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Roman Port Societies

The Evidence of Inscriptions



Edited by Pascal Arnaud
and Simon Key

Roman Port Societies

In this book, an international team of experts draws upon a rich range of Latin and Greek texts to explore the roles played by individuals at ports in activities and institutions that were central to the maritime commerce of the Roman Mediterranean. In particular, they focus upon some of the interpretative issues that arise in dealing with this kind of epigraphic evidence, the archaeological contexts of the texts, social institutions and social groups in ports, legal issues relating to harbours, case studies relating to specific ports, and mercantile connections and shippers. While much attention is inevitably focused upon the richer epigraphic collections of Ostia and Ephesos, the chapters draw upon inscriptions from a very wide range of ports across the Mediterranean. The volume will be invaluable for all scholars and students of Roman history.

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Roman Port Societies

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and

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Abbreviations

The epigraphic and papyrological abbreviations used in this volume are those current in *PHI* for Greek epigraphy, by Clauss/Slaby, in *IRT* for Latin epigraphy and in *papyri.info* for papyri.

Other abbreviations

I.Porto = G. Sacco (1984) *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Porto*. Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura.

Portes = A. Bernand (1984) *Les portes du désert: recueil des inscriptions grecques d'Antinooupolis, Tentyris, Koptos, Apollonopolis Parva et Apollonopolis Magna*. Paris, Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

1 | The Context of Roman Mediterranean Port Societies

An Introduction to the *Portuslimen* Project

SIMON KEAY

1 Commercial Significance of Ports

This is the first book to arise from an interdisciplinary initiative, the Roman Mediterranean Ports project, which seeks a holistic understanding of early Imperial ports by addressing a range of key questions relating to their character, organization and roles.¹ The geographical centrality of the Mediterranean to the Roman Empire, which was without precedent and has not been matched subsequently, helped enable its political integrity for well over 400 years. By the early first century AD, Rome had come to dominate all of the shores surrounding the Mediterranean, transforming its constituent seas into a unique maritime space. Interconnected commercial networks criss-crossed its many islands and micro-regions, enabling provincial communities to maintain intense commercial relationships with Rome at the centre of the *mare nostrum*, although debates continue to rage over their scale and the nature of their organization.²

Ports were the nodes through which pan-Mediterranean flows of ships were channelled, and at which customs dues were collected, goods stored and transhipped, and commercial transactions negotiated (Figure 1.1). A good sense of their sheer density comes from considering the distribution of sites in the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*.³ It is salutary to note, however, that the fullest analysis of the roles of ports in the context of Roman maritime commerce remains that by the historian Jean Rougé⁴

¹ The project is directed by Simon Keay and Pascal Arnaud and is financed by an ERC Advanced Grant, Project Number 339123. www.portuslimen.eu.

² See for example the debate between Wilson, Silver, Bang, Erdkamp and Morley in Scheidel 2012: 287–320.

³ Talbert 2000.

⁴ Rougé 1966. Although much of his study is now outdated, it still provides a very useful overview of (i) the role of ports and ships in the context of the infrastructure of maritime commerce, as well as (ii) the different kinds of people associated with them and in commerce more generally, and (iii) juridical and economic issues related to the structure of maritime commerce.

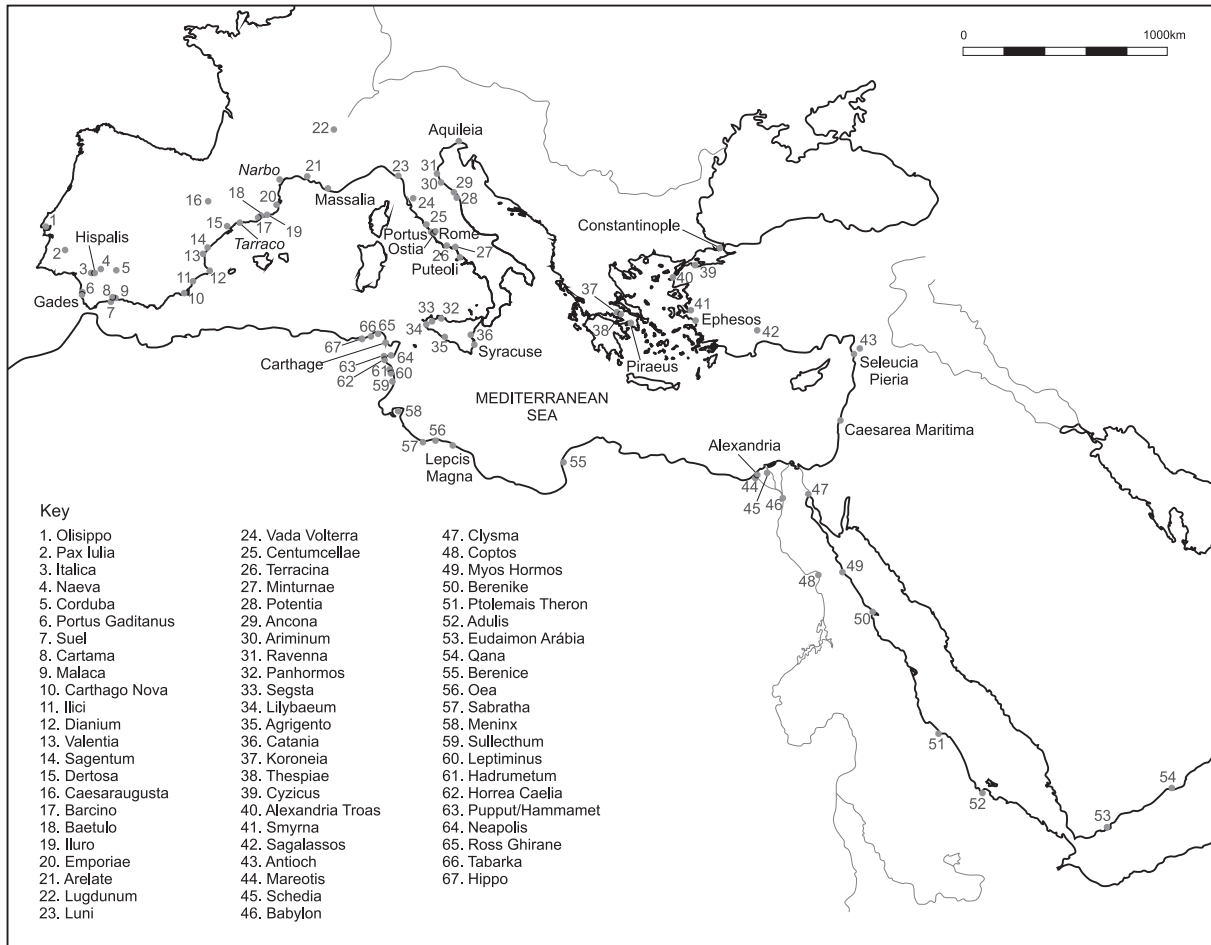


Figure 1.1 Map showing some of the major ports of the Roman Mediterranean.

published over fifty years ago. Notwithstanding some notable exceptions,⁵ their significance has been assumed rather than explored in more recent scholarship. In the seminal *Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, for example, the key roles played by ports in mediating the flows of maritime commerce and generating revenues through the payment of customs dues across the Mediterranean are rarely mentioned within broader discussions relating to distribution,⁶ or to the state and the economy in the early Roman Empire.⁷ One of the great challenges in the study of Roman Mediterranean ports is to integrate them into mainstream discussions about the commerce, economy and society of the Roman Empire.

2 Earlier Work

Part of the problem lies in the fact that the study of ports has only recently come of age. The first general archaeological study of ports was undertaken by Lehmann-Hartleben,⁸ who compiled a catalogue of available archaeological, literary and iconographic evidence for a selection of 303 ports and harbours.⁹ Aside from publications relating to key sites such as Aquileia,¹⁰ Lepcis Magna¹¹ (Figure 1.2), Ostia¹² (Figure 1.3) and Kenchreai¹³ during the 1930s, 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, and a useful historical summary of evidence by Rougé,¹⁴ there was a long gap until a thematic survey of aspects of the archaeological evidence for selected ports by Blackman¹⁵ began to raise key questions relating to the siting of harbours, their siltation and their topographical relationships to broader port settlements. Since then there has been an upsurge in the study of ports that has been driven by the research interests of land-based and underwater archaeologists, and by the imperatives of modern urban development, particularly from the 1990s onwards. This work has been most intense in the western Mediterranean, in the residential areas of Ostia, as well as at Cherchel,¹⁶ Pozzuoli¹⁷ and the harbour zones of Portus,¹⁸

⁵ See for example Rickman 1985; 1988; 1991; Tchernia and Viviers 2000. ⁶ Morley 2007.

⁷ Lo Cascio 2007. The broader significance of tax levied by cities on maritime trade discussed by Bresson (2016: 286–305) in his study of the ports of the Classical Greek and Hellenistic Mediterranean surely has relevance to the Roman Mediterranean; see also Purcell 2006.

⁸ Lehmann-Hartleben 1923.

⁹ Touching upon the history of study, and early Greek and Roman harbour works.

¹⁰ Brusin 1934. ¹¹ Bartoccini 1958.

¹² Meiggs (1970) is the fundamental study. Descoëudres (2001) provides a full introduction to archaeological aspects of the site with further bibliography. Most recently, see Pavolini 2016.

¹³ Scranton, Shaw and Ibrahim 1978. ¹⁴ Rougé 1966: 121–46. ¹⁵ Blackman 1982a; 1982b.

¹⁶ Leveau 1987. ¹⁷ See the different chapters in Zevi 1993. ¹⁸ Testaguzza 1970.



Figure 1.2 The harbour basin at Lepcis Magna.



Figure 1.3 Aerial view of Ostia.

Carthage,¹⁹ Cosa²⁰ and Marseille,²¹ amongst others.²² Work had tended to be less intense in the eastern Mediterranean, aside from key excavations at

¹⁹ Hurst 2010. ²⁰ McCann 1987. ²¹ Hesnard, Bernardi and Maurel 2001.

²² See amongst others papers in Raban 1985; Pascal Berlanga and Pérez Ballester 2003; Gallina Zevi and Turchetti 2004; Uggeri 2005; 2006; Hohlfelder 2008; Keay and Boetto 2010.

Apollonia,²³ Piraeus,²⁴ Alexandria,²⁵ Beirut²⁶ and, of course, Caesarea Maritima,²⁷ which is one of the best-known ports in the Mediterranean. More recently, however, there has been an upsurge in research at ports and harbours in Asia Minor, most notably at Kelenderis, Andriake, Patara,²⁸ Alexandria Troas²⁹ and Elaiussa Sebaste.³⁰

3 More Recent Advances

Since the turn of the century there have been increasingly refined interdisciplinary approaches to the study of ports and commerce.³¹ On the one hand, the advent of geo-archaeological approaches has revolutionized our understanding of ancient harbours.³² Coring campaigns have revealed the sedimentary sequences of harbour basins at such ports as Cumae, Forum Iulii and Ephesos and Tyre,³³ amongst others, raising key questions about their capacities and development, and the broader geographical constraints within which ports functioned. On the other, the results of large-scale geophysical surveys of silted-up ports, such as at Portus³⁴ and Ephesos,³⁵ have made it possible for us to better understand overall port landscapes that include harbours as well as their associated settlements. The results have been even better when geo-archaeological studies have been combined with geophysical surveys, as at Portus,³⁶ Elaia³⁷ and Miletos,³⁸ or with excavations, as at Naples³⁹ and the outer lagoon of Narbo.⁴⁰

In the course of the first two centuries AD, the cities of the Roman Empire needed large-scale port infrastructure, such as artificial harbours, lighthouses, canals and warehouses, at key ports in order to handle growing volumes of commerce. While the emperors themselves did occasionally undertake to develop this directly, as in the case of Portus and Centumcellae,⁴¹ epigraphic evidence, although rare, suggests that the harbours were administered by the

²³ For example, Goodchild, Pedley and White 1976: esp. 29–40.

²⁴ Judeich 1931; Von Eickstedt 1991. ²⁵ Goddio *et al.* 1998. ²⁶ Butcher and Thorpe 1997.

²⁷ See Raban and Holum 1996; Patrich 2011. ²⁸ Ladstätter, Pirson and Schmidts 2014.

²⁹ Feuser 2011. ³⁰ Most recently Equini Schneider 2010.

³¹ McCormick 2001; Hohlfelder 2008; Harris and Iara 2011; Robinson and Wilson 2011; Keay 2012a.

³² Goiran and Morhange 2001; Marriner and Morhange 2007.

³³ Marriner *et al.* 2005; Stefaniuk *et al.* 2005; Gebara and Morhange 2010; Stock *et al.* 2013.

³⁴ Keay *et al.* 2005; Keay and Paroli 2011. ³⁵ Groh 2006. ³⁶ Goiran *et al.* 2010; 2011.

³⁷ Pirson 2009. ³⁸ Brückner *et al.* 2014 ³⁹ Giampaola *et al.* 2005.

⁴⁰ The discussion of several of the port sites and their context in Sanchez and Jézegou 2011 is a good introduction.

⁴¹ Keay 2012b: 52–4.

ports themselves.⁴² On the other hand, the customs dues payable on entering and leaving provincial ports were an important source of revenue for the Roman state.⁴³ The broader context of many of these and other issues is benefiting from studies of the broader legal framework of commercial activity in the Roman Mediterranean.⁴⁴

In terms of the maritime commerce that was played out at and between ports, it was Rougé⁴⁵ who first showed how Rome changed the pre-existing structures in the course of the late Republic and early Empire. While many Hellenistic or even older ports and anchorages in the East remained in use during the later Republican and Imperial periods and functioned as important elements within emerging groups of ports, Rome redrew the broader geography of port installations across the Mediterranean by establishing artificial ports at key strategic points with no natural port,⁴⁶ as well as overseeing an increase in port infrastructure, particularly in the West. Perhaps the single most influential change, however, was the establishment of Portus under Claudius as part of a broader strategy to feed the population of Rome.⁴⁷ This had significant implications for major ports such as Alexandria, Carthage and Ephesos, as well as for regional ports like Hispalis and Lepcis Magna,⁴⁸ one should however be wary of over-emphasizing its dominance of the Mediterranean. The establishment of military fleet bases under Augustus and his successors was another aspect of this.⁴⁹

Rougé was also one of the first scholars to draw together the different ancient texts referring to the nature of Greek and Roman ports, picking out and analysing such terms as *limen*, *hormos*, *salos*, *emporion*, *portus* and *statio* that were used to characterize harbours and differences in the commercial functions of ports.⁵⁰ These terms are key to our understanding of port hierarchies in the Roman Mediterranean, even though there has been a tendency to assume that their meanings were absolute and unchanging, which is not the case. Greek and Roman writers also sometimes recorded valuable information relating to the capacity of ports, such as the number and kind of ships that their harbours could accommodate, associated buildings, the presence of fresh water and local landmarks; some

⁴² See Houston (1980), who discusses the administration of Italian seaports, while Arnaud (2014) analyses available epigraphic evidence more broadly for the development and administration of ports.

⁴³ Generally, see De Laet 1949; Purcell 2006; more specifically see France 2001 and Cottier *et al.* 2008.

⁴⁴ Following on from Rougé 1966: 325–488; see now Gaurier 2004. ⁴⁵ Rougé 1966: 489–94.

⁴⁶ Discussed in Brandon *et al.* 2014: 122–40. ⁴⁷ Keay 2012b: 45–8.

⁴⁸ See for example the argument in Keay 2016. ⁴⁹ Reddé 1986: 145–322.

⁵⁰ Rougé 1966: 107–20.

of this has come down to us in accounts by geographers such as Strabo⁵¹ and works like the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*.⁵² Arnaud reminds us, however, that we also need to take into account the juridical status of port communities, the presence of *stationes* for the collection of customs dues and navigational access.⁵³ In other words, much more attention needs to be directed towards understanding the activities that took place at ports, and how these influenced their layout and the range and volume of goods that passed through them.

There have been a variety of archaeological contributions to this particular debate. A traditional approach to assessing the commercial vitality of specific ports has been based upon gauging the monumentality of their harbour structures and public buildings, the extent of their built-up areas, the range of imported amphorae and other ceramics, and face-value assessments of ancient historical and geographical texts. The definition of ports in terms of their roles as hubs of regional redistribution or as local stopping points for cabotage by Nieto in 1997,⁵⁴ however, represented an important conceptual advance on this. Since then there have been attempts at calculating the size of ports or the capacity of basins on the basis of published plans,⁵⁵ although frequent inaccuracies in the latter and the exclusion of neighbouring anchorages and other sites can mean that such estimates are misleading. An alternative approach has been to focus upon lesser ports and anchorages and their relationships to the entrepôts and regional ports. The recent study of the maritime façade of ancient Parentium on the Istrian coast is an excellent example of this, and also highlights the important roles played by *villae maritimae* and minor anchorages in regional trade.⁵⁶ In general, however, this kind of study is still comparatively rare.⁵⁷

Alternative approaches that are beginning to bear fruit involve gauging the storage capacities of ports, with a recent focus upon estimating the number and size of warehouses at Ostia and at ports across the Mediterranean.⁵⁸ Industrial activity is another measure that can help us distinguish the larger hubs from the lesser ports. The production of fish sauce,⁵⁹ ceramics, notably amphorae,⁶⁰

⁵¹ Strabo 4.6.3. ⁵² Medas 2008; see also Arnaud 2009. ⁵³ Arnaud 2010; 2011.

⁵⁴ Nieto 1997; see also recent work by Keay (2016) in drawing comparisons between the contemporary developments of Portus and the major entrepôts of Hispalis and Lepcis Magna.

⁵⁵ Schörle 2011.

⁵⁶ Carre, Kovacic and Tassaux 2011: esp. 56–60, 125–57, 161–86, 195–217, 223–67.

⁵⁷ See however Sanna *et al.* 2014.

⁵⁸ Ostia: Bukowiecki, Monteix and Rouse 2008; Portus: Bukowiecki, Zugmeyer and Panzneri 2012; Patara: Cavalier 2007; more generally Virlouvet 2011.

⁵⁹ See for example Arévalo and Bernal 2007; Botte 2009.

⁶⁰ Amongst the many known examples from all periods, Bonifay 2004 provides a good introduction to those dating to the Imperial period in North Africa.

and probably glass⁶¹ at many different sites, or in their hinterlands, is the best example of this. While there is also a wide range of archaeological evidence for other manufacturing activities at Roman towns in general, that derived from Mediterranean ports tends to come from the more fully excavated sites like Ostia and Pompeii;⁶² the presence of lead pollution and other industrial metals in deep cores drilled at ports⁶³ can also provide an index of the degree of industrial activity. Study of the ships and boats that frequented the harbours has been yet another avenue of research,⁶⁴ although finds in their harbour contexts are still limited to a handful of examples,⁶⁵ and most usually come from shallow waters at a distance from the ports. Welcome recent developments include attempts at focusing upon them in terms of their size and range,⁶⁶ possible technological innovation⁶⁷ and the overall volume of shipping in the later Roman Mediterranean.⁶⁸ Others have used comparative analyses of the proportions of ceramics from ports of consumption, shipwrecks and production sites to distinguish entrepôts from secondary ports.⁶⁹

Notwithstanding the importance of all these approaches, it is only by combining them with a consideration of the social dimension of ports, and the roles of the many different actors who made up their populations, that we can gain a more holistic understanding of port functions. Greek and Latin inscriptions are a primary source of evidence for this, despite some of the challenges inherent in understanding the motivations behind setting them up. For example, attention has focused upon tracing the presence of foreign communities at different ports, such as the Italian merchants at second-century BC Delos,⁷⁰ a station of Tyrian traders at late second-century AD Puteoli that was an offshoot of the mother colony at Tyre,⁷¹ African⁷² and Egyptian trading communities at Ostia and Portus,⁷³ a *conventus* of Roman citizens at first-century AD Ephesos,⁷⁴ a Jewish community at Tarraco and a population speaking Greek, Hebrew and Latin at Caesarea Maritima.⁷⁵ Inscriptions have also highlighted the

⁶¹ Wilson, Schörle and Rice 2012; also De Gryse 2014: 97–112.

⁶² See for example Bakker 1999 for Ostia; and Monteix 2016 and Brun 2016 for Pompeii.

⁶³ Le Roux, Véron and Morhange 2005; Véron *et al.* 2006. ⁶⁴ Parker 1992; Strauss 2013.

⁶⁵ Pisa: Bruni 2000; Olbia: D'Oriano 2002; Naples: Giampaola *et al.* 2005; Portus: Boetto 2010; Istanbul: Koçabas 2012.

⁶⁶ Arnaud (2015a) uses papyrological evidence to argue for a much greater range of ships and boats than is immediately evident from the archaeological evidence.

⁶⁷ Some of the papers in Harris and Iara 2011 are good examples of this; see also Wilson 2011.

⁶⁸ McCormick 2001: 83–114. ⁶⁹ For example, Bonifay 2009.

⁷⁰ Ferrary, Hasenohr and Le Dinahet 2002.

⁷¹ Terpstra 2013: 70–92; see also De Romanis 1993 and Camodeca 2006.

⁷² Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1996; Salomies 2002; Baroni and Rougier 2016. ⁷³ Sacco 1984.

⁷⁴ Terpstra 2013: 194–7. ⁷⁵ Lehmann and Holum 1999: 20–4.

persistence of the use of original languages in political and cult activities at ports like Neapolis (Naples), Massalia (Marseille) and Lepcis Magna that had been earlier Greek and Carthaginian colonies in the West.⁷⁶ Other studies have focused upon such issues as the financial and commercial transactions,⁷⁷ the origins, status and social context of shippers⁷⁸ and the fortunes that they gained through commerce.⁷⁹ Similarly, analyses of inscriptions from the anchor stocks found at shipwrecks,⁸⁰ as well as those on amphorae and their stoppers⁸¹ and lead ingots,⁸² have shed further light upon the extent of state and private involvement in commerce and how it was organized. The particularly large repertoire of inscriptions from Ostia and Portus,⁸³ best explained by their close administrative and commercial connections with Rome, has inevitably led many scholars to focus their attention upon the state-organized supply of corn and olive oil (*annona*) to Rome from sources across the Mediterranean.⁸⁴ It has also provided us with a rich record left by members of popular associations contracted to the state for specific activities related to the commercial life of the two ports, and who also played key roles in their social, religious and political life.⁸⁵ Notwithstanding the rich epigraphic evidence from other eastern ports, particularly Ephesos,⁸⁶ studies relating to the involvement of shippers⁸⁷ and merchants in the East have been less well served.

However, we have to recognize that there are limits to the inferences that can be made about the character of port societies from epigraphic evidence

⁷⁶ Respectively Miranda 1985: 386–95; Decourt, Gascou and Guyon 2005; Reynolds and Ward-Perkins 2009.

⁷⁷ Respectively Andreau 2015: 61–256; Camodeca 1992; Andreau 1999: 71–9.

⁷⁸ Rougé 1966: 239–55; De Salvo 1992: 225–94; Brokaert 2013a: 216–50.

⁷⁹ See for example Tchernia 2011; in particular, Bernard (2016) argues for the need to focus upon the people involved in exchange, their languages of communication and the legal frameworks within which they worked.

⁸⁰ Gianfrota 1980; 1992; Brokaert 2013a: 452–8. ⁸¹ Brokaert 2013a: 437–51.

⁸² See for example Domergue 1998; Trincherini *et al.* 2009.

⁸³ Meiggs 1970: 1–10; Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli and Zevi (2010) provide the most up-to-date introduction to the published texts from Ostia; and Thylander 1952 is basic for those from Portus.

⁸⁴ Pavis d'Escurac 1976 is a basic study; see also Rickman 1980: 261–75; Christol 2008; 2013; as well as papers in Marin and Virlovet 2003: 37–152, 557–739 and Sirks 1991: 24–251, amongst many others.

⁸⁵ For example, Meiggs 1970: 214–34, 337–403; Van Nijf 1997; Steuernagel 2004; Tran 2006; Rohde 2012.

⁸⁶ Inscriptions from Ephesos are to be found in the series *Inschriften Griechischer Städte Kleinasiens*, together with the *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* and ongoing volumes of the *Forschungen in Ephesos*; Spanu (2001) also discusses inscriptions relating to the port area.

⁸⁷ Vélissaropoulos 1980.

on its own, and that archaeological evidence has much to contribute as well. Aspects of their social organization can be deduced from the articulation of public and private space,⁸⁸ the internal layout of houses,⁸⁹ the layout and decoration of buildings for popular associations⁹⁰ and meeting places for foreign traders,⁹¹ the provision of such social amenities as baths, theatres and amphitheatres, and the presence of temples and sanctuaries to Roman and non-Roman deities. Cemeteries are another rich source of evidence, both for social differentiation⁹² and also for the geographical origins of the populations of ports.⁹³ While epigraphic evidence is often taken as a guide to the latter, interpretation of this where possible needs to be tempered by physical analysis of the skeletons,⁹⁴ even though the geographical resolution that it can provide is not very fine.

Fundamental to an understanding of the broader context of ports and their inter-relationships has been Hordern and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea*,⁹⁵ the first major challenge to Braudel's⁹⁶ understanding of the Mediterranean. The authors focused *inter alia* upon the issue of 'unity in diversity' within the Mediterranean basin, and developed the key concept of 'connectivity' for defining how the diverse regions of the Mediterranean are integrated in a fluid manner. They seek to explain how the micro-regions of the Mediterranean coalesced at different scales, ranging from local to regional, supra-regional and the Mediterranean at large. Their thinking has been supported by studies of the many navigational routes that are known to us from the Greek and Latin sources and maritime itineraries.⁹⁷ Although their approach has not won universal acceptance, it does of course have major implications for our understanding of the Mediterranean-wide milieu in which Roman ports functioned. For example, it cautions us against thinking of a Roman Mediterranean that was dominated by the direct movement of ships along major commercial axes between provincial entrepôts and Rome, in favour of a situation where coastal cabotage between minor and major played a significant role. Connectivity across the Mediterranean, therefore, has become a subject of study, focusing

⁸⁸ See for example Laurence 2007 for Pompeii and Stöger 2011 for Ostia.

⁸⁹ The analysis by Wallace-Hadrill (1994) of how the organization of domestic space and its decoration structured encounters between different levels of society in various parts of this port has potential for other sites where there has been extensive research on urban layout.

⁹⁰ Hermansen 1982: 55–89; Zevi 2008; Rosso 2013. ⁹¹ Terpstra 2013: 100–12.

⁹² For example, Baldassare *et al.* 1985; Heinzelmann 2000: 102–22.

⁹³ For example, Helttula 1995: 238–41.

⁹⁴ Prowse 2007; but see also Bruun 2010 and Kilgrove 2010. ⁹⁵ Hordern and Purcell 2000.

⁹⁶ Braudel 1972–3.

⁹⁷ Arnaud (2005) gives by far the most comprehensive account of this to date. See also Arnaud 2011.

upon connections between ports, individuals and traded goods. While analyses of historical and epigraphic texts have yielded significant results,⁹⁸ archaeology provides the most fruitful way forward. The most frequent analyses draw upon the abundant ceramics that were traded between ports, primarily amphorae but also finewares, coarsewares and marble⁹⁹ – from both port sites and shipwrecks. However, the interpretation of this kind of information is not straightforward, since most material is found at its point of destination and the routes or ports by which it arrived are hard to unravel.¹⁰⁰ Other approaches have involved a combination of archaeological and historical evidence.¹⁰¹ Experimentation with different network theories is now beginning to drive this field of research, even though there perhaps needs to be a clearer understanding of the quality of the different kinds of data being used and how far connections visible in the models are actually meaningful in terms of ancient networks.¹⁰²

Notwithstanding the many recent advances, this brief review of Roman Mediterranean ports highlights a number of areas where our understanding is particularly poor. We need to know more about the character and capacities of ports, how they were administered, the impetus behind their development, the character of their societies, the organization of commercial activities, and the extent to which it is possible to think in terms of hierarchies of function and inter-relationships at the local, regional and inter-regional scale; furthermore, all of these issues need to be examined within a contextualized chronological perspective. It is only by addressing all of these issues that we will be better placed to understand their contribution to the commercial, social and cultural life of the Roman Empire. However, there are major challenges to achieving this. One concerns the very varied nature of the data at our disposal, which range from archaeology to geomorphology and texts, each of which has distinct traditions of study; another relates to the different ways in which the data have been collected and made accessible, a concern which makes it very difficult to argue that they are in any way representative.

⁹⁸ Rathbone 2009; Brokaert 2013b.

⁹⁹ For example, Fulford 1987; Panella 1993; Keay 2012a; Wilson, Schörle and Rice 2012. Papers in Lawall and Lund 2013 provide a useful range of studies that focus upon the evidence from Cypriot ports. See also the papers in Papi 2007.

¹⁰⁰ Bonifay and Tchernia (2012) provide a good example of the potential wreck data, despite the interpretational challenges.

¹⁰¹ For example, papers in Zaccaria 2001; Bouras 2016.

¹⁰² See the useful discussion by Brughmans, Collar and Coward (2016).

4 Rome's Mediterranean Ports Project

This project represents an attempt to address some of these issues and associated challenges. It focuses upon characterizing the commercial organization of the Mediterranean through holistic analyses of port sites and hierarchies, public versus private enterprise within ports, and the people who frequented them and networked between them. The liminal position of ports on the boundary between land and sea, together with their deep historical, geographical and archaeological narratives, means that our approach must be interdisciplinary in scope. Furthermore, the very chequered history of research, with significant imbalances in knowledge from one site or region to another, makes it challenging to draw regional comparisons. In light of this, the project has sought consistently to apply suites of existing techniques in archaeology, ancient history and geo-archaeological studies to a range of selected ports in order to over-ride deficiencies in data sets and bring out similarities and differences between sites. In cutting across different kinds of evidence in this way, the project is opening up new avenues of enquiry with a view to bringing the Roman Mediterranean much more into the academic mainstream.

The Rome's Mediterranean Ports project encompasses the study of a selection of early Imperial ports that is intended to be as representative as possible of the full range of known sites. They were chosen on the basis of being both maritime and fluvial, artificially created and 'natural', having a wide variety of topographies, having been discussed by ancient writers, and having a good range of archaeological and epigraphic data; they are also widely spaced across the Mediterranean as a whole (Figure 1.4).¹⁰³ The project addresses four issues that relate to their character and their interconnectedness.

The first focuses upon the layout of Roman ports, how far they represented a technological advance over those that had existed previously, and the extent to which their topographies and planning enhanced their ability to handle increased commercial traffic and industrial activity. Some inscriptions, for example, make it clear that the requirements for administrative procedures

¹⁰³ They are Acholla (Tunisia), Alexandria (Egypt), Aquileia (Italy), Arelate (Arles), Baelo (Spain), Caesarea Maritima (Israel), Carthage (Tunisia), Carthago Nova (Spain), Centumcellae (Italy), Cumae (Italy), Elaia (Turkey), Ephesos (Turkey), Forum Iulii (France), Gades (Spain), Hispalis (Seville), Kane (Turkey), Lepcis Magna (Libya), Leptiminus (Tunisia), Massalia (Marseille), Narbo (Narbonne), Neapolis (Naples), Piraeus (Greece), Pitane (Turkey), Portus (Italy), Puteoli (Italy), Sullectum (Tunisia), Tarraco (Spain), Thapsus (Tunisia), Telo Martius (Toulon), Utica (Tunisia) and the Vada Volaterrana (Italy).

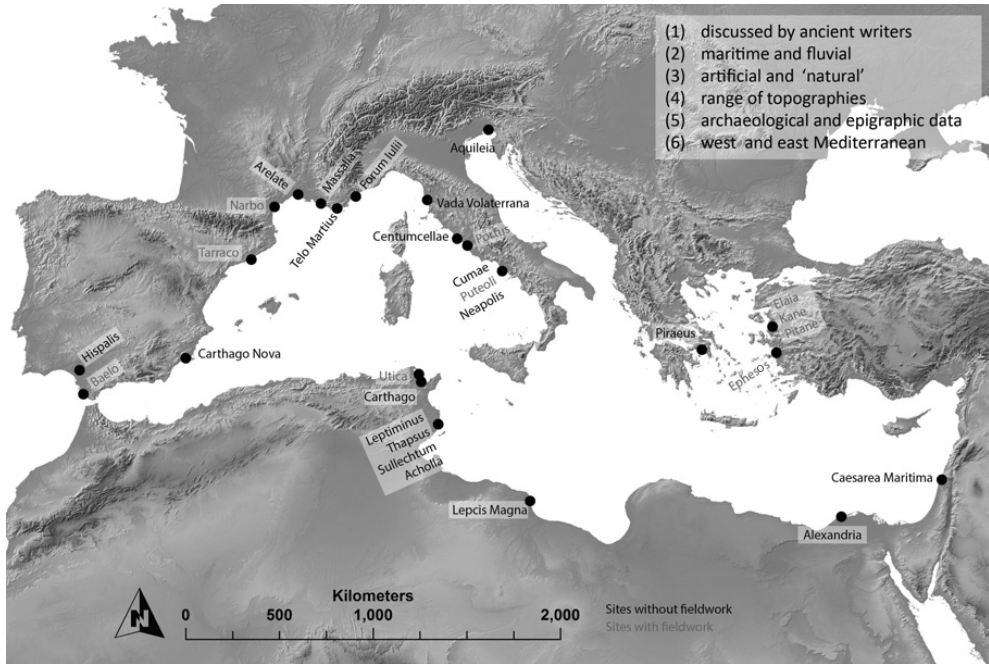


Figure 1.4 Map showing sites of the *Portuslimes* project and the criteria for their selection.

had a significant impact upon port design,¹⁰⁴ while in others the requirements for loading and unloading, as well as berthing and mooring, were strictly spelled out on inscriptions that were set up at or close to harbour areas, as at Ephesos and Portus.¹⁰⁵ An ontologically based study of the vocabulary used by ancient Greek and Latin writers to describe the character and properties of ports is allowing us better to understand extant archaeological evidence and project data, most notably at Utica, Ephesos, Tarraco and also Carthage. This has been complemented by eighteen different integrated geophysical and geo-archaeological campaigns at eight ports, involving innovative approaches to data collection and integration. The results reveal new details of port infrastructure of the Claudian harbour basin at Portus (Figure 1.5), a short stretch of the Ripa Puteolana at Puteoli (Figure 1.6), the edges of the harbour basin at Tarraco (Figure 1.7), the position of the harbour at Utica (Figure 1.8)¹⁰⁶ and the layout of the buildings opening onto the inner harbour basin at Ephesos

¹⁰⁴ The customs law of Asia, for example, specifies the exact size and position for the *teloneia* at entry ports (Cottier *et al.* 2008: 55) to the province.

¹⁰⁵ Key (2018) focuses upon evidence for the processing of cargoes at Portus.

¹⁰⁶ Delile, Abichou *et al.* 2015.



Figure 1.5 Aerial view of the Claudian harbour basin at Portus.



Figure 1.6 The harbour area of Puteoli with Misenum and Baia in the background.

(Figure 1.9) and an additional outer basin.¹⁰⁷ Work has also made an important contribution to our understanding of port infrastructure at the small ports of Kane (Figure 1.10) and Pitane along the maritime façade of Pergamon¹⁰⁸ and the maritime façade of Baelo (Figure 1.11) in southern Spain. The research has also raised questions about changing harbour depths, sedimentation rates and dredging episodes at many of these sites.¹⁰⁹ Details of the layout of residential areas at Ephesos and Utica¹¹⁰ have also been provided by geophysical survey, while the broader topography and symbolic aspects of portsapes have also

¹⁰⁷ Complementing earlier work by members of the Österreichisches Archäologische Institut: Stock *et al.* 2013.

¹⁰⁸ Laufer 2015.

¹⁰⁹ At Ephesos: Delile, Blichert-Toft *et al.* 2015; at Ostia and Portus: Salomon *et al.* 2016.

¹¹⁰ Ben Jerbania *et al.* 2015.



Figure 1.7 The harbour area of Tarraco.



Figure 1.8 The port of Utica.

been explored by analyses of the iconographic representation of ports on mosaics, reliefs and coin images. The results of the geo-archaeological coring have revealed peaks and troughs in the presence of lead pollution in harbour sediments down to the Byzantine period at Naples.¹¹¹ This may perhaps be

¹¹¹ Delile *et al.* 2016.



Figure 1.9 Aerial view over Ephesos towards the harbour area and adjacent canal.



Figure 1.10 Looking along the coast towards the port of Kane.

related to the piped water system at the port, industrial activity or the lead sheathing of ship hulls, and is being complemented by the study of data from other project ports.



Figure 1.11 View across the townscape of Baelo down towards the maritime façade.

The second issue explores the organization of port-based commercial activity and the extent to which it was the result of state, city or private initiatives, or combinations of all three. We have gathered enough epigraphic information about port administration to explain satisfactorily the rarity of evidence, argued that the harbour areas of port cities were normally placed under the authority of specific officials,¹¹² and gained a clearer sense of the different levels of responsibility.¹¹³ Analysis of inscriptions and textual sources from a range of ports including Ephesos, Smyrna and Puteoli makes it clear that the cost of the development and maintenance of harbour infrastructure was primarily driven by civic euergetism and that, with the exception of Portus, intervention by the emperor or the governor was comparatively rare.¹¹⁴ In another strand of research, comparative readings of a range of legal sources, inscriptions and iconographic representations on reliefs and mosaics are enhancing our understanding of control procedures in terms of public (customs, police) and private law (weighing, measuring, treatment of cargoes given as surety), as well as how disputes relating to commercial activity in ports were settled.¹¹⁵ Analysis of the structure of charter-parties is also informing us about the procedures and time cost as part of transactional costs involved in the loading and unloading of cargoes onto ships.

The third issue examines hierarchical relationships between Rome, the entrepôts, lesser ports and anchorages.¹¹⁶ Defining ports as interfaces is key

¹¹² *Limenarchai* in the East and *munerarii* under the supervision of *aediles* in the West: see the discussion by Arnaud in this volume, [Chapter 2](#).

¹¹³ Arnaud 2016: 119–24. ¹¹⁴ Arnaud 2015b. ¹¹⁵ Arnaud 2016: 128–31.

¹¹⁶ Earlier work by Arnaud (2010) showed the way here and underlined the importance of adopting a scalar approach to the regional study of ports.

for addressing this and understanding patterns of portuality. Lexicographic analysis of texts has allowed us to harness evidence from the ancient sources for understanding relationships between various forms of coastal landing places and anchorages and ports as defined entities, and connections between areas of mooring, berthing and activities on shore. An analysis of this in conjunction with the archaeological evidence has made it possible to explore the limitations of ‘port’ as an analytical concept and to propose *port-systems* as a new way of conceptualizing extended nodes of maritime activity. These incorporated the many smaller and interconnected features lying between ports that are mentioned by ancient sources and are of a kind that are readily recognizable along coasts today. This perspective encourages us to focus upon groups of ports and anchorages of different sizes, rather than upon ports in isolation, and we argue that it was precisely these port-systems that underwrote the density of maritime connections and the intensity of maritime traffic that were so characteristic of the Roman Mediterranean. Our analysis is structured around the creation of analytical models of regional port-systems at different periods between the third century BC and the third century AD, focused upon Rome, Narbo, Hispalis, Tarraco and Pergamon. Furthermore, by including rural survey and shipwreck evidence, we have been able to undertake the preliminary modelling of cost surfaces and visibility analyses as a way of exploring access to ports by both sea and land.

The fourth issue looks at pan-Mediterranean inter-port commercial connections, and how far it is possible to understand them in terms of networks between individuals, ports and cities. The methodological challenges in adopting systematic cliometric approaches to address this are substantial, both in terms of quantifying traded goods¹¹⁷ and in using these and other data in network analyses.¹¹⁸ The project has thus adopted a different and complementary approach. Use has been made of the written sources and archaeology to better understand the roles played by agents of the performers of trade in ports, nationally organized diasporas and religious networks in structuring sustainable networks. In this way we have started to identify some of the main patterns of long-distance networking across the Mediterranean.¹¹⁹ Another approach has been to identify certain

¹¹⁷ The discussion by Scheidel (2009) and Wilson (2009) relating to economic growth is a good example of this.

¹¹⁸ The study by Brughmans and Poblome (2016) of the distribution in eastern Sigillata illustrates the potential and the limitations of this kind of approach. See also the preliminary work by Earl *et al.* (2012).

¹¹⁹ For example, Arnaud 2016: 151–66.

kinds of inscription on small ceramic containers as referring to samples of grain and fish sauce. This is helping us to understand how the routine procedures of trading activity were based upon shared knowledge by sellers, traders and buyers based at different western Mediterranean ports.

A common thread to all of these issues is clearly human agency, whether it be in taking the decisions necessary to plan, develop or maintain a port, facilitating the passage through it of ships and boats, or ensuring that the correct legal practices were followed in conducting commerce or paying the taxes that were due to port authorities and the state. Thus knowledge of the roles played by the actors and social groups is key to understanding how ports worked and connections were mediated.

