<sup>40</sup> See Sperber (1970), 12; cf. Curtis (1991), 144–5.

<sup>41</sup> Sperber (1970), 12.

<sup>42</sup> Loeb translation. See Plin., *HN* 31.95: <*garum*> *castimoniatarum superstitioni etiam sacrisque Iudaeis dicatum, quod fit e piscibus squama carentibus*. Cf. Corcoran (1958), 69.

Pliny is wrong because, as mentioned, fish without scales were forbidden for Jews. It is not beyond the realms of possibility that Pliny referred his observation to the Jewish community in Pompeii, where archaeologists discovered jars which bore the inscriptions: *garum castum* and *muria casta*,<sup>43</sup> the dictionary translation of which would be “pure garum” and “pure muria”. However a more accurate translation seems to be just “kosher”<sup>44</sup>. Besides the kosher foodstuffs intended specifically for Jews, they could also consume fish products from specific species. Thus for instance *garum scombri* (garum from mackerel) could be eaten by Jews because mackerel is a fish with scales.

The *titulus pictus* on the garum amphora from Masada did not divulge any information about the fish species the garum was made from. Nevertheless it would be safe to assume that the fish sauce destined for Jewish king had to be kosher. It is worth mentioning that in Masada numerous remnants of small fish were also found, which are most likely the remains of *allec* – a fish sauce obtained as a sediment and co-product of garum production<sup>45</sup>. Cotton, Lernau and Goren emphasize that tens of thousands of those very small fish belong to only two species, namely herring and anchovy, both of which are kosher<sup>46</sup>. It is clear that the *allec* from Masada was not produced on the spot and had to be imported from elsewhere. It was partly discovered as a residue in locally-made vessels which can be treated as proof of their Palestinian origin. However, Cotton, Lernau and Goren notice that “the micro-morphological study of the non-faunal residues in the *allec* strongly suggests that the fish sauce originated in Spain. It is likely to have been imported to Masada in a different vessel, probably in Spanish amphora, which might advertise its contents as *allec*”<sup>47</sup>. Transporting salted fish products in alternative containers and repacking their content at the point of arrival was not unusual<sup>48</sup>. If the *allec* from Masada was indeed imported to Judea from Spain, it had to be of a sort, luxurious enough, to be worth transporting from the opposite nook of the Mediterranean basin. Although the *allec* can not be definitively associated with king Herod, it is more plausible that he ordered it from Spain rather than the

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<sup>43</sup> *Garum castum*: CIL IV 2569, 5660-2; *muria casta*: CIL IV 2609.

<sup>44</sup> Berdowski (2003), 37–8; R.I. Curtis (1991), 165, claims that *garum castum* and *muria casta* could be consumed by others who practiced abstinence from some species of fish. About muries in Palestine see Sperber, Illan (1970), 11–2.

<sup>45</sup> Plin., *HN* 31.95.

<sup>46</sup> Cotton, Lernau, Goren (1996), 237.

<sup>47</sup> Cotton, Lernau, Goren (1996), 231.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Aelian., *De nat. animal.* 13.6.12.

*allec* being intended for Roman soldiers occupying the fortress after its capture in 73 A.D.<sup>49</sup>

The garum and the *allec* from Masada are not an isolated example, which shows Herod's penchant for the Hellenic and the Roman taste. When analyzing other data from Masada the picture of the king's culinary preferences becomes more complete.