This book, which complements the broader research of the project, is an initial statement about these questions from the perspective of Latin and Greek epigraphy. As such, it is one of the first books to look specifically at the epigraphic evidence *per se* from ports across the Mediterranean.¹²⁰ In [Chapter 2](#), ‘Inscriptions and Port Societies: Evidence, “Analyse du Discours”, Silences and Portscapes’, Pascal Arnaud and Simon Key begin by providing an introduction to some of the interpretative issues that have to be addressed in dealing with the epigraphic evidence from Mediterranean ports. They are followed by a series of chapters which address aspects of the ways in which port societies were organized. In [Chapter 3](#), ‘*Stationes* and Associations of Merchants at Puteoli and Delos: Modes of Social Organization and Integration’, Dirk Steuernagel focuses upon similarities and differences between associations of traders from Berytus and Tyre known at Republican Delos and the *statio* of the association of Tyrian merchants at early Imperial Puteoli. Although he stresses some similarities between them and argues that the *statio* at Puteoli may have served as a representative office of Tyre, he also suggests that it may have been assimilated to some extent by the Imperial administration. In [Chapter 4](#), ‘Boatmen and Their *Corpora* in the Great Ports of the Roman West (Second to Third Centuries AD)’, Nicolas Tran addresses the sociology and scope of Roman *collegia* of boatmen, specifically the *lenuncularii*, *codicarii* and *scapharii* from Ostia/Portus, Hispalis and Arles. He focuses his argument upon their roles as representative organizations for a specific kind of occupation, and also how they functioned as networks of entrepreneurs involved in harbour-related functions and the role that they played in networking and social advancement within port societies. In [Chapter 5](#), ‘Roman Port Societies and Their *Collegia*: Differences and Similarities

¹²⁰ Zaccaria (2014) provides a useful thematic overview, together with a series of specific studies.

between the Associations of Ostia and Ephesos', Dorothea Rohde shows that our vision of the overwhelming role and presence of the *collegia* has been biased by the case of Ostia, with its exceptionally large number of inscriptions. A parallel with Ephesos on the contrary shows that the number of inscriptions relating to associations is comparatively small, with considerable variation between the representation of different groups, and that no port-related profession has been documented. In [Chapter 6](#), 'Port Occupations and Social Hierarchies: A Comparative Study through Inscriptions from Hispalis, Arelate, Lugdunum, Narbo Martius, Ostia-Portus and Aquileia', H  l  ne Rougier places port occupations in their epigraphic contexts and uses the imbalance between occupations recorded at six different port cities as evidence for the variability of social hierarchies as well as for port hierarchies. In [Chapter 7](#), 'Warehouse Societies', Catherine Virouvet analyses the epigraphic evidence for the people who worked in warehouses, from the perspective of their professional, social and hierarchical relationships and the interdependence between all of them. She starts by reviewing the issue of who built and rented warehouses, before moving on to discuss evidence for how they were managed and by whom, the responsibilities of those involved, and finally the structure and roles of associations focused upon warehouses. In [Chapter 8](#), 'The Imperial Cult and the Sacred Bonds of Roman Overseas Commerce', Taco Terpstra stresses the importance of the Imperial cult as a common feature of trade and its procedures within the limits of the Empire and beyond. He argues for its importance as a form of shared ideological space that helped facilitate the trust between traders that was fundamental to commerce within the Empire, and a form of social autonomy that allowed traders beyond the frontiers to participate in commercial activities while at the same time retaining a degree of social integrity.

These chapters are followed by [Chapter 9](#), 'Law and Life in Roman Harbours', in which Jean-Jacques Aubert starts by exploring the juristic implications of the well-known inscription invoking the *Lex Rhodia* on jettison, before moving on to consider some of the epigraphic evidence for individuals involved in shipping and harbour-related activities, and the extent to which epigraphy echoes the formal legal definition of a certain number of occupations related to port life. He then concludes with a review of the question of whether harbours are considered a specific place in Roman law.

The remaining chapters move away from a debate heavily coloured largely by epigraphic evidence from Ostia, to focus upon ports with distinct epigraphic signatures. In [Chapter 10](#), 'Living like a Cosmopolitan? On

Roman Port City Societies in the Western Mediterranean', Sabine Panzram focuses upon the relationship between port societies and municipal élites at a series of ports with contrasting origins along the coasts of Hispania Tarraconensis and Baetica. In [Chapter 11](#), 'Ports, Trade and Supply Routes in Western Europe: The Case of Narbonne', Michel Christol sheds light upon the development of a major centre of trade in the Roman West and its society. He starts by examining the economic role of major *oppida* prior to the establishment of the *colonia* of Narbo in 118 BC, before focusing on the latter as a major regional emporium in the first century BC, with strong links to north-eastern Spain. He then looks at the supra-regional role of the town from the early first century AD, which saw a growth in local wine for export encompassing commercial links with the lower Rhône valley and southern Spain. The latter part of the chapter discusses the epigraphic evidence for some of the local élites at Narbo who were involved in commerce, not least the famous *navicularii*, focusing upon their commercial roles and social positions. In [Chapter 12](#), 'The Port Society of Narona', Marc Mayer outlines the importance of Narona as a port city along the Dalmatian coast. After summarizing the likely commercial role of the port, in terms of its role both as an outlet for metals from the Dalmatian mines of the interior and as a commercial centre for the eastern Adriatic coast, he draws upon its epigraphic record to identify individuals involved in its commercial life and characterize its social institutions. He concludes by emphasizing that the open and hierarchical social profile evident in the inscriptions from Narona may have been accentuated by its role as a commercial port. In [Chapter 13](#), 'Municipal Authority, Central Authority and Euergetists at Work at the Port: Layers of Activity and Interplay at Ephesos', Arnaud tries to illustrate through a case study of Ephesos the complex interplay between civic administration, Imperial administration, euergetists and private investors in defining the layout of the harbour of the port, as well as in its management and maintenance.

The book concludes by focusing upon social connections between ports and the roles of some of the principal actors involved. In [Chapter 14](#), 'The Structure of Mercantile Communities in the Roman World: How Open Were Roman Trade Networks?', Koenraad Verboven challenges the view, mostly based upon evidence from Ostia and Portus, that mercantile associations played an essential role in shaping open trade markets. His chapter addresses the issue of the variability of the structure of mercantile associations in the widest sense by means of the three case studies of Delos, Puteoli and Ganuenta, as well as comparative analysis. He stresses the primarily

religious role and character of most such structures. In [Chapter 15](#), ‘Polysemy, Epigraphic Habits and Social Legibility: *Navicularii*, *Naukleroi*, *Nauleri*, *Nauculari*, *Nauclari*’, Pascal Arnaud reviews the epigraphic evidence for shippers from the western Mediterranean. He argues that the term *navicularius*, which is attested on inscriptions relating to élite freedmen from the western Mediterranean, is associated with the membership of a corpus and indicated that they managed ships rather than sailed in them. He also makes the case that the term *naukleros* that appears on Greek inscriptions in the East, and also the Latinized Greek terms *nauleri* and *nauclari* that are known in the West, are associated with lower-ranking freedmen or outsiders who actually sailed in ships that they owned or rented. He then goes on to explore some of the implications of this for port societies.

In large measure, the contributors have drawn primarily upon epigraphic evidence from ports that are the subject of the *Portuslimes* project and where port-related texts are particularly common, namely Ostia and Ephesos, but they also work with rarer material from other project sites such as Narbo and Tarraco. The issues that arise from all of these studies are drawn together in a concluding chapter by Nicholas Purcell ([Chapter 16](#)), ‘Reading Roman Port Societies’. In it he looks at the characteristics of port societies in the broader social context of the Roman Empire. In attempting to characterize the epigraphic habits of Roman ports, he argues in favour of the public nature of surviving inscriptions from port sites, the ways in which inscriptions reflect the wish by individuals at ports to display conformity to the broader social and administrative systems to which they belonged, and what it is they can tell us about the economic activities of merchants and others based at ports. He also highlights the importance of state involvement in commerce and other port-related activities, an issue that is touched upon by several contributors but is not dealt with specifically in this book. It is hoped that the points arising from the other chapters and the conference itself that are echoed in this [final chapter](#) will make a contribution to our understanding of the significance of Mediterranean port societies within the broader context of the Roman Empire as a whole.

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2 | Inscriptions and Port Societies

Evidence, 'Analyse du Discours', Silences and Portscapes

PASCAL ARNAUD AND SIMON KEAY

One question that arises from a study of ports is whether or not there existed a pattern of port societies. A Roman port society means the individuals and groups who together with various levels of administration made port life real, as well as their relationships and the rules of the social game. Using the plural presupposes that these could vary through time and space. Ports were not simply an administrative machine whose details still puzzle us. They were also cosmopolitan places devoted to profit that involved a complex set of professions and people of various origins and social status, with various patterns of organization and networking (citizenship, language, religion, guilds, personal patronage, family in its wider sense), who were able to combine in a great variety of ways. At this point one wonders whether there was a pattern of society that was common to ports across the Empire as a whole. Were there several patterns that could help us better understand or identify port hierarchies and the organization and layout of ports?

The decision taken by the editors of this book was to focus upon a single class of evidence: epigraphy. There are several reasons for making this choice. First, inscriptions are the main class of evidence for any attempt at reconstructing social life and interaction, especially where ports are concerned.¹ Second, epigraphy cannot be considered to be unproblematic evidence. Conceived for public display, the content of inscriptions was conditioned by non-written conventions and echoed the collective consciousness of society and its social interactions. It is also a *discours*, whose rules, conventions and inter-text must be analysed. The methods of the *analyse du discours* once promoted by German and French structuralism have recently found a new relevance in historical methods.² This includes lexicometry, the choice of certain words or groups of words over others as an intrinsic part of the meaning of a text, and inter-textuality and contextualization, where the importance of standards is imposed by a 'genre'.

¹ Bruun 2014; Des Boses 2014; Schuler 2014; Zaccaria 2014.

² Arnaud 1993; Corbier 2006; Eck 2009; Mayaffre 2011.

This approach to textual analysis allows us to address epigraphy as evidence in order to understand better what inscriptions can inform us about directly and what words may reveal or hide. It also makes it possible for us to shed light upon specific things or people, why they do not tell us about other matters, and also to raise awareness of previous traditions or monuments. In helping to connect monuments and statues meaningfully to the people in urban communities, inscriptions played a key role in the construction of public memory and the development of specific kinds of rhetoric. Epigraphy is not only our principal piece of evidence about port societies, it is also the public expression of the social hierarchies involved in port life. As a practice it had its own rules, norms and codes, emphasized some aspects of social life and remained mute about others. Last, but not least, inscriptions formed part of a built landscape, an approach that is now integral to epigraphy;³ in the context of this book, of course, they are fundamental to our understanding of the portscape. These are three reasons that justified a special focus on epigraphy, and the four related topics that the contributions to this volume address.

1 Epigraphy as Evidence

Rougé's synthesis⁴ made ample use of epigraphy, but often misunderstood the evidence, given the state of the art when he wrote his thesis half a century ago and the limited availability of Greek sources at that time. Since then, the bases for our interpretation of texts have improved and the availability of text has as well, thanks to the development of local *corpora* and digital humanities. The number of key inscriptions published since then is irrelevant, but more accurate readings of texts often brought changes to the corpus of reference. For instance, an inscription that was first read as [-]e navic(ularii) L(uci) Bal/silae ex ius/su Iunoni[s]⁵ can now be read more accurately as [-]EN Aurel(i?) Bal/silae ex ius/su Iunon(is) l(ibens) / m(erito) v(otum) s(olvit).⁶ As a result, we have one fewer *navicularius* than we thought we did. Dating inscriptions also improves with our knowledge of formulae, monuments and other dating criteria. An inscription⁷ dated to the first century AD by de Salvo⁸ on the grounds of a *titulus pictus* bearing a similar name has convincingly been ascribed to the late second or third

³ Zanker 1998; Corbier 2006. ⁴ Rougé 1966. ⁵ AE 1910, 00107. ⁶ IGLS VI, 2965.

⁷ CIL XII, 718 = Schmidts 2011: n. 32: [-] / et quieti aeternae / M(arci) Atini Saturnin(i) [ap]/ paritor(is) navicular(iorum) / station[is ---].

⁸ De Salvo 1992: 401, n. 65.

century by Schmidts⁹ on the basis of the formula *quieti aeternae* and of the nature of the sarcophagus that bore the text of the inscription. Another one, usually dated AD 147, has been re-dated to AD 217.¹⁰

Significant progress has also been made in our understanding of the Roman Empire, the importance of municipal life and the rules of the social game. In addition to this, online resources have not only accelerated the research process, they have also allowed easier and more efficient comparisons to be made between documents, and a better understanding of their meaning to be advanced. That does not mean that everything has become clear, nor that available evidence provides satisfying answers to all the questions that may arise. Much remains to be done. Although it is an obvious point, it is worth recording that ancient written material was written not for the use of the modern historian, but for social, literary or administrative purposes. This is even truer of documents whose purpose was for public display, as was the case with most inscriptions.

The epigraphy of the Classical Greek and Hellenistic world has provided scholarship with a significant number of inscriptions relating to life in ports, both because they were a complex institution in the context of the trade that prevailed between Mediterranean cities and because privileges granted to some foreign traders were publicly recorded. The set of evidence provided by public decrees has been large enough to allow reconstructions of the main patterns of trade.¹¹

The majority of Latin and Greek Imperial epigraphy is comprised of honorary and funerary inscriptions; both are, in some way, eulogies. Our reading of people, professions, social status and administration is strongly affected by this reality. Latin epigraphy has provided far fewer decrees than its Greek counterpart in our current state of understanding. This is partly to be explained by a Roman preference for using bronze tablets for displaying decrees, which rarely survive, while the Greek East by tradition preferred marble, which does more frequently.

Evidence is indeed selective, while the way it has been used by modern scholarship has been equally so. It has long focused on *Staatsrecht* and on central administration, following the purist tradition of Mommsen. It was not until the works of Jacques in the 1980s¹² that scholarship started paying attention to the municipal sphere within the Roman Empire. Much remains to be done. Interest in details of social and economic life is even more recent, especially where lower-status people and work are concerned. It is only very recently, for example, that scholarship has paid attention to

⁹ Schmidts 2011: no. 32. ¹⁰ Tran 2014. ¹¹ Bresson 2016. ¹² Esp. Jacques 1984.

the *saccarii*.¹³ This interest is more widely spread amongst the younger generation of scholars, who are well represented in the pages of this book.

The *Portuslimen* project has devoted special attention to understanding texts. This means understanding their contexts and the meaning of words. Some are still rather obscure: what *stuppatores* were exactly is very unclear, for instance. They have been thought to be caulkers, but the shell-first building technique of ancient ships was not compatible with caulking, and only luting was used in ancient ship-building.¹⁴ Other words that seem more familiar may actually be less clear than one would expect. The epigrapher remembers that the meaning of words may change through space and time, and that the context (including inter-textuality) may strongly affect this. Scholarship is often reluctant to take account of the possible polysemy of words. In an expansive note published in a famous collection, Raschke explained that the word *limenarches* necessarily had two different meanings, one relating to collecting *portoria* and the other to port administration.¹⁵ It is impressive that this remark has had no impact on recent scholarship. Scholarly tradition has been stronger than progress.

Scholarship has long focused primarily upon central administration rather than municipal organization, and upon administration rather than social relationships. The inscriptions themselves inform us about groups of individuals (*corpora*, foreign fellow citizens and worshippers) or the people of higher social standing to whom they related. Who comprised the members of these groups is generally less clear: they seem to vanish into the anonymity of the group.

Administration itself was subject to the dignity of the individuals involved: personal dignity, that which was inherited from a long lineage and collective history, or dignity conferred by the source of the authority. The society of the Roman Empire, both in the Greek East as well as in the Latin West, was based upon family, personal patronage and individual dignity. These criteria define some kind of natural authority, and it seems essential to understand the layers of interaction and the hierarchy of people involved in port administration, not only in terms of broad administrative functions, but also bearing in mind that, at any time, personal prestige and social authority could interfere with these.

¹³ Martelli 2013.

¹⁴ Pomey and Rieth 2005: 121–2. Caulking consisted of forcefully inserting raw flax in the gaps between planks once a ship had been constructed, while luting involved placing a piece of cloth between two planks prior to the assembly of the craft.

¹⁵ Raschke 1978: 778, n. 566.

Because inscriptions are basically eulogies, whether it be that of a builder, a benefactor or, indeed, the dead, they were intended as a means of building public memory. Thus not only do they represent a selection of positions, facts or people that were considered worth forming part of that memory, they were also subject to conventions and rhetorical constructions that may make the meaning of the text unclear. When a local euergetist at Ephesos contributes money for dredging the harbour after the action had been decided upon by a higher authority, the operation is named in terms of the action being undertaken, in this case 'dredging'. When, however, the emperor or the governor is the author of this kind of enterprise or underwrites its cost, this simple descriptive term is systematically avoided in favour of more confusing expressions that are chosen to emphasize the magnitude of the achievement. When he speaks of Barea Soranus, Tacitus tells us that he had 'opened the port of the Ephesians'; in reality, he had dredged it. When Hadrian and Valerius Firmus undertook something similar, the former was said to have 'made the port navigable' and the latter to have 'made the port larger'.¹⁶

Understanding the meaning of inscriptions basically presupposes an implicit understanding that the statements on inscriptions were the result of several processes of selection; time and reuse are the most obvious of these. Winning the right to have one's name recorded on an inscription was a privilege, while recording a function was a matter of social relevance.

2 The Silences of Epigraphy and Epigraphic Habits

Despite the fact that many inscriptions have been found at port cities and at associated sites, there are some noticeable gaps in the information that they provide us with. This is the case with port administration. Several chapters in this volume point out the imbalance between the number and content of inscriptions from various port cities. Interpreting what amount to epigraphic silences raises several issues. One reading of the absence of a particular office or function might be that what is not recorded did not exist. But we can also imagine that what is not recorded was not worth recording, and try to understand to what extent the conventions and unwritten rules conditioned the selection of information thought to be worth displaying.

¹⁶ See this volume, [Chapter 9](#).

The *corpora* at Ostia provide a good example of this selection process. Four inscriptions mention the *corpus curatorum navium marinarum*.¹⁷ All are honorific texts dedicated to prominent people who were in charge of the *corpus* or who had been honoured by it. Only one funerary inscription mentions one of its members.¹⁸ There are five occurrences of the *corpus stuppatorum* or the *stuppatores* in honorific inscriptions.¹⁹ We cannot provide the name of a single *stuppator* from an epigraphic source. *Corpora* are known, as are their protectors or their élites. But the names of most of the members have vanished. The reasons for this are to be sought in the codes that ruled the selection of the information that was to be displayed on inscriptions engraved in stone or bronze. The *album* of the *corpus fabrum navalium [Portuensium?]*²⁰ provides us with a very rich piece of evidence about the hierarchy of a *corpus*. It follows the custom of the municipal or senatorial *album*, providing names in decreasing order of dignity. The list starts with thirteen names belonging to an unknown category, likely *patroni* or non-*fabri navales* who were co-opted *honoris causa*; these are followed by the names of six *quinquennales*, one *mater*, the only woman from the list, and fourteen *hon(orati)*. Then come the names of 320 *pleb(ei)*; the names that we may expect to find in other kinds of inscription are those ranked above the *vulgum pecus* of the ordinary *plebei*. In other words, unless we find the *album* of a *collegium*, the members of the plebs of a profession are as anonymous as those of the civic plebs used to be.

Inscriptions did not, thus, mirror the whole of society, nor did they echo all aspects of economic or social life. Displaying texts in a public space needed special decrees by the authorities who were in charge of it. Public inscriptions were the result of an initial process of selection²¹ that was subject to the judgement of the *ordo* in the western Imperial cities, the *procuratores portus utriusque* at Portus,²² or the guilds when texts were

¹⁷ *CIL* XIV, 363: 482, 615; *CIL* XIV, 364: 615; *CIL* XIV, 409 = *IPOstie*-B, 339 = *D* 6146 = *EAOR* 5, 39 = *Epigrafi*a 2: 553 = *CBI* 859; *CIL* XIV, 0142 = *D* 6140. *CIL* XIV, 4549, 42 is doubtful.

¹⁸ *CIL* XIV, 4626 = *AE* 1914, 275: L(ucius) Caelius L(uci) fil(ius) A[ri]n(ensi) / Aprilis Valerian[us] / curator navium Kartha[g]i(niensium) / et Arellia Eleuthera eius / fecerunt sibi et / lib(ertis) libert(abusque) posteri(s)q(ue) eorum.

¹⁹ *AE* 1987, 196; *CIL* VI, 1649: 3163, 4725; *CIL* XIV, 44 = *IPOstie*-B, 00302 = *D* 3129; *CIL* XIV, 257: 614; *CIL* XIV, 4549, 1 = *SdOstia*-IV, 65 = *Ostia* 7a = *AE* 1913, 114.

²⁰ *CIL* XIV, 256 = *AE* 1955, 182 = *IPOstia*-B, 344 = *AnalEpi* 95 from Portus. Because there were two *corpora fabrum navalium*, the *Ostiensis* and *Portuensis* (*CIL* XIV, 169: 481 = *IPOstia*-B, 337 = *ILMN* 1, 562 = *D* 6172 = *Ostia* 32a) and because the inscription comes from Portus, it is necessary to develop *corpus fabrum navalium [Portuensium?]* rather than [*Ostiensium*], following *CIL* and Thylander's *IPOstie*.

²¹ Corbier 2006: 26–7. ²² *CIL* XIV, 125 = *IPOstie*-B, 324 = *D* 2223, Ostia Antica (AD 224).

displayed in their *scholae*. Most of the public inscriptions that were put up for permanent display, as opposed to temporary texts exhibited on plaques or papyrus, were situated on statue bases and related to people of high social standing. Even private inscriptions, namely those displayed in funerary or domestic contexts, were visible from a public space and expressed a public message.

Several issues over and above the hazards of preservation conditioned the display of inscriptions on stone and bronze. First, only those people whose social status permitted them to be recorded on public inscriptions would be mentioned. We know that in the West peregrines were rarely mentioned on inscriptions, even in funerary texts, nor were they honoured in public inscriptions. A profession is usually mentioned if it carried some kind of social legibility, particularly in the case of funerary *stelae*. In a sense, both honorary and funerary inscriptions were intended to illustrate ‘glory’. *Dignitas*, *gloria*, *honor* and *laus* in Latin, ἀρετή and φιλοτιμία in Greek, are the grounds for the public recognition of the qualities of an individual and in the celebration of them by being displayed on inscriptions. A passage of the *Noctes Atticae* (17) of Aulus Gellius illustrates the link between these notions and the creation of public ‘memory’:

Another defence of *inlaudatus* is this: *laudare* in early Latin means ‘to name’ and ‘cite’. Thus in civil actions they use *laudare* of an authority, when he is cited. Conversely, the *inlaudatus* is the same as the *inlaudabilis*, namely, one who is worthy neither of mention nor remembrance, and is never to be named.²³

Modern scholarship has paid little attention to the key notion of *dignitas*.²⁴ This meant both worth and rank.²⁵ It was a quantifiable value,²⁶ like ‘capital’ of public legibility that increased through the positions and honours gained and made an individual worthy of higher honours. Whosoever had won a certain level of *dignitas* is ‘worthy of mention or remembrance’ – *dignus memoriae* – in other words worthy of *laus* and glory, including public eulogies, statues and inscriptions. One could also lose one’s own *dignitas*. One of the well-known consequences of this was the *damnatio memoriae* and the cancellation of proper names in public inscriptions, and not only those of emperors.

²³ 2.6.16–17: ‘Laudare’ significat prisca lingua nominare appellareque. Sic in actionibus ciuilibus auctor ‘laudari’ dicitur, quod est nominari. (17) ‘Inlaudatus’ autem est, quasi inlaudabilis, qui neque mentione aut memoria ulla dignus neque umquam nominandus est. Trans. Rolfe 1927.

²⁴ Dupuis 1992; Lendon 1997. ²⁵ MacMullen 1986: 515.

²⁶ Digest 22.5.3.1; 48.2.16; 50.4.14.

Under the reign of Severus, the juriconsult Callistratus²⁷ placed the notion of *dignitas* at the very centre of the distinction he makes between *honores* (magistracies and priesthood, the Greek τιμαί) and *munera* (compulsory services, the Greek λειτουργία²⁸):

Municipal honour is the administration of public affairs with a certain level in the hierarchy of dignity, whether the payment of expenses is required or not.

(1) A *munus* is either public or private. A public *munus* is one in which we undertake to administer public affairs with the payment of expenses and without the distinction of dignity.

The last words, *sine titulo dignitatis*, meant not only that holding these offices did not bring dignity to their holder, but also that there was no reason to commemorate them. The proper sense of *titulus* is the commemoration of the components of *dignitas* (positions, achievements, ancestors) through inscriptions and the inscription itself. The *munera* did not confer a level of dignity worth mentioning in inscriptions. The following text amazingly echoes a passage from a dialogue of Plutarch.²⁹ It is devoted to the question of whether an old man should be involved in holding civic offices in his city. At some point one of the discussants lists compulsory charges that could be of little interest in terms of dignity and glory:

But the old man in public life who undertakes subordinate services, such as collecting taxes and the supervision of ports and that of the marketplace, and who moreover works his way into embassies and trips abroad to visit the emperors and rulers, in which there is nothing indispensable or dignified, but which are merely services and seek of gratitude, seems to

²⁷ Digest 50.4.14 = Callistratus Cogn.1. pr. Honor municipalis est administratio rei publicae cum dignitatis gradu, sive cum sumptu sive sine erogatione contingens. 1. Munus aut publicum aut privatum est. Publicum munus dicitur, quod in administranda re publica cum sumptu sine titulo dignitatis subimus.

²⁸ For many modern scholars, *munera* were but gladiatorial shows. In reality, *munera* were the numerous compulsory offices (including the organization and funding of gladiatorial shows) that were the cornerstone of civic administration. Little attention has been paid to the importance of *munera* in general, especially in the Roman West. See Lewis 1963; 1968; Lepelley and Beaujard 1977; Neesen 1981; Vittinghoff 1982; Millar 1983; Horstkotte 1996; Pobjoy 2000. For the Roman East, Sartre 1991: 139–46.

²⁹ Plutarch, *An seni respublica gerenda sit* 794a (19): ὁ πρεσβύτης δ' ἄνθρωπος ἐν πολιτείᾳ διακοινικὰς λειτουργίας ὑπομένων, οἷα τελῶν πράξεις καὶ λιμένων ἐπιμελείας καὶ ἀγορᾶς, ἐτι δὲ πρεσβείας καὶ ἀποδημίας πρὸς ἡγεμόνας καὶ δυνάστας ὑποτρέχων, ἐν αἷς ἀναγκαῖον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ σεμνὸν ἔνεστιν ἀλλὰ θεραπεία καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οἰκτρὸν, ὧ φίλε, φαίνεται καὶ ἄζηλον, ἐτέροις δ' ἴσως καὶ ἐπαχθὲς φαίνεται καὶ φορτικόν.

me, my friend, a pitiable and unenviable object, and to some people, perhaps, a burdensome and vulgar one.³⁰

The reasons why this man refrained from undertaking certain *munera* are clear: they were subordinate and compulsory. This is the reason why, in certain cities, ‘pitiable’, ‘unenviable’, ‘vulgar’ and ‘burdensome’³¹ offices hardly figure in inscriptions that illustrate *dignitas*: their holders had not won these positions through competition,³² but had just been ordered to hold them. This did not exclude merit, however, and for that reason space was left for some form of recognition. This is exactly why there is a debate in Plutarch. The limit between honours and *munera* was anything but a clear one.

A certain Aurelius Arcadius Charisius, a *magister libellorum*, who was probably active under Diocletian but later than Hermogenian’s work of AD 293–4, wrote a book that was entirely devoted to compulsory civic services (*munera civilia*). This work is now lost, but one of the fragments that are preserved in the Digest informs us that in some western cities the *quaestura* was considered not as an *honor*, but rather as a *munus*.³³ Another fragment suggests that some cities considered an office to be a magistracy when its holder was spending public money.³⁴ According to the same author, such offices were not magistracies if they were compulsory and if their holder had no authority over the use of public money.

The opinion of Arcadius Charisius about the nature of *munera civilia* does not really matter. He just wanted to find a common rule in order to help judges settle disputes throughout the Empire. What is most important from our point of view is how a position or office was perceived in the city where it was held and possibly celebrated through inscriptions, and Arcadius Charisius informs us that this perception could vary from one city to another. He counted *limenarchae*, *irenarchae* and *agoranomoi* among holders of *munera civilia*, thus confirming the judgement of Plutarch. It is therefore not surprising that some of these offices do not normally appear in the epigraphy of the Roman Imperial East. The exception to this occurs under the Severans when *archaii*, who had usually been

³⁰ Trans. Goodwin 1874.

³¹ Some inscriptions (e.g. *CIL X*, 3759 = *D* 6340, Acerra) mention ‘burdens’ (*onera*) together with magistracies (*honores*). Others do mention *honores*, *onera et munera* (e.g. *CIL X*, 1805: 1009, Pozzuoli).

³² Just prior to this passage, the same speaker evoked τὸ φιλόνηκον, or ‘competition’, in accessing civic *honores*, or the exact opposite of compulsory offices.

³³ 50.4.18. 2. Et quaestura in aliqua civitate inter honores non habetur, sed personale munus est.

³⁴ 50.4.18. 10. si tamen pecuniam publicam in operis fabricam erogat [. . .] munerebus personalibus adstringuntur.

absent from inscriptions hitherto, begin to be mentioned.³⁵ This change illustrates the conventional nature of the record of this or that office.

Useless ‘details’ such as *munera* could be omitted when a person had had a brilliant *cursus* and reference is made solely to the most illustrious positions that he had reached. But a few *aediles* are mentioned in the epigraphy of western cities, because it was less prestigious than other *honores*. Other people preferred a synthesis like *omnibus honoribus ac muneribus functus*,³⁶ to record that they had fulfilled all their duties. In the West only a couple of cities occasionally mention local *curatela*e, usually the *cura annonae*, the *cura operum publicorum* or the *cura* of an aqueduct.

Far beyond the taxonomy of juriconsults, whose preoccupation was to identify specific issues or cases, epigraphic silences echo the level of dignity attached to an office or position. Is it possible to draw a map of what was worth mentioning throughout the Roman Empire at any time? Unfortunately, it is not. The judgement was entirely driven by custom, varying from one city to another and from one period to the next. The same office could be considered an ‘honour’ in one city, but a compulsory service bringing neither civic recognition nor dignity in another. Some occupations were simply not worth mentioning, except where a guild was involved. Others, however, were. This probably means that those occupations that are mentioned in inscriptions were associated with a certain level of social legibility, as is the case for *navicularii*. The more a profession or trade is mentioned, the higher was its social legibility, at least where and when the inscription was displayed. It comes as no surprise to realize, therefore, that the visible face of port societies was restricted to a certain form of élite, and that one should remember that port societies also had a hidden face.

3 Epigraphy as Part of the Portscape

Inscriptions were not only texts, but also formed an integral part of monuments in such a way as to help the viewer understand their social or political meanings. Inscriptions from Ostia, Portus and Puteoli have provided much information about cults, deities and their worshippers, either the native gods of foreign communities or the protecting deities,

³⁵ See this volume, [Chapter 9](#).

³⁶ *CIL* VI, 33887: 3896 = *D* 7481 = *Caro* 30 = *MNR* 1, 2: 218 = *TermeDiocleziano* 1: 494 = *TermeDiocleziano* 2: 146 = *AE* 1892, 27 = *AE* 2001, 200.



Figure 2.1 Glass flask engraved with an impression of the maritime façade of Puteoli seen from the sea.

gods and their sanctuaries.³⁷ Many of these were central to the honorific monuments that adorned the ports, while others advertised the functions or activities that took place within them, such as the text that signalled the location of the *statio Quadragesimae Galliarum et Hispaniarum* just outside the Porta Romana at Ostia.³⁸ Other texts provide us with the keys to understanding the character and functions of the port-based corporations,³⁹ as well as for informing us about the patterns of cosmopolitanism in Roman ports and port cities more generally.⁴⁰

While the inscriptions known from Roman ports thus give us an idea of the range of the monuments and activities that took place within them,⁴¹ their original findspots and contexts are rarely well established, and their post-Roman lives complex. It is clear, however, that some were located along the waterfront of the port so that they could be easily seen by sailors and merchants entering and leaving a particular port. This can be deduced from the famous glass flasks depicting the seafront of Puteoli (Figure 2.1).⁴² Here, inscriptions and buildings with inscribed texts are clearly visible, as they probably would have been to the arriving visitor. This suggests that incoming merchants and travellers would have been able to read off aspects of the political and social life of the port upon arrival, or could have sought divine favour before travelling, or acknowledged it upon their return.

A good archaeological example of this kind of effect can be deduced from the *ara Ventorum*, the *ara Tranquilitatis* and the *ara Neptuni* from Antium (Anzio). These were three marble altars dating to the first half of

³⁷ Floriani Squarciapino 1962; Steuernagel 2009; Van Haepelen 2013.

³⁸ *CIL* XIV, 4708 = *AE* 1924, 110: *Statio Anto[nini] / Aug[usti] n[on] (ostri) XXXX G[alliarum] / et Hispaniar[um] / hic*; Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli and Zevi 2010: 157.

³⁹ Bollmann 2001; see also this volume, Chapters 7 and 8.

⁴⁰ Camodeca 2006; Grigoropoulos 2009; Hasenohr 2007; Soricelli 2007; Verboven 2011. See also this volume, Chapters 3–6.

⁴¹ See this volume, Chapters 9 and 13–17.

⁴² See for example Painter 1975; Gianfrotta 2012; Popkin 2018.



Figure 2.2 The *ara Ventorum*, the *ara Tranquillitatis* and the *ara Neptuni* from Antium (Anzio), now in the Musei Capitolini.

the first century AD that were dredged up from the harbour basin in the late seventeenth century.⁴³ The altars took the form of low columns, each of which was decorated with protruding galley rams, as well as with a ship or deity. It would thus seem likely that they were originally situated close to the water's edge so that the deities could be invoked by departing or arriving sailors (Figure 2.2).

Surviving iconographic evidence, such as the Torlonia relief from Portus,⁴⁴ also shows how buildings at the water's edge were arranged scenographically, so as to create impressive portscapes composed of colonnades interspersed with temples, standing columns and statues (Figure 2.3). This impression is bolstered by archaeological evidence from the site. While texts for which a good provenance can be established are few, some of those that we do know about are indicative. They include the marble plaque found close to the quayside of the Trajanic basin that records the restoration in AD 196 of one of the numbered monumental columns situated at each angle of the Trajanic basin that had collapsed after a storm.⁴⁵ Another text which was found close to its original location on the southern mole of the Claudian basin⁴⁶ records the

⁴³ *CIL* X, 06642, 06643, 06644; see also Arata 2009: 107. ⁴⁴ Keay *et al.* 2005: 314.

⁴⁵ Thylander 1952: B320. ⁴⁶ Thylander 1952: B327; Lanciani 1868: 182–3.



Figure 2.3 The Torlonia relief from Portus.

dedication of an altar to Theodosius and Placidus Valentinianus by the *praefectus annonae* Flavius Alexander Cresconius in order to decorate the Porticus Placidiana between c. AD 425 and 450 (Figure 2.4). More frequently, however, texts were reused, as was the case of the early fourth-century AD dedication to Lucius Crepereius Madalianus *praefectus annonae* and *consularis molium fari atque purgaturae*; this is recorded as having been found below the basalt road running around the quay of the Trajanic basin.⁴⁷ Similarly, at Caesarea Maritima, the votive columns which probably adorned the harbour were found in a reused context.⁴⁸

The port at Lepcis Magna provides us with another interesting case study, with interpretative challenges. Very few inscriptions from the site relate directly to port activity *per se*, and there is hardly any evidence for any *navicularii*, *nauceroi* or *mercatores* at the town. An exception comes from a proposed re-reading of a very erased inscription, allegedly dated AD 1–50 and found in the Forum Vetus. This has been interpreted as mentioning the *cives R[o]ma[n]i qui / Lepci n[e]gotian[t]ur*,⁴⁹ even though this reading remains very uncertain. In addition, a statue of the god Mercury is recorded as having been set up and dedicated by Priscillianus, who was a slave of the

⁴⁷ Thylander 1952: B336.

⁴⁸ *Inscr. Caesarea* no. 4–27, especially no. 12: 47–8 = Burrell 1993: 287, 291–2, 294–5, erected by a κουράτορ πλοίων | κολ (ωνίας) Καισαρείας.

⁴⁹ *IRT* 560 = *AE* 2014, 01479 = Marmouri 2015.



Figure 2.4 Dedicatory inscription from the Porticus Placidiana at Portus.

emperor Trajan and manager of the maritime customs.⁵⁰ The inscription comes from a position close to a quay 50 m long that bordered a small berthing area that preceded the development of the harbour under Septimius Severus, and which was accessible by small boats with shallow draft.

As far as the harbour area of the port is concerned, there is almost nothing. One exception is an inscription found reused in later structures close to the junction of the harbour and the colonnaded street on the north bank of the Wadi Lebda. It commemorates the dedication of the newly built portico to the emperor Nero in AD 61–2,⁵¹ and apparently refers to a portico of 21 travertine columns close to the western side of the later Severan harbour.⁵² This would have given a monumental appearance to an older *sacellum* where Punic-style statues have been found. Was this part of the port's infrastructure? Most scholars think so, and some even consider this inscription as proof of the existence of a harbour preceding the Severan monumentalization. However,

⁵⁰ A vilicus/maritimus et XX hered(itatium) Lepc[s]/Magn(ae): IRT 302. ⁵¹ IRT 341.

⁵² Floriani Squarciapino 1966: 110–11, fig. 52.



Figure 2.5 View from the steps of the Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus at Lepcis Magna, looking out over the harbour basin.

the kind of structure referred to by the inscription could also have been found at monuments in other parts of the port.

The only other epigraphic evidence from the port area comes from the temple traditionally identified with Jupiter Dolichenus (Figure 2.5). An inscription found in front of the temple overlooking the south side of the port commemorates the dedication of an altar to the god of Doliche on 11 April 203 by a centurion for the safety and victory of the three Augusti, assumed to be Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, and for their return *in urbem (s)uam*.⁵³ Here, two issues arise. First, this inscription is remarkable for its strong sense of loyalty to the Imperial house. Secondly, the formula *pro salute et victoria et reditu*, which is used widely,⁵⁴ tends to be employed upon the emperor's departure, rather than his arrival. Thus, while *in urbem suam* has generally been interpreted as referring to the return of the Augusti to Lepcis, it may in fact refer to their departure for Rome, since the emperor had only one *urbs*, especially when his *origo* was

⁵³ IRT 292.

⁵⁴ AE 1982, 155, Minturnae, under Augustus; AE 1998, 944, Lyon = Lugdunum under Claudius; AE 1914, 217, Suio = Aquae Vescinae, in Latium, and AE 1993, 422 = AE 1995, 255, Albano Laziale = Albanum, under Severus, Caracalla and Geta; AE 1977, 00219 = AE 1985, 285, Pompeii, under Philippus, etc.

a provincial city.⁵⁵ If so, the dedication would have been made on the occasion of the emperor's departure from Lepcis or Africa to Rome in the spring of AD 203. In particular, the mention of the day of the dedication, but not the year, is indicative of a very special event, which was important and obvious enough to remain implicit and not to be referred to by the year in which it happened. Furthermore, this date fits perfectly with the fact that the emperor was back in Rome on 10 June 203.⁵⁶ The second issue concerns the identification of the temple near to which the inscription *IRT* 292 was found as a temple of Jupiter Dolichenus. While the altar clearly refers to the deity, the discovery of a fragment of a Latin and neo-Punic monumental dedication to Domitian⁵⁷ on the site of the temple in 1806 indicates that there was an earlier temple there. Since this would pre-date the appearance of Jupiter Dolichenus, it suggests that the centurion who made the dedication to the god did so within the precinct of a temple to another deity, whose identity has not survived.

The evidence from all of these sites tends to confirm that at ports the epigraphy of the harbour or the portside was essentially a religious epigraphy, relating to the salvation of those who were sailing in and out of the port to different destinations across the Mediterranean. It is against this background and the general paucity of contextualized epigraphic evidence from port sites that a doctoral study within the *Portuslimen* project is encompassing both sources of evidence.⁵⁸ Iconography introduces us to highly monumentalized landscapes where honorary statues and columns, porticoes, sanctuaries and triumphal arches, together with *pilae*, piers and artificial landmarks, are the elements of complex architectural scenographies characteristic of portscapes which had become a common subject and source of inspiration for painters of the early Roman Empire. The question as to whether the portscape was a homogeneous reality or a variable one is also important. Such scenographies were moreover part of the celebration of the city or of the emperor when he was the ruling authority, acting like a showroom of its wealth, élites and relationship to the emperor or the gods who were worshipped there. In other words, they displayed the order,

⁵⁵ See in particular the so-called Claudian table of Lyon (*CIL* XIII, 1668 = *D* 212), where the emperor Claudius, born in Lyon, speaks there of Rome as *urbs nostra*; Caracalla (*CIL* VI, 1245: 3125, 3797, 4363 = *D* 98b) calls Rome *urbs sua*. The expression is particularly widespread in the fourth century AD when the emperor did not normally live in Rome; thus, *CIL* VI, 33856: 3896 = *D* 8935 = *AE* 1900, 88 = *AE* 1900, 89, under Maxentius; also *CIL* VI, 40788 under Valentinian I and Valens; also *CIL* VI, 1154: 3071, 3778, 4328, 4330, 4355 = *CIL* VI, 36958 = *AE* 1903, 15 = *IGLFRPal* 193; *CIL* VI, 1178: 3071, 3778, 4332 = *D* 5592, under Valentinian II.

⁵⁶ Kienast 1990: 157. ⁵⁷ *IRT* 349a.

⁵⁸ The research is being undertaken by Stéphanie Mailleur.

harmony, piety and wealth of the city and of those who ruled it. Epigraphy provided the public commentary for this scenography, and helps us identify the components of portscapes. It also helped outsiders negotiate their way through the monumental landscape and better understand local society. Thus local élites were celebrated and named, as were members of foreign élites whose members erected statues and shrines. Identifying the people honoured or who were active in the port's monumentalized seafront is a key part of an analysis of port societies: it was part of the social creation of landscape. For example, at least one of the two inscriptions of Antonine date that spell out details of the career of P. Lucilius Gamala, the illustrious late Republican notable from Ostia,⁵⁹ may well have originally stood in the so-called Grandi Magazzini di Settimio Severo at Portus, a complex of later second-century AD date which opens onto the pool of the port complex.⁶⁰ People involved in the life of ports were rather active in this process of commemoration: a curator of the ships of Caesarea Maritima erected a column in honour of Titus Flavius Maximus, a philosopher.⁶¹ The same column was later dedicated to Probus by his governor,⁶² and later again to Galerius by another governor.⁶³ At Thespieae, a man who had been twice a *limenarch* erected a statue to the Dioscuri, protectors of seafaring and seafarers.⁶⁴ At Rhodes, a passage of the *lex Rhodia* was displayed on a similar column, probably as part of a celebration of the city.⁶⁵

Last but not least is the question of where the different functions within the harbour were located: control procedures, customs-houses, weighing and measuring houses, and warehouses⁶⁶ define areas of activity in the port and the range of people who developed their occupation in close relationship with the port. Banks and customs offices were essential to a port's life, but were not necessarily located on the dockside, as at Ostia where the customs-house was situated away from the river port.⁶⁷ Epigraphy plays a key role in flagging up the existence of these different activities at ports,

⁵⁹ For Gamala the elder, see Zevi 2004.

⁶⁰ Thylander 1952: 335. Pirro Ligorio tells us that the findspot of the inscription *CIL* XIV, 375, a likely Antonine copy of one of the career inscriptions of P. Lucilius Gamala, was 'nel foro portuense' (Zevi 2004: 47; Thylander 1952: 397–8), a spot which some antiquarians down to and including Lanciani (1868: 192–3) have identified with either the Grandi Magazzini di Settimio Severo, an adjacent area, or the so-called Foro Olitorio, which actually formed part of the Grandi Magazzini di Traiano on the south side of the Darsena.

⁶¹ *I.Caesarea Maritima* 12. ⁶² *I.Caesarea Maritima* 13. ⁶³ *I.Caesarea Maritima* 14.

⁶⁴ Roesch, *IThesp* 266 = *IG* VII, 1826 = *SEG* 39, 433. ⁶⁵ See Aubert in this volume, Chapter 9.

⁶⁶ Caldelli 2014. ⁶⁷ See note 20 above.

even though the lack of good contextual information and the post-Roman movement of inscriptions mean that it is often very difficult to associate them with specific buildings or areas within ports.

4 Representativity and Reliability of the Epigraphic Record

So far, modern historiography has paid more attention to evidence from the Latin West than to that from the Greek East. This is also true in matters of port history. Several reasons have led to this state of affairs. One is purely technical. Epigraphic evidence from the Greek East has been published in a variety of regional *corpora*, although the recent creation of the PHI database has made wider-ranging enquiries much easier. Another is that a historical approach to ports based on central administration and *corpora* naturally led scholarship to focus more on the West than on the East. At the same time, however, the increasing interest in municipal life as a cornerstone of the Roman Empire is starting partly to bridge the gap between the East and the West. While this book could not entirely correct the imbalance between East and West in the field of port historiography, it has attempted to reduce it. The case study of Ephesos (Chapter 13), for example, is symptomatic of the relationship between ports and cities in the East and, indeed, may also be paradigmatic of the Empire as a whole. Chapters 9 and 15 – the latter dedicated to the lexical approach to the study of maritime shippers – both illustrate how epigraphic custom shapes our knowledge, and emphasize differences in epigraphic habits between East and West.

Associations are a key issue in any analysis of port societies, as will become evident in the chapters that follow.⁶⁸ Our best evidence for associations in port contexts comes from Ostia, where some 300 inscriptions attesting about 80 associations have come to light, and where several of the *scholae* at which formal meetings would have taken place have been found. This large number is symptomatic of the exceptionally high epigraphic density at Ostia, where well over 6,500 inscriptions have been attested; the largest number of any city in the Empire with the exception of Rome itself.⁶⁹ By contrast, inscriptions put up by *collegia* and *corpora* are rare at

⁶⁸ See for example Rougier (Chapter 6) and Arnaud (Chapter 15).

⁶⁹ C beillac Gervasoni, Caldelli and Zevi 2010: 5; Ephesos and Tarraco are amongst the only other ports with a similarly high epigraphic density. Inevitably, however, each has a different range of texts; for Ephesos, see Rohde (Chapter 5) and Arnaud (Chapter 13) in this volume; for Tarraco, see Alf ldy 2011: XCI–XCIII, CV–CVII.

neighbouring Portus, even though its functions and administration were closely related to Ostia. One asks whether this is a reflection of the overall low number of inscriptions so far known from the port, approximately 700, or whether it might be telling us something about the character of the port. In other words, it raises the question of how far the surviving epigraphic record from the port is in any way representative, or at least representative enough for us to draw sustainable conclusions about its society. Recent geophysical surveys and excavation suggest that it was primarily a place where ships and cargoes were processed, with a limited residential area. Thus, the social context in which epigraphic display was acted out at Portus was necessarily different from Ostia, since this was a densely populated residential urban community where business was transacted. Even so, there must have been at least a small resident population at the port, and if so one wonders whether any of them formed associations that were focused exclusively upon this port rather than Ostia. The question of representativity becomes even more pressing when one attempts to draw conclusions from the smaller epigraphic assemblages that are typical of many port sites.

Another key issue concerns the biographies of the inscriptions themselves, particularly those texts that were collected by early antiquarians, and whose original findspots are sometimes unclear. For example, it is possible that some of the inscriptions assigned by Thylander or Sacco to Portus may well have originated at Ostia instead, as in the case of the inscriptions ascribed to the Serapeum at Portus.⁷⁰ The Serapeum at Ostia has been excavated, but an inscription⁷¹ informs us that a similar temple existed at Portus as well. Both Thylander and Sacco attributed all the Greek inscriptions relating to the cult of Serapis (and relating deities) to Portus,⁷² especially the ones mentioning the neocore G. Valerius Severus Xiphidius. The main argument was that no neocore of the temple would be mentioned at Ostia and that this characteristic, as well as the presence of Alexandrines at Portus and not at Ostia, meant that the Serapeum at Portus was an Alexandrine sanctuary and the one at Ostia a more open one. Both assertions are false. To the contrary, Floriani Squarciapino argued that neocores were present at Ostia as well,⁷³ including the same G. Valerius Serenus Xiphidius who erected a statue (?) at Ostia.⁷⁴ This issue is

⁷⁰ This is an issue that needs to be understood against the history of early excavations at Ostia, Portus and the Isola Sacra and finds from them that were reported (Bignamini 2004).

⁷¹ *IG XIV*, 914 = *IGI Porto* 17 = *IGR I*, 389, ll. 13–14: νεωκόρος τοῦ ἐν Πόρτῳ Σαράπιδος.

⁷² Thylander 1952: B304; *IGI Porto* 3, 14, 15, 18.

⁷³ Floriani Squarciapino 1962: 24–5; *CIL XIV*, 34325 = *EE* 9, 477 = *SIRIS* 559 = *RICIS* 2, 503/1126: [-- Cly]menus(?) / ne<ο=A>/corus [--].

⁷⁴ *IG XIV*, 920: Σερῆνος · νεοκόρος (sic) · ἀνέθηκεν.

emblematic of the broader question of the religious, social and administrative connections between Portus and Ostia.⁷⁵ Clearly, therefore, an awareness of strengths and weaknesses in the records of the original find-spots of the inscriptions in the context of an awareness of the broader epigraphic repertoire of texts at both ports is key.

5 Non-monumental Epigraphy

The editors of this book made the choice not to focus on non-monumental inscriptions, such as the stopper-seals, *tituli picti* and other *scripta commercii* or *instrumenta* that are to be found on amphorae and other traded objects. This choice does not reflect a lack of interest in this kind of evidence, since an ERC-funded PhD is entirely devoted to this matter.⁷⁶ However, most of this material is distinct from epigraphy *sensu stricto* and introduces the scholar to the sphere of *documents de la pratique*. For that reason, these kinds of text are closer to papyri than to the rest of epigraphy. Moreover, as far as port societies are concerned, evidence from stopper-seals and *tituli picti* can prove somewhat disappointing. They provide us with more information about control procedures than the social organization of maritime trade and commerce. Furthermore, the potential social insights offered by the large number of personal names of people involved in maritime trade is compromised by uncertainties over their interpretation. As far as the commerce of oil is concerned, for example, Broekaert could list only five people known from both *tituli picti* and public inscriptions, and all of them were municipal magistrates.⁷⁷

However, constructing entire family networks from associations between these names⁷⁸ is very debatable when the *gentilicia* used are as common as Aelius, Fadius, Iuuentius Sempronius or Valerius.⁷⁹ Indeed, even rarer names like that of the Uritii do not allow the clear reconstruction of a sustainable family network of merchants that some have proposed.⁸⁰

The case for the Urit(t)ii is absolutely emblematic as to the limits imposed by the nature of available evidence. The name is a rare one, and one would reasonably expect it would leave less space for argument. It is accordingly widely accepted⁸¹ that it was borne by members of a Gaulish

⁷⁵ Keay (2018) reviews the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for this.

⁷⁶ The research is being undertaken by Emilia Mataix. ⁷⁷ Broekaert 2013; 2015.

⁷⁸ De Salvo 1992: 398; Noy 2000: 116; Broekaert 2015. ⁷⁹ Meiggs 1960: 289.

⁸⁰ Christol 2002; Broekaert 2013: 407–9.

⁸¹ Gascou 2000; Christol 2002; Martin-Kilcher 2002; Tchernia 2011: 81–2, 150–1.

family, with Lyon as their nodal point, and that from here they controlled a chain of trade from Spain, the place of production, to Germany, the place of consumption, from Claudian to the Flavian or early Antonine period.

The grounds for this assumption are as follows: (1) the name is ‘undoubtedly Gaulish’. (2) The *gentilicium* appears on several amphorae from Baetica in position β , where one finds the name of the merchant. (3) The abbreviation *QVR*, found on some Dressel 20 stamps, would be understood as Q. Urittius Revocatus, whose name appears in position β , under the neck, on the Dressel 20 and Haltern 70 amphorae of the Port-Vendres II shipwreck.⁸² (4) The abbreviation *LVV* would be understood as L. Urittii Verecundi, whose name appears in position β , under the neck, on several salt-fish amphorae in Germany. (5) This abbreviation *LVV* is found in position δ , under the handle, on the same categories of amphorae. (6) A stopper from a wooden cask found in the Saone river at Lyon bears the name *Uritti Ph[-]*. (7) Some think that ‘*dolia* ships’ would sail the Rhône upstream to Lyon⁸³ and that their bulk cargo would be transferred into casks there.⁸⁴

Broekaert rightly argued against a scenario that relies on even more assumptions than he pointed out himself.⁸⁵ It is true that the name Urittius occurs in four inscriptions from Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Lugdunensis, but it is borne by at least thirteen different people on stamps on Dressel 20 amphorae. It is only by deciding that they were all relatives or dependants, and thus reducing them to one occurrence only,⁸⁶ that it is possible to make this an ‘undoubtedly Gaulish name’. If the name that appears in position δ on wine and salt-fish amphorae is the name of a second merchant, who would buy the amphorae from the primary merchant, whose name appears in position β , then the amphorae bearing the name of Q. Urittius Revocatus on board the Port-Vendres II shipwreck had been sold, probably at Narbonne, to a certain Senecio. Thus during the reign of Claudius, Revocatus would have been active between Spain and the ports of southern Gaul, but no further north. The abbreviation *QVR* does not follow the schemes of the stamps of the Urittii and is unlikely to be expanded as Q. U(rittius) R(evocatus).⁸⁷ As for L. Urittius Verecundus, as Broekaert rightly points out, the letters *LVV* can obviously refer to many other names. But if the person was active throughout Spain, inscribing his name as second merchant would be quite odd.⁸⁸ One may add that several other names appear in position δ on amphorae that bear the name of

⁸² Colls *et al.* 1977. ⁸³ Marlier 2008. ⁸⁴ Tchernia 2011: 82. ⁸⁵ 2015: 408–9.

⁸⁶ Gascou 2000. ⁸⁷ Broekaert 2015: 408, no. 967. ⁸⁸ Broekaert 2015: 408–9, no. 968.

L. Uritius Verecundus in position β , and that is clear proof that L. Uritius Verecundus was not active on the leg between some port and Germany, unless we imagine that he sold his own cargo on the voyage to buy some cargo from other merchants in order to bring it to the same destination. Last but not least, stoppers were marked when filled containers were being sealed, and their removal marked the end of the process of sale.⁸⁹ The presence of a stopper at Lyon would then mark the limit of the trading area of Uritius Ph[-], northbound or southbound being very uncertain. Last, but not least, it is highly improbable that sea-going *dolia* ships ever sailed upstream to Lyon.⁹⁰

In sum, the collection of evidence by Broekaert and others raises too many questions to be really conclusive. The level of abbreviation, the never-ending discussions about the exact meaning of the various *tituli picti* and the commonness of personal names make it very difficult to reconstruct family-based networks in a convincing way. Are a common *praenomen* and a *gentilicium* sufficient clues for the reconstruction of family firms, as many believe? When the *gentilicia* are rare, as in the case of Segolatus, there are some grounds for thinking so. The more common the *gentilicium*, however, the harder it becomes to use it as a clue for identifying a family firm. Indeed, the fact that only one personal name usually appears would seem to challenge the idea of family firms. This can surely only be confirmed when several individuals bearing the same *gentilicium* appear in the same *titulus pictus*.

6 Conclusions

Epigraphy is anything but a perfect mirror of port societies, and was instead a habit, albeit a very selective one. Within the context of a portscape, it illustrates the duality of a port-cityscape rather than a portscape *stricto sensu*. As has been argued in this chapter, however, much remains to be done in order to achieve a better understanding of the epigraphic evidence, even though significant progress has already been made. Inscriptions on their own cannot address the silence surrounding those who had no access to public or monumental epigraphy. The following chapters in this book are unable to address fully all of these issues, and mysteries surrounding the nature of port societies will not be entirely revealed. However, they will

⁸⁹ *CIL* VI, 1785: 3174, 4761, 4794 = *CIL* VI, 31931 = *ILMN* 1, 51 = *AE* 2001, 169 = *AE* 2006, 8 = *AE* 2006, 170.

⁹⁰ Arnaud 2016.

have achieved their goal if they raise or illustrate key methodological issues for further studies relating to these complex issues, including the challenge of understanding epigraphy as evidence. The contributions to the book are a selection of case studies that illustrate some of the issues faced in doing this and possible solutions. They illustrate the fragmentary nature of our knowledge of port societies, the complexity of evidence relating to them, and the long and difficult path that awaits those who use epigraphy to understand better the complexity and likely diversity of port societies in the Roman Mediterranean.

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3 | *Stationes* and Associations of Merchants at Puteoli and Delos

Modes of Social Organization and Integration

DIRK STEUERNAGEL

In recent years, different scholars of ancient history and archaeology have sparked a lively debate about the meaning and function of *stationes* within the city of Rome and in other places of the Roman world, particularly in harbour towns.¹ Since the term itself – derived from Roman military and institutional nomenclature – seems to suggest it, the *stationes* are often seen as official outposts of cities from other parts of the Roman Empire.² On the other hand, as Koenraad Verboven has pointed out,³ the *stationes* were firmly embedded in the *milieux* of foreigners, especially from the eastern provinces, who had established themselves permanently in western cities, and in the voluntary associations which they established. So how then can we describe the particular function of a *statio* in comparison to other modes of organization, particularly voluntary associations?

Unfortunately, by means of archaeology it is not possible to identify unequivocally *stationes* of mostly Greek and Asian cities, which were located at Rome on the Via Sacra, and the information given epigraphically is not very explicit.⁴ Therefore, it is safer not to take these as a starting point for a renewed discussion. Also problematic is the case of the small rooms that were installed within the porticoes of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia during the second and third centuries AD. As I have argued elsewhere,⁵ and contrary to more recent interpretations,⁶ I consider the Piazzale delle Corporazioni to have functioned as an urban space for the self-representation of various associations (mostly, but not all, those with a commercial background) through the medium of religious activities. According to my interpretation, the rooms in the porticoes served as locales for encounters during municipal festivals, thus accomplishing a subsidiary function in relation to the clubs' headquarters.

¹ See, for example, France and Nelis-Clément 2014. ² Nelis-Clément 2006.

³ Verboven 2011: esp. 343. ⁴ Moretti 1958; Papi 1999; Noy 2000: 160–2.

⁵ Steuernagel 2004: 198–201; 2005: 73–8. ⁶ Rohde 2009; Terpstra 2013: 100–11; 2014.

Therefore, the most detailed and clear evidence for *stationes* remains the well-known inscription regarding the *statio* of the Tyrians at Puteoli. This document also mentions religious obligations, in relation to both local and Tyrian cults, which obviously were a main concern for the *stationarii* and their environment, Phoenician ship-owners and merchants. Thus, again we recognize parallels and connections to cult associations at Puteoli and in other places. Of utmost interest is the comparison with the situation of the Tyrians at Delos, even if about 300 years and 1,000 km distant from the Tyrian *statio* at Puteoli. First of all, historical relationships and structural parallels between the multicultural port societies of Delos and Puteoli have been acknowledged ever since the writings of Lucilius. This Roman author baptized the Campanian harbour town as *Delus minor*⁷ in a famous poem of the second century BC, thereby referring to both the density and the variety of the two cities' populations. In addition, there is clear evidence of personal inter-relationships: particularly well attested by inscriptions is the presence of *gentes* of Puteolan origin (Annii, Cluvii, Granii, etc.) on the Aegean island during the heyday of its commercial relevance, between the middle of the second and the beginning of the first century BC.⁸ Aside from these strong connections that existed between the two cities, both maintained close relations to the Middle East. Luxury goods such as aromatic substances and perfumes from Arabia, quartz and glass products from Syria and Alexandria, purple from Tyros and so on probably reached Italy by passing via Delos and Puteoli.⁹

It is not my intention to resume long-ongoing discourses and all-too-well-known facts about commercial and personal bonds. Instead, in the following pages, I will compare social organizations formed by Phoenician and Syrian merchants who were established at Delos and at Puteoli, respectively. This leads also to a re-examination and at least partial revision of current interpretations, including my own, regarding the evolution of organizational modes between the Republic and the Imperial age.

1 The *Statio* of the Tyrians at Puteoli

The only certain evidence for an overseas branch, a *στατίων* of the Phoenician city of Tyros at Puteoli, is constituted by a long-known and

⁷ *Carmen* III, 123 [ed. F. Marx].

⁸ Hatzfeld 1912; Ferrary, Hasenohr and Le Dinahet 2002; Jaschke 2010: 138–45.

⁹ Cf. for example, De Romanis 1993.

quite famous inscription (see the Appendix to this chapter).¹⁰ Given its celebrity, it seems superfluous to discuss the inscription in all of its details and historical implications. Instead, discussion will be limited to three essential questions: What exactly is meant by the term *στατίων*, an obvious loan word from Latin (*statio*)? What kind of social organization constituted the base of the *στατίων*? How can we describe the aims and activities connected to the *στατίων*?

To begin with the first question, the word *στατίων* recurs several times within the text, with different connotations. The first part of the inscription reproduces a letter dated to the year AD 174. It had been written by Tyrians settled at Puteoli and was addressed to the *archontes*, the *boule* and the people of their mother city. In the first paragraph (ll. 5–6), a comparison is made with other *stationes* established at Puteoli, in relation to which the Tyrians consider their own one superior in terms of both splendour (*κόσμος*) and greatness (*μέγεθος*).¹¹ The following mention (ll. 10–11) regards the annual rent (*μισθός*) to be paid for the *statio*; in ll. 12 and 14 the topic is maintenance and furnishing of the *statio*. In l. 17 it is declared that the *statio* of the Tyrians, in contrast to another one, situated at Rome, did not receive contributions from ship-owners and merchants. Reported in the second part of the inscription are the proceedings of a session of the *boule* at Tyros, where the request made by the compatriots from Puteoli had been discussed. Thereby basically the same information on the *statio* is given. Interesting, however, is the hitherto unmentioned proposal that the management of the two *stationes*, located at Puteoli and Rome respectively, possibly could be joined (l. 35).¹²

The result of this brief re-reading is ambiguous. In at least three passages (ll. 10, 12, 14), the word *στατίων* doubtless indicates a building which needs maintenance and for which a rent has to be paid. An estimation of this building's dimensions depends not least on the amount of the rent. Unfortunately, the interpretation of the numeral signs is vividly debated: Are they to be read in the 'Latin way', as CN (*c[entum milia] n[ummum]*),

¹⁰ IG XIV, 830; OGIS 595. It is unnecessary to collect the full bibliography here in view of the recent compilation in Lombardi 2013; besides her publication, it may suffice to refer to Dubois 1902: 83–97 (with French translation); Sosin 1999 (text and English translation, reproduced here in the Appendix); Rohde 2009 (with German translation); Aliquot 2011: 88–91, n. 6 (with French translation); Terpstra 2013: 70–83.

¹¹ It seems rather uncertain if these words were meant to be understood as concretely as Soricelli (2007: 140) and Lombardi (2013: 657) are suggesting, i.e. as hints to the rich decoration and vast dimensions of a building.

¹² Whether the leading position would eventually have been assigned to the *statio* at Puteoli or to the one at Rome remains debated; see D'Arms 1974: 105; Lombardi 2013: 674–7; a divergent opinion in Sosin 1999: 282–3.

i.e. 100,000 *denarii*), or rather in the ‘Greek way’, as ΣΝ (numbers 200 and 50, i.e. 250 *denarii*)? It is impossible to find a definitive solution here.¹³ Anyway, when interpreting the numerals and estimating the size of the building, one has to consider also the spectrum of activities that took place within the *statio*. We will come back to this point shortly. First, another possible meaning of στατίων needs to be suggested: an institutional connotation which is conveyed by the mention of contributions that ship-owners and merchants paid to the Roman branch (l. 17).¹⁴

We now can proceed to the second question; that is, to the kind of social organization which sustained the στατίων. No such organization is explicitly named in the letter the Tyrians from Puteoli wrote to their mother city. Instead of referring to something like a *koinon* or *thiasos*, they simply call themselves οἱ ἐν Ποτιόλοις κατοικοῦντες (ll. 3–4, 7–8). Paola Lombardi and Karin Sion-Jenkis¹⁵ have rightly pointed out that this collective is obviously not identical with the στατιωνάριοι mentioned in the proceedings of the Tyrian city council (ll. 22, 34, 39). By contrast, these στατιωνάριοι appear to have been a much more restricted group of persons, commissioners that perhaps have been appointed by the Tyrian city council for operating and maintaining the *statio* rather than members of a voluntary association. Οἱ ἐν Ποτιόλοις κατοικοῦντες, on the other hand, constitute an only vaguely definable circle of people in the orbit of the *statio*, which apparently had been quite numerous and powerful in the past, but at the time when the negotiation took place was already in decline (ll. 7–9). This information coincides with other documents attesting to an at least temporarily massive presence of people of Phoenician stock at Puteoli. It may suffice to quote as an example an inscription published by Giuseppe Camodeca which mentions a *pagus Tyrianus* as being part of the Puteolan territory.¹⁶

With regard to activities which took place within the *statio* and/or were organized by the *stationarii*, it has often been noticed that a large proportion of them were of ceremonial or religious character.¹⁷ Among other things, it was a duty imposed on the Tyrians to make financial contributions for the great public feasts in the city of Puteoli and to participate at sacrifices celebrated on these occasions (l. 11).¹⁸ Moreover, they were

¹³ All essential (and divergent) arguments are reported by Sosin (1999: 279–81).

¹⁴ Cf. Sion-Jenkis 2014: 338. ¹⁵ Lombardi 2013: 655; Sion-Jenkis 2014: 331–2.

¹⁶ Camodeca 2006: 280–5; *AE* 2006, 314.

¹⁷ See e.g. Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 136–7; Steuernagel 2004: 248; Rohde 2009: 45–6; Verboven 2011: 337, 343; Sion-Jenkis 2014: 335–6.

¹⁸ Cf. Lombardi 2013: 662–9.

obliged to adorn their *statio* on Imperial holidays (ll. 14–15).¹⁹ Thus, on the latter occasions, the building evidently served as a setting for religious ceremonies.²⁰ Whether the sanctuaries of the θεοὶ πατριοὶ – that is, the deities of their mother city held in veneration by the Tyrians at Puteoli – were located within or in the immediate vicinity of the *statio* is less evident. The wording ἐνθάδε . . . ἐν ναοῖς (ll. 9–10) could refer to temples situated at any place within the urban area of Puteoli. On the other hand, the club-house of the Poseidoniastai at Delos has been invoked as an analogous case which makes spatial integration of the sanctuary more likely.²¹ We will check the relevance of this argument below. Yet the first hypothesis may seem preferable in the light of two Puteolan inscriptions attesting to the existence of a sanctuary which the Tyrians had dedicated during the Flavian period to the Θεὸς ἄγιος of Sarepta. Involved in this process were religious experts from Tyros who accompanied the god (or rather, most probably, sacred objects in which he was thought to be present) on his way to Italy.²² This participation of Tyrian priests and, moreover, the contributions the Phoenician city made to the furnishing of the sanctuary indicate a certain degree of control exercised by the hometown authorities.²³ Unfortunately, we do not know where the sanctuary was located.²⁴ There is, however, no clue which suggests its spatial connection to the *statio*.

Besides this ‘Tyrian’ sanctuary in the proper sense, with its quasi-official character, we recognize other Phoenician or Syrian deities in second-century Puteoli who were likewise venerated by communities with common roots in single cities or well-defined regions. Nevertheless, most of these cults were organized on the basis of voluntary associations. This seems highly probable in the case of the *temp{u}lum* of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, supported by a community of Geremellenses and, among them, an association of *iugophori*.²⁵ Another association devoted to the same god were the *cultores Iovis Heliopolitani qui Puteolis consistunt*. It is conceivable that these Berytenses formed part of the *corpus Heliopolitanorum* which owned an *ager* with *cisterna et tabernae* in the Puteolan periphery.²⁶ Interestingly

¹⁹ See also Terpstra in Chapter 8 of this volume. ²⁰ Cf. Verboven 2011: 348.

²¹ Leveau 2014: 38–9; cf. Steuernagel 1999: 162. ²² OGIS 594; cf. Steuernagel 2004: 248.

²³ IG XIV, 831; Lombardi 2011.

²⁴ Neither do we know where the *statio* was situated: Lombardi 2013: 657; cf. 642–5; Steuernagel 1999: 162, n. 59.

²⁵ CIL X, 1578; for a partly new reading Camodeca 2006: 272–4; AE 2006, 313; see also Dubois 1902: 98–9, 156–7; Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 148–9, S 11; Hajjar 1977: 391–4, no. 298.

²⁶ CIL X, 1579, 1634; Dubois 1902: 97–8, n. 1; Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 149–50, S 12–13; Hajjar 1977: 395–8, nos. 300–1; Camodeca 2006: 272; Demma 2007, 154–5; Soricelli 2007: 134–5.

enough, this *corpus* appears to have followed an organizational concept different from the one which was obeyed by the Geremellenses. As Joseph Hajjar rightly stresses, the *corpus Heliopolitanorum* appeals to *lex et conventio* – that is, to a charter which is binding for all members – so obviously it was not based on loyalties arising quasi-spontaneously from common foreign descent.²⁷

As a result of the preceding analysis of Puteolan epigraphic evidence, three statements that are essential for the further development of our investigation can be made. Firstly, the term *statio* in the context of the inscription of the Tyrii certainly indicates a building, but at the same time refers to a group of men, the *stationarii*. The latter probably were charged by the mother city to manage the complex as well as activities which were spatially and/or organizationally connected to it. The building itself need not have been ‘great’ in the material sense of the word, for example with regard to its dimensions. Neither is it clear if it included cult rooms/*naoi* that were dedicated to the native deities of the Tyrians. And, although the word *statio* is used on some occasions to indicate a room assigned for assemblies, banquets and informal encounters of a *collegium*,²⁸ there is no proof of a corresponding connotation in the Puteolan inscription. Secondly, the *statio* was founded and kept on behalf of the city of Tyros, which, at least in critical situations, accounted for maintenance and running expenses. It was a point of reference for fellow citizens who settled in the foreign city, although they did not organize themselves as a supporting association with the intent to assume supervision of the *statio*. Finally, the activities organized by the *stationarii* were of a pre-eminently religious character. In part they took place outside the *statio*, at other sites within the urban area. On the occasion of cult feasts, the *stationarii* probably cooperated with particular cult organizations, namely those which recruited their members from the numerically strong community of Phoenicians and Syrians residing at Puteoli. In order to specify observations made before by some scholars (including myself²⁹), I would like to stress, though, that there is a clear distinction between a *statio* and voluntary associations of foreigners, of the type we encounter also at Delos, whereto we will now turn our attention.

²⁷ Hajjar 1977: 397; cf. Steuernagel 1999: 161; for the problem of ‘control delegation’ and the relationship between informal constraints and internal discipline, with regard also to Tyrians and Heliopolitani at Puteoli, see now Verboven in Chapter 14 of this volume.

²⁸ For example in the case of an anonymous *collegium* at Ostia: see Calza 1939; *AE* 1940, 62; Herz 1980/81: 153–7; Nelis-Clément 2006: 271.

²⁹ Steuernagel 1999: 164.

2 The Poseidoniastai from Beirut at Delos and Their *Établissement*

The organizations which people hailing from Beirut and Tyros established in Hellenistic Delos are sometimes cited as counterparts or precursors of the branch office that the Tyrians maintained at Puteoli during Roman Imperial times.³⁰ Fortunately, in the case of those associations we not only have fairly detailed epigraphic documentation, we even know the clubhouse of the Poseidoniastai from Berytos through the archaeological evidence. Nevertheless, my analysis will start from the inscriptions. The most important among them are two decrees passed by the assemblies of the Poseidoniastai of Berytos and the Herakleistai of Tyros, respectively, about the middle of the second century BC.³¹

Comparing the Delian associations to the *statio* at Puteoli, we notice remarkable coincidences with regard to the geographical origin and the professional background of the persons involved. The Tyrians at Delos refer to themselves as ἔμποροι and ναύκληροι, the Beirut citizens as ἔμποροι, ναύκληροι and ἐγδοχέοι.³² The analogy with the Tyrian ναύκληροι and ἔμποροι³³ who supported their city's *statio* in Rome – but obviously less so at Puteoli – is palpable.

Religious obligations were a primary concern not only to the Tyrians at Puteoli, but likewise for the Delian associations. In contrast to the former, the Herakleistai of Tyros as well as the Poseidoniastai of Beirut used the name of their patron deities (θεοὶ πάτριοι) for labelling the entire organization. The Tyrians established a sanctuary for Herakles on the island of Delos.³⁴ The Beirutians acted in a similar manner when they created several ναοί within a larger sacred complex (ἱεροὸς τόπος), which in turn formed part of their οἶκος.³⁵ One of the deities venerated in this context was the Θεὰ Ῥώμη. The cult, according to the convincing arguments put forward by both Philippe Bruneau and Monika Trümper,³⁶ dates back to an early phase of the association's history. This premature religious presence of the hegemonic power corresponds in a certain sense with the commitment the Tyrians demonstrated in connection with celebrations of the Imperial

³⁰ E.g. Picard 1920: 265–7; Baslez 1984: 245–6; Jaschke 2010: 168–9.

³¹ *ID* 1519 and 1520; English translations: Ascough, Harland and Kloppenburg 2012: 135–9, nos. 223–4; cf. for example Bruneau 1970: 622–30; Baslez 1988: 140–8; 2013: 227–40; for a revision of the Athenian eponymous archons list (which brings the chronology of both inscriptions in question up to 153/2 BC), see Habicht 1988: 240; Hasenohr 2007: 79.

³² *ID* 1519, ll. 35–6, 40–1, 49–50; *ID* 1520, ll. 1–2, 27–8, 51–2. ³³ *OGIS* 595, ll. 16–17.

³⁴ *ID* 1519, ll. 13–14, 42–3. ³⁵ *ID* 1520, ll. 25–6; cf. ll. 10–12; Bruneau 1970: 623–5.

³⁶ Bruneau 1978; Trümper 2002.

cult at Puteoli.³⁷ Furthermore, the participation of Poseidoniastai and Herakleistai at public feasts for Apollo and Poseidon in Delos³⁸ seems roughly comparable to the donation of a bull on the occasion of agonistic festivals at Puteoli.³⁹

A significant difference between the situation in Delos and the one at Puteoli is marked by the non-exclusivity of the Delian organizations in the ethnic sense. This non-exclusivity is plainly perceptible in the case of the Poseidoniastai. Thanks to the scrupulous investigations by Marie-Françoise Baslez, the ‘open character’ of that *koinon* has been recognized, which not only counted Athenians and Romans as benefactors within its ranks, but even honoured them by putting up honorary statues inside its own *oikos*.⁴⁰ Marcus Minatius – a Roman banker upon whom honours are bestowed which are the subject of one of the decrees we are discussing – was even allowed to bring other guests of honour (ἐπικλήτοιοι) to the banquets organized by the *koinon*. This is but another piece of proof of the conscious and constant integration of non-Phoenicians into the association of Poseidoniastai.⁴¹ Maybe due to the heterogeneity of its members, the *koinon* tried to ensure their loyalty by issuing a νόμος.⁴² This resembles very much the procedure followed by the *corpus Heliopolitanorum* of Puteoli through the enactment of a *lex et conventio*.⁴³ The Poseidoniastai thus can likewise be described as a fellowship based on shared (religious) interests, characterized by a certain degree of organizational cohesion, which did not depend exclusively on the common ethnic and cultural roots of its members.

It seems doubtful whether there was a kind of ‘inner circle’ among the Poseidoniastai, a *thiasos*, consisting of persons distinct from the rows of ‘ordinary’ and ‘associate’ members. This hypothesis has repeatedly been put forward by Baslez.⁴⁴ Actually, the term θιασίται appears for the first time at the end of the Poseidoniastai decree,⁴⁵ within a context which might convey the idea of a restricted group that was hierarchically elevated above the entire *koinon* or *synodos* – two terms used almost interchangeably all over the text. But taking into consideration the decree of the Herakleistai, one finds that there the notions of *synodos*, *thiasitai* and *thiasos* appear more or less as synonyms.⁴⁶ Following Koen Verboven,⁴⁷ this may indicate

³⁷ Cf. Terpstra, this volume, Chapter 8. ³⁸ *ID* 1519, ll. 38–9; *ID* 1520, ll. 32, 35, 38, 50–1.

³⁹ *OGIS* 595, 11; cf. Bruneau 1970: 629; Baslez 1977: 274–5.

⁴⁰ E.g. *ID* 1780 and 1782. On this issue see Baslez 1977: esp. 158–9, 284–5; cf. Picard 1920: 279–82; Kreeb 1988: 23; Trümper 2011: 56.

⁴¹ *ID* 1520, ll. 36, 48. ⁴² *ID* 1520, l. 69. ⁴³ Cf. Baslez 1977: 207.

⁴⁴ Baslez 1977: 159–60, 208; 1988: 141–2; 2013: 232; but see Trümper 2006: 116.

⁴⁵ *ID* 1520, l. 86. ⁴⁶ *ID* 1519, ll. 21–6; cf. Bruneau 1970: 629.

⁴⁷ In Chapter 14 of this volume.

the existence of ‘a smaller council . . . that met on a more regular basis’. In any case, the *thiasitai* among the Poseidoniastai cannot be interpreted as a sort of permanent staff in charge of the club-house, and therefore are not comparable to the Tyrian *stationarii* at Puteoli or Rome.

The most obvious difference between the Delian associations and the Tyrian *statio*, noticed already by others,⁴⁸ is the lack of bonds to the political and religious institutions of the mother cities. Symptomatically enough, in situations of financial discomfort, the Delian *koina* did not send envoys carrying appeals for help to Beirut or Tyros, but tried to find the necessary funds by means of systematic collection amongst or single donations from the population of the Aegean island. Instructive in this regard is the mention of a ‘moment of extreme plight’, ἀναγκαιότατος καιρός, when the Herakleistai were supported by one of their members, a certain Patron, son of Dorotheos.⁴⁹ Another inscription, which probably refers to the Poseidoniastai, registers a larger number of subscribers of various origins and social standing, perhaps not all members of the *koinon*, who paid for one or more cubits of wall or pavement, presumably to be found within the club-house.⁵⁰

Now that we have come to this point, it seems appropriate to take a closer look at the repeatedly mentioned club-house of the Poseidoniastai which is located within the so-called *quartier du lac* in Delos, north of the ‘Sacred Lake’.⁵¹ This neighbourhood, although not far from the port, was dominated by residential buildings. Compared to average dwellings, with a surface area up to 370 m²,⁵² the club-house is of remarkable dimensions, namely some 1,500 m². Moreover, according to the recent and most accurate analysis by Monika Trümper,⁵³ it contains neither living areas nor chambers for temporary accommodation for merchants or other Beirut travellers. The rooms (G, H, I, R, S, T: see Figure 3.1) located on either side of the main entrance corridor (Y), the only ones which are theoretically possible guest-rooms, were in part destined for staff members of the club-house (room G, most probably for a housekeeper or doorman⁵⁴). Others may have been designed for commercial use; that is, they served as rented shops or storerooms. This seems to be the case with rooms S, R and T, with their doors opening onto the street. Still more rooms for commercial purposes existed, and they also were rather small. Limited to the souterrain sector on the southern side of the complex, they do not have any connection with the inner parts of the house,

⁴⁸ Baslez 1977: 312; Trümper 2006: 118, n. 35. ⁴⁹ ID 1519, ll. 24–5.

⁵⁰ ID 2611; Picard 1920: 283–4, 307–11; cf. Baslez 1988: 143; Trümper 2006: 116, n. 23.

⁵¹ Selected bibliography: Picard 1921; Bruneau 1978; Kreeb 1988: 21–9, 105–19, no. 1; MacLean 1996: 196–205; Trümper 2002, 2011: 53–8.

⁵² Trümper 1998: 107, 109. ⁵³ Trümper 2006; 2011. ⁵⁴ Cf. Picard 1921: 114–15.

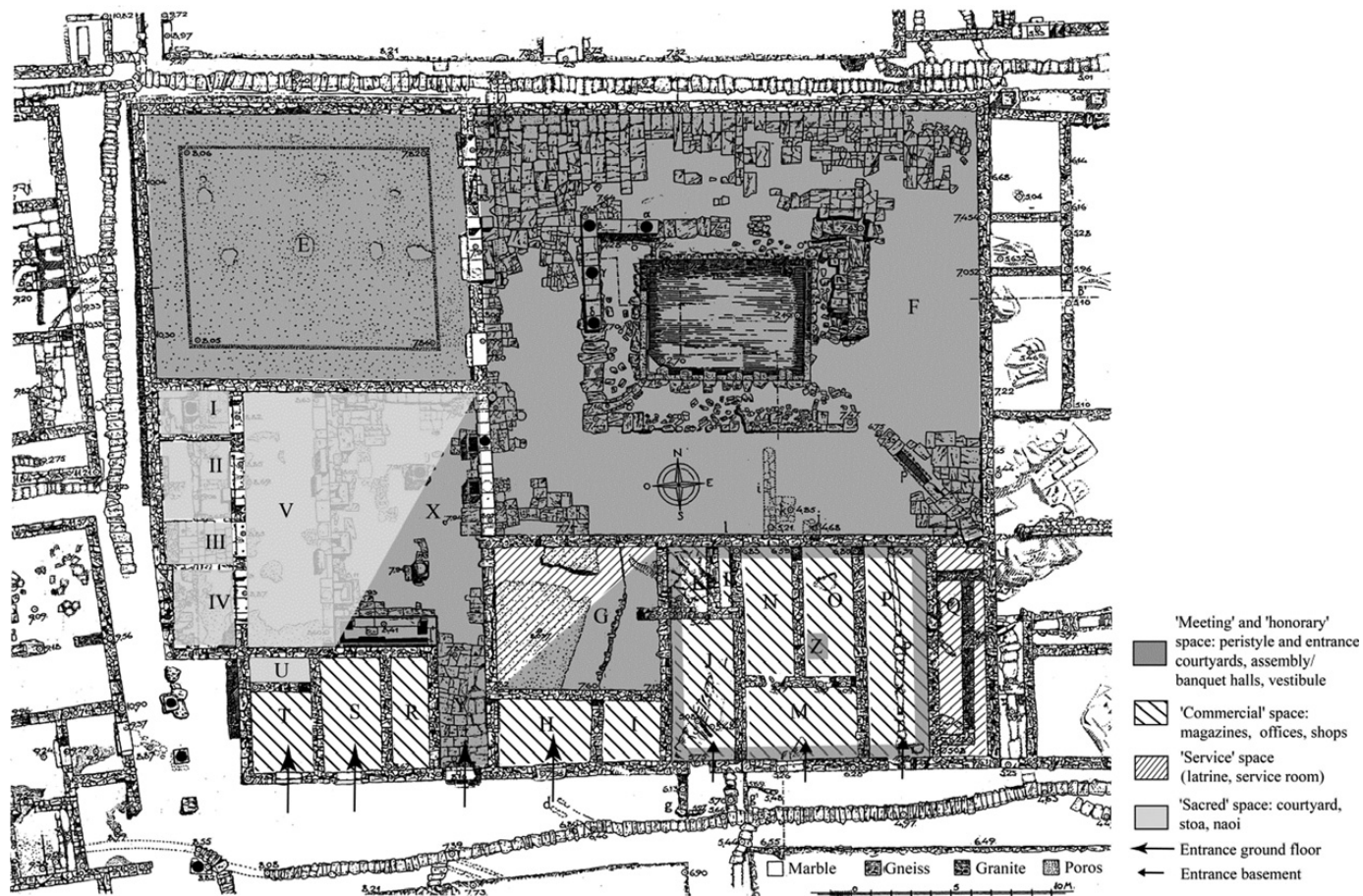


Figure 3.1 The functional structure of the House of the Poseidoniastai at Delos as elaborated by Monika Trümper.

so most probably they were rented too (rooms J–P).⁵⁵ Based on these observations, we have to revise the formerly predominant conception of the Poseidoniastai's house as a trading post similar to the *fondachi/fanādiq* of the Middle Ages,⁵⁶ since the spatial and functional structure of the Delian building obviously did not fit the aims of an *entrepôt* or hostel.