An interesting series of amphorae (nos. 804–816) were discovered in a variety of places in Masada during Yadin's excavations. In reality, these discoveries consist of fragments of a jar of indeterminate type<sup>50</sup>. Thanks to the thirteen inscriptions preserved on the fragments of the jars we know that they were used to transport Italian wine. In spite of the fact that all the *tituli picti* are only partly preserved it would appear that they consisted of the three lines and followed the same scheme. In the first line the inscription bears a consular date (C. Sentius Saturninus appears in all the *tituli picti*), which allows the wine to be dated to 19 B.C.<sup>51</sup> In the first half of the second line the name of wine occurs. In eight of the inscriptions the name *Philonianum* can be made out; the rest of the series probably bore the same name. In the second half of the second line one can read sequence: DE L. LAEN(II FUNDO), which most probably referred to the producer of the wine. The editors relate the name from the inscription to the local Italian aristocratic family *Laenii*, whose estates were located in Southern Italy near Brundisium<sup>52</sup>. The third line of the inscription undoubtedly points at Herod the Great as the recipient of the wine-amphorae.

The series of the amphorae of *Philonianum* wine exemplify yet another example of the luxurious foodstuff imported to Judea from the Western provinces of the Roman Empire<sup>53</sup>. *Tituli picti* on the jars from Masada confirm also the existence of other kinds of wine. Amphorae of wine were discovered in a water cistern there<sup>54</sup>. Thanks to the bilingual

<sup>49</sup> Cf. n. 25.

<sup>50</sup> *Masada* II, 140–141.

<sup>51</sup> I have not considered if the date referred to the year of vintage (*natum*) or the year of bottling (*diffusum*), because at the moment it is not of the major importance. The editors opt for either the year of bottling or the year of shipment. See *Masada* II, 143–4.

<sup>52</sup> *Masada* II, 145–6.

<sup>53</sup> The *Philonianum* wine, except the *tituli picti* from Masada, is not attested in the literary and epigraphic evidence. The editors of *Masada* II, 145 state that it could be purely accidental and that *Philonianum* could be produced on a small scale like other luxurious and famous kind of wine – *Caecubum*. Cf. Purcell (1985), 1–19; Tchernia (1986).

<sup>54</sup> *Masada* II, no. 795–99. In two cases the abbreviation can be reconstructed as AM(ineum). Cf. *Massicum Amineum*: Tchernia (1986), 283, n. 68.

Latin-Greek inscriptions they can be dated to the reign of Herod. Although the name of the king does not appear in the *tituli picti* it is exceedingly unlikely that they were imported to Masada by someone else. Another example of the luxurious wine is *Massicum*<sup>55</sup>. In this case it is not impossible that the wine was transported from Italy for the Roman officers from the *Legio X* who laid siege to the Masada, and after 73 A.D. was stationed in the fortress<sup>56</sup>. However, Herod's candidature remains more probable<sup>57</sup>.

The catalogue of the luxurious imports of the king is not exhausted yet. If the *tituli picti* are properly read, one should probably add to the list "apples from Kyme", honey and olive oil<sup>58</sup>. Undoubtedly, this list had to be longer – a significant number of the jars which seem to be imports can not be associated with concrete products because of the lack of the inscriptions, or the poor condition of the jars.

The archaeological evidence from Masada suggests the great richness of the king's stores. It fits well to the description of Josephus Flavius (*BJ* 8.4) who emphasises that they are a greater object of admiration than the royal palace itself:

"But the stores laid up within would have excited still more amazement, alike for their lavish splendour and their durability. For here had been stored a mass of corn, amply sufficient to last for years, abundance of wine and oil, besides every variety of pulse and piles of dates"<sup>59</sup>.

The jars discovered in Masada show that the magazines described by Josephus Flavius consisted of a great quantity of imports from Italy and Spain. The products like luxurious wines, garum, allec, apples from Kyme, all of them reveal the strong inclination of the Herod to emulate the Roman taste. The tendency of Herod the Great to emulate Hellenic and Roman customs can be observed also in other fields of his activity, for instance architecture and material culture<sup>60</sup>. One could treat the behaviour of the king as a part of the wider process of the Romanization of Judea, but it is more complicated than that. The phenomenon of the Romanization of the peoples conquered by the Romans is well recognized, especially in the Western and Northern

<sup>55</sup> See *Masada* II, 161, no. 819: MAS(sicum) EXCEL(lens).