Monika Trümper (see also Figure 3.1) has illustrated her view of the house's functional structure with an interpretation of the currently understood ground plan, distinguishing between (1) 'meeting' or 'honorary' space, (2) 'commercial' space, (3) 'service' space and (4) 'sacred' space.⁵⁷ By looking at this plan, one understands almost immediately that the cult must have played a pre-eminent role in the life of the *koinon*: the entrance corridor (Y) directly leads up to a small courtyard (X); a portico (V) with four annexed 'chapels' (I–IV) opens onto the courtyard in such a way that the images of the *koinon*'s patron deities, housed in the 'chapels', became visible to every visitor entering the house.⁵⁸ An even more general religious destination of the building is made explicit by the dedicatory inscription on the epistyle of the peristyle courtyard's portico (F): this inscription records that the κοινὸν Βηρυτίων Ποσειδωνιαστῶν declares that it donated to the θεοὶ πατέριοι not only the portico, but the entire οἶκος and all its facilities and furniture (τὰ χρηστήρια).⁵⁹

At the same time, the social life of the *koinon* was focused upon the peristyle courtyard (F) and the surrounding rooms (Figure 3.1). The courtyard itself, the αὐλή, measures some 21 m by 25 m, including the porticoes. Within the courtyard, honorary monuments for members and benefactors of the association were placed, following the model of public spaces and buildings. This honorary practice is attested, among others, by the decree passed for Marcus Minatius.⁶⁰ The large rooms located to the western and southern sides of the courtyard (E, Z) probably served for events of a more sociable character. A strong indication in this direction is given, for example, by the famous sculptural group of Aphrodite, Pan and Eros, the so-called *Pantoffelgruppe*, today in the National Museum at Athens (Figure 3.2).⁶¹ It comes from room N, one of the south-facing basement rooms, where it was discovered together with relics of a rich mural decoration and a mosaic floor which would have fitted well with the more sophisticated quarters of a domestic building; that is,

⁵⁵ Picard 1921: 115–18; Trümper 2006: 118; according to Monika Trümper, the rooms are too narrow and elongated, the entrances too small to serve as shops or workshops; instead, they could have been used as 'storerooms'.

⁵⁶ Baslez 1977: 255–9; 1984: 338; cf. Picard 1921: 266–7. ⁵⁷ Trümper 2011: 55.

⁵⁸ Cf. Trümper 2006: 119. ⁵⁹ *ID* 1774; cf. Bruneau 1970: 623–6; Kreeb 1988: 22.

⁶⁰ *ID* 1520, l. 23.

⁶¹ Athens, NM 3335; see, e.g., Marcadé 1969: 393–6; Kaltsas 2002: 294–5, n. 617; Kunze 2002: 202–3, 207–8.



Figure 3.2 So-called *Pantoffelgruppe* from the House of the Poseidoniastai at Delos. Athens, National Museum 3335.

the rooms normally reserved for guest reception. Most probably, the statuary group and the decorative elements originally belonged to room Z, a large hall situated above the line of rooms J–P.⁶² This room has therefore been considered a residential room for guests. Yet the very analogy of domestic architecture and its decorative standards makes this unlikely. Room Z must rather have been a reception room or banquet hall.⁶³ Thus, the *établissement* of the Poseidoniastai combines features borrowed from the public sphere with

⁶² Bulard 1906: 610; Picard 1921: 121–3. ⁶³ Cf. Trümper 2006: 120; 2011: 54–5 and n. 18.

elements of private luxury; in that respect, it resembles club-houses in Imperial Ostia like the so-called Schola del Traiano.⁶⁴

The above-mentioned statuary group is apt to strengthen this impression in yet another way: on the one hand, it is a good example of genre sculpture, popular in late Hellenistic domestic contexts, also and especially at Delos; on the other hand, its base bears an inscription, proving that the group had been dedicated to the θεοὶ πάτριοι by a benefactor of Beirut origin.⁶⁵ This conjuncture suggests that the corporative cult was present even on occasions of informal encounters.

Although the inscription numbers Aphrodite among the θεοὶ πάτριοι, her aspect corresponds entirely to the Greek tradition. The background may have been Phoenician, and the deity could be considered as being an equivalent of Astarte, but no such clue is given by the iconography of the sculpture itself.⁶⁶ Even more puzzling in this regard is the torso of the goddess Roma, the cult image from chapel I (Figure 3.3). The barely war-like and rather peaceful appearance of the statue may seem somewhat unfamiliar to an archaeologically trained modern spectator. We must bear in mind, though, that by the middle of the second century BC the iconography of the goddess Roma was still evolving and had not yet been canonized into a fixed typology. Actually, the Roma from the house of the Poseidoniastai is the oldest extant statuary image of the goddess we know of. Therefore, I see no reason to suppose a conscious assimilation to images of Levantine cities' Tychai and to ascribe specific 'Phoenician' traits to the sculptural work.⁶⁷

More generally speaking, there is no element amongst the sculptural decoration or the epigraphic testimonies coming from the club-house of the Poseidoniastai which betrays the foreign – that is, non-Greek – cultural background of its owners. In stark contrast to, for example, the cult of the Θεὸς ἄγιος of Sarepta at Puteoli, the one celebrated in honour of the Beirut θεοὶ πάτριοι appears completely Hellenized.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Cf. Kreeb 1988: 66–7; Steuernagel 2004: 182–3.

⁶⁵ ID 1785. I consider this group a 'genre' work inasmuch as it does not represent any specific mythological narrative, see Kunze 2002: 203–11; for the distinction between 'genre' and votive sculpture, see Kunze 1999: 45–6.

⁶⁶ Cf. Picard 1920: 292; Baslez 1977: 79–81.

⁶⁷ Similar argumentation in Trümper 2002: 329; cf. Picard 1921: 62; cf. also Laubscher 1960: 117–20, who denies the use of a specific 'Phoenician' type for the Poseidon represented in the club-house; the opposing view, e.g. in Picard 1921: 290–1; Marcadé 1969: 337; Baslez 1977: 70–1; Bruneau 1978: esp. 184. In general on the beginnings of the cult of goddess Roma and the iconographic development, see Fayer 1975: esp. 275–7; for the Delian statue, see also Marcadé 1969: 128–33, pl. 65; Mellor 1975: 66–7; Fayer 1976: 68–70.

⁶⁸ For Hellenized traits of the club-house and club-life of the Poseidoniastai at Delos, see e.g. Marcadé 1969: 386, 389; Kreeb 1988: 25–8; Trümper 2002: esp. 319, 329; 2006: 117, 121; 2011:



Figure 3.3 Statue of the goddess Roma in the House of the Poseidoniastai at Delos.

3 Conclusions

To sum up, it seems evident that the *koinon* of the Poseidoniastai of Beirut at Delos had at least several traits in common with voluntary associations formed mainly, even if not completely, by foreigners who were established at Puteoli or in other Italian harbour towns of the Roman Imperial age. Corresponding to this are, for example, the formulae of denominations, which depended on the principal patron deities of the associations, as well as the sociable aspects of

56–8; Steinhauer 2014: 65. For ‘exotic’ traits of Phoenician cults at Puteoli, see Steuernagel 1999: 164.

community life, to which are conceded, also materially and spatially, the biggest parts of the club-houses. On the other hand, the conviviality which goes beyond sacrificial meals on special holidays does not seem to have been part of the activities organized by the Tyrian *statio* at Puteoli. In even more general terms, the *statio* seems to have assumed functions different from the ones fulfilled by voluntary associations. It served as a sort of ‘representative office’ of the provincial town near the centre of Imperial power, similar to the *stationes* that several cities from the eastern Mediterranean maintained in the capital, not far from the Forum Romanum. The ‘networking’ function of the *statio* may have also encompassed economic aspects, in the sense of the ‘bridge function’ analysed recently by Taco Terpstra.⁶⁹ As a consequence or concomitant effect, the integration of *statio* and *stationarii* into the ‘host society’ appears less strong than in the cases of *koina* and *collegia* which are organized on a ‘private’ basis.

Although the term *statio* has no univocal significance, with regard to the Tyrian *stationes* it occurs to me that we are dealing with a particular mode of organization, without immediate precursors in Republican-Hellenistic times, fostered by or even dependent upon the new political-bureaucratic structures of the Imperial age. Certainly, the *milieu* of Puteoli was well prepared for the foundation of a *statio*, given its multicultural character that had earlier been shaped by the presence of foreign merchants, their associations and cults. However, while agreeing in many aspects with the interpretation advocated by Verboven⁷⁰ in comparison to those associations, I would like to stress the divergent character of the *statio*: it is a point of reference for Tyrians abroad, but at the same time assumes institutional features and seems to have been assimilated to units of the Imperial fiscal administration.⁷¹ Thus, in my opinion, an organization like the Tyrian *statio* was absent at Delos not only because Rome exercised its power indirectly by means of its ally, the *civitas foederata* of Athens, but also because the whole administrative system during the Republican age was different from that established by Augustus and his successors.

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⁶⁹ Terpstra 2013: esp. 70–84. ⁷⁰ In Chapter 14 of this volume.

⁷¹ Cf. Bruun 1989; Sion-Jenkis 2014.

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APPENDIX

OGIS 595/IG XIV 830: Text

Ἐπιστολή γρα[φεῖσα τῆ] πόλει
 Τυρίων, τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου καὶ αὐτονόμου μητρο[πόλεως Φοινείκης] καὶ
 ἄλλων πόλε-
 ων καὶ ναυαρχίδος ἄρχουσι βουλή καὶ δήμῳ τῆς κ[υρίας πατρίδος] οἱ ἐν
 Ποτιόλοις
 κατοικοῦντες χαίρειν·
 [5] διὰ τοῦς θεοῦς καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτ[ορος τύχ]ην εἰ καὶ τις
 ἄλλη στατί-
 ων ἐστὶν ἐν Ποτιόλοις, ἄως οἱ πλείους ὑμῶν ἴσασι ἢ ἡμετέρα ἐστὶν καὶ
 κόσμῳ καὶ
 μεγέθει τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρουσα· ταύτης πάλαι μὲν ἐ[π]εμελοῦντο οἱ ἐν
 Ποτιόλοις κα-
 τοικοῦντες Τύριοι {ΟΙ} πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ πλούσιοι· νῦν δὲ εἰς ὀλίγους ἡμᾶς
 περιέστη τὸν
 ἀριθμὸν, καὶ ἀναλίσκοντες εἰς τε θυσίας καὶ θρησκείας τῶν πατρίων ἡμῶν
 θεῶν ἐνθά-
 δε ἀφωσιωμένων ἐν ναοῖς οὐκ εὐτονοῦμεν τὸν μισθὸν τῆς στατίωνος
 παρέχειν κα-
 τ' ἔτος Χ̄ C̄N· μάλιστα ἦ καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν Ποτιόλοις
 τῆς βουθουσίας
 ἡμεῖν προσετέθη. δεόμεθα οὖν προνοῆσαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ διαμένειν αἰεὶ τὴν
 στατίωνα δειαμεν-
 εἶ δέ, ἐὰν πρόνοιαν τῶν κατ' ἔτος διδομένων εἰς τὴν μίσθωσιν Χ̄ C̄N·
 ποιήσασθε. τὰ γὰρ ἔτε-
 ρα ἀναλώματα {καὶ τὰ} γεινόμενα εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τῆς στατίωνος εἰς τὰς ἱερὰς
 ἡμέρας τοῦ
 κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος συνπέσουσ' αὖς ἑαυτοῖς ἐλογισάμεθα, ἵνα μὴ [τὴν]
 πόλιν βαρῶμεν.
 ὑπομιμνήσκομεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὅτι οὐδεμία πρόσσδος γέινεται οὐ[τε παρὰ ναυκλ-]
 ἥρων
 οὔτε παρὰ ἐμπόρων τῆ ἐνθάδε στατίωνι ὡς ἐν τῇ {βασιδι} βασιλίδι Ἰώμῃ.
 παρακαλοῦμεν
 οὖν καὶ δεόμεθα ὑμῶν τῆς τύχης φροντίσατε τοῦ πράγματος. ἐγράφη ἐν
 Ποτι-
 οίοις πρὸ ἰ' καλανδῶν Αὐγούστῳ Γάλλῳ καὶ Φλάκκῳ Κορνηλιανῶ
 ὑπάτοι.

[20] Ἀπὸ ἄκτων βουλῆς ἀχθείσης κ̄α· Δίου τοῦ ἔτους τ̄ ἐφημερεύοντος
Γ(αίου) Οὐαλερίου

Καλλικράτους Πausανίου προέδρου·

[22] ἀνεγνώσθη ἐπιστολή Τυρίων στατιωναρίων ἀναδοθεῖσα ὑπὸ Λάχητος
ένος αὐτῶν, ἐν ἧ ἡσίον προνοίαν ποιήσασθαι αὐτοῖς ✕ C̄N̄· ἀναλίσκειν
γάρ· εἷς τε θυσίας

καὶ θρησκείας τῶν πατρίων ἡμῶν θεῶν ἐκεῖ ἀφωσιωμένων ἐν ναοῖς
καὶ μὴ εὐτονεῖν τὸν μισθὸν τῆς στατίωνος παρέχειν κατ' ἔτος ✕ C̄N̄,
καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν Ποτιόλοις τῆς βουθουσίας αὐ-
τοῖς προστεθῆναι· τῶν γάρ ἐτέρων ἀναλωμάτων γεινομένων εἰς ἐπ[ι]-
σκευὴν τῆς στατίωνος εἰς τὰς ἱερὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος σ[υν]-
πεσοῦσ· αὐτοῖς ἐλόγισαντο, ἵνα μὴ τὴν πόλιν βαρῶσιν καὶ ὑπεμίμη-
σκον ὅτι οὐδεμία πρόσσδος γίνεται αὐτοῖς οὔτε παρὰ ναυκλήρων οὔτε

[30] παρὰ ἐμπόρων ὡς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι Ῥώμη· μεθ' ἣν ἀνάγνωσιν

Φιλοκλῆς Διο-

δώρου εἶπεν· Οἱ ἐν Ῥώμη στατιωνάριοι ἔθος εἶχον ἀεὶ ποτε ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ λαμ-
βάνουσιν παρέχειν τοῖς ἐν Ποτιόλοις ✕ C̄N̄· ἀξιοῦσι καὶ νῦν οἱ ἐν Ποτιόλοις
στατιωνάριοι αὐτὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς τηρεῖσθαι, ἢ εἰ μὴ βούλονται οἱ ἐν

Ῥώμη αὐ-

τοῖς παρέχειν, αὐτοὶ ἀναδέχονται τὰς δύο στατίωνας ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ αἰρέσει. ἐ-
πεφώνησαν· Καλῶς εἶπεν Φιλοκλῆς· Δίκαια ἀξιώσι οἱ ἐν Ποτιόλοις. Ἄει
οὕτως ἐγένετο καὶ νῦν οὕτως γεινέσθω. Τοῦτο τῇ πόλει συμφέρει. Φυλαχθή-

[38] τω ἢ συνήθεια. ἀνεγνώσθη πιττάκιον δοθὲν τότε ὑπὸ Λάχητος,

Πρειμογε-

νείας καὶ Ἀγαθόποδος υἱοῦ, αὐτοῦ Τυρίων στατιωναρίων στατίωνος Τυρια-
κῆς τῆς ἐν κολωνίᾳ Σεβαστῆ Ποτιόλοις, ἐν ᾧ ἐδήλουν παρέχειν τὴν ἡμετέραν
πατρίδα στατίωνας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι Ῥώμη, τὴν δὲ ---]

Translation (Joshua Sosin, by kind permission)

Letter written to the city: to the archons, boule and people of Tyre, sacred, inviolate and immune, metropolis of Phoinike and other cities, and nauarchis, and supreme fatherland, the settlers in Puteoli send greeting.

[5] By the gods and the genius of our supreme emperor, if there is any other statio in Puteoli, as most of you know, ours surpasses in splendour and greatness the others. This long has been cared for by the Tyrians resident in Puteoli, who were many and wealthy, but now our number has dwindled to a few, and in paying for sacrifices and the rites of our paternal gods that are established for worship here in temples, we do not have the means to furnish the misthos on the statio, 250 denarii per year, especially since the payments for the bull sacrifice at the games at Puteoli are charged to us in addition. We

entreat, therefore, that you provide for the lasting permanence of the statio. And it will last if you make provision for the 250 denarii given yearly as payment. For we have always reckoned to our own accounts the other payments incurred for the fitting out the statio for the sacred days of the supreme emperor as they occur, lest we burden the [sc. mother] city. And we remind you that no income accrues either from the naukleroi or from the merchants, in the statio here, as in the statio in imperial Rome. We beseech, therefore, and entreat you by your fortune to take care of the matter. Written in Puteoli 23 July under the consulship of Gallus and Flaccus Cornelianus. [20] From the acta of the boule conducted on 11 Dios year 300, C. Valerius Kallikrates son of Pausanias presiding for the day as proedros.

[22] The letter of the Tyrian stationarii was read, having been brought forward by Laches, one of them, in which they ask that Tyre make provision for them of the 250 denarii, [sc. explaining that] they pay for the sacrifices and the rites of our paternal gods that are established for worship there in temples, and do not have the means to furnish the misthos on the statio, 250 denarii per year, and that the payments for the bull sacrifice at the games at Puteoli are charged them in addition. As for the other payments incurred for the fitting out of the statio on the sacred days of the supreme emperor as they occur, they have always reckoned them to their own accounts, lest they burden the [sc. mother] city, and they remind us that they have no income, neither from the naukleroi nor from the merchants, as they do in the statio in imperial Rome.

[31] After the reading of which, Philokles son of Diodoros said, ‘The stationarii in Rome have always been accustomed, out of what they themselves take in, to furnish those in Puteoli with the 250 denarii, and now the stationarii in Puteoli ask that the same things be maintained for them; or if those in Rome are unwilling to furnish it to them, they themselves [sc. those at Rome] shall absorb the two stationes under the same governance.’ They exclaimed, ‘Philokles speaks well.’ ‘Justly do those in Puteoli ask.’ ‘It has always been so; now too let it be so.’ ‘This is advantageous to the city.’ ‘Let the custom be preserved.’

[38] A tablet was read, submitted at this point by Laches son of Preimogeneia and Agathopous, himself one of the Tyrian stationarii of the Tyrian statio in Colonia Augusta Puteoli, in which he made clear that our fatherland provided the two stations, the one in royal Rom[e and the other in Puteoli . . .]

4 | Boatmen and their *Corpora* in the Great Ports of the Roman West (Second to Third Centuries AD)

NICOLAS TRAN

Dozens, and sometimes hundreds, of small boats operated inside or in the surroundings of the greatest ports of the Roman West.¹ They towed sea-going ships or transhipped their cargo.² These working boats also connected different elements of port-systems by providing transportation between inner and outer harbours, or between maritime and fluvial ports. Archaeological evidence for these activities is becoming more and more abundant with the discovery of shipwrecks. For instance, the Arles-Rhône 3 boat was carrying stone, probably towards the Camargue in southern Gaul, when it sank in the Rhône during the Flavian era.³ On its return journey it might have transported imports from outer sea ports to the river port of Arles. The boatmen from the Rhône delta thus connected maritime navigation and long-distance river navigation. Indeed, the *nautae* of the Rhône and the Durance took charge of the latter upstream from Arles.⁴ Ostia and Portus also provide great archaeological evidence which has been recently studied by Giulia Boetto.⁵

Epigraphy alludes to boatmen who worked on such craft. Most of the inscriptions have been discovered and published a long time ago. Yet two monuments retrieved from the Rhône in 2007 are a notable exception.⁶ A statue of Neptune is dedicated to the *numina Augustorum* and to the

¹ Small boats propelled by oars appear on coins of Nero depicting the port of Claudius (*RIC* I, 178, 181, 441, 514) and on a medallion struck by Commodus (Gnecchi 1912: no. 175). Such a craft appears next to sea-going ships on a mosaic from Rimini (Bollini 1980: pl. XCI). In Chapter 6 of this volume, Rougier deals with these port boatmen too.

² A boat represented on a terracotta relief from Isola Sacra cemetery has been interpreted as a tugboat (Thylander 1951–2: 64–5, no. A 61; Zimmer 1982: 208–9, no. 56). Likewise, a marble relief from the same cemetery combines the representation of an inn with a maritime scene in which a small boat is visible (possibly a tugboat, according to Meiggs 1997: pl. XXVI b, and Casson 1965: pl. I). At the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, the mosaic of the 25th *statio* depicts transshipment from a sea-going ship to a river-boat (Becatti 1961: no. 106, pl. CLXXXI). On a marble relief found at Ostia near the Casa del Senatore Rosa (Martelli 2012: fig. 18, Museo Nazionale Romano at the Palazzo Massimo, inv. 56425), and on another one preserved at Salerno (Zimmer 1982: 210–11, no. 160), dockers are unloading such *naves codicariae*.

³ Marlier 2014. ⁴ Tran 2015. ⁵ Boetto 2011.

⁶ Christol and Fruyt 2009; Christol and Tran 2014.

honour of the *corpūs lenunculariorum* from Arles.⁷ This inscription is likely to date from the beginning of the third century. Likewise, the Arlesian *lenuncularii* probably offered the fragmentary altar found at the same place to their *genius corporis*.⁸ Both monuments must have come from a meeting place located near the banks of the river. The *scapharii* from Hispalis (Seville) would have possessed such a guild seat as well. Again, we know nothing of its exact location or its architectural layout because the inscriptions referring to the boatmen were reused in the walls of the Giralda of the Cathedral. Two twin bases honoured Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius in 146.⁹ Another statue base – a famous one – records that tribute was paid to the Roman knight Sextus Iulius Possessor between AD 161 and 169.¹⁰ The *scapharii* may have honoured the *primipilaris* L. Castricius Honoratus in the same move.¹¹ Of course, the documentation from Ostia is by far the richest. It mentions several communities of *lenuncularii*, *lenuncularii et scapharii* and *codicarii*.¹² Some of these *lenuncularii* are said to be ‘*auxiliarii*’, which may mean that they assisted sea-going ships. Other *lenuncularii* and/or *scapharii* were related to a specific *traiectus*, probably a specific dock.

These boatmen formed associations, defined as *corpora* at Ostia and Arles. Actually, the word *corpūs* meant ‘entity’ and was often used in a very

⁷ AE 2009, 822: Numinibus Auggg(ustorum) nnn(ostrorum), / honori corporis renuncliariorum, P(ublius) Pe/tronius Asclepiades donum dedit.

⁸ AE 2009, 823: [Neptuno?], / [Genio cor/po]ris, len/ [u]nclari / sacrum.

⁹ CIL II, 1168: Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi Hadriani f(ilio), / divi Traiani Parthici nepoti, / divi Nervae pronepoti, / T(ito) Aelio Hadriano Antonino / Aug(usto), pont(ifici) max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate) VIII, / imp(eratori) II, co(n)s(uli) III, p(atrici) p(atriciae), / scaphari qui Romulae / negotiantur / d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) d(onum) d(ederunt). CIL II, 1169: M(arco) Aurelio Vero / Caesari, Imp(eratoris) Cae(saris) Titi Aeli Ha(driani) Antoni/ni Aug(usti) Pii, patris patriae, filio, / co(n)s(uli) II, / scaphari qui Romulae / negotiantur / d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) d(onum) d(ederunt).

¹⁰ CIL II, 1180: Sex(to) Iulio Sex(ti) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Possessori, / praef(ecto) coh(ortis) III Gallor(um), praeposito nume(ri) Syror(um) sagittarior(um), item alae primae Hispa/norum, curatori civitatis Romulensium Mal/vensium, tribuno mi(litum) leg(ionis) XII Fulminat[ae], / curatori coloniae Arcensium, adlecto / in decurias ab Optimis Maximisque / Imp(eratoribus) Antonino et Vero Augg(ustis), adiu(tori) Vlp(ia) Saturnini, praef(ecti) annon(ae), / ad oleum Afrum et Hispanum recen/sendum, item solamina transfe/renda, item vecturas navicula/riis exsolvendas, proc(urator) Augg(ustorum) ad / ripam Baetis, scapharii Hispalen/ses ob innocentiam iustitiam/que eius singularem.

¹¹ CIL II, 1183: L(ucio) Castricio Q(uinti) f(ilio) / Honorato, p(rimi) p(ilari), / homini bono, / scaphari(i) / Romul(ae) consist(entis), / ob innocentiam / et singularem / iustitiam ei(i)us, / d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuerunt).

¹² Casson 1965; Licordari 1987; Meiggs 1997: 293–8; Tran 2012. On the meaning of *traiectus* as ‘dock’, see Le Gall 1953a: 180–1. In the system formed by Ostia, Portus and Rome, work boatmen sailed not only in the maritime surroundings of Ostia and on the Tiber, but also on the canals (*fossae*), known by epigraphy (CIL XIV, 85 and 88) and archaeology (Keay et al. 2005: 271–90, 305–9; 2012: 48–52). For *naves codicariae* on the Tiber, see Seneca Brev. 13, 4: et naves nunc quoque ex antiqua consuetudine quae commeatus per Tiberim subvehunt codicariae vocantur.

general way. It was one of the most common terms, along with *collegium* and *sodalitium*, that were employed to designate a private and voluntary association. Even the Roman jurists could use *collegium*, *sodalitium* or *corpus* as synonyms.¹³ Yet the boatmen from Seville, the *colonia Iulia Romula Hispalis*, are not designated as a *corpus*, but only as the *scapharii Hispalenses*, the *scapharii qui Romulae consistentes* or the *scapharii qui Romulae negotiantur*. Such plural nominatives are frequent. Many Roman associations did not bear the title of *collegium*, *sodalitium* or *corpus*, but on the basis of their activities they appear to have been communities of this type. At Hispalis, the group arranged a meeting place using its own money (*sua pecunia*). All those communities had cultic activities which were often linked with the expression of political loyalty to the Roman Empire. The inscriptions from Arles illustrate this point. Ostian epigraphy, however, is much more diverse on account of its abundance.¹⁴ The *corporum lenunculariorum* and *caudicariorum* engraved sacred inscriptions, homages to emperors, members of the Imperial family and other aristocrats, building dedications and albums. More or less fragmentary registers cite hundreds of individuals and some of these inscriptions are still unpublished, because this material is quite austere.¹⁵ Furthermore, few epitaphs of *corporati* (*corpus* members) provide information about them or their families. The oldest documents date from the beginning of the second century¹⁶ and become very rare after AD 250, despite the preservation of a tribute paid to Constantine by the *codicarii*.¹⁷ By the third century at the latest, the *lenuncularii* formed five separate *corporum*. This chapter aims at exploring the relationship between these *corporum* of boatmen, their economic activities and their social conditions. *Corpora* were representative bodies that interacted with public authorities. As the embodiment of economic networks, they played a major part in business life. They connected not only peers, but also actors of different social and occupational statuses.

1 *Corpora* as Representative Organizations of an Occupation

It is not easy to determine exactly what occupation the *scapharii* from Hispalis practised. According to Dardaine and Pavis d'Escurac, they transported goods between Hispalis and the seashore, which was much closer

¹³ Tran 2006: 3–4. ¹⁴ On Ostian *corporum*, see Rohde, Chapter 5 in this volume.

¹⁵ See, for instance, the preliminary presentation of a fragmentary album by Zevi (2001: 190–1, 211, fig. 16; AE 2001, 622).

¹⁶ CIL XIV, 5320, a. 101–3; CIL XIV, 409. ¹⁷ CIL XIV, 131, a. 312–24.

than it is today.¹⁸ Other boatmen would have sailed upstream from Hispalis. Indeed, some *lyntrarii* were based in three cities of the middle Baetis valley.¹⁹ Nevertheless, some researchers have challenged this hypothesis.²⁰ One cannot rule out the possibility that *scapharii* went beyond Hispalis, while according to Strabo²¹ sea-going ships could sail up to Hispalis, although this does not mean that they did this on a regular basis. The main characteristic of the inscriptions from Hispalis is the expression of loyalty to representatives of the Imperial power. In Ostia, the *corpus traiectus Rusticeli* – for instance – expressed such political feelings intensively, during the Antonine era too.²² But what has political homage got to do with occupation? There is an obvious link between the activities of the boatmen and the office of the *procurator ad ripam Baetis* held by Sex. Iulius Possessor. He had duties similar to those of the senatorial *curatores alvei et riparum Tiberis* and the *procuratores* who assisted them.²³ Besides this, the *scapharii* certainly had a professional relationship with Possessor, but it is difficult to ascertain its precise nature. At a very general level, a *procurator ad ripam Baetis* had to enforce principles upheld by public authorities about the uses of rivers. As legal evidence suggests,²⁴ their main purpose was to ensure free movement on permanent rivers (*flumina publica*) and, thus, they forbade any hindrance to navigation.²⁵ This is the service that Possessor should have provided the *scapharii* through specific acts of honesty and justice. Dardaine and Pavis d’Esurac also connect the military rank of *primipilaris* held by L. Castricius Honoratus with the technical skills of a few Roman soldiers. They compare Honoratus to specialists in hydraulic engineering and think that he may have overseen work on dykes.²⁶ Remesal Rodríguez suggests that he oversaw the excavation of navigable canals.²⁷ Le Roux remains cautious and suggests ‘la mise en place et l’entretien d’un système de digues, de quais et de chenaux’.²⁸ However, another explanation also seems plausible. The practice of towing is well attested on the Tiber and in southern Gaul in antiquity and would have required the maintenance of river banks.²⁹ Iconography and archaeological

¹⁸ Dardaine and Pavis d’Esurac 1983: 310. ¹⁹ *CIL* II, 1182. ²⁰ Le Roux 1986: 257.

²¹ Strabo 3.2.3. ²² *CIL* XIV, 44554, 4455, 4456, 5347+5348; *AE* 1989, 125.

²³ Pflaum 1960–1: I, 504–7, no. 185; 1982: 50–1. The procuratorship of the Tiber banks is attested during the Julio-Claudian era by *CIG* 3991, from Iconium in Lycaonia (L. Pupius Praesens, ἐπίτρο[π]ος Καίσαρος προς ὄχθαις Τιβέρεως).

²⁴ Arnaud 2011.

²⁵ Digest 43.12.1, pr.: Ait praetor: ne quid in flumine publico ripave eius facias neve quid in flumine publico neve in ripa eius immittas, quo statio iterue navigio deterior sit fiat.

²⁶ Dardaine and Pavis d’Esurac 1983: 310–11.

²⁷ Remesal Rodríguez 1991: 289–95; 2012: 267–70. ²⁸ Le Roux 1986: 257.

²⁹ Aguilera Martin 2012; Tran 2013: 1007–8.

traces of hauling masts provide clear evidence for this.³⁰ Good navigational conditions on *flumina publica* presupposed free access to banks.³¹ Thus landowners were legally compelled to let boatmen approach them in order to load or unload their cargoes, for instance.³² Likewise, they were forbidden to erect earth berms or to undertake any works which might hamper navigation. As a result, Possessor could also have ensured good towing conditions on the banks of the Baetis. In any case, the *scapharii* should have liaised with the public authorities in order to improve their working conditions. Their epigraphic habit appears as a transposition of working relations into the fields of homage and association life. As a matter of fact, associations actively defended the professional interests of their members, as is known from inscriptions unrelated to port and river boatmen.³³

In the case of Ostia, Portus and the Tiber, this defence of professional interests may have gone beyond simple discussions about working and business conditions. Indeed, public authorities may have granted, and then preserved, exclusive navigational rights related to membership in a *corpus*. The clues supporting this hypothesis are not very explicit, but nor are they so weak either. The oldest appears on a moulded marble plaque from Ostia, discovered in 1938 in the southern part of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni (Figure 4.1). The stone is broken on its left and right sides. Since the original width of the inscription was probably 1.40 m and the surviving fragment measures 31 × 54 cm, the missing text is important. Bloch published a study of this text in the *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*.³⁴ The first line deals with the filiation of the emperor Hadrian, son of the divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the divine Nerva. The second line indicates that Hadrian, *pontifex maximus*, was holding the tribunician power for at least the eleventh time. A small horizontal bar, shifted to the right, is above the letter X. Therefore the inscription is to be dated between AD 126 and 138, when Hadrian held tribunician power for the 26th time. The letters BVS COIRE on the third line make one think of the

³⁰ Hauling masts are located in the front part of ships, as shown by iconography and on shipwrecks. See the famous fresco of the *Isis Geminiana* preserved in the Musei Vaticani and the relief sculpted on an honorary base (*CIL* VI, 36954; preserved at the Museo Nazionale Romano in the Palazzo Massimo). See also the scenes of hauling sculpted below a statue of the Tiber preserved at the Louvre Museum (Le Gall 1953b: 3–22, pls I–V) and on reliefs found in southern Gaul (Cavalier 2009: 35, relief from Cabrières d’Aygues; Blanc 1976, relief from Colonzelle).

³¹ Arnaud 2011: 339–41.

³² Digest 43.14.1, pr.: Praetor ait: quo minus illi in flumine publico navem ratem agere quoue minus per ripam onerare exonerare liceat, vim fieri veto. Item ut per lacum, fossam, stagnum publicum navigare liceat, interdum.

³³ Tran 2007a; 2011; 2015.

³⁴ Bloch 1953: no. 45; *AE* 1955, 184; Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli and Zevi 2010: 137.



Figure 4.1 AE 1955, 184 (Ostia Antica).



Figure 4.2 CIL XIV, 250.

corporati quibus ex S(enatus) c(onsulto) coire licet or *permissum est*. This common expression means that their *corpus* received legal authorization in accordance with the so-called *lex Iulia de collegiis*, which was adopted



Figure 4.3 Statue of Neptune. Arles, Musée départemental Arles Antique.

c. 7 BC.³⁵ The lack of an allusion to a *senatus consultum* is not unique to Ostia, since a *corpus veteranorum quib(us) coire lic(et) [ex in]dulgentia domini n(ostri) Aug(usti)* is attested on an inscription of possibly third-century AD date.³⁶ Furthermore, the plaque reveals that an indeterminate group received not only the right of association, but also the right to do something on the *alveus Tiberis*, on the channel of the Tiber. On the last line, the restoration of the verb *nauigare* proposed by Bloch is convincing because there are parallels in the literary sources. Pliny the Elder uses the expression when he refers to projects for excavating canals in Egypt and through the isthmus of Corinth.³⁷ In his *Consolation to Helvia*, Seneca describes a land without *flumina navigabilia*.³⁸ In Tacitus' *Annales*, Corbulo brings his

³⁵ E.g. *CIL* XIV, 168; 4573; *AE* 1955, 175, 177. ³⁶ Marinucci 2012: no. 129.

³⁷ Pliny *NH* 6.165; 4.10. ³⁸ Seneca *Cons. Helu.* 11.9.1.

triremes up the channel of the Rhine (*triremis alveo Rheni . . . adegit*).³⁹ In this passage, as in Seneca's excerpt, *alveus* does not mean the bed of a river, but its navigable channel. This could be the sense of *alveus* on the Ostian inscription, and apart from 'navigare' there are not that many activities that can be practised on a river.

It is difficult, conversely, to follow the restoration proposed by Bloch at the beginning of the third line. He observes that the missing part is not long enough to insert the official name of a *corpus lenunculariorum Ostiensium*. So he considers assigning the plaque to the *navicularii et negotiantes* based at the Piazzale delle Corporazioni. The place of the discovery of the inscription is his only supporting argument. However, if one is to rely on this criterion the *codicarii* may provide a better alternative; they actually sailed on the Tiber, probably unlike the maritime ships owned by the *navicularii*. Besides, the *codicarii* occupied the 43rd *statio* of the *porticus ad scaenam*, as shown by a mosaic inscription.⁴⁰ In the end, the restoration of [*corp(us) codicar(iorum) navicular(iorum) Ost(iensium)*] fits with the width of the lacking part of the stone. According to Asconius and Callistratus, Roman authorities granted the *ius coeundi* to skilled workers, in recognition of their *utilitas publica*.⁴¹ So, just as the *collegium symphonicorum* from Rome was authorized *e lege Iulia, auctoritate Aug(usti), ludorum causa*, the *codicarii* probably received the *ius coeundi*, because they transported goods, in particular *frumentum publicum*, from Ostia or Portus to Rome.⁴² In sum, it would be logical that the Roman authorities considered their *ius coeundi* and their *ius navigandi* together.

In a previous study, I have tried to demonstrate that two statue bases from Ostia, erected during the third century, were probably related to navigational rights, comparable to that attested under the principate of Hadrian.⁴³ The first base dates from AD 217, and not from 147 as has been previously assumed.⁴⁴ It is dedicated to

³⁹ Tacitus *Ann.* 11.18. ⁴⁰ *CIL* XIV, 4549.43; Becatti 1961: no. 118, pl. CXC.

⁴¹ Ascon., *In Cornelianam*, 75 Clark: *Frequenter tum etiam coetus factiosorum hominum sine publica auctoritate malo publico fiebant: propter quod postea collegia et S.C. et pluribus legibus sunt sublata, praeter pauca atque certa quae utilitas civitatis desiderasset, sicut fabrorum fitorumque; Digest 50.6.1: Quibusdam collegiis vel corporibus, quibus ius coeundi lege permissum est, immunitas tribuitur: scilicet eis collegiis vel corporibus, in quibus artificii sui causa unusquisque adsumitur, ut fabrorum corpus est et si qua eandem rationem originis habent, id est idcirco instituta sunt, ut necessariam operam publicis utilitatibus exhiberent.* See Liu 2009: 97–124.

⁴² *CIL* VI, 2193 = 4416. ⁴³ Tran 2014.

⁴⁴ *CIL* XIV, 4144 (revised): C(aio) Veturio C(aii) f(ilio) Testio / Amando, / eq(uiti) R(omano), patrono et / defensori (quinque) corporum / lenuncularior(um) Ostiens(ium), / universi

C. Veturius Testius Amandus, patron of the five *corpora lenunculariorum* and of the *corpus codicariorum*, by the *universi navigarii* of the five *corpora*. The second inscription dates from AD 247 or 248,⁴⁵ and in it the *codicarii navicularii* and the *quinque corporum navigantes* (i.e. the *lenuncularii*) honoured their port administrator. The *procurator portus utriusque*, the Roman knight L. Mussius Aemilianus, was in charge of the whole harbour system of the mouth of the Tiber. Those separate communities acted together, probably because they had the same professional interests to defend. The *lenuncularii* took care to present themselves as *navigarii* or *navigantes* in order to pay a homage to a *defensor*, *ob insignem eius in defendendis se et in tuendis eximiam diligentiam*. They could have had to defend a *ius navigandi* obtained a century before and, in particular, its exclusiveness. As a matter of fact, a third statue base, from Rome and dating back to AD 206, probably alludes to a permission to use *scaphae* on the Tiber, granted to the *corpus piscatorum et urinatorum totius alvei Tiberis*.⁴⁶

navigarii corporum / quinque, ob insignem eius / in d[efend]endis se et in tuendis / eximiam diligentiam, dignissimo / [a]tque abstinentissimo viro, / ob merita eius, / [patron]o corporis splendidissimi codicar(iorum), / l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ublice). // Ded [icata -] / Pra[esente et Extricato] co(n)[s(ulibus)].

⁴⁵ CIL XIV, 170 = VI 1624: Aegippi, / L(ucio) Mussio Aemiliano, / Laurenti Lavinium / IIII milit(iarum), v(iro) e(gregio), praef(ecto) vehicul(orum) / trium prov(inciarum) Gall(iae) Lugdunens(is), / Narbonens(is) et Aquitanic(ae) / ad (sestertium) (sexaginta milia), proc(uratori) Alex(andrae), Pelusi, Paraet(oni) ad (sestertium) (centum milia), proc(uratori) portus utrusq(ue) ad (sestertium) (ducenta milia?), viro innocentissimo, codicarii navicularii et / quinq(ue) corp(orum) navigantes ob / insignem eius erga se / benivolentiam ac singularem abstinentiam. // Dedic(ata) XV Kal(endas) Iun(ias) / dd(ominis) nn(ostris) [[Philippis]] / Augg(ustis) co(n)s(ulibus), / curant(ibus) Nun(nidio?) Hermogen[e] / un(nidi) l(iberto) <et> AVN L Paulino Coz[mo]. On Aemilianus' career, see PIR² V, 757; Pflaum 1960–1: 925–7, no. 349; Puk 2010: 89–98, pls 12–13.

⁴⁶ CIL VI, 1872: Ti(berio) Claudio Esquil(ina) Severo, / decurialii lictori, patrono / corporis piscatorum et / urinator(um), q(uin)q(uennali) III eiusdem corporis, / ob merita eius, / quod hic primus statuas duas una / Antonini Aug(usti), domini n(ostris), aliam Iul(iae) / Augustae, dominae nostr(ae), s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuerit), / una cum Claudio Pontiano, filio / suo, eq(uite) Rom(ano); et hoc amplius eidem / corpori donaverit HS X mil(ia) n(ummum), / ut ex usuris eorum quodannis / natali suo, XVII K(alendas) Febr(uarias), / sportulae viritim dividantur / praesertim; cum navigatio sca/pharum diligentia eius acquisita / et confirmata sit, ex decreto / ordinis corporis piscatorum / et urinatorum totius alv(ei) Tiber(is) / quibus ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coire licet, s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuerunt). // Dedic(ata) XVI K(alendas) Sept(embres), Nummio Albino et Fulvio Aemiliano co(n)s(ulibus), / praesentibus / Iuventio Corneliano et / Iulio Felicissimo, / patronis, / quinquennialib(us) / Claudio Quintiano et / Plutio Aquilino, / curatorib(us) / Aelio Augustale et / Antonio Vitale et / Claudio Crispo. See Tedeschi Grisantini and Solin 2011: 289, no. C. 42 a–b–c. In the name of the *corpus*, *alveus* obviously refers to the navigable channel of the Tiber, and not to its bed.

This association of fishermen and divers honoured Ti. Claudius Severus, their patron and *quinquennalis*, not only for his generosity, but also because he contributed to the acquisition and confirmation of a *navigatio scapharum*. Nonetheless, why would public authorities have limited the right to sail on the Tiber, whereas the praetorian right ensured free circulation on *flumina publica*? There is no real contradiction between these two dimensions. On the one hand, the *praetor's* edict forbade private individuals from hindering river traffic rather more than stating an absolute freedom of navigation. On the other, authorities aimed above all at ensuring good conditions for the circulation of traffic, and this should have necessitated the public control of navigation on the lower Tiber. River traffic was intense, especially at certain times of the year, and Keay has pointed out six bottlenecks in the movement of boats around the port-system of Ostia/Portus.⁴⁷ They were located at junctions between canals, and between a canal and the Tiber.

So some river boatmen would have received permission to gather in a *corpus* and to operate on the Tiber by means of one or two complementary legal decisions. This might imply that individuals had to be members of a *corpus* to be authorized to work as port and river boatman. Of course this conclusion is based on a single inscription, which means that we cannot extrapolate beyond the geographical context of the Tiber mouth and its economic context of river and port navigation. Nevertheless, our conclusion challenges a common idea. Most scholars think that Roman professional associations were very different from medieval guilds, especially before the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, because they did not regulate the job market, insofar as they had no monopoly over it. If we stress that it was not always so simple and that, at least in a few precise cases, *corpora* did regulate access to occupations, we have to wonder how this was achieved.

2 *Corpora* as Networks of Entrepreneurs

In order to answer this question, a specific dossier from among the very abundant sources from Ostia is particularly relevant. The *corpus lenunculariorum tabulariorum auxiliariorum Ostiensium* engraved many inscriptions during the second and the early third centuries. Most important of all, two complete albums of the *corporati* are preserved. They bear the consular dates of AD 152 for the first one and AD 192 for the second (Figure 4.2).⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Keay 2012: 49–52. ⁴⁸ CIL XIV, 250–1; see Herz 1994.

Their comparison sheds light on the relationship between economic activity and membership of a professional association. There are 127 *corporati* on the first list and 261 on the second. One could interpret this doubling in number as a reflection of the economic growth of Ostia during the second part of the second century. I believe that this intuitive proposal deserves to be ultimately validated, but there is no direct and automatic link between economic growth and association membership. We must determine what those lists really reflect. First of all, they do not provide a static image of the *corpus* at a very precise moment in time. Indeed, the *corpus* gradually added names of new members to its album, which was replaced every 10–15 years. Three fragments belong to a list that was probably engraved around AD 165.⁴⁹ Another one dates from AD 213.⁵⁰ Albums did not necessarily have the same lifetime, but probably had a quite similar use time, which allows us to draw a comparison in broad terms. Furthermore, we face a more general issue. Did lists of *corporati lenuncularii* register all the port boatmen? Certainly not, since while many attested or likely freedmen are listed, slaves are absent;⁵¹ at the same time, however, most rowers and haulers who are represented on sculptures and coins were probably slaves. More generally, it is widely accepted that Roman associations gathered together employers much more than employees.⁵² Of course, some slaves may have remained employees of their master after they were granted freedom. They should have risen in rank and played the part of foremen in their patron's enterprise. Yet the evolution of the *plebs corporis* should reflect an overall increase in the number of entrepreneurs involved in port navigation, even though the correlation was not direct and automatic. And if we accept this overall explanation, we must explore its economic and social implications.

The lists of AD 152 and 192 quote dozens of names. Hence, the study of *nomina gentilia* reveals the disappearance of some families and their replacement by others. If the right of association and of navigation, and thus membership of the *corpus* and access to this kind of work, were related, then this regulatory mechanism did not result in complete closure. On the contrary, the growth of port activity seems to have enabled outsiders to have become involved in harbour and river navigation; indeed, insiders did not obstruct access to the job market. Furthermore, outsiders did not simply balance out the disappearance of established families.

⁴⁹ *CIL* XIV, 4567 + 4568 + 4589. ⁵⁰ Bloch 1953: no. 42.

⁵¹ The absence of slaves results from a choice made by the Ostian *corporati* and not from a legal prohibition. Indeed, slaves were allowed to join an association after obtaining their master's permission (Digest 47.22.3.2). See Tran 2006: 49–65.

⁵² E.g. Rostovtseff 1957: 178–9; Van Nijf 1997: 18–23; Freu 2009.

From AD 152 to 192, 24 family names vanish, 27 remain and 43 new ones appear. So the number of firms affiliated to the *corpus lenunculariorum tabulariorum auxiliariorum* must have increased, even if we cannot precisely quantify this development. It is tempting to suppose that there was a connection between the increasing number of entrepreneurs and the growth of port activities at Ostia during the second century. Nevertheless, such economic growth could have occurred without having any impact on the size of the *corpus*. It could have caused a growth of the firms that existed in AD 152 through an increase in the size of the servile workforce which had no access to the *corpus*. In fact some existing firms probably grew in this way, but it was only one trend amongst others. The members of some family groups are much more numerous from one album to the other. For instance, there are 6 M. Cipii on the first one, 13 on the second one; 13 M. Cornelii at first, and then 26; 6 M. Publicii and then 32. Bonds of kinship and enfranchisement united these groups.⁵³ Freedmen belonging to them might have been very numerous in AD 192, because of a threefold increase in the number of slaves working in some firms, thus of candidates for manumission, and last of the admissions of these former slaves into the *corpus*. Some freedmen could have become independent entrepreneurs, while others might have remained employees of their patrons. Albums do not allow us to decide between these possible scenarios, but the different situations may have existed.⁵⁴ Moreover, freedmen who ran their own business could have maintained different forms of collaboration with their patrons; but this is another issue that will be discussed later. In any event, the ‘new’ individuals and family groups, listed in AD 192 and subsequently, probably did not belong to the workforce of the ‘old’ firms.

While it is perhaps unwise to speculate, I would like to stress three points. First, under the early Empire, entry (*adlectio*) into an association presupposed a voluntary candidacy and a formal acceptance voted upon by the *corporati*.⁵⁵ Secondly, as we have seen, membership in a *corpus* may have been a requirement for operating in the port system of Ostia and Portus. Thirdly, in that case, firms existing in the middle of the second century would have been able to exercise an efficient monopoly that shut off outsiders’ access to navigation in the port, and maximize their profits by increasing their servile workforce. This was not the only choice made by the *lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii* during the second half of the second century. Why? A few families of *corporati* were rich enough to have access to

⁵³ Tran 2006: 409–49, 461–500. ⁵⁴ Mouritsen 2011: 206–28.

⁵⁵ Waltzing 1895–1900: I, 355–7.

the equestrian order. Thus firms did not increase in number so much as grow in size on account of funding issues. Indeed, a better explanation lies in the professional networks provided by *corpora*.

Hawkins has used New Institutional Economics, and especially transaction cost theories, to analyse the structures of Roman craftsmanship.⁵⁶ Transaction costs consist of time, energy and resources that individuals must devote to the process of conducting business, because of their imperfect access to information. A key issue is bonding with those economic partners who were considered as sufficiently reliable. According to new institutional theories, the large number of small firms that were characteristic of Roman craftsmanship should have caused difficulties, notably a rise in transaction costs. Bigger enterprises would have faced lower transaction costs. Indeed, integrated firms subsume transactions that would otherwise take place between independent agents and incorporate them in a single and hierarchical organization. Yet the transaction costs theorists have moved beyond the opposition between small and integrated firms. They have identified a third organizational paradigm: the private network of small entrepreneurs. Economic agents had to choose between integration and networking. Hawkins points out that integration costs were high in ancient economies, especially because of seasonality. Indeed, given the strong seasonal fluctuations in port activity, growth by an increase in the servile workforce that had to be nurtured all year round might have seemed unworthy. Actually, the combination of economic growth in second-century Ostia and the seasonality of the port economy fits with the idea that integration costs were high, in cases of a mismatch between long- and short-term fluctuations in demand. By reducing transaction costs, networks of *corporati* would have made the rigidities and costs of integration more obvious.

Membership of a *corpus lenunculariorum* created powerful bonds.⁵⁷ The selection of new members aroused the feeling of sharing dignity and of belonging to a privileged group. Community life was intense and, in particular, was based on religious and festive practices. Its frame was a hierarchical organization which required the *corporati* to comply with common rules, discipline and mutual respect. Furthermore, the five *corpora lenunculariorum Ostiensium* and the *corpus caudicarium Ostiensium* gathered together very specialized professionals. This characteristic should have limited the extent of each network and reinforced its cohesion. In sum, all the conditions to foster collaboration were met, consisting of a reasoned sharing of activity, between separate but interdependent firms. Nevertheless, *corpora* were not horizontal networks, because individuals and family

⁵⁶ Hawkins 2012: 175–94; 2016: 68–79. ⁵⁷ Broekaert 2011.

groups could greatly differ socially. Therefore, we may wonder how such a system could have benefited dominant groups. If they could have closed the job market and prevented the multiplication of firms, why did these dominant groups act differently?

3 Networking and Social Verticality

The inscription engraved on the statue of Neptune at Arles raises questions about relationships between ordinary *corporati* and individuals of higher social status. P. Petronius Asclepiades donated the monument to the *corpus lenunculariorum* (Figure 4.3). This benefactor was rich enough to be generous, but his social profile is quite enigmatic, since the inscription provides no information about his status. It does not introduce him as either a patron, a *corpus* dignitary or a *corporatus*. Of course, we cannot rule out that he was actually the official protector of the *lenuncularii* or a *lenuncularius*. The silence of the stone is not conclusive proof. Nonetheless, it does not result from a lack of space: a different layout of the text would have allowed the mention of an association title very easily. So Asclepiades' gift may have no connection with a specific function held in the *corpus* or concerning the *corpus*. Another configuration is possible. Within a social context generosity could reflect economic relationships between the benefactor and the *corporati*. Asclepiades is a Greek *cognomen*, which could indicate a freed status. In this regard, P. Petronius Asclepiades looks like one of the great businessmen attested in Arles, such as the *navicularii* and *seviri Augustales* L. Secundius Eleuther and M. Frontonius Euporus.⁵⁸ Thanks to life within the association, ordinary boatmen could have tightened their professional links with individuals of higher status, who gave them everyday work.

These socio-economic mechanisms were possibly at work in Ostia too, in particular inside the *corpus lenunculariorum tabulariorum auxiliariorum*. A few families greatly involved in it climbed the social hierarchy. For instance, M. Cornelius Epagathus was *quinquennalis perpetuus* of the *corpus* in AD 152.⁵⁹ He was perhaps already a wealthy *Augustalis* in AD 141.⁶⁰ His very probable sons, M. Cornelius Secundus and M. Cornelius

⁵⁸ *CIL* XII, 704–982; Christol 1971; 1982; Tran 2015. ⁵⁹ Tran 2006: 409–19; 2012: 336–8.

⁶⁰ *CIL* XIV, 8: Genio coloniae / Ostiensium, / M(arcus) Cornelius / Epagathus, curat(or) / Augustal(ium), argen(ti) p(ondo) X d(onum) d(edit); / ob dedicatione eius / viritim dedit (denarium) I n(ummum), / Id(ibus) Dec(embribus), Stloga et Severo co(n)s(ulibus).

Valerianus, became *quinquennales* and patrons of the *corpus*. The latter entered the civic élite as a *decurio* of Ostia.⁶¹ Then, a grandson of Epagathus, M. Cornelius Valerianus Epagathianus, was a patron of the *corpus* and a Roman knight, in spite of his early death at the age of twelve. Other patrons of equestrian rank are registered at the end of the second century, whereas they come from the boatmen's social background. Without necessarily being knights, some individuals seem to have been pre-eminent. They were *quinquennales perpetui* and sometimes patrons of the *corpus*. Many ordinary members bore their first and family names. Almost all of them have the profile of an insider. M. Curtius Victorinus, who should have been *quinquennalis* a few years after AD 192, is the only exception. Some of those dignitaries (M. Publicius Ianuarius, M. Publicius Ostiensis senior – who may both be related to the *familia publica* of Ostia – and A. Herennuleius Vettianus) are already listed on the first album. All of them belonged to family groups that are well attested on it, especially in its first part. For instance, M. Cippius Victor is certainly related to the other M. Cippii and, especially, to M. Cippius Proclianus, who was patron of the *corpus* in 152. Likewise, L. Valerius Daphnus, *quinquennalis perpetuus* on the second album, should be related to four L. Valerii listed on the first one.

Through association presidencies especially, a few well-settled groups may have controlled the access to the *corpora lenunculariorum* and therefore to professional activity within the port complex, if the benefit of navigational right connected association with occupation. These family groups must have made decisions in accordance with their economic interests. They often chose new members from amongst their relatives and freedmen. Regarding other sectors, Roman jurists refer to the fear held by Roman patrons of economic competition caused by their freedmen.⁶² A skilled worker could legally forbid his freedman to practise his job if he thought that it could harm his business.⁶³ Therefore patrons and freedmen running separate businesses and belonging to the *corpus* were probably not economic competitors. On the contrary, as in other economic sectors, they should have collaborated in different ways, such as in moneylending, subcontracting or occasional partnerships. Moreover, individuals who were not related to any dominant groups should have regarded their entry into the *corpus* as a privilege granted

⁶¹ *CIL* XIV, 341: Memoriae / M(arc) Corneli M(arc) f(ili) Pal(at)ina Valeriani Epagathiani, eq(uitis) [R(omani)], / decurioni splendissimae coloniae Os[tiensis], / flamini, praetori II sacra Volkani [fac(i)enda], / [ei]demque sodale Arulen[si], / decurioni Laurentium vici Aug(usti), eius[dem loci III]viro?, / patrono corporis lenunculariorum [tabulariorum] / auxiliariorum Ostiensium, qui vix(it) annos XII me[n]ses -, / M(arc) Corneli M(arc) f(ili) Pal(at)ina Valerianus, decurio, f(ecit).

⁶² Digest 38.1.26, pr. 1. ⁶³ Digest 38.1.45 and 37.14.18.

to them through the support of influential members. Thus, they should have considered that they owed a debt to these dignitaries. Actually, as members of the *plebs corporis*, they belonged to the *clientela* of the *quinquennales et patroni corporis*. So the pressure that encouraged them to participate in business networking in the same way as the freedmen mentioned above was certainly strong. Roman associations could exclude members who did not obey common rules.⁶⁴ Hence, an expelled *lenuncularius* might have lost his navigational right. Finally, the high social condition reached by *corpus* dignitaries and their relatives raises questions about their work status. Roman knights, city councillors and even rich businessmen did not spend their time working on boats. They were contractors, slave owners, funders, who would often have financial rather than professional interests in port navigation. Therefore, the *corpus* and its hierarchy should have allowed some of them to control a trade in which they were no longer active.

After outlining a socio-economic model, thanks to the inscriptions regarding the *lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii*, one may wonder whether similar kinds of relationships existed within the other *corpora* of boatmen. As far as known evidence is concerned, groups united by kinship and patron–freedman relationships structured the composition of these communities. During the second half of the second century, 42 A. Egrilii, 26 L. Naeuii, 13 Fiseuii, 5 C. Sossii and 5 P. Sulpicii were dignitaries or ordinary members of the *corpus lenunculariorum traiectus Luculli*.⁶⁵ Moreover, the Ostian *corpus*, in which the T. Tinucii are so numerous during the third century, is probably the *corpus traiectus Rusticeli*.⁶⁶ No album engraved by the other *corpora* is preserved, but all of these communities had hierarchical organizations.⁶⁷ Just as with some of the *lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii* already mentioned, T. Testius Helpidianus was both patron and *quinquennalis* of the *corpus traiectus marmorariorum*.⁶⁸ As a *sevir Augustalis idem q(uin)q(uennalis)*, he belonged to an upper stratum of the port society. Two *codicarii* bore the same titles and were probably from

⁶⁴ Tran 2007b.

⁶⁵ CIL XIV, 246. On those family groups, see Tran 2006: 392–3, 440. About the identification of the *corporati pecuniam ad ampliandum templum contulerunt* as the *lenuncularii traiectus Luculli*, see Tran 2012: 327–32 (pace Bruun 2016).

⁶⁶ CIL XIV, 4585, 5357; ScdO XI, 112–13.

⁶⁷ Royden 1988: 33–51, 86–104. *Curatores, quinquennales, quinquennalicii* and *quinquennalis perpetui* are attested in the *corpus traiectus Luculli* (CIL XIV, 246 and 5374; AE 1989, 193); an *immunis*, a *curator* and a *quinquennalis* in the *corpus traiectus Rusticeli* (CIL XIV, 431, 4556, 5327); *quinquennales* in the *corpus lenunculariorum pleromariorum auxiliariorum* and in the *corpus traiectus Togatensium* (CIL XIV, 252 and 403).

⁶⁸ CIL XIV, 425: T(it) Testio Helpidiano, / sevir Aug(ustali) idem q(uin)q(uennali), / item patrono et q(uin)q(uennali) / corporis traiectus / marmorariorum, / IIII Testii Helpidianus, / Priscus, Priscianus / et Felix, fili(i) et heredes / patri dulcissimo.

Ostia, even though they appear on an inscription from the island of Giglio, off the Tuscan coast.⁶⁹ Victor was the patron of [Fr]uctuosus, which suggests that the *corpus codicariorum Ostiensium* was also composed of family groups. Likewise, this text reveals a hierarchy and a *cursus honor(atus)* similar to those of the *corpora lenunculariorum*. Besides, two other Ostian *codicarii* look much more like businessmen than ordinary boatmen, because they have practised several occupations, probably at the same time. When he offered an altar to Hercules in Tibur, M. Caerellius Iazemis was a baker (*pistor*), a river boatman (*codicarius*) and a grain merchant (*mercator frumentarius*).⁷⁰ On his epitaph, L. Calpurnius Chius is said to be *ensor frumentarius idem codicarius*, and his *cursus* confirms the hierarchical organization of the *corpus codicariorum*.⁷¹ Such social profiles suggest that their *corpus* included both ordinary boatmen and individuals of higher status, who exercised control over navigation.⁷² In other words, all the boatmen from Ostia were perhaps subject to the same right of navigation, and the same socio-economic relationships may have structured their *corpora*.

Yet was river and port navigation near the mouth of the Tiber an exceptional situation? The geographical context and the occupation we have considered are very specific. Ostian and Tiber traffic was so intense that a regulation by means of administrative supervision was probably more required than elsewhere. Therefore, my conclusions will not relate to all professional associations or all port boatmen from the Roman West. A comparison between Ostia, Arles and Seville simply reveals that associations of boatmen shared very general characteristics. They may have involved a particular regulation of the job market, in the specific context of

⁶⁹ *CIL* XI, 2643: [- Vi]ctori sevir / [August]ali idem q(uin)q(uennali), / [corporat]o in corpore cod(icariorum), / [pat]rono, / [- Fr]uctuosi seviri / [August]al(is) idem q(uin)q(uennalis), cor/[porati in] corpore codicar(iorum), / [omnibu]s honorib(us) functo, / [-]s Callinicus, alumn(us) / [Fructu]osi s(upra) s(cripti), et Modia Par/[theno]pe, coniunx, fecerunt / et / [ossa] Victoris s(upra) s(cripti) treiecer(unt) / [post] annos XVIII.

⁷⁰ *CIL* XIV, 4234: M(arcus) Caerellius / Iazemis, q(uin)q(uennalis) / pistorum III / et perpet(uus), / codicarius, item / mercator frumentarius, / Invicto / Herculi / ex v(oto) d(onum) d(edit).

⁷¹ *CIL* XIV, 309: Dis Manibus, / L(ucius) Calpurnius Chius, sevir Aug(ustalis) / et quinquennalis, / idem quinq(uennalis) corporis mensor(um) / frumentarior(um) Ostiens(ium) et curat(or) / bis, / idem codicar(ium) curat(or) Ostis et III honor(atus), / idem quinquennal(is) colleg(i) Silvani / Aug(usti) maioris quod est hilarionis / functus sacomari, idem magistro ad Marte(m) / Ficanum Aug(ustum), idem in collegio dendrofor(um), / fecit sibi et / Corneliae Ampliatae, coniugi suae / carissimae, cum qua vixit annis XXXI, / Calpurniae L(uci) lib(ertae) Pthengidi, libertae / carissimae, L(ucio) Calpurnio Forti, vern(ae) lib(erto), / L(ucio) Calpurnio Felici, lib(erto), L(ucio) Calpurnio Adaucto, vern(ae) lib(erto), / Calpurniae L(uci) f(iliae) Chiae, vern(ae), Calpurniae L(uci) f(iliae) / Ampliatae, vern(ae), L(ucio) Calpurnio L(uci) f(ilio) Felici, vern(ae), / L(ucio) Calpurnio L(uci) f(ilio) Pal(atina) Chio Felicissimo, / libertis libertab(us)que posterisq(ue) eorum b(ene) m(erentibus).

⁷² Tran 2013: 1008–9.

Ostia and Portus. In this harbour system, other occupations may have been closely regulated, possibly by membership in *corpora*. For instance, the *saburrarii* loaded or unloaded ballast onto or from sea-going ships.⁷³ On the one hand, the *corpus saburrariorum* paid tribute to Marcus Aurelius in AD 156.⁷⁴ On the other, a decision of the *praefectus annonae* in AD 210 assigned the *saburrarii* a specific area where they could store their ballast.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, it is unclear whether an individual needed to belong to the *corpus* to have access to the ballast supply. Indeed, the second inscription mentions the *saburrarii* very vaguely without any allusion to their *corpus*. So, for this particular occupation, and for almost all of them, documents similar to the plaque engraved by the *[corporati qui]bus coire et alueo Tiberis [navigare con]cessu est* are sorely lacking. A gap of two and a half centuries separates their mention from clear evidence for professional monopolies held by *corpora* from Portus. Hence, a constitution issued by the emperors Valentinian I and Valens in AD 364 granted to the *saccarii* and everybody wishing to join their *corpus* the monopoly of unloading cargoes arriving at Portus.⁷⁶ Therefore, the *saccarii* could not be deprived of work by ship crew members or by agents of goods owners.⁷⁷ This constitution sheds light not only on an exclusive right, but also on a specific way to access a regulated profession: voluntary integration into a *corpus*. During the early second century, membership of such a community may have been already required to work as a *caudicarius* or *lenuncularius Ostiensis*.

⁷³ Nantet 2008.

⁷⁴ *CIL* XIV, 102: Imp(eratori) [Caesari] / M(arco) Aur(elio) Antonino] / Aug(usto) p[ontifici maximo, trib(unicia)] / pot(estate) X, [imperator] – co(n)s(uli) –, p(atr) p(atriciae), divi] / Ant[onini Pii filio], / divi [Hadriani nepoti], / divi Tr[ai]ani P[ar]thici(i) / pronepot(i), divi / Nervae abnepot(i), / corpus saburrariorum / s(u)a p(ecunia) p(osuit), / cura(m) agentibus / patrono Claudio Blastiano, / q(uin)q(uennalibus) Claudio Eutychn(o), / Munnenio Gaiano.

⁷⁵ *AE* 1977, 171: Sicut coram praecepit / v(ir) p(erfectissimus) Messius Extricatus, / praef(ectus) ann(onae), titulus ponetur / qui demonstret ex quo loci, / in quem locum, saborrarii / saborram tollere liceat; factum / autem opus est ut idem titulo / retro omnium praefectorum / litterae instruantur, quibus / de podismo est statutum quibusque / suam auctoritatem idem v(ir) p(erfectissimus) / manere praecipit; titulus / scribitur per / Iulium Maternum, / (centurionem) fr(umentarium), XV Kal(endas) Octobr(es), / Faustino et Rufino co(n)s(ulibus), / cura(m) agente M(arco) Vargunteio / Victore.

⁷⁶ C. Th., 14, 22, 1: Imp. Valentinianus et Valens aa. ad Symmachum praefectum Urbi. Omnia, quaecumque advexerint privati ad portum Urbis aeternae, per ipsos saccarios vel eos, qui se huic corpori permiscere desiderant, magnificentia tua iubeat comportari et pro temporum varietate mercedes considerata iusta aestimatione taxari, ita ut, si claruerit aliquem privatum per suos adventicias species comportare, quinta pars eius speciei fisco lucrativa vindicetur. Dat. VI id. iun. Naisso divo Iouiano et Varroniano cons. (8 June 364).

⁷⁷ Freu 2009.

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5 | Roman Port Societies and Their *Collegia*

Differences and Similarities between the Associations of Ostia and Ephesos

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Recent years have witnessed a growing scholarly interest in ancient sea-ports, which consequently have become a research category of their own. Port cities are seen as a specific class of city: in a geographical perspective, ancient cities were topographically and administratively self-contained settlements with large populations which were based upon specialization, division of labour and social differentiation. The city functioned therefore as a central focus for its surroundings in economic but also in political, administrative, religious and cultural terms. These different functions led to a manifoldness of the urban fabric.¹ Port cities are additionally characterized by their geographical position at the waterfront and by the spatial and economic symbiosis between port and city. Because ships provided the most convenient means of transport, port cities served as communication nodes between terrestrial and maritime networks, and were thus the focus of supra-regional trade links connecting the local with the global. Being destinations for immigrants, they became religious melting pots with growing populations who demanded commodities, foodstuffs and services. In view of this, it has been assumed that port societies shared similar religious, social and economic structures.² It is further argued that port cities were sufficiently distinctive to form a specific urban type, with the implicit assumption that they were all shaped by identical developments and settings.³ The aim of this chapter is to scrutinize this underlying assumption of uniformity by focusing on a socially, religiously and

¹ Cf. Kolb 1984: 15; 2005: 197. For the ancient city, see also Owens 1991; Wallace-Hadrill 1991; Whittaker 1995; Aldrete 2004; Laurence, Esmonde Cleary and Sears 2011; Osborne and Wallace-Hadrill 2013; Zanker 2014; Zuiderhoek 2016.

² See, for example, Hein 2013: 809: 'Port cities around the world have thus long been an important category of cosmopolitan and cultural centres, pioneering new cultural, political, economic, and social practices.'

³ The same point has been made by Ducruet (2011: 34) in his analysis of the literature on contemporary port cities.

economically important phenomenon of Roman port societies, the *collegia*, and their social integration.⁴

To this end, the inscriptions and archaeological remains of Ostia and Ephesos provide ample evidence. The history of Ostia can be traced from its beginnings prior to its formation as a fortified maritime settlement down to its abandonment during the transition from late antiquity to the Middle Ages. Although many inscriptions, statues and other remains were lost during the medieval and modern periods, the abundant archaeological and epigraphic evidence makes it one of the best-documented case studies for investigating urban life during the Imperial period.⁵

The economic, religious and social history of Ephesos can be likewise reconstructed from its earliest settlement down until its decline in late antiquity, when the harbour was slowly silting up. Archaeological investigations started in the nineteenth century and the foundation of the Austrian Archaeological Institute gave this research a fresh impetus which continues down to the present day. A large area of the city has been excavated and nearly 3,800 inscriptions have been published. The archaeological, literary and epigraphic testimonies provide invaluable insights into the urban life of a dynamic Greek city under Roman rule.⁶

The available source material and the state of archaeological research allow comparisons to be drawn between these ports, especially in terms of the integration of voluntary associations into their social environment. In this chapter, this is undertaken by analysing the relationship of the *collegia* at both ports to the religious landscape of each urban community and to the emperor, their connections to the élite, and the social stratum of their members, as well as interpreting their activities as *utilitas publica* and their visibility in the urban context.

1 The Ostian *Collegia*

Two factors conditioned the character of Ostia; the first was, of course, its vicinity to the metropolis of Rome. The capital of the Roman Empire with its population of one million inhabitants or so constantly demanded goods.

⁴ On Roman voluntary associations and their social potential, see, for example, Ausbüttel 1982; Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996; Tran 2006; Rohde 2012.

⁵ For the history of Ostia, see Meiggs 1973: 16–101; Rieger 2004: 20–38; Heinzlmann 2002; 2010; Rohde 2012: 79–92; Bolder-Boos 2014.

⁶ For the history of Ephesos, see Karwiese 1970; 1995; Hueber 1997; Scherrer 2001; Knibbe 1998: 59–235; Rohde 2012: 275–85.

It therefore, secondly, was the responsibility of the emperors to ensure an efficient food supply to the *plebs urbana*, especially grain, a requirement that had far-reaching consequences for the small port at the mouth of the Tiber. Imperial concern about the provision of Rome led Claudius and Trajan to build the two main harbour basins at Portus. Subsequently, Ostia prospered and its population increased to about 50,000.⁷ The commercial activity that blossomed there offered Romans, freedmen and immigrants opportunities to acquire wealth and also, therefore, the potential for social mobility.

Archaeological excavations at Ostia have uncovered around 12 *scholae* and approximately 300 inscriptions which can be connected with about 80 associations.⁸ And there must have been more: some areas remain unexcavated, many marble blocks were burned to lime, financially less potent *collegia* never set up inscriptions, and some meeting places for associations could not be identified because they did not follow a specific architectural type or were used for other purposes over the centuries.

But the remains are nevertheless impressive. No other city of the Roman Empire offers such a wide range of different associations. In nearly every sphere of urban life a specific *collegium* could be found. It is not unreasonable to assume that almost every free male who could afford the moderate monthly fee was a member of at least one *collegium*. There were, for example, *collegia* for various kinds of ferry services, measurers with sub-groups, ship-builders, divers, bakers, fullers, fishermen, wagoners and worshippers of Mithras, Isis, Sarapis or Bellona; even an association of the *familia publica* is documented.⁹ Three of these associations are particularly characteristic of Ostia as a port city and therefore of special interest in this context: those of the *navicularii*, the *dendrophori* and the *fabri tignuarii*.

The first of these, the *navicularii*, pursued the port-related profession *par excellence*.¹⁰ Ever since Augustus had put the grain supply of Rome on a solid administrative basis, the *navicularii* signed contracts to transport private or public grain to the capital. In the following centuries they received various privileges for performing this task of great public

⁷ Meiggs 1973: 533.

⁸ Rohde 2012: 29, 79. For the Ostian *scholae*, see Bollmann 1998: 195–200, 275–345; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2002; Zevi 2008; Stöger 2009; Sakaguchi 2012.

⁹ See the list of the Ostian *collegia* in Rohde 2012: 367–74. For different examples of Ostian *collegia*, see also Rougier (Chapter 6) and Terpstra (Chapter 8) in this volume.

¹⁰ For the *navicularii* and especially for the Ostian *navicularii*, see Palma 1975; De Salvo 1992; Rohde 2012: 113–17; also see Tran (Chapter 4) and Arnaud (Chapter 15) of this volume.

importance. Apart from their involvement in the *cura annonae*, they transported goods on their own account as well.

Today, the most impressive archaeological evidence of the Ostian *collegia* is without doubt the so-called Piazzale delle Corporazioni, or Forum of the Corporations.¹¹ Its monumental rectangular square lies immediately behind the theatre, and many different building phases can be identified. Most of the mosaics which still decorate the standing structures of the complex were laid down under Hadrian or some time afterwards. Wooden walls between the columns probably separated some sixty small rooms called *stationes* from each other. The mosaics lay in front of the rooms, many of them depicting ships, grain measures, ears of corn and other motifs which can be connected with trade, especially the grain trade. Many inscriptions mention *navicularii*, some of them in combination with *negotiatores*.

The purpose of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni is still debated,¹² with opinions ranging between those who believe that it was used solely for commercial activities and others who think that it had exclusively social goals. Irrespective of the social and/or economic character of the Piazzale, it is obvious that the associations located there belonged to a higher social stratum. Although we do not know how the associations acquired the right to use these rooms, the conditions in Puteoli may offer analogies.¹³ There, the Tyrian *naukleroi* rented premises for an annual fee.¹⁴ Another possibility, also familiar to us from Puteoli, would be that the associations of the Piazzale spent money on the rebuilding of the square, for the restoration of the theatre or for the entertainment there.¹⁵ Both alternatives indicate that the *navicularii* were financially affluent and made substantial trading profits – not least because the proximity of the theatre made the Piazzale delle Corporazioni a highly attractive location within the selectively distributed urban spaces (Figure 5.1).¹⁶

And this was not the only place where *navicularii* met. Whereas those represented at the Piazzale were foreigners who only stayed in Ostia for

¹¹ For the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, cf. Meiggs 1973: 283–88; Pavolini 1983: 67–9; 1986: 83–90; Aldrete 2004: 211–12; Rieger 2004: 90–2; Romano 2004; Steuernagel 2004: 198–200; 2005a: 43–4; 2005b; Rohde 2009; 2012: 101–13; Van Der Meer 2009; Terpstra 2014; and Chapter 8 of this volume.

¹² See for discussion Rohde 2009.

¹³ OGIS 595. For the *statio* of the Tyrians at Puteoli, see Steuernagel (Chapter 3) and Terpstra (Chapter 8) in this volume.

¹⁴ OGIS 595, 10–11.

¹⁵ See for Puteoli, Steuernagel 2004: 200–1. For Ostia, cf. the inscriptions which mention *de suo* CIL XIV, 4549, 15–18, 34, 42–3.

¹⁶ Rohde 2012: 112–13.



Figure 5.1 View from the theatre onto the Piazzale delle Corporazioni.

business and, thus, for short periods, resident ship-owners also formed a *collegium* that was perhaps located at the so-called Schola del Traiano, one of the most beautiful and lavish meeting places of the Ostian *collegia*.¹⁷ The *schola*, whose name derived from a large statue of Trajan found in the building, was equipped with a monumental entrance with exedra and fountains. Marble columns, premium-quality décor and the sheer dimensions of the building show us that the owners were well-off. Although firm evidence does not exist, it is probable that the *navicularii Ostienses* owned the building.¹⁸

Even if the presence of a statue of Trajan in the *schola* does not necessarily indicate cult worship, it is obvious that the Imperial cult played an especially important role in the life of professional and religious associations alike.¹⁹ As the inscription of the Tyrians at Puteoli shows, loyalty to the reigning emperor should be demonstrated not only through sacrifice and worship, but also by adorning their meeting place on the so-called sacred days of the emperor.²⁰ In light of the vicinity of Ostia to Rome, it may be assumed that the town demanded that *collegia* should also be

¹⁷ For the Schola di Traiano, see Bollmann 1998: 323–7; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2002: 140–3; Steuernagel 2004: 98; 2005a: 42; Sakaguchi 2010.

¹⁸ Sakaguchi 2010. ¹⁹ See Chapter 4 of this volume. ²⁰ OGIS 595, 13–15.

involved in other important days celebrating the Imperial family.²¹ We certainly know of other cases in which the associations participated in public cult activities of the city.²²

In this context, the example of the Ostian *dendrophori* is illuminating.²³ The so-called tree-bearers worshipped *Mater Deum Magna Idaea*, the goddess who was brought from Asia Minor to Rome during the Hannibalic war. Her cult was closely connected with Ostia, because her voyage had led her to Rome via the port city where, as Ovid puts it, her journey was interrupted because the ship carrying her idol had become stuck fast at the mouth of the Tiber.²⁴

On the one hand, the *dendrophori* were a purely private association, which organized itself according to a statute, adopted members independently, administered its own funds and celebrated events that were only important in the context of the *collegium*, such as the birthdays of generous members. On the other hand, they formed part of the official religious landscape of Ostia.²⁵ The *dendrophori*, as well as the *cannophori*, the second *collegium* connected with the cult of Mater Magna, were created by the emperors²⁶ and were located on the Campo della Mater Magna, which covered 4,500 m² and was the largest cult complex in Ostia. The triangular complex consisted of several buildings which were in the hands of the associations, but were also under the supervision of the *pontifex Volkani et aedium sacrarum*.²⁷ The temples, shrines, rooms and *scholae* were located down the sides of the complex, defining a wide-open space that was perfectly suitable for a bull sacrifice and for accommodating the crowds attending the ceremonies. At Ostia, such offerings were conducted according to a decision taken by the *decuriones*, although they did not play an active part themselves. In fact, the members of the *collegium* performed the *taurobolium* and the *criobolium* for the well-being of the emperor, the Imperial family, the senate, the *XVviri sacris faciundis*, both orders, the army, the navy, and last but not least the *decuriones*.²⁸

²¹ For the identification of the temple of the Piazzale with the Imperial cult, see Terpstra 2014.

²² Cf. the Tyrians in Puteoli and their financial obligations for the bull sacrifice (OGIS 595, 11–12).

²³ For the Ostian *dendrophori* and the Campo della Mater Magna, see Meiggs 1973: 356–66; Vermaseren 1977: 60–3; Pavolini 1983: 198–203; 1986: 153–7; Bollmann 1998: 318–23; Rieger 2004: 93–172; 2007: 106–11; Steuernagel 2004: 229–37; Rohde 2012: 208–36; 2013.

²⁴ Ovid *Fast.* 4.291–328. Gruen 1990; Burton 1996.

²⁵ For the intermediary status of the Mater Magna associations, see Rohde 2012: 232–6; 2013.

²⁶ For the foundation of the *dendrophori* by Claudius, see John the Lydian *Mens.* 4.59; Fishwick 1966: 194. For the *cannophori* as an Imperial institution of Antoninus Pius, cf. Fishwick 1966: 202.

²⁷ CIL XIV, 324–5; Rohde 2012: 214. ²⁸ CIL XIV, 42–3, 4301–3.

In March, when the myth of Attis and Cybele was commemorated in a cycle of festivals,²⁹ the *dendrophori* formed the main part of a procession through the streets of Ostia.³⁰ In this way they performed a public task, since the cult of Mater Magna was incorporated into the *sacra publica*.³¹ Thus the *dendrophori* occupied a special intermediate position between the public and the private spheres. Furthermore, the priest and the priestess, although stemming from the ranks of the members, held the official title *sacerdos Matris Deum Magnae coloniae Ostiensis*³² and *archigallus coloniae Ostiensis*³³ in a manner akin to public priests. It is highly probable that the *archigallus* was appointed by the *XVviri*, as has been attested at Lugdunum and Cumae.³⁴

A prerequisite for the semi-official status of the *dendrophori* was, however, that the originally Phrygian cult was stripped of its orgiastic character and strange, alien appearance. This took place in early Imperial times at the latest, when the cult of Mater Magna was promoted by the emperors and her festival assumed its final form. Consequently the Ostian findings represent Roman cult forms, and such Phrygian elements as the eunuch priests called *galli* are not attested.³⁵ But apparently it was still appropriate for the *dendrophori* to show loyalty to the political order: the *schola* was dedicated to the *numen domus Augustae*,³⁶ and other inscriptions honoured the emperor and his family.³⁷

This semi-official position of the *dendrophori* and their conformity to social conventions made them attractive roles for people of higher rank.³⁸ All known members had Roman citizenship; some were even of senatorial rank.³⁹ Highly esteemed magistrates of the *Augustales* could also be

²⁹ The so-called calendar of Filocalus (*CIL* I², 260) offers the following sequence: 15 March: *canna intrat*; 22 March: *arbor intrat*; 24 March: *sanguem*; 25 March: *hilaria*; 26 March: *requietio*; 27 March: *lavatio*. For the evolution of the festival, see Lambrechts 1952: 141–70; Fishwick 1966.

³⁰ *CIL* XIV, 4627.

³¹ *Fest.* 237: Peregrina sacra appellantur, quae aut evocatis dis in oppugnandis urbibus Romam sunt conata, aut quae ob quasdam religiones per pacem sunt petita, ut ex Phrygia Matris Magnae, ex Graecia Cereris, Epidauro Aesculapi: quae coluntur eorum more, a quibus sunt accepta.