<sup>56</sup> Cf. n. 25. There are known examples where the fish sauces were imported on the direct order of the legionary officers. See Bezczyk (1996), 329–36.

<sup>57</sup> It was also probable that the king was responsible for the import of wines: *Tarantinum* (no. 818), *Mulsum* (no. 821) and, if the inscriptions are deciphered correctly, *Caecubum* (nos. 832, 836). See Cotton, Geiger (1996), 168.

<sup>58</sup> See *Masada* II, no. 800, 822; cf. no. 821.

<sup>59</sup> Loeb translation.

<sup>60</sup> Foester (1996), 55–72; Förtsch (1996), 73–119; Netzer (1996), 27–54.

provinces of the Roman Empire<sup>61</sup>. The emulation of the Roman way of life concerns many aspects, among them culinary customs. This process proceeds somewhat differently in Eastern provinces, but the common feature was that, regardless of where one was, those most open to the notion of change were the local aristocracies, or indeed people from the higher or middle social stratum<sup>62</sup>. Herod's penchant for the Roman tastes seems follow a similar pattern. However, Judea was a peculiar example because of the restrictive religious rules of their Jewish inhabitants. Of course, the Roman imports intended for Herod had to fulfil the strict regime of being kosher, but probably the king's culinary preferences were not shared by many, except his court. The garum amphora discovered in Masada was a perfect choice for the Roman type of banquet in the comfortable residence of the Jewish king within the fortress. Nevertheless this is a sign of the caprice of the king rather than a mark of the profound fascination of the Jews for Roman cuisine and customs<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>61</sup> Tsirkin (1988); Curchin (1991); Wood, Queiroga (1992); De Francisco Martín (1996); García Vargas (1996), 49–57.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Edmondson (1990), 123–47; Curchin (1990), 265–76; Berdowski (2000), 11–30.

<sup>63</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Donald Trinder for his significant help in improving the English in my paper.

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## Garum Heroda Wielkiego (łacińsko-grecka inskrypcja na amforze z Masady)

### Streszczenie

W trakcie prac wykopaliskowych prowadzonych w Masadzie w latach 1963–1965 przez misję Yigaela Yadina odkryto interesującą amforę zaopatrzoną w łacińsko-grecką inskrypcję (*titulus pictus*) wskazującą na przeznaczenie naczynia i jego zawartości dla króla Heroda Wielkiego (37–4 p.n.e.). Najprawdopodobniej mamy do czynienia z amforą typu Beltrán IIB, który stanowi w istocie wariant amfory 38 w typologii Dressela. W naczyniach tego rodzaju transportowano rzymskie sosy rybne, takie jak *garum*, *liquamen* i inne. Analiza petrologiczna wskazuje na hiszpańskie (Betyka) pochodzenie amfory. W oparciu o kryteria taksonomiczne naczynie jest datowane na początek I w. n.e.

Ze względu na bardzo nieliczne przypadki występowania greckich *tituli picti* na amforach, inskrypcja z Masady stanowi rzadki przykład napisu w języku greckim na naczyniu transportowym. Dodatkowo, bilingwiczny (łacińsko-grecki) charakter inskrypcji czyni z niej zabytek unikatowy. Stan zachowania inskrypcji jest fragmentaryczny. Dzięki lekturze i uzupełnieniom napisu wiemy, że w amforze znajdował się luksusowy gatunek rzymskiego sosu rybnego *garum* przeznaczony dla samego króla Heroda Wielkiego. Wraz z innymi naczyniami znalezionymi w Masadzie (m.in. na wino i oliwę), zakwalifikowanymi jako importy z Hiszpanii i Italii, amfora na *garum* wiele mówi o preferencjach kulinarnych Heroda, a także o naśladownictwie helleńskich i rzymskich obyczajów kulinarnych przez króla i jego najbliższe otoczenie.