³² *CIL* XIV, 371. ³³ *CIL* XIV, 34, 35, 385.

³⁴ *CIL* XIII, 1751 (Lugdunum): ab XVviris occabo et corona exornato. *CIL* X, 3698–3700 (Cumae): Record of the election of a *sacerdos* and the confirmation by the *XVviri* (*CIL* X, 3698). Cf. also the formula *ex s.c. dendrophori creati qui sunt sub cura XVvir(or)um* in *CIL* X, 3699.

³⁵ Rohde 2012: 213. ³⁶ *CIL* XIV, 45.

³⁷ *CIL* XIV, 42, 43, 97, 107, 4301, 4302, 4303; *AE* 1989, 127.

³⁸ See for the social status of the *dendrophori* Schillinger 1979: 285–332; Thomas 1984: 1523–5; Rohde 2012: 221–2, 235.

³⁹ *CCCA* III, 386 (*vir clarissimus dendrophorus*). *CIL* XIV, 281 (member of the Egrilii family). Cf. Pavolini 1978: 198; Licordari 1982: 36–7.

recognized among the members.⁴⁰ If we look at the connections of the *dendrophori* to the élite, it is no wonder that a couple of personal links to the *fabri tignuarii* existed.⁴¹

The *dendrophori* may be considered in some respects as the cultic equivalent to the association of builders. However, what makes the *fabri tignuarii* typical for Ostia is their wealth: Ostia's economic growth made the construction of huge public warehouses necessary. Furthermore, the population, in particular what we may call the middle class, grew and demanded housing space.⁴² No wonder this *collegium* is the best documented in Ostia; some 60 inscriptions can be connected with the builders.⁴³

The *collegium* met in a *schola* which was located in an extraordinarily exposed position at the east corner of the forum, where the *decumanus maximus* led into this place of great social, economic, religious and administrative significance at the centre of the town (Figure 5.2). Its modern name of Caseggiato dei Triclini derives from the main feature of this large and splendid town house:⁴⁴ one entered the *schola* from the *decumanus* through a wide and open vestibule. The courtyard was surrounded by a portico, which on the east side gave way to four rooms containing masonry *triclinia*. Opposite the entrance and behind the courtyard was situated a large room that served for the cult of the emperors.⁴⁵ Additionally the *fabri tignuarii* possessed the so-called Tempio Collegiale – a temple dedicated to Septimius Severus and Divus Pertinax near the theatre (Figure 5.3).⁴⁶

Not only the dimensions and the position of the *schola* and Tempio Collegiale in popular spots, but also the size of the membership of the *fabri tignuarii*, make the economic potential of the building sector in the flourishing town apparent. About 350 members are attested for the end of the second century.⁴⁷ They were organized through *decuriae* in a military fashion.⁴⁸ Their militaristic character can also be seen in the consecration of a shrine dedicated to Mars Augustus.⁴⁹ Mars is not only the god of war, but in his manifestation as Mars Augustus he also stands for the emperors and the martial side of the Principate. The Imperial cult thus played an important part in the activities of the association. In addition to the shrine of the Caseggiato dei Triclini and the Tempio Collegiale, nine honorific inscriptions were dedicated to the emperors

⁴⁰ *CIL* XIV, 33, 295, 309. Rohde 2012: 222. ⁴¹ Rohde 2012: 216–17.

⁴² DeLaine 2002; Heinzlmann 2002.

⁴³ Rohde 2012: 165. For the *fabri tignuarii* at Ostia, see Meiggs 1973: 319–32; DeLaine 2003; Rohde 2011; 2012: 164–80.

⁴⁴ For the Caseggiato dei Triclini, see Bollmann 1998: 284–8; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2002: 136–7; Steuernagel 2004: 97–8, 182–4; 2005a: 42–3.

⁴⁵ Bollmann 1998: 288. ⁴⁶ *AE* 1971, 64. Cf. Zevi 1971; Bollmann 1998: 340–5.

⁴⁷ *CIL* XIV, 4569. ⁴⁸ *CIL* XIV, 160. ⁴⁹ *CIL* XIV, 4300.

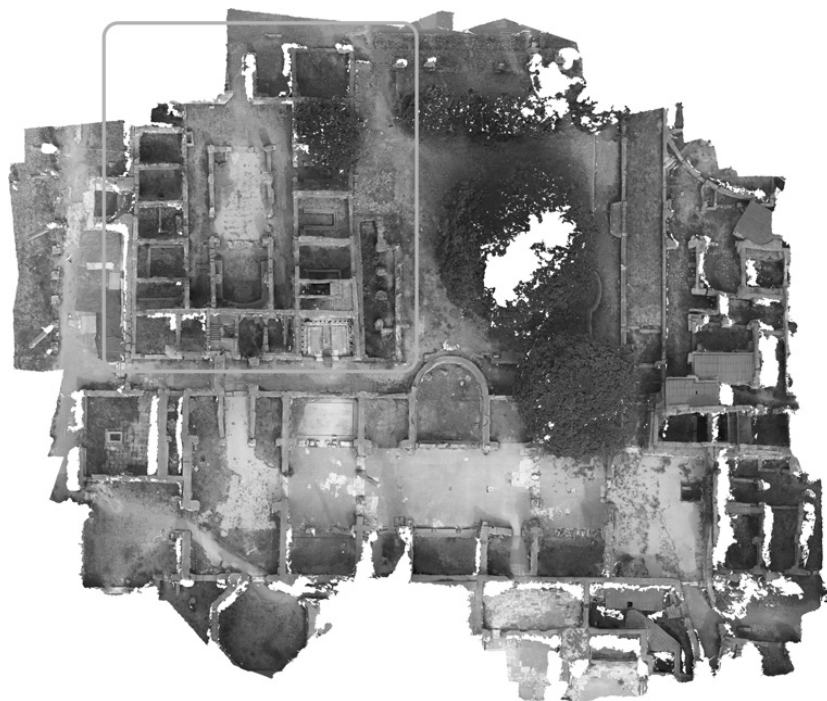


Figure 5.2 Caseggiato dei Triclini at Ostia.

or the Imperial house.⁵⁰ One of the reasons for the importance of the Imperial cult could lie in the influence of the *seviri Augustales*: twelve out of eighteen *quinquennales* of the builders were Augustales.⁵¹

These were no ordinary freedmen or average builders, but wealthy and distinguished members of the urban community.⁵² To be a magistrate of the *fabri tignuarii* offered an individual the possibility to improve his social status and to convert economic gains into social capital. Two out of three attested *liberti*, to whom the *ornamenta decurionalia* were granted, functioned as *quinquennales* of the builders,⁵³ and of four *equites Romani* and *decuriones* it is known that their fathers strove for functions within the *collegia*.⁵⁴ Additionally, amongst the *quinquennales* of the *fabri tignuarii* was the *eques Romanus* and *decurio* Sex. Carminius Parthenopeus.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ *CIL* XIV, 105, 124, 128, 4347, 4300 (dedication to Mars Augustus), 4349, 4365, 4569. *AE* 1971, 64 (dedication of the temple). Cf. Rohde 2012: 166–7.

⁵¹ *AE* 1974, 123^{bis}; 1988, 200, 204; 1989, 124, 126. *CIL* XIV, 296, 297, 299, 330, 407, 418, 446 (in which 'sevir' could be restored).

⁵² Cf. Duncan-Jones 1982: 176–7. ⁵³ *AE* 1974, 123^{bis}; *CIL* XIV, 374.

⁵⁴ *CIL* XIV, 58, 292, 374, 4642. Cf. D'Arms 1976: 396, 400–1.

⁵⁵ *CIL* XIV, 314. Cf. D'Arms 1976: 398.

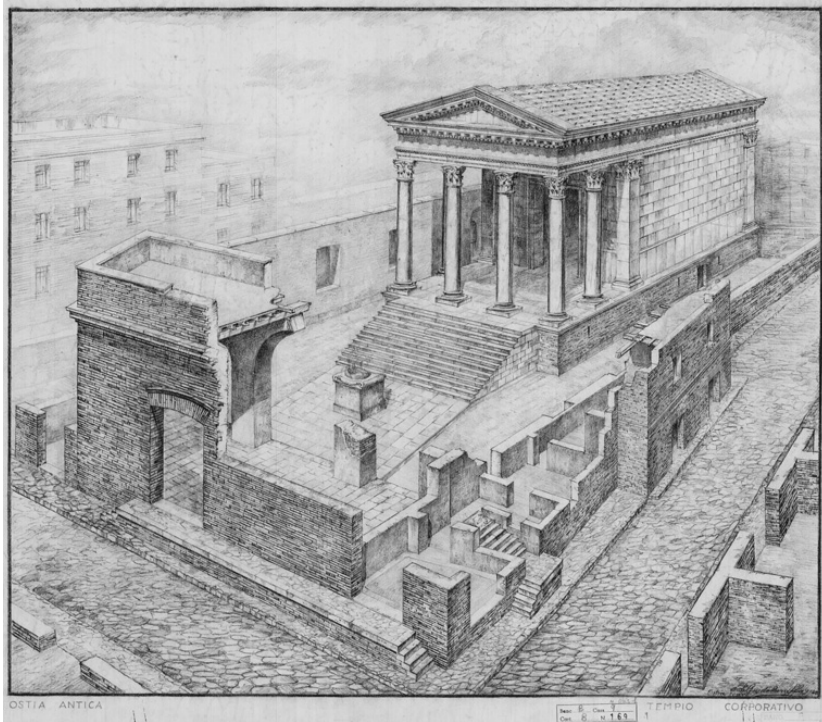


Figure 5.3 Reconstruction of the Tempio Collegiale at Ostia.

In spite of all these members of higher social status within the *collegium*, no patron can be attested beyond doubt.⁵⁶ Rather, it appears that the usual patron–client relationship was substituted by the close connection between the *fabri* and the *procurator annonae Ostiensis*,⁵⁷ who was assigned to the *praefectus annonae* and therefore concerned not only with the food supply of Rome, but also with the expansion and maintenance of the Ostian infrastructure.⁵⁸ The latter was related to some of the duties of the *fabri*: either they worked as fire fighters alongside the *vigiles* – an extremely important task in a densely populated city with numerous storage buildings⁵⁹ – or they were obliged to take part in building projects such as the construction of *horrea* or port facilities.⁶⁰ At any rate, the close link between the *fabri* and the *procurator* shows the importance of the public tasks which the *fabri* performed.

⁵⁶ Cf. Rohde 2012: 176–8. ⁵⁷ *CIL* XIV, 160, 5344–5, 5351–2.

⁵⁸ Houston 1980: 160–1; Rohde 2012: 178.

⁵⁹ For the involvement of *fabri* in fire fighting, see Pliny *Ep.* 10.33, 34; Lafer 2001: 47–53; Rohde 2011: 90–1; 2012: 178–9.

⁶⁰ DeLaine 2003.

All three *collegia* were the best-documented associations of Ostia. They possessed or occupied prestigious positions within the urban grid of the port city, and their meeting places were built not only for internal purposes but also for representation (Figure 5.4). Be it the Campo della Mater Magna, the Piazzale delle Corporazioni or the Caseggiato dei Triclini, the private and the public spheres overlapped to a certain extent.

In these meeting places, different activities were performed. The Piazzale delle Corporazioni with its temple and *sacellum* offered enough space for meetings, feasting and cultic activities. The same can be said about the *fabri tignuarii* and *dendrophori*: communal meals, cult activities, particularly worshipping the emperors, were integral components of the associations' life. If the temple of the Piazzale was designed for Imperial cult – which is highly probable⁶¹ – then all associations honoured the emperors: the *fabri* had a shrine and a temple dedicated to them, and the *dendrophori* devoted their *schola* to the *numen* of the Imperial house.

Among the associations' activities, the performances of public tasks deserve a special mention. The *dendrophori* were involved in maintaining the cult of Mater Magna, the *navicularii* transported grain and other commodities to Rome, and the *fabri tignuarii* contributed to fire fighting or to public building projects. Such *utilitas publica* was the reason why the *dendrophori* interacted with the political institutions of Ostia. The same can be said about the *fabri*: several inscriptions document their relationship with the *procurator annonae*.

The dedications and inscriptions of the three associations in question followed Roman form and habit; even the cult of Mater Magna was Romanized, and was practised according to conventional conceptions. These circumstances opened the cult to the élite, making the *dendrophori* appear as virtually the cultic equivalent to prestigious professional associations. Additionally, the *dendrophori* won over patrons of equestrian and senatorial status. But no other Ostian association had more members of higher rank than the *collegium fabrum tignuariorum*. Many of the *fabri* must have been entrepreneurs who ran a business. We are not able to define the social stratum of the *navicularii*, but the expensive places on the Piazzale delle Corporazioni and the splendid Schola di Traiano clearly indicate that the members of these *collegia* were well-to-do men.

In sum, these associations integrated themselves into their social environment in similar ways. But is it possible to generalize on the way this

⁶¹ See also Chapter 9 of this volume.

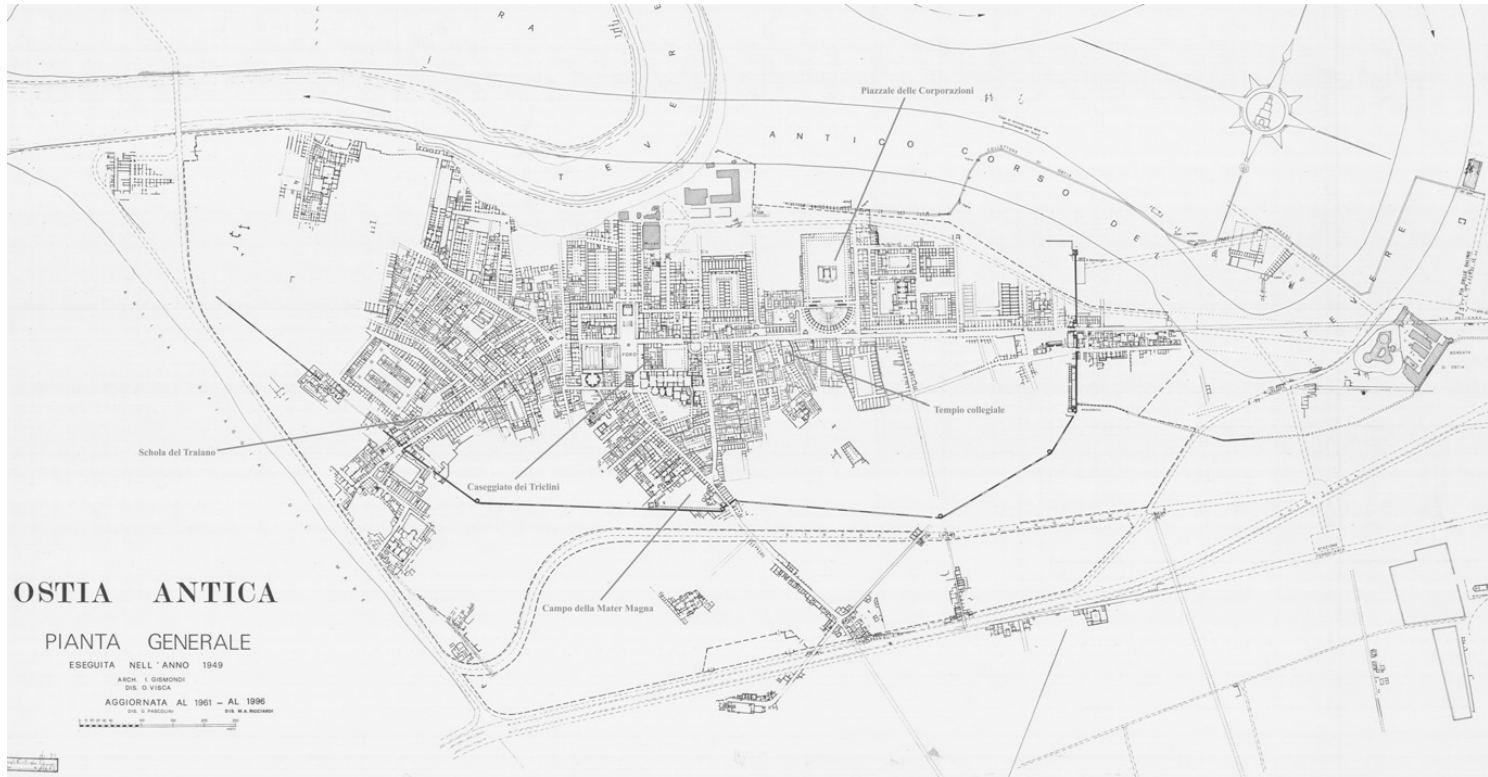


Figure 5.4 Map of Ostia with the locations mentioned.

integration took place? Was it common to all port societies or specific only to Ostia?

2 The Ephesian Collegia

From the time when the ‘chief’ city of Asia Minor, Ephesos, became part of the Roman Empire, it flourished and grew into one of the largest cities in the ancient world, with an estimated population of about 100,000 inhabitants in both the city and its *chora*.⁶² Its importance derived from its location at the intersection of major sea routes between East and West. Because of its busy port and strategic geographical position, the city was installed as the capital and administrative centre of proconsular Asia.⁶³ But Ephesos was not only the centre for commerce and communication, it was also a religious centre of supra-regional importance. Artemis and her temple attracted visitors and pilgrims, and her festivals were famous throughout the Mediterranean world.⁶⁴

It may come as somewhat of a surprise that here, in one of the largest cities of the Roman Empire, where systematic excavations have brought to light some 3,800 inscriptions, those texts related to associations actually form only a relatively small corpus of about a hundred items; that is to say, one-third of the Ostian evidence. Additionally, most of the associations were documented by only a single testimony and no *schola* could be detected. The best-attested association of Ephesos was the silversmiths, with some eight known inscriptions. In contrast, the best-attested association of Ostia, the *fabri tignuarii*, could be connected with about 60 inscriptions – in addition to its *schola* and its temple.⁶⁵

In the following I will discuss three associations which seem characteristic for Ephesos and comparable to our three Ostian examples: the silversmiths, who did not perform a port-related profession as such, but were the best-documented *collegium* of the city; the worshippers of the Egyptian deities, who formed a religious association for a foreign cult; and the

⁶² The assumption that Ephesos possessed about 200,000 inhabitants is based on a false reading of *IK* 13, 951 (Bagnall 1988). It is however on the basis of the *phylai* that it has been assumed that Ephesos had theoretically 64,000 male citizens (Knibbe 1998: 149), so 100,000 inhabitants would be a safe assessment. *Contra* Hanson 2011: 252–7, who estimates (too pessimistically) a range of 33,600–56,000 inhabitants.

⁶³ For the administration and the management of the Ephesian port, see Arnaud (Chapter 13) in this volume.

⁶⁴ For Artemis and her cult, see Oster 1976; 1990; Burkert 1999; Rogers 1999; 2012.

⁶⁵ Rohde 2012: 275.

association of athletes, who were not permanently at Ephesos, and in this respect resembled the *navicularii* of the provinces at Ostia.

Two riots at Ephesos are documented in which associations played an active part; one of these was caused by the bakers and the other by the silversmiths. Whereas the former were on strike to enforce their claims,⁶⁶ the latter agitated against Christians because they feared financial losses, as is known from a famous passage from the Acts of the Apostles.⁶⁷ The episode is of special interest in two ways. First, it provides us with some hints about the social stratum of membership of the *collegium*: one Demetrius mentioned in the Acts was apparently an entrepreneur who ran a workshop that specialized in the production of silver objects, particularly small silver temples, which served as votive offerings or souvenirs. Apparently, the social status of the silversmiths varied. Some were people who invested in this business, while others were shop-owners who employed artisans, and craftsmen who worked on their own behalf.⁶⁸

Secondly, the reasoning of the silversmith Demetrius appealed to traditional norms and incited hostility against both Christians and Jews. Furthermore, the fact that the riot ended at the theatre shows that the silversmiths were supported by the local population. In contrast to Christians and Jews, the silversmiths were an integral part of Ephesian society, whose beliefs in the protecting deity of the city they shared. Artemis was therefore fundamental to the identity, economic income and social status of the silversmiths. The close connection between the association and the goddess was expressed in the label 'sacred' which the silversmiths added to their name; they called themselves *hieron syndrion*.⁶⁹ Furthermore, some silversmiths were even incorporated among the *neopoioi*, who were public cult officials of Artemis and members of the local élite.⁷⁰ It is thus no wonder that the silversmiths used traditional conventions and contents of epigraphic presentation and interacted with the local, provincial and Empire-wide élites. On several occasions the silversmiths honoured Ephesian dignitaries, the emperor and a patron of senatorial rank.⁷¹ They possessed a stall on the Arkadiane, one of the city's most popular streets (Figure 5.5).⁷²

Being a member of the association of the silversmiths must have been regarded as a privilege, not only because of its involvement with the cult of the city goddess Artemis and its good relationship with the élite, but also because of the benefits that accrued from being part of a group which was

⁶⁶ *IK* 12, 215. ⁶⁷ Acts 19:23–40. Rohde 2012: 288–90 with literature.

⁶⁸ Drexhage, Konen and Ruffing 2002: 111; Rohde 2012: 291. ⁶⁹ *IK* 13, 636.

⁷⁰ *IK* 16, 2212. ⁷¹ *IK* 12, 425, 586; 13, 636; *SEG* 34, 1094. ⁷² *IK* 12, 547.



Figure 5.5 View from the theatre onto the Arkadiane Street at Ephesus.

attentive to its members' needs. One inscription, for example, tells us that the silversmiths took care of the graves of some of their members.⁷³ This marks a characteristic of the Ephesian associations – in contrast to Ostia.⁷⁴

Another difference between the Ostian and Ephesian associations centres upon the cult of Meter. In contrast to Ostia, where the discoveries at the Campo della Mater Magna prove that the *collegium* was involved in the cult of the Romanized Anatolian goddess, there is no evidence for associations in the niches of the mountain sanctuary of the goddess Meter at Ephesus (Figure 5.6).⁷⁵ We therefore should look at other cults that were introduced to this port city. There is evidence that Egyptian deities were venerated there from the Hellenistic period onwards. Notwithstanding this long tradition and the existence of strong connections between Ephesus and Alexandria, however, Egyptian cults are less well documented than other Ephesian so-called mystery religions.⁷⁶

⁷³ *IK* 16, 2212, 2241. ⁷⁴ Rohde 2012: 294–8, esp. 297.

⁷⁵ Rohde 2012: 338. Cf. the inscriptions *IK* 14, 1214–27. For the cult of Meter at Ephesus, see Oster 1990: 1687–8.

⁷⁶ For the cult of the Egyptian deities at Ephesus and Asia Minor, see Keil 1954; Dunand 1973; Hölbl 1978; Oster 1990: 1677–81; Takács 1990; Koester 1998; Walters 2004; Rohde 2012: 338–42.



Figure 5.6 The Meter sanctuary at Ephesos.

Nevertheless, we should not take this as proof for the insignificance of Egyptian cults. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that Egyptian religious elements permeated everyday life. Thus, for example, Xenophon's novel *Ephesiaca* is related to Artemis and Isis.⁷⁷ Furthermore, representations of the Egyptian deities have been found in domestic contexts,⁷⁸ while the names Serapion, Serapias and Isios reflect the diffusion of Egyptian elements within society.⁷⁹

Apart from the possible connection of Isis with Artemis in a cult context,⁸⁰ two features of the worship of Egyptian gods were significant for the integration of the devotees. As was presumably the case in every port city, the *navigium Isidis* took place at Ephesos. The procession ritually opened the seafaring season in spring and therefore was of vital importance to the society of the port. The public festival was probably organized by the association of the *naubatountes*, as documented by an inscription.⁸¹ This procession formed and built upon the perception of Isis as the seafaring goddess and as the tutelary divinity of fishermen, seamen, travellers by ship and sea captains.

⁷⁷ Witt 1997: 243–54.

⁷⁸ Cf. the findings presented by Hölbl 1978: 54–78; Christof 2010; Flessa 2010; Rathmayr 2010.

⁷⁹ *IK* 12, 160; *SEG* 45, 1590; 48 1377. ⁸⁰ Witt 1997: 141–51.

⁸¹ *IK* 14, 1231. Cf. Vidman 1970: 76–87.

Because no temple of Isis has yet been located, it is likely that the *naubatountes* were probably affiliated to the temple of Sarapis. Similar to Ostia, where the Sarapis temple was inaugurated on the birthday of Hadrian, the cult of Sarapis at Ephesos emphasized the connection to the emperor in an honorific inscription.⁸² The Ephesian Sarapeion was situated within a large enclosure on the southwestern side of the agora, and to the east of the harbour.⁸³ For a divinity connected with seafaring, the location was virtually ideal, and also ensured visibility to the population at large.

In this context, a dedication of an Isis statue combined with an altar points in the same direction.⁸⁴ The associated buildings have not yet been located, but must be in the harbour area.⁸⁵ If the altar was publicly accessible in such a way as to enable departing or arriving people to sacrifice there for the safety of their journey, the involved associations would have been taking on a public function for the society of the port.⁸⁶ Furthermore, the inscription names as recipients Artemis, the emperor, the city of Ephesos and the merchants at the tollhouse, thereby illustrating the close ties that bound the associations to the different political and social levels of the port city.

Many visitors could be expected to arrive at Ephesos by sea during the ten contests which were held at the port city. Thus the artisans of Dionysus and the associations of athletes were prominent within port society.⁸⁷ In contrast to other entertainers, the members of these associations were not subject to *infamia*.⁸⁸ Additionally, the worship of Herakles and participation in the sacred festivals confirm the overall consensus with the norms of the society.⁸⁹ Both should have facilitated their integration into the receiving society. However, this never took place for the simple reason that the association of the athletes only had a branch at Ephesos. In contrast to the other *collegia*, this association had an Empire-wide organization with its headquarters at Rome. The athletes were comparable to the *navicularii*, who were based in their towns of origin in the provinces and not at Ostia: most of the athletes travelled through the Roman Empire continually, moving from one contest to another. So both groups of professionals moved around the Mediterranean, formed associations of foreigners in a receiving society, had dependences in different port cities, returned for retirement to their home of origin and, finally, were privileged by the

⁸² *IK* 14, 1230 (Caracalla). ⁸³ For the Sarapeion, cf. Hölbl 1978: 33–43. ⁸⁴ *IK* 15, 1503.

⁸⁵ Because of the connection with the fishermen and fish sellers mentioned in *IK* 11.1, 20.

⁸⁶ Rohde 2012: 311–12. ⁸⁷ Cf. Rohde 2012: 322–8. ⁸⁸ Digest 3.2.2.5.

⁸⁹ Rohde 2012: 325.

emperors. The only difference is that *navicularii* formed sometimes – but sure enough not always – an ethnic homogeneous group as, for example, the Alexandrini.

Even though some inscriptions erected by the athletes have been found in Ephesos, the association as a whole did not interact directly with the Ephesian community. It is significant that its members honoured the emperor but did not erect honorific inscriptions for notables.⁹⁰ Thus, we may conclude that the Ephesians recognized the athletes as key players in their urban life. Nevertheless, it was not the city-wide public that was of interest for the athletes and motivated them to erect inscriptions in Ephesos. It was the status of Ephesos as a provincial capital that prompted the association to address passers-by. In this way, participation in the contests made the athletes an integral element of port society. Though their documents indicate to us their cultural importance, it remains unclear whether the public recognized the athletes as an association or as individuals.

3 Differences and Similarities between the Associations of Ostia and Ephesos

Just as at Ostia, the associations at Ephesos interacted with the society of the city through the media of inscriptions, activities and buildings. The relationship between the polis-religion and the social stratum of the members also influenced the social perception of the different associations. It is remarkable that the silversmiths formed a close relationship to Artemis through their occupation; they even called themselves ‘sacred’. The bond between silversmiths and goddess was based upon their dependence: Artemis provided the silversmiths with income and social status. Only vague statements about the relationship of the other two associations to Artemis can be advanced: Isis could be connected with Artemis in terms of her cult, and the athletes traditionally worshipped Herakles. Both divinities were compatible with common religious beliefs.

Nothing accurate can be said about the social stratum of the members, but it seems that the silversmiths were integrated into different levels of society. Among the three *collegia* discussed here, the silversmiths were the only association that cared for connections to the élite through inscriptions. The three aforementioned associations were all to some extent keen to demonstrate a positive relationship to the emperor. They were visible in

⁹⁰ *IK* 14, 1124.

the urban context through inscriptions, temple, altar and stall. The worshippers of the Egyptian deities organized the *navigium Isidis*; because of the great importance of this procession to the society of the port, we can classify it as a *utilitas publica*. The same is perhaps to be said of the athletes who participated in the contests.

Thus the modes of integration in both port cities were analogous; of course, the documented associations were part of the same Graeco-Roman culture. In this, it was characteristic to set up inscriptions, to have similar religious beliefs and to be an 'open-air culture'. But the associations at Ephesos clearly left far fewer material testimonies than those at Ostia. This is remarkable, because *thiasoi* or *hetairiai* possessed a long-standing tradition in the Greek world. The assumption therefore that the Ephesian associations were as numerous as at Ostia is not too far off the mark. Considering the good state of preservation of the city and the many inscriptions found there, I would argue that it is a specific characteristic of the Ephesian associations that honorific inscriptions for the emperors were few and that on current evidence *scholae* appear to be absent. An explanation for this could be that the members met in private houses and focused more on the internal activities of the associations than on external representation. Furthermore, Artemis was the dominant element within the city, and many of the Ephesian professional associations were entangled with the cult of the city goddess. The silversmiths are one example, but more could be added. The close relationship between professionals and Artemis is therefore characteristic. Additionally, apart from a few references to or by *navicularii*, no port-related profession has been documented.

But what does this mean for our understanding of port societies? In general, port cities were more prosperous and more populous, witnessed more migration movements and therefore housed more foreign cults than ordinary cities. Thus on a macro level, port societies were governed by similar religious, social and economic mechanisms. However, this did not lead to a uniform Romanized world, although almost every major city lay on the sea and was a commercial port.⁹¹ Because by far the majority of the long-distance trading and migration flows occurred by sea, ports and maritime transport were without doubt important phenomena.

Yet if we take a closer look at the micro level, it becomes clear that not all port cities and port societies were uniform due to their local embeddedness in a hinterland-port-foreland continuum. Ostia, for example, functioned

⁹¹ That is why Max Weber (2006: 321, 324) called classical antiquity a *Küstenkultur* in contrast to, for example, Mesopotamia and Egypt, which he labelled *Stromuferkulturen*.

as a transit port for immigrants and imports heading towards Rome and, thus, exhibits a high level of intermediacy and centrality. Ephesos, in contrast, was a maritime capital, with a high degree of centrality and a medium degree of intermediacy.⁹² But centrality and intermediacy are also criteria which influenced the society of other cities that were located in rural areas, along navigable rivers or on caravan routes.⁹³ Additionally, it seems characteristic of port societies of the eastern part of the Mediterranean, with its strong tradition of the Greek *polis*, that individuals from outside adapted – or were forced to assimilate – themselves to their new environment. In combination with more inward-oriented group activities, the epigraphic culture of port societies in the Roman East did not differ substantially from other *poleis*. Consequently, it is very hard to detect a specific Greek port culture in the available source material.⁹⁴

Thus, in spite of similar basic structures, various local preconditions formed the framework upon which social relationships in port societies depended. Every port city had its own formative factors, which influenced the shaping of the basic religious, social and economic structures. More work has to be done to define more precisely what makes port cities so specific compared with other cities.⁹⁵

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⁹² Cf. the typology of contemporary port cities proposed by Ducruet and Lee (2006).

⁹³ Other criteria may include *inter alia* the degree of governmental intervention, level of connectivity, volume of traffic, dependence of the city upon the port and religious diversity.

⁹⁴ Besides, it is very unlikely that a specific Greek port culture ever existed, because of the underlying assumption that ‘port culture’ stands in opposition to a ‘normal *polis* culture’. Yet this was not the case. The *polis* was in its overwhelming majority located by the sea and therefore (nearly) always a port society. But the self-definition of a *polis* as a political entity of citizens made it ideologically necessary to minimize the appearance of segmentation of the community and to maximize the semblance of homogeneity. In this respect, the comparison with the settlements of Hispania may be telling, cf. Chapter 10 of this volume.

⁹⁵ This point has also been made by Ducruet (2011: 32) in his classification of research on today’s port cities.

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6 | Port Occupations and Social Hierarchies

A Comparative Study through Inscriptions
from Hispalis, Arelate, Lugdunum, Narbo Martius,
Ostia-Portus and Aquileia

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From small fishermen to tradesmen, port societies were composed of a broad range of occupations, which brought differing levels of income and prestige to those who practised them. Literary sources only mention a limited number of port activities, often situated at both ends of the social hierarchy, in particular the traders at the top and the fishermen at the bottom.¹ Epigraphic sources allow us to be more specific about this hierarchy. First, far from being generalizing, they refer to particular port contexts, even if all the information is not available. Moreover, the inscriptions were often created by professionals themselves or by people who were in contact with them and who probably knew them better than the élite who wrote about them. The inscriptions also have the advantage of using a precise vocabulary that allows us to know about the existence of some activities that are unknown in literary sources. This is an advantage, but it can also be an inconvenience, because without any reference in literature it is sometimes difficult to know the exact meaning of the Latin words. Difficulties in determining the meaning of a word can also be encountered with well-documented words, like *navicularius*, something that makes us realize how important it is to take into account the contexts in which a word is employed.² The aim of this chapter is to try to find clues for hierarchical relationships between different attested occupations. Are there any activities that are more prestigious than others, or that allow their members a better degree of social mobility? Alternatively, do some activities condemn those who practise them to remain at the bottom of the social scale? Is the hierarchy of occupations identical at each port?

¹ Joshel 1992: 66; she mentions the famous sentences of Cicero and other literary examples.

² See Arnaud and Keay (Chapter 2) in this volume.

This work is based on a comparative study of the epigraphic documentation from six major ports of the western part of the Roman Empire dating to between the first century BC and the third century AD; these are Hispalis (Seville), Arelate (Arles), Lugdunum (Lyon), Narbo Martius (Narbonne), Ostia-Portus and Aquileia. The choice of these six ports was made during my PhD, which aimed to compare the statuses and functions of port professionals of different sites on the Mediterranean. My documentation was based upon a choice dictated by the number of port-related inscriptions present in an epigraphic assemblage³ and ensuring a variety of locations.⁴ Nevertheless, the resulting sample provides us with a greater part of the overall western epigraphic documentation relating to port activities. The observed differences between sites were at the same time interesting and problematic. For example, how can we compare the ten inscriptions of Aquileia to the hundred of Ostia?⁵ However, the dates of these sources and the different contexts from which they are derived encouraged me to try to draw some conclusions.

In this chapter I emphasize the care that needs to be taken in undertaking analysis like this, which is based on partial documentation, and argue that it is sometimes necessary to supplement the sample with inscriptions from other ports. Several criteria are taken into consideration for the study of social hierarchies. Each of them is questionable if taken separately, but comparison between them allows us to draw some cautious conclusions. Moreover, several of them rest upon the results of a quantitative approach, which is uncertain on account of the lack of documentation, but also because of the difficulty in knowing the exact role and position played by several people involved in a particular activity. This is especially true of those who claimed to be *quinquennales perpetui*, the *curatores* of *collegia* or those who were associated with several activities. That is why I will focus upon the greatest differences that appear and that may be significant.

³ That made me exclude ports like Carthage, Lepcis Magna, Tarragona and Gades, for which my initial hope of finding port inscriptions was disappointed.

⁴ I chose the western part of the Empire because the study of the vocabulary was to take a great part of my work; adding Greek documentation was too ambitious within the scope of the PhD.

⁵ This number is mainly based on published inscriptions; the study of unpublished inscriptions may reveal many other documents in the future. The inscriptions that I chose to retain were found through indexes (*CIL* and *AE* for each port, then local epigraphic corpora); I also used online databases: EDCS and EDR. I finally identified 10 inscriptions at Aquileia, 20 at Arles, 8 at Hispalis, 13 at Narbonne, 54 at Lyon and 101 at Ostia, and also discussed some other uncertain examples.

Table 6.1 *The most common and rarer attestations of occupations.*

Occupations that are the most frequently quoted and the most common at the six ports	Occupations that are rare or unknown from the inscriptions of the six ports
<i>Negotiatores</i> first century BC–third century AD: 45 attestations	No known inscriptions. For example crews of trading ships; barge towmen (<i>helciarum</i>) . . .
<i>Navicularii</i> first century BC–third century AD: 27 attestations	Rare attestations (end of the first century–third century AD):
<i>Nautae</i> (fluvial transport) second and third centuries AD: 24 attestations	<i>saccarii</i> (1 at Ostia) <i>ratiarii</i> (1 at Lyon) <i>piscatores</i> (1 at Ostia) <i>sacomarii</i> (3 at Ostia) <i>saburrarii</i> (3 at Ostia) <i>urinatores</i> (2–3 at Ostia) <i>stuppatores</i> (4 at Ostia) <i>lyntrarii</i> (3 at Ostia, 1 at Hispalis)

1 A First Attempt at a Quantitative Approach to Producing a General Hierarchy

The first measure involved counting up all the occurrences of named occupations attested at the six ports selected for this study and other ports as appropriate (Table 6.1).

1.1 *Extremes of the Hierarchy*

Unsurprisingly, the *negotiatores* are the most frequently attested occupation with 45 occurrences, followed by the *navicularii* with 27 attestations and the *nautae* with 24 inscriptions. Enlarging the scope of the study beyond the six ports, the *negotiatores* remain the most numerous and are known from many cities across the Empire. In terms of occupational sectors, the difference becomes less important. At the six ports there are 57 inscriptions concerning trading professionals (*negotiatores*, *mercatores* and *diffusores olearii*),⁶ whereas 51 represent maritime and fluvial transport (*navicularii* and *nautae*). This balance is due to the fact that when *negotiatores* were counted, tradesmen using fluvial, maritime and land routes were mixed while *nautae* (river transport)⁷ were separated from *navicularii*

⁶ Nine *mercatores* and five *diffusores olearii* can be added to the *negotiatores*.

⁷ As I argued in my thesis, except for a very few uncertain inscriptions, the word *nauta* always refers to river transport, whereas in literature it can mean maritime sailor.

(maritime transport). Moreover, several inscriptions from Lyon associate trade with transport. This classification of occupations into sectors reduces the difference between trade and transport.

Some occupations, however, do not appear on the inscriptions from these ports at all, such as sailors or captains, while the names of other port-related activities are known through a very small number of inscriptions, for example the *saccarii* (porters)⁸ and the *piscatores* (fishermen)⁹ found at Ostia with one inscription each, and the *ratiarii* (raftsmen)¹⁰ with one inscription found at Lyon. Finally, the *sacomarii*¹¹ (who made or checked counterpoises), *saburrarii*¹² (ballast carriers), *urinatores*¹³ (divers) and *stuppatores*¹⁴ (rope makers) are all represented by three or four inscriptions each, all of which were found at Ostia. The *lyntrarii* (boatmen) are also known through three inscriptions that were found at Ostia and Hispalis.

Beyond our six ports, there are minor changes for some groups. For example, the *saccarii* and the *sacomarii* are a little more numerous and scattered through the Empire. The *saccarii* are also known from Salona,¹⁵ Dyrrachium,¹⁶ Pompeii,¹⁷ Rome¹⁸ and Trier,¹⁹ while *sacomarii* have been attested at Parma,²⁰ Puteoli²¹ and Tarragona.²² The *piscatores* too are known elsewhere in the Empire, above all from Rome with eight inscriptions, amongst which four are associated to the *urinatores*. Aside from these examples, other occupations remain quite rare and they are found in only one or two other places: the *ratiarii* are mentioned on two other inscriptions, although both come from the same region between Lyon, Chambéry and Geneva.²³ The *stuppatores* and the *urinatores* only appear at Ostia and Rome,²⁴ while another *lyntrarius* is known from Rome.²⁵ Also the term *saburrarius* does not seem to be known outside Portus. Finally, except for the *saccarii*,²⁶ the *sacomarii* and to some extent the *piscatores*,

⁸ CIL XIV, 4285. ⁹ AE 1999, 407. ¹⁰ AE 1999, 1065 = AE 2003, 1176.

¹¹ CIL XIV, 309; CIL XIV, 51; AE 1999, 407.

¹² AE 1977, 171 = AE 2008, 277; CIL XIV, 448; CIL XIV, 102.

¹³ AE 1982, 131; CIL XIV, 4620 = CIL XIV, 303; Castagnoli (1980: 41) mentions a *urinator portuensis*, although I have not directly studied this manuscript or found any other reference to this epitaph.

¹⁴ CIL XIV, 44; AE 1987, 196; CIL XIV, 4549, 01 = AE 1913, 114.

¹⁵ CIL III, 14642; CIL III, 14643 = AE 1901, 149; CIL III, 14643. ¹⁶ CIA 132 = LIA 91.

¹⁷ CIL IV, 274; CIL IV, 497. ¹⁸ CIL VI, 4417; CIL VI, 5356. ¹⁹ CIL XIII, 3700.

²⁰ AE 1993, 715 = AE 2004, 566. ²¹ CIL X, 1930 = CIL I, 1623.

²² IRC V, 138 = HEp. 12, 390. ²³ CIL XII, 2331; CIL XII, 2597.

²⁴ CIL VI, 1649; CIL VI, 1872; CIL VI, 29700; CIL VI, 29702; CIL VI, 1080 = CIL VI, 31236.

²⁵ CIL VI, 9531.

²⁶ For a discussion about the function and social status of the *saccarii*, see Virlovet in [Chapter 7](#) of this volume.

some occupations remain rare in the documentation. Can this scarcity be explained by the fortuitousness of discovery and by the different nature of the archaeological sites? Or can other explanations be attempted?

First, one cannot expect some occupations to be found everywhere. This is true of the *ratiarii*, boatmen who used a variety of rafts to travel on small rivers, probably for transporting wood,²⁷ and were useful at those ports where that kind of transport was needed. Another issue is that some tasks may have varied between ports. At Hispalis, the main part of the documentation concerns boatmen. Even if the number of its port-related inscriptions is very small, the dominance of boatmen can be explained by the importance of fluvial transport for a port situated on the Guadalquivir and dependent upon it and the broader river valley for most of its imports. The visibility of *scapharii* and *lyntrarii*, which are very rare in the rest of the Empire, may be not only fortuitous, but due to a greater need for these activities here than at other ports. It is also possible that some activities may have existed without the creation of a defined occupational specialization. If there was not a special need, then some workers could undertake several tasks, whereas these same tasks were divided amongst separate professionals elsewhere. For example, the *saburrarii* seem to be professionals who accumulated and/or carried ballast to the ships. At Ostia, they are designated as a *corpus* of specialized professionals by the *praefectus annonae*. Since they are only known from Ostia, could it be that at other ports there were individuals who were in charge of the same activity who were not named, or at least did not name themselves *saburrarii*? The way they worked is currently unknown, but modern sources suggest that they brought the ballast to the ships themselves, either by physically carrying it or with the help of small skiffs.²⁸ However, there is no proof that specialized *saburrarii* existed in every port. The ballast could have been carried by any able-bodied man, whether he was a *saccarius*, sailor or non-specialized boatman, and would have been overseen by the captain who checked the equilibrium of the ship. The large volume of activity in big ports like Ostia-Portus may have made it necessary to create specialized professionals who were responsible for ship ballast alone, above all during the more intense part of the sailing season. The hypothesis that port organization was diversified according to the needs and infrastructure of each location is reasonable, and could justify to a certain extent the differences in the documentation between ports and the fact that several occupations are rare or do not appear at every port.²⁹

²⁷ Izarra 1993: 202. ²⁸ Darsel 1971: 286.

²⁹ This does not mean that this occupation was absent from the port, but could mean that it was less important, so that the chances of finding traces of it are less than at other ports.

Finally, the scarcity of some activities on inscriptions may also be due to the modest social situation of almost all of those who practised them. Moreover, the status of the occupation may not have been high enough to make them want to mention it. Sailors, rowers of small skiffs or people who towed small boats up river cannot be clearly identified in inscriptions. The *nautae* and the *navicularii* are considered the élite of fluvial and maritime navigation and do not reflect the world of modest workers. Sailors are almost impossible to find in the epigraphic evidence. In literary and legal sources, they are named *nautae*. But the word *nauta* in inscriptions almost always refers to a member of the élite involved in inland transport; some *nautae* are found at maritime ports, but in many cases the inscriptions mention that they belonged to one of the military fleets, especially that based at Misenum or Ravenna. Only a few cases are uncertain.³⁰ One man from Capua is recorded as having been a *navigator* and his tombstone is decorated with the representation of a ship.³¹ There is no definite evidence for the sailors who would have sailed the trading ships. Nor is there any for the oarsmen or haulers on river-boats. In such cases of fluvial and maritime transport, when all the occupational terms found on inscriptions refer to the élite of an activity and not to those who actually undertook the associated hard physical work, it raises the question of when an activity was considered to have been an occupation. Did sailors have a professional identity? Could those people who worked aboard *scaphae*, *lyntres* or *lenunculi*, or those who hauled *naves caudicariae* from Ostia to Rome, recognize themselves as professionals if they did not have the opportunity or the will to mention it on an inscription? Did they consider their activity as something that defined them, or only as an occupation that enabled them to survive and from which they did not get a sense of pride? Moreover, it is likely that a certain number of these modest workers did not have only one type of work: they may have been sailors during the summer, and have worked in fields or in the city when they were not at sea. Indeed, many port-based activities were seasonal, which basically means that part of the labour force was only needed for some months of the year and was not required for the rest of it. Therefore, some of these workers became unemployed, while the others, free men or slaves, had to work elsewhere.³² Slaves could be moved by their masters, whereas free men had to find work on their own account. In these situations, individuals may

³⁰ For example in Pola: M(arco) Petronio / M(arci) l(iberto) / Amerimno / nautae (CIL V, 94). There is no precision about a link with the military fleet or with river transport and the inscription comes from a big Adriatic port.

³¹ CIL X, 3804 and see Chioffi 2005: n. 4.

³² For further analysis on the seasonal character of port activities, see Rougier 2015.

not have considered themselves as professional workers and would not have been able to give their activities a single or fixed name.

This category of people may be added to the different ‘statuts de travail’ defined by Andreau and developed by Tran.³³ This notion refers to the workers’ relationship to their economic activity, as expressed in terms of the broader social institutions to which they belonged. It takes into account such elements as the organization of the work, how much an individual was paid for undertaking it, the possibility of creating associations, how their work was represented in society, how the occupation was chosen and the possibilities of changing it.³⁴ These professionals who rarely or never appear in the epigraphic documentation are close to what Andreau generally calls the ‘hommes de métier’, whose life depends upon the exercise of an occupation.³⁵ However, this expression covers those people who had an occupation that provided them with wages, skills and workplaces, but did not have a ‘real’ occupation that structured their life in a permanent way. They were not thus men of a single occupation, but accepted any available work. Clearly, they could not have the same relationship to their work as the professionals who were settled in permanent occupations. This could explain why all the sailors who appear on inscriptions are soldiers: the army included them in a structure which provided them with regular wages, professional organization and solidarity, and sometimes promoted social mobility.³⁶

The extremes of the hierarchy, then, are quite easy to distinguish: on the one hand, professionals involved in long-distance trade and transport who are very much present in port societies; and on the other, workers who rented out their labour to whomever wanted it, and who generally speaking did not have the possibilities and/or the means to leave a material record of themselves.

1.2 *Intermediary Cases*

Several occupations are quite similar in quantitative terms at the six ports. There are 19 *lenuncularii* (boatmen), 17 *fabri navales* (ship-builders), 17 *mensores frumentarii* (grain measurers) and finally 13 *scapharii* (boatmen). However, there is a major difference between these four activities. In terms of all our documentation from ports in the western Roman Empire, the *mensores frumentarii* only appear at Ostia; the *lenuncularii* and the

³³ Andreau 1992; 2001; Tran 2006: 90; 2013: 5–6. ³⁴ Andreau 1992: 232; 2001: 17.

³⁵ By opposition to those whose incomes were abundant and diversified enough to be able not to have to depend upon a professional activity.

³⁶ Reddé 1986: 522–5. He notes that soldiers of the fleet identify themselves above all as soldiers and not as sailors. He gives some examples of social mobility.

scapharii are mainly known from Ostia, but two inscriptions of *lenuncularii* have also been found at Arles³⁷ and four other inscriptions of *scapharii* come from Hispalis.³⁸ The *fabri navales* can be distinguished by being present at several ports, notably Ostia and Portus, Arles and Aquileia, but also at Ravenna,³⁹ Sami (Macedonia),⁴⁰ Pisa⁴¹ and Rome.⁴² Ship-building is thus distinguished by taking place at a variety of ports. As an occupation, it could be favourable to workers or groups at several ports. There is nothing, however, that allows us to generalize the existence of the *mensores frumentarii* beyond Ostia. It is even difficult to know whether the occupation existed elsewhere, or if it was Ostia's role in the *annona* that created the conditions for a specialized occupation for measuring grain.

This first analysis shows that a general count of inscriptions is useful in distinguishing occupations in terms of abundance or rarity. The latter allows us to question the notion of occupation and occupational identity for modest workers. This approach also provides us with the opportunity to see some modest occupations emerge in the documentation in one or two places. Some other criteria may further help us in this first attempt at specifying a hierarchy of port occupations.

2 Individual or Collective Status?

A second criterion concerns the testimony of groups and individuals. Knowing occupations through groups or individual workers can provide us with another clue about the social impact of a particular occupation on the life of a worker.

2.1 Groups and Individuals

Several obvious elements appear in Table 6.2. Attestations of trading activities in the form of *negotiatores* and *mercatores* clearly predominate, followed by those related to transport, the *navicularii*, *diffusores* and *nautae*. By contrast, the *lenuncularii* and the *scapharii* are only known through group attestations on inscriptions of *collegia*, mainly dedications to their *patroni*, but some lists bearing the names of the members of professional *corpora* were also present.⁴³ Two observations can be made. First, engraving a name on a *corpus* list represented a social

³⁷ AE 2009, 203; Christol and Fruyt 2009: 104–9. ³⁸ CIL II, 1168; 1169; 1183; 1180.

³⁹ CIL XI, 139. ⁴⁰ IG IX, 01/04, 1548 = AE 2001, 1789. ⁴¹ CIL XI, 1436.

⁴² CIL VI, 33833. ⁴³ For further analysis see Tran (Chapter 4) in this volume.

Table 6.2 *Occupations represented through individuals and groups.*

	Individuals	Groups	Uncertain (incomplete inscriptions, unknown position in the college, etc.)
<i>Negotiatores</i>	41 (91%)	4	
<i>Mercatores</i>	8 (88%)	1	
<i>Diffusores</i>	4	1	
<i>Navicularii</i>	19 (70%)	6	2
<i>Nautae</i>	15 (65%)	8	1
<i>Lenuncularii</i>	0	18	1
<i>Scapharii</i>	0	11	1
<i>Codicarii</i>	1	4	1
<i>Mensores</i>	4	8	5
<i>frumentarii</i>			
<i>Fabri navales</i>	6	8	3

success and could be a source of personal pride. Tran also insists on the cohesion of such professional associations, with the desire of their members to share the same rules and belong to the same privileged groups.⁴⁴ However, the dedications that were made collectively represented a social recognition of the group and not of the individual workers. This substantial presence of collective inscriptions made by associations of boatmen reflects the importance of these occupations to the port activity, but it is not necessarily proof of a comfortable social condition or pride by those actually involved in the activities. On the contrary, there are many cases of tradesmen or *nautae* who achieved a comfortable social position and who express this in the epigraphic texts.

The situation concerning *ensores frumentarii* and the *fabri navales* is less obvious. Group attestations seem to predominate over those of individuals, but there are perhaps too many uncertain attestations to allow firm conclusions to be drawn. Nevertheless, some individuals show they that they had been clearly successful in these activities.

2.2 *Individual Status and Social Mobility*

The social position of individual workers can help to clarify the position of some activities in the broader hierarchy of port-based occupations. Some of

⁴⁴ See Tran (Chapter 4) in this volume.

them could achieve a comfortable social position in their respective cities by obtaining municipal titles or winning municipal functions.⁴⁵ The most frequently mentioned *honor* is the *sevirate*. Between eight and ten *seviri Augustales* are known from amongst the *negotiatores*⁴⁶ (19.5 per cent of individual inscriptions), six amongst the *navicularii*⁴⁷ (31 per cent), three amongst the *nautae*⁴⁸ (20 per cent), perhaps one amongst the *scapharii*⁴⁹ and the *codicarii*,⁵⁰ while several *quinquennales* of the *mensores frumentarii* claim to be *seviri Augustales*.⁵¹ The numbers and percentages are clearly not to be read literally, but they do show that individuals could achieve important positions through involvement in commerce or transport, and did not hesitate to mention their occupation and their position as *seviri Augustales* together. On the other hand, higher municipal functions or honours hardly ever appear in association with the mention of an occupation. One *curator* of the *negotiatores vinarii* of Lyon may have received the decurional ornaments at Nîmes⁵² and two *mercatores frumentarii* from Ostia had careers within more than one city.⁵³ One *nauta* of the Saône was also *decurio* of the *Treviri*, the Gallic *civitas* from which he originated,⁵⁴ and a *curator nautarum* who settled in Lyon was *Ilvir* of the city of Vienne.⁵⁵ The most impressive case is the one of C. Sentius Regulianus, who was *diffusor olearius* from Baetica to Rome, a *curator* and a *patronus* of the *corpus negotiatorum*, *negotiator vinarius Lugduni in canabis consistens*, and the *patronus* of the *nautae Ararici*.⁵⁶ This man became involved in oil and wine commerce and claims to be a knight. This is all that can be found from a direct reading of the epigraphic evidence. However, it does seem clear that the highest positions were reached by long-distance tradesmen and transporters, especially the *negotiatores*, followed by the *nautae* and then the *navicularii*.

⁴⁵ Only professionals are taken into account and not *patroni* of *collegia*, or *quinquennales perpetui* or people whose membership of the *collegium* seems to be honorary and is not a reflection of actual professional practice.

⁴⁶ Lyon: *CIL* XIII, 1948; 1962; 1966; 1972; *ILGN* 423 = *AE* 1900, 203 and maybe *ILGN* 424 = *AE* 1909, 81 if the same individual is concerned; maybe *AE* 1982, 702. Ostia: *CIL* XIV, 318; 397; *AE* 1940, 65 and probably *AE* 1974, 123a.

⁴⁷ Arles: *CIL* XII, 704; 982; Narbonne: *CIL* XII, 4406; Ostia: *AE* 1988, 178 = *AE* 1996, 284; *AE* 1987, 191; Lyon: *CIL* XIII, 1942.

⁴⁸ Arles: *CIL* XII, 1005; Lyon: *CIL* XIII, 01966; *CIL* XIII, 1972. ⁴⁹ Ostia: *CIL* XIV, 5327, 5328.

⁵⁰ The case of L. Calpurnius Chius is difficult because he claims to be *quinquennalis* of the *mensores frumentarii* and he also says that he was *codicar(ium) curat(or) Osti(en)s(ium)* (*CIL* XIV, 309). It is unclear if he was equally involved in both occupations, or whether his social rise was instead linked to only one of those activities.

⁵¹ *CIL* XIV, 4140; *AE* 1999, 410; *CIL* XIV, 309 (see also note 39). ⁵² *ILGN* 424 = *AE* 1909, 81.

⁵³ P. Aufidius Fortis: *CIL* XIV, 4620 = *CIL* XIV, 303 and M. Iunius Faustus: *CIL* XIV, 4142.

⁵⁴ *CIL* XIII, 1911. ⁵⁵ *CIL* XIII, 1918. ⁵⁶ *CIL* VI, 29722.

Some careers can be ascertained indirectly and provide us with information about other occupations. For example, at Ostia, M. Cornelius Valerianus is known as a *lenuncularius* thanks to the album of the *ordo corporatorum lenunculariorum tabulariorum auxiliariorum Ostiensium*.⁵⁷ He can also be found on his son's epitaph, in which he qualifies himself as a *decurio*.⁵⁸ In this case, neither of the two inscriptions mentions this man's occupation and that he was a *decurio*; two inscriptions are needed to link these two aspects of his life. The same is true for P. Aufidius Fortis. Were he known only from the dedication by his freedmen,⁵⁹ he would have been seen simply as a member of the Ostian élite. However, mention of him in an inscription from the *corpus mentorum frumentariorum*⁶⁰ reveals his involvement in port activities. Separation of information into several inscriptions in this way can make the documentation quite difficult to interpret satisfactorily. A final element must be added to this search for careers, namely the fact that social advancement could take more than one generation. The son of the *lenuncularius* M. Cornelius Valerianus was an *eques Romanus*.⁶¹ Two more examples are found among the *fabri navales*. At Ostia, a grandson of a *faber navalis* became a knight. However, his grandfather's occupation never appears next to the grandson's honour. This *faber navalis* is named as A. Livius Anteros and his wife, Livia Marcellina, also appears on his epitaph.⁶² This same woman claims to be the grandmother of P. Nonius Livius Anterotianus, who had a very accomplished career.⁶³ It is likely that ship-building somehow facilitated the social rise of this family, but the grandson was adopted and does not mention any link to the *fabri navales*. Another possibility cannot be excluded, namely that he may have kept some distance from the profession of his grandfather. At a lower level, P. Celerius P. fil. Pal. Amandus, a young boy who died at the age of eighteen, was admitted among the *decuriones* of Ostia.⁶⁴ No

⁵⁷ *CIL* XIV, 251. ⁵⁸ *CIL* XIV, 341. ⁵⁹ *CIL* XIV, 4622. ⁶⁰ *CIL* XIV, 303 = *CIL* XIV, 4620.

⁶¹ *CIL* XIV, 341. ⁶² *AE* 1989, 124 = *CIL* XIV, 4656.

⁶³ His wife is named Livia Marcellina. This same woman erects a dedication to her grandson, who records a very accomplished career: P(ublio) Nonio P(ubli) f(ilio) / Pal(atina) Livio / Anterotiano, / equo publ(ico) exornato ab / Imperatore M(arco) Aurelio Antonino Aug(usto), / dec(reto) dec(urionum) decur(ioni) adlecto, / flamine divi Hadriani, / salio Laurent(ium) Lavinatiu(m), / aedili pr(aetori) sacr(is) Volk(ani) faci[u(ndis)] / Livia / Marcellina / nepoti dulcissimo / l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ublice) (*CIL* XIV, 390 = *ILS* 6139).

⁶⁴ *AE* 1988, 196: P(ublio) Celerio P(ubli) f(ilio) Pal(atina) Amando / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) decurio adlectus hunc / decuriones funere publico ef/ferendum censuerunt eique / honores omnes decreverunt / et turis p(ondo) XX pater honore usus impensam remisit vixit annos XIIX / menses XI dies XIIX P(ublius) Celerius P(ubl(i)i) libertus / Chryseros et Scantia Lathanusa parentes / fecerunt sibi et suis libertis libertabus posterisque / eorum.

professional activity is mentioned on his epitaph, but his father was a *faber navalis*⁶⁵ and some tools of the profession were engraved on his son's epitaph. It seems as if the *decuriones* admitted the son of P. Celerius Chryseros to the *ordo* in order to honour his father, who was a freedman and therefore not eligible for membership. These two examples from among the *fabri navales* could explain the intermediary position that this occupation held in port societies. The *fabri navales* may not have been sufficiently numerous to reach comfortable social positions; moreover, if they were freedmen, as was the case for A. Livius Anteros and P. Celerius Chryseros,⁶⁶ they could hope for little more than reaching the *sevirate*. However, their efforts did enable their descendants to climb the social ladder. In other words, their occupation seems to have allowed a social mobility that was slower than that of other activities such as those related to long-distance trade.

One cannot easily generalize from these few examples, but they once again clearly privilege long-distance trade and transport. They also confirm the particular case of ship-building, which was less promising for the workers involved in it than trade and transport, but which nevertheless distinguishes itself from the other port occupations. This particular case of ship-builders may reside in their abilities as craftsmen. Historians such as Tran and Tchernia demonstrated that the judgement of the professional world by the Roman élite was much more complex than simple contempt.⁶⁷ Along with the *architecti navales* known at Arles, they could make vessels for the state or for powerful people who would then praise the quality of their work. Ships were useful tools for trade, but could also be visible signs of wealth, and required contacts with reliable and qualified ship-builders. On the other hand, workers such as *lenuncularii*, *scapharii* and *saburrarii* did not have such opportunities to distinguish themselves by their work. Some of them could be more efficient than others, or have better crews, but the opportunities for distinctions were fewer. As important as they were, the nature of some occupations prevented their workers from benefiting in similar ways.

While social advancement was possible through port activities, it does not appear in these sources as a frequent phenomenon, and spectacular

⁶⁵ The name P. Celerius Chryseros appears on what seems to be a contemporary album of the *fabri navales* (Bloch 1953: 43).

⁶⁶ Chryseros says that he is *P(ubli) libertus*; regarding A. Livius Anteros, several clues suggest that he was *libertus*: his quality of *sevir Augustalis* and his *cognomen* lead to this hypothesis (Royden 1988: 65), like the fact that his son (*AE* 1928, 133) and grandson belong to the *Palatina tribu*, in which freedmen at Ostia seem to be inscribed.

⁶⁷ Tchernia 2011: 36; Tran 2013: 14, 187–9.

risers are very rare. The most common situation was admission into the *seviri Augustales*. Moreover, the social rise of professionals was rarely associated with municipal functions, which raises questions as to which mechanism brought it about: an individual's occupation may not be the only contributing factor, and it may even have been of minor importance in terms of the actions of patrons, friends or inheritance.⁶⁸

The hierarchy of port occupations cannot be emphasized much beyond stating that on the one hand there was a superiority of long-distance occupations, and to some extent ship-building, and on the other hand stressing the inferiority of small-scale activities, particularly the manual labour of the *saburrarii* or *saccarii*. However, the subject can be taken a little further. While analysis and discussion hitherto have focused upon identifying the overall hierarchy, it is worth establishing how far this differed between ports.

3 The Occupational Hierarchy at Each Port

Looking at what happens at each port allows us to develop a more nuanced understanding of occupational hierarchies. The situation at each port is very different: Ostia was the port of Rome, Hispalis was specialized in the export of olive oil during the second century, Aquileia acted as a node between West and East, between land routes to and from central Europe, and for maritime routes across the Adriatic. The history of these ports and the processes of their Romanization were different, which implied that the workers' connection to their work and its organization could differ. Some issues indicate that there may have been differences between port hierarchies.

3.1 Questioning the Domination of Long-Distance Tradesmen

The dominance of merchants would clearly be confirmed at ports like Aquileia and Lyon. In the former, long-distance trade and ship-building are the only port activities known from inscriptions, with eight *negotiatores*, one *mercator* and one *faber navalis*. At Lyon, there are 26 occurrences of the term *negotiator*, with other activities being less frequently attested. At Arles, however, no *negotiator* or *mercator* has been attested except for a *negotiator familiae gladiatoriae*, whereas there are several known

⁶⁸ For example, the famous literary case of Clesippus, whose wealth did not derive from his activity as a fuller but through his inheritance from his rich lover Gegania. *Pliny NH* 34.6.11–12.

navicularii. In this case and even at Narbonne, the nature of the surviving documentation does not allow one to argue that great merchants dominated port life. Once again, chance discoveries may explain the lack of *mercatores* or *negotiatores* in some places. But one cannot exclude the possibility that they were less numerous and/or less influential at Arles than at other ports, like Lyon, which had the advantage of being situated at the junction of the Rhône valley and the northern provinces. The presence of *navicularii*, *nautae*, *utricularii* and *fabri navales* at Arles during the second century suggests that this port played a role in the passage and redistribution of goods, rather than being a real centre of intense commerce. This means not that tradesmen were absent from the port, but that they may have been less numerous; it is also arguable that those who stayed in Arles were less wealthy and influential than those who settled in Lyon. Even if they passed through the former, maritime tradesmen may have preferred to settle in other ports, create *collegia* and, thus, leave epigraphic traces. The example of Arles is also interesting because it seems to invert the hierarchy between transport and trade professionals; the number of individual inscriptions and individual careers is an argument in favour of the importance of *negotiatores* and *mercatores*.

The case of Narbonne also illustrates the difficulty in arguing for the preponderance of tradesmen over *navicularii*. Four *mercatores* and one *negotiator* have been found at Narbonne, which is quite important in terms of the general number of port inscriptions from the city.⁶⁹ However, testimonies of *navicularii* are more numerous, with seven known inscriptions; one these was a *sevir Augustalis*,⁷⁰ whereas inscriptions of tradesmen do not mention any honour or function.⁷¹ This *sevir Augustalis* lived in the second century AD, whereas all the traces of *mercatores* found in Narbonne were earlier. In any event the documentation does not prove that long-distance traders predominated at Narbonne, and could even suggest that the *navicularii* were more significant. One could object that some inscriptions which do not mention any port-related occupation may actually mask the existence of *negotiatores* who chose not to mention the fact. For example, Sex. Fadius Secundius Musa, who records that he received all the honours at the city of Narbonne without specifying his sector of activity,⁷² has been identified as a *negotiator* through stamps of

⁶⁹ A little more than ten inscriptions, the greater part being *navicularii*, plus one mention of *utricularii*.

⁷⁰ *CIL* XII, 4406.

⁷¹ The inscriptions mentioning *mercatores* seem to be older than *CIL* XII, 4406.

⁷² *CIL* XII, 4393 = *AE* 1978, 461 = *AE* 1992, 1225.

Dressel 20 found on Monte Testaccio in Rome.⁷³ It also appears that his social position was higher than that of P. Olitius Apollonius, a *navicularius* of the same city, whose most prestigious title was *sevir Augustalis*.⁷⁴ This information could be used to conclude that in Narbonne *negotiatores* also enjoyed a greater social position than *navicularii*. In order to accept this, however, some difficulties need to be overcome. P. Olitius Apollonius also appears on Dressel 20 stamps at Monte Testaccio;⁷⁵ however, he claims to be a *navicularius* and not a *negotiator*, something which can be explained by one of two possible hypotheses. First, he may have been a *navicularius* before becoming a *negotiator*. The second possibility is that he was a *navicularius* and a *negotiator* at the same time. In this case, the decision to mention *navicularius* and not *negotiator* on the inscription could have been taken by Apollonius himself, or by those who made the dedication, the *seviri Augustales* of Narbonne. If the former scenario were true, it would lead to the conclusion that at Narbonne it sounded better to be called *navicularius* than *negotiator*. If the decision came from the *ordo Augustalium*, it would mean that, for them, the activity of *navicularius* was worthier of mention on a public inscription than the activity of long-distance trade. Indeed, Apollonius was settled in Narbonne as an entrepreneur of maritime transport: the Dressel 20 stamps show that he bought Baetican olive oil to sell in Rome. Whether he bought it directly from sources in Baetica or in Narbonne, involvement in transport may have been a more visible activity for Narbonne society than trading in Baetican products. Furthermore, Sex. Fadius Secundus Musa is not stated to have been a *negotiator*. This could also be explained by the nature of the document: it is the transcript of a letter addressed by Musa to the *fabri subaediani* in which he announces that he would offer them several gifts. He may not have seen the point of mentioning his trading activity and may have preferred to strengthen his position in the municipal élite. The case of Narbonne shows how difficult it is to draw definitive conclusions about the relative hierarchical positions of *navicularii* and *negotiatores* on account of

⁷³ CIL XV, 3863–70 and 3872–3. For the identification of the individual, see Héron de Villefosse 1915. For the identification and the significance of the stamps, see Liou and Tchernia 1994, *passim*.

⁷⁴ CIL XII, 4406. This conclusion has been used for example by Virlouvet to qualify the hypothesis of a very powerful college of *navicularii* at Arles (Virlouvet 2004: 364–5). However, it may differ according to the scale of the study. At the level of Roman society in general, this argument can indeed strengthen the idea that the *navicularii* were not as powerful as some historians have believed. Moreover, if the careers of individual professionals seemed to be more favourable to *negotiatores* than to *navicularii* in terms of occupational hierarchy, local situations may have varied from one port to another.

⁷⁵ CIL XV, 3863–73. For example, see Christol 2002: 325ff for this and for further examples in Gaul.

differences in the situation of each port and the context of known inscriptions.⁷⁶

If this conclusion were to be verified at a general level, it would suggest that the dominance of long-distance trade is not obvious at each port. Moreover, the general assertion is that long-distance traders dominated port societies, but that a greater part of them displayed a specialization, particularly in documentation dating to the second and third centuries AD.⁷⁷ This makes it necessary to be more precise about the use of the term 'trade'. For example, at Ostia, it is not possible to say that long-distance traders dominated the hierarchy of port professions: it is only possible to say that grain and wine merchants were important. Most inscriptions mentioning *negotiatores* provide details about their specialization in wine or grain.⁷⁸ Two *mercatores frumentarii* reached the duumvirate and two wine merchants were *seviri Augustales*.⁷⁹ A greater number of specializations appear at Lyon, with some of them not attested elsewhere. But again, given the nature of the documentation, only wine merchants can be placed at the top of the hierarchy. They are the most numerous, with around six inscriptions, whereas every other speciality is only attested by a single inscription. C. Sentius Regulianus, one of the *negotiatores vinarii* of Lyon, was a knight;⁸⁰ more modestly, one or two others were *seviri Augustales* at Nîmes and Lyon and received the decurional ornaments.⁸¹ Another one, M. Inthadius Vitalis, was *patronus* of several other *collegia*,⁸² which could indicate the superiority of this association over the others. This idea seems to be confirmed by another inscription in which the *collegium* received a gift from Sex. Ligurius Marinus, a member of the provincial élite; it received the same amount as the *seviri Augustales*, and

⁷⁶ On this matter, see also Christol (Chapter 11) in this volume, and his analysis of other men from Arles and Narbonne and their statuses.

⁷⁷ On the 24 testimonies of long-distance traders at Lyon, all date back to the second and third centuries and only one does not mention any specialization. At Ostia, only one inscription refers to long-distance commerce, does not mention any specialization and dates back to the late Republican period. At Narbonne, six inscriptions mentioning *mercatores* or *negotiatores* are known. None of them mentions a specialization and all date from the first century BC or the first century AD. We only find a *negotiator margaritarius* who could have lived during the first century AD at Aquileia (*InscrAquil.* I, 718 = *ILS* 7603 = *IEAquil.* 290). Only one inscription is known at Hispalis. It could mention an iron trader and date to the first century AD; however, the stone is lost and the reading is not assured (*CIL* II, 1199; comments on *AE* 1999, 822 = *AE* 1999, 889). We do not know of any long-distance trade inscription from Arles.

⁷⁸ Only two of them do not: *CIL* XIV, 153 and *CIL* XIV, 397. ⁷⁹ *AE* 1940, 65; *CIL* XIV, 318.

⁸⁰ *CIL* VI, 29722.

⁸¹ *ILGN* 423 = *AE* 1900, 203; *ILGN* 424 = *AE* 1909, 81. The two inscriptions appear to be very similar and both names are lost; they could be connected to the same individual.

⁸² *CIL* XIII, 1954.

more than all the other *corpora* authorized at Lyon.⁸³ The *collegium* of the *negotiatores vinarii* is distinguished from the rest of the professional associations and seems to have been especially important to Lyon. This does not mean that the other *negotiatores* could not have a comfortable position: several of them were *seviri Augustales*.⁸⁴ However, they benefited from individual promotions, while the *negotiatores vinarii* displayed ascendancy as individuals and as a collective. This activity was beneficial to its workers and was also recognized by the élites of Lyon as an important professional sector for the city.

These professional specializations date back to the second century AD. The *negotiatores* and *mercatores* of Aquileia and Narbonne do not mention any specialization except one⁸⁵ and this belongs to an earlier period. There may have been an evolution of port occupations: the volume of exchange may have become sufficiently large at major ports like Lyon to allow some tradesmen to specialize in certain lucrative products.

3.2 Individual Honours and Port Hierarchies

The mention of an honour next to a port activity is interesting if studied in the context of each port where it is attested. Aquileia and Narbonne provide no examples of this. This may be linked to the date of these inscriptions, most of which fall between the first century BC and the first century AD. On the other hand, several *seviri Augustales* and some municipal magistrates of the second century and the beginning of the third are known from Ostia and Lyon. Despite the proximity of Rome and its élites, the former port seems to have had a specific link to port activities that is more explicit than elsewhere. Some *Iiviri* and *decuriones* do not hesitate to mention specific port activities explicitly, above all those related to maritime commerce. The abundance of *collegia* associated with the port also gives some visibility

⁸³ CIL XIII, 1921 = AE 1974, 422.

⁸⁴ A *negotiator argentarius vascularius* (CIL XIII, 1948), a *negotiator murarius* (CIL XIII, 1966), probably the *negotiator seplarius* (AE 1982, 702), and a [*negotiat(or?) ar]t(is) alicar(iae)* (CIL XIII, 1962), and the only known *negotiator frumentarius* of Lyon (CIL XIII, 1972).

⁸⁵ In Aquileia, some of them provide information about the geographical extent of their activities. Also, only one merchant attested at the port specified the product in which he was specialized, referring to himself as *negotiator margaritarius ab Roma* (Brusin 1991: 718); his epitaph could date from the first century AD. In Lyon, only one *negotiator* does not mention specialization in a particular product since he is *negotiator lugdunensis* (CIL XIII, 2025). Another inscription (CIL XIII, 1999) could refer to a non-specialized tradesman since no specification appears; however, the empty space after the word *negotiator* could have made reference to this.

to occupations that are otherwise quite unknown. At Lyon, the situation is quite different. In common with Ostia, several professionals mention a municipal function. Where it differs, however, is that these functions do not belong to the city of Lyon. The *negotiatores* and *nautae* who are also *decuriones* and *Ilviri* exercise their municipal functions elsewhere, above all in Gallic *civitates*. C. Apronius Raptor is *nauta* and *decurio* of the Treveri;⁸⁶ L. Helvius Frugi is *curator nautarum*, a *curator negotiatorum vinariorum* and *Ilvir* of Vienne,⁸⁷ as well as receiving the decurional ornaments of Nîmes.⁸⁸ M. Inthatus Vitalis received the *concessio* from the city of Alba.⁸⁹ The epigraphic record from Lyon gives the impression of a separation between the municipal élite and the port professionals, with many of the latter originating in the broader Gallic world. Port activities at Ostia would have been more valued than at Lyon and the same occupations could have been more glorified. The status that place granted to port professionals seemed to vary from port to port and maybe over time too.

In the end, even the partial documentation at our disposal allows us to draw several conclusions. *Negotiatores* distinguish themselves in port hierarchies on several points, such as accounting for the larger number of inscriptions, the greater part of individual inscriptions and the possibility that some of them may have entered the municipal or even Roman élites. On the other hand, the absence of some professionals from the available documentation may be a symptom of their generally low social position. Specific port contexts could also help some occupations to emerge, especially as groups, but sometimes allowing some of their members to reach a comfortable social position. The most convincing example is ship-building, but other professionals like boatmen and *saccarii* could also emerge as more documentation becomes available. This general hierarchy is interesting in providing us with a better idea of port societies, but the fact that each port produced its own hierarchy must also be taken into account. It could highlight some activities that were less valued elsewhere because they met special needs in that particular port. Ports depended on municipal organizations and hierarchies, which also differed. At Lyon, municipal and port lives seemed to run on distinct trajectories, whereas at Ostia they were more closely integrated and there was little

⁸⁶ *CIL* XIII, 1911. ⁸⁷ *CIL* XIII, 1918.

⁸⁸ *ILGN* 423 = *AE* 1900, 203 and maybe *ILGN* 424 = *AE* 1909, 81. ⁸⁹ *CIL* XIII, 1954.

hesitation in promoting *mercatores* in its ruling élite. This study of the inscriptions shows that hierarchies of port occupations did exist, but that they were integrated into specific contexts which could make them vary.

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7 | Warehouse Societies

CATHERINE VIRLOUVET

When we are trying to imagine what the world of the warehouse was like in the last few centuries of the Republic and the first three of the Empire, we have to consider a particular type of storehouse and economic context at a time when commercial exchanges in the ports in which goods were stocked and redistributed reached their apogee.¹ This was a time when ports were centres of constant activity in which goods were stored and redistributed and commercial exchange was at its height.

Most buildings used for storage in these major sea, sea-river and river ports were large complexes, built on several floors and with a footprint covering several thousand, if not several tens of thousands, of square metres. Most of these buildings took the form of rows of adjacent rooms, sometimes grouped around internal courtyards. This does not mean that goods were not also stored in buildings which were not subdivided internally, taking the form of a vast hangar, nor does it mean that buildings with central courtyards could not be found in sites which – as far as we know – did not have a port. The Hergla warehouse in Tunisia, with an area of 4100 m², is an example of this (Figure 7.1).² However, the link between major ports and buildings that were composed of adjoining rooms was very common, evidence of which comes from both archaeological and written sources from ports such as Ostia (Figure 7.2) and Rome, as well as Pozzuoli and Vienne, to the south of Lyon. I have recently put forward the idea that this architectural form predominated in a period of relative peace inside the Empire.³ A strong state created conditions favourable to the development of a richer and more varied trade network, in which the state itself participated, conditions which also allowed private trade to develop. Subdividing buildings in this way gave the building's owners – both public (Roman state, cities) and private – greater flexibility in how they used the buildings, subletting predefined spaces, with the whole enterprise supervised by *praepositi*, who could be slaves or paid employees. Dividing the space up in this way also without doubt helped with the organization of

¹ This chapter was translated from the original French by James Minney.

² Ghalia, Villedieu and Virlouvet 2011. ³ Virlouvet 2018.



Figure 7.1 General view of the *horrea Caelia* (Hergla-Tunisie).



Figure 7.2 The *grandi horrea* at Ostia (Italy), showing the arrangement of the storerooms around the central courtyard.

labour within the warehouse, although we do not yet have a complete picture of how this happened in practice. Most warehouses, in addition to their function of storing goods, also served as wholesale and retail outlets. Almost everyone involved in the commercial life of a port had links with the warehouses. Therefore, people with very different legal and social statuses came into contact with each other in a professional context, and it is their professional, hierarchical and social relationships and their interdependence which I would like to outline here.

In the sources on which my study is based, I will not distinguish between warehouses in which goods were stored and those in which valuable objects were kept – a function akin to modern safety deposit boxes. Although it is probable that some buildings specialized more in one type of activity than the other, I think that many warehouses would have been multifunctional. For this reason, the regulations governing the *horrea Caesaris* list the various spaces which could be rented within the site – everything from spaces within cabinets to whole rooms.⁴ It seems likely that both bulky goods and valuables would have been stored in the same building.

1 *Horrea*: A Microcosm of Port Society

At the top are the owners of the warehouse buildings who often had little day-to-day involvement in warehouse societies. The programme ‘Entrepôts et lieux de stockage du monde gréco-romain antique’ (Warehouses and storage sites in the Graeco-Roman world) which I, along with Véronique Chankowski and Xavier Lafón, directed from 2009 to 2012, with the support of the Agence nationale de la recherche, allowed us to refine the idea we had that all of the large port warehouses were Imperial constructions and property. It is true that sites such as the vast so-called *magazzini di Traiano* (warehouses of Trajan) or the *grandi magazzini di Settimio Severo* (large warehouses of Septimius Severus), to cite but two examples, may well have been built as the result of an Imperial initiative because the port, Portus, was itself the result of vast works carried out at the behest of the emperors. However, in Rome and in Pozzuoli we have written sources which prove that other large warehouse complexes (the *horrea Lolliana*, *Sulpiciana* (future *horrea Galbana*) and *Agrippiana* in Rome and the *horrea Barbatiana* and *Bassiana* in Pozzuoli) were built at the behest of members of the élite. It is also true that they subsequently passed into Imperial or municipal hands after being sold, or

⁴ *CIL* VI, 33747 l. 5: *horrea*, *compendiar(ia)* *armaria* et *loca*.

through inheritance or confiscation. However, there are still accounts of warehouses being built by private individuals well into the second century AD.⁵ Most of these warehouse owners were members of the élite and these warehouses were only one aspect (albeit a lucrative one, if Cicero is to be believed⁶) of their propertied wealth. As a result, this category only comes into the scope of a study about warehouse society insofar as it touches on the question of the relationship between owners and warehouse operators, a question which – due to a lack of evidence – is every bit as difficult to shed light upon as that of the élite’s involvement in the business world more generally. Did members of the élite whose properties included warehouses take a close interest in the running of these warehouses? This is a question which cannot be answered and for which there is, in any case, unlikely to be just one answer.

However, warehouse owners were sometimes members of different social classes and in these cases it is possible to speculate on their involvement in the day-to-day running of the warehouses. In Ostia, set into the beautiful two-coloured brick façade of the *horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*, with its Corinthian columns and pediment, there is an inscription above the entrance which tells us who the owners of this warehouse were to which they gave their names. The inscription only bears their *cognomina* – Epagathus and Epaphroditus – names of Greek origin belonging to individuals who were probably freed slaves, or descendants of freed slaves, who both owned and ran the *horrea* and who were sufficiently well known by those who frequented the warehouse to need to put only their *cognomina* above the warehouse’s entrance. Andreau has recently put forward the hypothesis that the distinction between *negotiatores* and *mercatores* was that the former could either own or run the warehouses.⁷ Amongst other sources, he bases his theory on a bilingual funerary monument found near Lyon and dating from the late second or early third century AD: *Thaemus Iulianus Sati filius* (Thaemus, son of Saad/Sati), decurion from Canatha in Syria, who is described as being a *negotiator* in Lyon and in the province of Aquitaine in the Latin version of the inscription. The Greek version, as Greek has no equivalent term for *negotiator*, explains that he owns an *emporion*, full of goods which have been bought in order to be sold.⁸ The word *emporion* is used to describe a commercial establishment in which goods are also sold, as is the case here. As I have already mentioned, it is not uncommon to find a variety of commercial

⁵ *CIL* VI, 33806: warehouses of Q. Tineus Sacerdos Clemens, consul in AD 158; *CIL* VI, 37795, warehouses of M. Ummidius Quadratus, consul in AD 167.

⁶ Cicero *De finibus* 2.84. ⁷ Andreau 2018.

⁸ *CIL* XIII, 2448; *ILS* 7529, ll. 8–9: es prasin echôn emporion agorasmôn / meston ek Akouitanie.

activities taking place in many warehouses. It is therefore possible that owning warehouses could count among a *negotiator's* business interests. At least that is how Dubouloz has interpreted a rescript issued by Antoninus that is reported in the Digest, and which stated that, if a warehouse had been broken into, it was possible to question the slaves charged with guarding the warehouse even if the emperor himself had a share in the warehouse (*in illius ipsius imperatoris portio est*).⁹ However, the *portio imperatoris* might not necessarily mean that the emperor owned a share in the premises. We do indeed know that large warehouses like this, whoever the owner or owners may be, were intended to be rented by *portio*. The public authorities – the state, cities – sometimes needed to rent spaces in warehouses belonging to private individuals and vice versa. It is therefore possible that the expression simply means that the Imperial authorities were one of the various parties renting space in a warehouse.

2 Warehouse Operators

Most of the large warehouses were not run directly by their owner, but were entrusted to one of the slaves of the *familia* or were managed by an individual from outside the *familia*, according to the *locatio-conductio* system, of which there is a lot of evidence in the Roman world for both private and public contracts.¹⁰

How was this administrator or manager designated in Latin? Did his designation change according to how the warehouse operated? One might expect *vilicus* – a term frequently used in Latin for the supervisor of a rural estate, for example – to be used where the warehouse operation was overseen by a *praepositus* slave. Where the warehouse operated via a *locatio-conductio* contract, the manager is called the *conductor* and the owner is the *locator*. In practice, we see the term *horrearius* used quite clearly to designate the manager of a warehouse, the principal *conductor* of storehouses, which were often divided into separate units that were then sublet.¹¹ We see this term used by lawyers during the early Imperial period¹² as well as in epigraphic accounts; I refer in particular to the rental

⁹ Dubouloz 2008: 283; Digest 1.15.3.2 (Paul, *Liber singularis de officio Praefecti Vigilum*).

¹⁰ Aubert 2003; France 2008.

¹¹ We know that a certain Concordius who is called the *co[(loniae)] horrearius* (CIL IX, 1545) was without doubt the manager of warehouses in the city of Beneventum.

¹² Cf. Digest 9.3.5.3 (Ulpian 23, *ad ed.*); Digest 10.4.5 pr. (Ulpian, 24, *ad ed.*, translating Celsus): *cum horreario agendum*; Digest 19.2.60.9 (Labeo 5. *Posteriorum a Iavoleno epitomatorum*).

regulations of the *horrea Caesaris* in Rome.¹³ In cases such as this, the manager became the *locator* for the *conductores* who rented units within the warehouse (rooms, spaces on the colonnade, cabinets, etc.). The term *conductor* was also used to mean the person responsible for running the whole warehouse complex, as long as it was perfectly clear from the context that this was how the term was being employed. Thus, the inscription *CIL VI, 9471*¹⁴ without doubt commemorates a gift made by a freed Imperial slave who was responsible for managing the *horrea Seiana* in Rome, at a time when they were still owned privately by the *familia*. When the term *conductor* is potentially ambiguous because the text refers to rental arrangements for units within the warehouse, and therefore where there were individuals who were *conductores* subordinate to the principal *conductor* (e.g. in the regulations of the *horrea Caesaris*), Latin sources seem to prefer the term *horrearius*.

However, *horrearius* was also used in a more general sense to designate people involved in warehousing but not necessarily linked to warehouses for public use. Several funerary inscriptions are dedicated to slaves described as *horrearii*,¹⁵ individuals working in warehouses who were responsible for the management of the personal stocks belonging to important Roman élite families. The very fact that the deceased's entourage mentioned that he was a *horrearius* shows that this must have been an important responsibility. However, as far as inscriptions are concerned, it is not always easy to differentiate between this type of function and that of someone with overall responsibility for running a warehouse complex. Thus, the term *horrearius* as used by the wife of the freed Imperial slave Primus in his epitaph has sometimes been linked to the use of the term in the regulations of the *horrea Caesaris*, because the two stones were discovered close to each other, near to the section of the Via Salaria which crosses the Pincian Hill.¹⁶ If the *horrearius* of the *horrea Caesaris* could be a slave, then that would mean that this warehouse complex was not being operated under a *locatio-conductio* contract, as was suggested above, and that, as far as these warehouses were concerned, the term *horrearius* was

¹³ This is known from an inscription found near the Porta Salaria, *CIL VI, 33747*; *ILS 5914*. There is no evidence that it was illegal for *conductores* to sublet units in a *horreum* belonging to the emperor. Part of the *lex locationis* of such a *horreum* has survived and it has been possible to reconstitute the relevant part of the text (*CIL VI, 33747*, ll. 8–9).

¹⁴ Caius Iulius / Hermes / conductor / horreorum / Seianorum / lustris terti / s(ua) p(ecunia) d(onum) d(edit).

¹⁵ Cf. *CIL VI, 588*; 682; 4239–40; 6292–5; 8682; 9108; 9460; 9464–9 (although the person is a freed slave); *AE 1994, 372*; *AE 1997, 1749*; *AE 2000, 219*; *AE 2003, 300*.

¹⁶ *CIL VI, 33746*.

not used instead of *conductor* but, first and foremost, designated the person who had overall responsibility for the running of the complex, whether that person was a slave *praepositus* or someone recruited under contract. However, a passage in the Digest mentions the case of a free man, *negotiator marmorum conductor* of the *horrea Caesaris*.¹⁷ If this man was the manager of the whole warehouse complex rather than someone who was renting a few storerooms within it to store his marble, then Primus cannot have been in charge of running the *horrea Caesaris*, which, in turn, must have been managed on a contract basis rather than by a *praepositus* slave. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that the operating model of the *horrea Caesaris* changed during the course of their history.¹⁸

Furthermore, it is not entirely clear that the various documents are referring to the same warehouse complex. *Horrea Caesaris* could actually be a generic term, at least in the section of the Digest to which Jean Andreau refers, and could designate any warehouse which was Imperial property, rather than a specific one. This situation is made even more complex by the problems surrounding the identification of the *horrea Caesaris* themselves. It has often been the case that links have been made between the *horrea Caesaris* and the *horrea Galbana*. Indeed, the case of the *negotiator marmorum* is one of the arguments put forward for seeing links between these two places, because archaeological excavations on the supposed site of the *horrea Galbana* at the end of the nineteenth century¹⁹ revealed evidence of the working of marble on the site, and we know of another *negotiator marmorum*, this time ‘de Galbes’²⁰ through his epitaph.

However, epigraphic evidence from the *horrea Galbana* suggests the complex was managed by designated slaves, at least under the Flavian emperors and the early Antonine emperors. At the end of the first century a *vilicus* was in charge of the warehouses. An inscription, possibly dating from the reign of Galba, bears a dedication to the *Bona Dea Galbilla* made in the name of a slave called Zmaragdus, who called himself the *vilicus* of the *horrea Galbana* and must mean of the whole complex, as the inscription mentions the three courtyards of the building.²¹ Other inscriptions dating from the reign of Hadrian mention *horrearii* in the *horrea*

¹⁷ Digest 20.4.21.1 (*lib. XXVII digg.*), Scaevola. Regarding the *horrea Caesaris*, see Coarelli 1996b: 39.

¹⁸ France 2008: 486, n. 12; Andreau 2018.

¹⁹ At least if one accepts Gatti’s identification of the site (1934). For alternative identifications, see Rodríguez Almeida 1978; Coarelli 1983: 350; 1996a: 40–2. I have attempted to show that Gatti’s hypothesis remains the most likely (Virlovet 2006).

²⁰ *CIL* VI, 33886. ²¹ *CIL* VI, 30855.

Galbana,²² all of whom were Imperial slaves or former Imperial slaves. In both cases, the inscriptions state that they were *horrearii* for only part of the complex (for example, the second courtyard in the case of Maior, Diadumenus and T. Flavius Crescens).²³ We are clearly not dealing with the *horrearius-conductor* model mentioned in the regulations of the *horrea Caesaris*. As far as the *horrea Galbana* are concerned, given the scale of the complex, there must have been a hierarchical organization with the offices of responsibility shared between several people, overseen by a *vilicus*.²⁴ In any case, it is clear that the *horrearii* of the *horrea Galbana* must have been considered superior to the rest of the employees of the complex, as can, for example, be seen by the dedication to the Hercules of the *domus Augusti*:²⁵ it was made thanks to the contributions made by three *horrearii* who are mentioned by name, whereas the *operarii* who contributed are not mentioned by name at all and are merely listed together under their job title. The two slaves, Saturninus and Successus, also *horrearii*, who made an offering to the *genius* of the *horrea* in AD 73 may have been in an analogous situation, but we do not know which warehouse they had responsibility for.²⁶ France also mentions two *orrearioi* from the port of Myra (Andriake) in Lycia:²⁷ Herakleon, probably an Imperial slave who dedicated a relief given as an offering to Serapis and Isis; and Aurelius Metrodorus, a freed Imperial slave, who is described as being an *orrearios* in the inscription on his sarcophagus.²⁸ The fact that these *orrearioi* were part of the Imperial *familia* and that the warehouse in Myra was Imperial property suggests that these *orrearioi* must have performed similar functions and had similar responsibilities to those of the *horrea Galbana*. They worked under the *vilicus* to assist him with the overall management of the warehouse complex.

I shall endeavour to conclude this discussion of the complex question of the management of large port warehouse complexes by placing it in its social context, my principal concern in undertaking this study. Whether they were slaves or paid employees, those in charge of large warehouses

²² *CIL* VI, 30901; *ILS* 1622, dated precisely as AD 128. *CIL* VI, 682, dating from the reign of Hadrian and concerning the same Imperial slaves as the previous inscription. Finally, *CIL* VI, 588, not dated, which also concerns an Imperial slave.

²³ *CIL* VI, 30901. ²⁴ In this context, see France 2008: 491.

²⁵ *CIL* VI, 30901: *Herculi domus Augusti sacrum ex / collatione horriariorum chortis II, Maioris / et Diadumedi C. n. ser. et T. Flavi Crescentis et / operari Galbeses ; curante Hermete C. Mundic. / Helpisti ser. Dedicatum k. Iunis / M. Iunio Mettio Q. Pomponio Materno cos.*

²⁶ *CIL* VI, 235; *ILS* 3663: *pro salute / dominorum / Genio horreorum / Saturninus et / Successus / horreari / donum dederunt / Caesare Vespasiano VI / Tito Caesare imp. IIII/cos.*

²⁷ See Cavalier 2007: 51–65; also 2018. ²⁸ France 2008: 493, nn. 46–7.

were, as we shall see, very much managers running a business. The title *horrearius* which is sometimes used to describe those fulfilling this function seems to have been reserved for paid employees rather than slaves. The word was also used for both free men and slaves who were responsible for a part of a large warehouse complex or for the storage facilities belonging to an important family. What is clear is that it was not used as a generic term to designate any employee of a warehouse complex or other storage facility. The *horrearius* was always someone who had supervisory responsibilities. Even if he was not in overall charge of the warehouse complex, he was, at the very least, in charge of a team dealing with one part of the complex's activities. There are a number of accounts which shed light on what their functions were as well as those of the people with whom they were doing business.

3 The Professions of the Warehouse

Two documents show in practical terms some of the tasks which warehouse managers had to undertake and from this point of view complete the *leges horreorum*. These documents are two rental contracts for units within the Pozzuoli warehouse complex which were conserved in the Sulpicii family archives discovered in the 1950s near Pompeii.²⁹ Camodeca quite rightly describes the managers as *horreari* of the *horrea Bassiana publica Puteolanorum*, which belonged to the city of Pozzuoli, as well as those responsible for the *horrea Barbatiana*, which belonged to Domitia Lepida, the widow of L. Valerius Messala Barbatus, Consul in 12 BC, as *horrearii*, even though the term does not actually appear in these contracts.³⁰

Those *horrearii* who had overall managerial responsibility for a warehouse dealt with the rental agreements for the various storage units within it, ensuring that they were renewed and that rent was collected. They were responsible for ensuring goods were kept safe and thus also for the *custodia*. They also provided other services as requested by their tenants; for example, the person renting storeroom 26 in the *horrea Barbatiana* in Pozzuoli asked the manager of the warehouse to measure the quantities of foodstuffs he had in his storeroom.³¹ They were also responsible for the accuracy of the registers which showed goods entering and leaving the warehouse. In order to do all of this they needed to work with a large number of people, some of whom would have been directly

²⁹ Camodeca 1999; *TPSulp* 45 and 46. ³⁰ Camodeca 1999: 121–6. ³¹ *TPSulp* 46.

responsible to the warehouse manager or overseer, others not. This latter category would have included people whose professional activity was linked to the warehouse but who had no connection with its internal hierarchy, for example people subletting units within the complex to third parties who themselves had their own staff.

The case of the *mensores* is useful to illustrate this point. There was a permanent need for precise figures regarding the quantities of goods stored in warehouses – before they were put into the storerooms, when they were taken out and sometimes while they were actually in storage. This was the basis of the relationship between the managers of the storage facilities and the public and private customers who rented units in these facilities to store their goods. In the case of the big warehouse complexes and for certain foodstuffs which were essential for feeding the population – cereals, for example – this must also have been done at the behest of the political authorities, who needed to know the state of available essential reserves at any given time.

People working in a variety of professions had to collaborate to produce these data. The measuring itself was carried out by the *mensores*. As a result, the *corpus mensorum frumentariorum Ostiensium* in Ostia was a powerful corporation. It is mentioned in many inscriptions³² as well as featuring in the famous mosaic from its *schola*, which shows its members at work.³³ There is also evidence of a *corpus of mensores* in Portus.³⁴

However, in the rental agreement for storeroom 26 in the *horrea Barbatiana* in Pozzuoli, the warehouse manager, Publius Annius Seleucus, at the request of the tenant, Gaius Sulpicius Faustus, had the quantity of wheat stored in the storeroom he was renting measured. The latter's reasons for doing this are easy to understand: the grain had been given as security for a loan that he had made to a third party, and he wanted to make sure that the borrower had really provided the amount of grain he said he had. According to the document, Annius Seleucus carried out the measuring *cum servis suis*.³⁵ Does the fact that the measuring was carried out by the manager's slaves mean that there were no organized professional measurers in Pozzuoli at this time (the first half of the first century AD)? Or does it mean that professional measurers were only used if goods were

³² This is not the place to re-open the debate as to whether there was one or several *scholae* in this town (Tran 2006: 242ff) Principal epigraphic sources mentioning the *corpus mensorum frumentariorum Ostiensium* include CIL XIV, 154 (*corpus mensorum frumentariorum adiutorum et acceptorum Ostiensium*); 289 (*corpus mensorum frumentariorum nauticariorum*), 172, 309, 364, 438, 4620 (dedication to the patron of the *corpus*, Aufidius Fortis from the *mercatores frumentarii*), etc.

³³ Becatti 1961: pl. CLXXXVII, n. 87. ³⁴ CIL VI, 1759. ³⁵ TPSulp 46, l. 10

taken in or out of the warehouse, which does not seem to be the case here, as the document appears to suggest that the wheat was already stored in storeroom 26 when Faustus took it as security. Did the slave measurers from the *horrea Barbatiana* have any contact with the free, professional measurers who worked outside the warehouse, always assuming there were any in Pozzuoli at this time?

The case of the measurers is a question one is perfectly justified in asking when trying to establish a clear picture of the workforce which could be considered as having been attached to a specific warehouse. This is inextricably linked to how one considers these warehouses may have operated and how open to the outside world – for example, the port – they were. It has frequently been noted that, architecturally, these buildings were enclosed on themselves, having few entrances which were themselves quite narrow, so as to avoid theft and to prevent goods ‘disappearing’ in dubious circumstances. Were these precautions intended to restrict, as far as possible, external access to the building? In which case, are we to presume that foodstuffs became the warehouse’s responsibility as soon as they entered the building, thus requiring personnel dedicated to this task employed directly by the warehouse and under the warehouse manager’s authority? There is almost certainly not just one answer to this question and it almost certainly varied according to the situation. As I have already mentioned, it is possible that some warehouses had storerooms which had a commercial function and were not just used for storage. Warehouses such as these at least must have been more open to the outside world. And where units were being sublet, there would have undoubtedly been a more diverse workforce in the warehouses.

Measuring and counting foodstuffs in a large warehouse would also have required a large number of office staff, bookkeepers,³⁶ scribes and archivists: contracts needed to be managed, ledgers needed to be kept up to date. We have no way of knowing whether a warehouse’s administrators would have been capable of handling this latter task. We know that two slaves from the manager’s *familia* drew up the rental agreements for units in the warehouses in Pozzuoli for their master. But what about the two people who were responsible for keeping the unloading ledgers for a ship carrying

³⁶ France (2008: 503) notes the possible presence of a *contrascriptor* (person responsible for checking calculations), a freed Imperial slave, in the warehouses in Hippo Regius (Annaba). Cf. *AE* 1924, 36, based on Albertini’s initial interpretation. However, Albertini revised his interpretation (1928–9: 157–8) and concluded that this person was in fact the *contrascriptor* for the *portorium* and not for the *horrea*. It is perfectly reasonable to expect there to be a *contrascriptor* in a port like Hippo Regius. This interpretation is confirmed by Dupuis (2000: 279).

amphorae who are depicted in the famous Portus bas-relief?³⁷ Who were they working for? Did they work for the *praefectus annonae*? Or for private traders who owned the cargo? Or for the manager of the warehouses in which these amphorae were going to be stored and which serve as the background to the bas-relief?³⁸

One of the warehouse's other essential functions was guarding the goods that were stored there. I have already mentioned the extent to which even the design of the buildings themselves was intended to reduce the risk of goods being stolen. It was for this same reason that the Romans continually measured and counted the stored goods. It is difficult to estimate how big a problem theft was in the warehouses, but all the evidence – art, warehouse regulations, legal texts³⁹ – suggests that the Romans were always at great pains to prevent it.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to look at security arrangements and obligations. The regulations of the *horrea Caesaris*, discussed above, include a clause covering *custodia*, which has been the subject of much debate because that part of the text has been badly damaged and can be interpreted in several ways regarding the limits of the responsibilities of the *horrearius* for the security of the goods stored in the warehouse he was managing.⁴⁰ This chapter will instead look at the people who were responsible for security in the warehouse complexes and had the practical responsibility for keeping the goods safe.

First of all, they were responsible for checking goods entering and leaving the warehouse. Archaeologists have concluded that the small rooms which one sometimes finds near to the entrance of warehouse complexes must have been reserved for a guard. However, this may not necessarily have always been the case: it was long thought that there was a secondary entrance to the *grandi horrea* in Ostia, on the Via dei Molini, next to which what was thought to be a guard's room had been identified. However, when a team of researchers from Aix-Marseille and members of the École française de Rome began a new study of the site in 2006–7, they discovered that neither the entrance nor the guard's room had existed on

³⁷ Marble bas-relief from Portus, part of the Torlonia Museum collection, cast in the Museo della Civiltà Romana. Cf. Visconti 1884–5: no. 428.

³⁸ It is hardly possible to reply to all of these questions. One of the results of the research programme on warehouses that was undertaken with the support of the ANR (see Section 1) has been to demonstrate that one ought not to separate those commodities destined for the *annona* from those used in commercial exchanges during this period. The question of knowing whether a warehouse was in the service of the *annona* or not does not fundamentally affect the study of the world of warehouses in the early Empire.

³⁹ Reference to warehouse security in the Digest 19.2.55 (Paul); in the *horrea Caesaris*, CIL VI, 33747; ILS 5914.

⁴⁰ For bibliographical references, see France 2008.

that spot in Roman times.⁴¹ On the other hand, one should not suppose that the absence of a guard's room meant that there was no security check for those entering or exiting the complex. Security checks could easily have been carried out by a guard stationed at the entrance to the building without there having been a purpose-built room for him.

Guards also doubtless patrolled inside the building.⁴² The very big port warehouses certainly employed more than one guard, though these probably did not have the same status within the warehouse's hierarchy. The term *custos* may have meant different things in different contexts, as may be suggested in the *Pro Flacco* when Cicero seeks to undermine a witness testifying against his client by emphasizing his low status, stating that he was a *custos* in the *frumentum publicum*, a function which would have been exercised only by one of the *tenuissimi* of the city.⁴³ Cicero does not mention specific *horrea* here, but the state's wheat stocks must have been brought together and stored in a warehouse. This individual, however lowly his function, was not the person who actually patrolled the warehouse himself to make sure that the wheat collected through the tithe was safely under lock and key, but rather the person responsible in a more general sense for ensuring that the wheat was safely stored. Nicolet believed him to be the manager of Temnos' warehouse where the Romans stored the wheat which was collected as tax.⁴⁴ In this case the term *custos* is a way of designating the responsibility for foodstuffs, probably for collecting them, storing them and sending them where they needed to go. The *custos* is not directly part of the world of the warehouse such as it is being discussed here. There are very few documents which mention *custodes horreorum*, but those which do suggest they were far less important. Some we know through epigraphy: a probable slave from Rome;⁴⁵ an Imperial slave who was a guard in a warehouse belonging to an empress in Utica in Africa Proconsularis; an Imperial slave

⁴¹ Rickman 1971: 44, fig. 10; Bukowiecki, Monteix and Rousse 2008: 211–16.

⁴² Not just to make sure people were not attempting to break in, but also to check for fire, etc.

⁴³ *Pro Flacco* 45: can one trust a man 'cui nullus honos in sua civitate habitus est umquam, res autem quae tenuissimis committebatur huic una in uita commissa sola est? Custos R. Aufidio praetore in frumento publico est positus'. Cicero said this in defence of his friend L. Flaccus in 59 BC. L. Flaccus had been Proprætor when Cicero was Consul and had helped expose the second Catilinarian Conspiracy. He was accused of the misappropriation of public funds during his time as Proprætor in the province of Asia in 62 BC. Cicero was endeavouring to discredit all of the witnesses brought by the prosecution. The city of Temnos made the unsubstantiated claim that it had been forced to pay a sum of money to Flaccus. Heraclides, the town's principal witness, was a dishonest man who had already been found guilty of misappropriation while performing his duties as *custos*.

⁴⁴ Nicolet 1980: 276–82.

⁴⁵ Only his name, Eutyches, is mentioned in what is otherwise a fragmentary inscription.

who was *custos horreorum* in Maxula (Radès), also in Africa Proconsularis.⁴⁶ These men may have been part of the staff of the *horrea* mentioned and have come under the authority of the manager of the *horrea*. This seems likely in the second case mentioned, as he is an Imperial slave working in a complex which belonged to an empress. However, there is also indirect evidence that there were guards who worked for the subtenants in warehouses, for example in the regulations of the *horrea Caesaris*:⁴⁷ the last clause in these regulations which has survived relieves the *horrearius* of his obligations if the *conductor* has not assigned a *custos* to guard his goods.⁴⁸ These guards were probably most often the slaves of the people who were renting storage units. This is the situation which Paul describes in his book about the *Praefectura vigilum urbi*, referring to the Digest, in the passage mentioned above regarding the Emperor being amongst the owners or tenants of a warehouse: the lawyer basically states that theft was commonplace in storage facilities where people kept their most precious possessions, before adding:

*et custodes plerumque puniuntur et ita divus Antoninus Erucio Claro rescripsit. Ait enim posse eum horreis effractis quaestionem habere de servis custodibus, licet in illis ipsius imperatoris portio est.*⁴⁹

Guards often need to be punished, as is indicated by a rescript issued by the divine Antoninus to Erucius Clarus. He states that, in cases where a warehouse has been broken into, Erucius Clarus may question the slave guards even though part of the complex belongs to the Emperor himself.

The presence of goods belonging to the Imperial authorities sometimes meant that the warehouse enjoyed a higher level of security. This is why Claudius Galenus, before going to Campania in AD 192, left his medical instruments, books and other valuable objects in the warehouses on the Via Sacra in Rome (often identified as the *horrea Piperataria* or *Vespasiani*), as they were well protected against fire and well guarded because they housed the Imperial archives.⁵⁰

The *custodes*, although low in status, were vital figures within warehouse complexes. It is their low status – they seem to have been mostly slaves – which doubtless explains the dearth of epigraphic evidence which we have for them. The generic term *operarii* which one finds in the corpus of inscriptions of the *horrea Galbana* must have covered a range of activities, possibly including guarding the complex.

⁴⁶ CIL VI, 9470; VIII, 13190; AE 1937, 73. ⁴⁷ CIL VI, 33747.

⁴⁸ Line 12: et custodi non adsignaver. horrearius sine culpa erit. ⁴⁹ Digest 1.15.3.2.

⁵⁰ Claudius Galenus *Peri Alupias* 8–9.



Figure 7.3 Statuette of a *saccarius* interpreted as representing the *genius* of the *collegium*.

A very interesting recent study by Elena Martelli⁵¹ established a typological catalogue of terracotta statuettes representing *saccarii*, those porters of the ancient world who carried goods in a sack over their shoulder (Figure 7.3). The vast majority of these statuettes come from Ostia-Portus, but a few examples

⁵¹ Martelli 2013. For a review of this work, see Virlovet 2015.

have also been found in Rome, Tarquinia, Pozzuoli and Egnazia. In her introduction to the catalogue, Martelli also puts forward the hypothesis that these dockers of the ancient world played an important role in the warehouses of the port of Ostia, where they were responsible for the security of the storerooms and the manual handling of the goods. But her hypothesis is only based on the fact that, to date, no inscriptions which mention *horrearii* have been discovered in Ostia. I do not find this kind of argument particularly persuasive. It is true that there are no *horrearii* in the Ostia corpus, nor any *custodes* either, for that matter, but as I have already mentioned, epigraphic evidence for *custodes* is very rare. Although *horrearii* are more frequently mentioned in inscriptions, this is still far from common⁵² and they tend to refer to people who, although they may have played an important role in the warehouse, hardly ever seem to have been managers who had overall responsibility for the entire complex.

However, that does not mean that I believe that there were no links between the *saccarii* and the warehouses. Porters as a whole – I am using the term *saccarius* in its broadest sense of anyone whose job it was to carry loads, and thus include under this heading the *amphorarii*, *phalangarii* and so on, because this was probably the term which the public authorities and professionals used⁵³ – were very much part of the warehouse system and need to be taken into consideration when trying to understand how Roman warehouses operated. The occupation of the *saccarii* is nowhere near as highly ranked as that of the measurers in the hierarchy of professions – a hierarchy of which we have a limited understanding through documents in which these occupations are mentioned. Although they often feature in the iconography depicting occupations, they are mostly background characters in scenes depicting the work of the measurers, as for example in the mosaic in the *aula* of the *mensores* mentioned above, or of ships' captains, as in the fresco of the Isis Giminiana for example.⁵⁴ We know of associations of *saccarii* not only in Ostia-Portus,⁵⁵ but also in

⁵² I do not claim to have carried out exhaustive research, but have only come across 30 or so inscriptions mentioning *horrearii* across the whole Empire, of which 20 are in Rome.

⁵³ Cf. Freu 2009 in this context.

⁵⁴ Cf. Rome, Musei Vaticani, inv. 79638. This fresco showing a ship being loaded, dating from the first half of the third century AD, comes from the necropolis of the Via Laurentina and depicts the measurer and the *magister navium*, the only people whose names feature on the painting.

⁵⁵ I do not intend here to enter into the debate as to whether one or several associations of *saccarii* existed in the ports of Rome. There is an inscription which could suggest that there were several, specialist *collegia*. The inscription in question is *CIL* XIV, 4285 (*ILS* 6178), found near Portus in the Campo Saline marshes, and which is dedicated to the *genius* of the *saccariorum salariorum totius urbis campi salinarum Romanarum*, by one of their number *Restitutianus Cornelianus ab aerario et arkarius* (the association's treasurer and

many other ports, such as Pompeii, Dyrrachium, Spalatum, Perinthus and Smyrna; however, the documentation indicates an occupation which did not have the same social footprint as other occupations in the port. Martelli was undoubtedly right to seek to show this profession in a more positive light, as the modern view has tended to be overly negative, stressing its low status. However, there are nevertheless limits to this more positive re-evaluation. One of the merits of Martelli's work is that she emphasizes that under the general heading of *saccarii* are grouped activities involving the transport of merchandise by means of manual labour. However, the people who are referred to as *saccarii* were not all themselves involved in manual labour. Some were entrepreneurs who employed those who actually did the carrying, but who did not do any themselves, or for whom their main activity was not that of carrying. The fact that associations existed suggests that labour was organized around entrepreneurs and team leaders who may sometimes have helped with the physical side of the business, rather as today the bosses in road haulage firms sometimes drive lorries alongside their employees. However, for those who were working as mere dockers, whether they were employed on a day-to-day or a more regular basis, work conditions were probably far harder. The anthropological study of the skeletons in the Castel Malnome necropolis, in the hinterland of Ostia-Portus, gives a real insight into the realities of their lives. The bodies were mostly those of men, more than half of whom had died before the age of 40, whose skeletons showed signs of deformities and whose teeth were in poor condition, providing evidence of both the hard, physical labour they had performed and the poverty in which they lived.⁵⁶

However, for this profession, as for the measurers, we are dealing with the point at which the port interfaced with the warehouses, and one can justify asking what *saccarii* actually did inside the warehouses. I have already mentioned that the warehouses – the very big ones at least – had their own staff, as can be seen in the rental agreements for units within the *horrea* in Pozzuoli and the small collection of inscriptions made by the staff of the *horrea Galbana*, which constitute the richest source of evidence we have about the staff of the warehouses. I have noted that some of the *horrearii* are mentioned by name as the authors of dedications and also that *operarii* are mentioned, albeit under the anonymity of their job title. It

cashier), with his daughter, for the salvation of the Imperial family in the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (AD 197–211). However, other, later documents suggest that this was not the case (*Codex Theodosianus* 14.22; dedication to the *Praefectus Urbanus* CIL VI, 1741).

⁵⁶ Cf. Amicucci *et al.* 2013.

is reasonable to suppose that, amongst the *operarii* who worked in the *horrea Galbana*, there must have been a good number who were responsible for manually transporting goods, in much the same way as the *saccarii* did,⁵⁷ since some of the goods stored in the large warehouses would have been moved from place to place inside the complex. We have already seen that the *horrearius* of the *horrea Barbatiana* in Pozzuoli and his staff undertook the measuring of the wheat stored in one of the rented storage units. In order to do this, he employed slave measurers, as well as manual handlers who must have put grain into the sacks (assuming that it was stored loose, as was usually the case), transported it to where it was measured and then carried it back to where it was stored. Admittedly, goods were not always stored loose, but could remain in a container of some description for the whole time they were in the warehouse, in particular if they were only there for a short time. Rickman supposed that cereals were typically stored in sacks in the grain stores of Ostia while they were waiting to be sent on to Rome. However, recent studies concerning the storage facilities in Ostia and Portus show that cereals were most likely to have been stored loose. Furthermore, this corresponds to what agronomists advised regarding storage of cereals: if wheat cannot be stored in a closed environment in underground silos, the best way to limit losses through fermentation or insect and rodent activity is to store it loose in carefully cleaned storerooms and turn it over regularly. This advice seems to have been followed in the large warehouse complexes in which cereals, amongst other goods, were stored,⁵⁸ as is suggested by the specially designed storeroom entrances which prevented piles of grain from sliding out into the access corridors, the presence of underfloor spaces for preventing humidity, frequent nearby water points (warehouses often had a water tank) and the remains of burnt grains, even if there was no trace of there having been a fire in the warehouse.⁵⁹ The sacks thus needed to be emptied, the grain regularly aerated and then put back into sacks when it was about to leave the warehouse. Porters and cleaners would have been needed to do all of this and it is possible that the same staff would have been responsible for both moving the stocks and doing the cleaning. In any case,

⁵⁷ It must be more than just chance that Cicero in his *Brutus* (257: *operarii [...] aut baiuli*) links the *operarii* to the *baiuli*, the latter being another term for *saccarii*.)

⁵⁸ See in particular, the recent studies carried out by combined French and Italian teams in the *grandi horrea* in Ostia and in the so-called *Magazzini di Traiano* at Portus, discussed in an annual report in the *Chronique* section of the *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome Antiquité* (2006 and 2007 for Ostia; 2010 to 2014 for Portus).

⁵⁹ See, for example, discoveries made in 2013 by a combined Italian/Dutch team at the *Porticus Aemilia* in Rome.

we can say with certainty that the men carrying out these tasks in the *horrea Galbana* were known as *operarii*⁶⁰ and the generic term *Galbienses*⁶¹ doubtless includes *operarii*, unless it refers to members of the association of the *horrea*; I shall return to this point later.⁶²

If we can then presume that at least the biggest warehouse complexes had their own staff to deal with the manual handling of goods and the cleaning of the facility, one wonders where their responsibilities started and where those of the *saccarii*, the dockers in the port, ended, in particular as the association of the *saccarii* had been granted the monopoly for the transportation by human beings of goods arriving in Portus in AD 364.⁶³ At what point did it become the warehouse staff's responsibility? Did the *saccarii* working in the docks take the cargo right up to the precise place where it was to be stored? Or did the staff of the *horrea* take over responsibility for it before that – for example at the place where we imagined a guard being stationed at the warehouse entrance, noting goods in and goods out in a register? There is unlikely to have been just one answer to this question; it would have depended on how work was organized in a given warehouse and how that warehouse operated with regard to the port. So, in the 'Warehouses of Trajan' at Portus, ships were moored as close as possible to the warehouses, so one can easily imagine that the *saccarii* from the port would have entered the warehouse premises. However, if one attempts to reconstruct how goods would have circulated within this immense complex, one is confronted by the fact that its access corridors were not always wide enough to allow two-way traffic. One might therefore suppose that some sort of relay system was used, with each of several porters only carrying the load for a given part of its journey to the place where it was to be stored.⁶⁴ It could be that the goods passed into the responsibility of the warehouse employees at the first relay point.

It can thus be seen that the operation of a warehouse required a substantial workforce, a workforce employed by the manager of the complex as well as sometimes by the people renting units within the complex, who were, as we have seen, sometimes responsible for the *custodia* of their goods. The register of workers for the *horrea Galbana* includes both free men and slaves who were not members of the Imperial *familia* but who seem to have been working in the warehouses. The dedication to the Hercules of the *domus Augusti* mentioned above⁶⁵ was made by a slave,

⁶⁰ *CIL* VI, 30901. ⁶¹ *CIL* VI, 710.

⁶² Not that this means that the *operarii* would have been excluded from the association.

⁶³ *CTh.* 14.22 De saccariis Portus Romae.

⁶⁴ Cf. Bukowiecki, Zugmeyer and Panzieri 2012; 2013. ⁶⁵ *CIL* VI, 30901.

Hermes, whose master does not appear to be linked to the *familia* of the emperor, but who was undoubtedly working in the *horrea Galbana* for his master, side by side with Imperial slaves and freed Imperial slaves. Furthermore, this dedication attests to the social links which formed in the workplaces which were the storage complexes. It is these links which I would like to focus on to conclude this chapter about the world of the port warehouses.

4 Warehouse Complexes and Their Social Networks

As we have seen, workers from outside the warehouses but who were an integral part of port society, such as measurers and dockers, had close working relationships with the storage facilities. They were not, however, part of the warehouse society. Their community existed outside this specific work environment: in Ostia, for example, the *schola* of the *mensores* adjoined the warehouses (which are quite unusual), but was quite distinct from it. I have tried to show above how difficult it is to know the extent to which they were active actually inside the closed world of the *horrea*, a world controlled by the warehouse manager and conditioned by the latter's relationship with the people renting units within the complex.

We have some epigraphic and archaeological evidence which sheds some light on the warehouse workers in the strictest sense – guards, measurers, porters, cleaners, administrative staff – who came under the authority of the manager of the complex, tenants or possible co-owners,⁶⁶ and the relationship between them and their workplace, as well as their relationship with each other. I shall make some brief comments on this question, which has already been addressed in recent studies.⁶⁷

The associations of workers which we know through epigraphic evidence are principally religious communities. There is nothing surprising about this: as Tran emphasizes in his contribution to this volume (Chapter 4), the life of the professional *collegia* – both in ports and elsewhere – was organized around religious rituals and festivals. In the *horrea Galbana*, we have several sources which indicate

⁶⁶ If one thus interprets the rescript issued by Antoninus Pius, discussed by Paul in the book about the *officium* of the *praefectus vigilum urbi* (Digest 1.15.10). See above.

⁶⁷ Tran 2008; Van Haepelen 2010.

the existence of a *sodalitium* to which the employees belonged. The principal sources are:

- The dedication made by the *horrearii* and *operarii Galbenses* to the Hercules of the *domus Augusti* in AD 128, which mentions amongst their number a *curator* who was without doubt responsible for having the work done and so may indicate that this was done at the behest of an association.⁶⁸
- The dedication to the *numen* of the *domus Augustana* and to Hercules *salutaris*, which dates from AD 159 and is unambiguous. It was made at the same time as the *sacellum* which housed it at the behest of the *quinquennalis* of the *sodalitium*, A. Cornelius Aphrodisius, whose name does not suggest any link with the Imperial *familia* who managed the complex. However, to be the *quinquennalis* of the association, this person must have had a professional relationship with the *horrea*; either he worked there for one of the (sub)tenants or was himself renting storage space within the complex.⁶⁹
- Another, undated, inscription which mentions a *magister* of the *horrea Galbana* who made a gift of an altar to the *numen* of the Imperial *familia*, to the *genius loci* and to Fortune.⁷⁰
- The dedication of the statue of the *genius loci* placed in the shrine dug into the courtyard of the *horrea Agrippiana*, which was the gift of three *immunes* who, given their title, must have been acting in the name of an association. The statue was a gift to the *negotiantes* in the complex, which suggests that the *immunes* were from an association of merchants who worked there.⁷¹ This evidence may also give additional weight to Andreau's argument that there was a strong professional relationship between *negotiatores* and warehouses. It is worth remembering that the *horrea Agrippiana* situated on the edge of the forum, right in the centre of Rome, clearly came under the category of 'mixed' warehouses, with shops on the ground floor and the upper floors reserved for storage.

Some of the evidence for the places of religious practice of warehouse employees comes from archaeological research thanks to which small shrines have been found inside the warehouse complexes, for example in the central courtyard of the *horrea Agrippiana*,⁷² as well as one in the *horrea*

⁶⁸ CIL VI, 30901. ⁶⁹ CIL VI, 338. ⁷⁰ CIL VI, 236 ⁷¹ AE 1915, 97; Wickert 1925.

⁷² Cf. Astolfi, Guidobaldi and Pronti 1978: 54: a room measuring 13.5 m², dated to the reign of Domitian, with wall paintings, a floor mosaic representing the ocean from the first half of the second century AD and a statue of the *genius loci*, the inscribed base of which has been found.

of Hortensius in Ostia⁷³ and one in Hergla (Tunisia), which was recently discovered during an excavation directed by F. Villedieu.⁷⁴

In this context, divinities which were connected to the work being carried out and the place where the work was happening were worshipped.

- The *genius loci* associated with other divinities, as we have seen.
- Divinities linked to the Imperial *familia* in warehouses belonging to the emperor: the *numen domus Aug.*⁷⁵ and the Hercules of the *domus Aug.*⁷⁶ The connection between the *collegia* and the cult of the House of Augustus was not anyway limited only to those associations which had a direct link to the emperor, as is the case for the *horrea Galbana*. All the professional *collegia* were implicated in the celebration of the Imperial family.⁷⁷
- Divinities protecting the site, such as the Bona Dea Galbilla,⁷⁸ or protecting the activities taking place there, such as Silvanus, who is mentioned three times in the epigraphic evidence of the *horrea Galbana*, and the triad Ceres, Liber and Libera in the *horrea* in Hergla (Figure 7.4).

These collective acts of religious practice, centred on the place itself or on divinities linked to the work which took place there, clearly indicate how important the workplace was in the social relationships of the people who worked there.

However, some employees worshipped other divinities outside of the warehouse, as is shown by a Flavian-era inscription found in Trastevere,⁷⁹ a dedication to Sol made by a couple of freed Imperial slaves and their son who describe themselves as *Galbienses* of the third courtyard. Whether or not these *Galbienses* were members of the association of workers of the *horrea Galbana*, there is doubtless a difference in their religious practice here and the dedications discussed above. Their veneration of Sol may, for example, be linked to where they come from. Thus, in the case of the inscription from Trastevere, the dedicants Ti. Claudius Felix, Claudia Helpis and their son Ti. Claudius Alypus may have formed part of

⁷³ See Rickman 1971: 68.

⁷⁴ Ghali and Villedieu 2018. The head of a divinity, which must have been part of a sculpture of a group, was discovered during the 2013 excavation in a room which was smaller than the various storerooms, in the southeast corner of the complex. Researchers have identified this as a representation of Liber Pater and, bearing in mind that a head of Ceres was found during the first dig at the site in the 1960s, one might suppose that the triad of Ceres, Liber Pater and Libera, the protector of harvests, was venerated here.

⁷⁵ *CIL* VI, 338. ⁷⁶ *CIL* VI, 30901. ⁷⁷ See Rohde (Chapter 5) in this volume.

⁷⁸ *CIL* VI, 30855. ⁷⁹ *CIL* VI, 710.



Figure 7.4 Head identified as representing Bacchus/Liber, found in 2012 in the *sacellum* of the *horrea Caelia*.

a *collegium* that brought together members originating from the same region of the Empire that was particularly connected to the cult of Sol.⁸⁰

When discussing social networks, one comes across the same dichotomy as when one endeavours to differentiate between people whose work brought them into contact with several warehouses and those who were linked to a specific warehouse: the warehouse staff were doing jobs which were undertaken by professionals outside the warehouse. Thinking back to the example of the slaves instructed by the *horrearius* of the *horrea Barbatiana* in Pozzuoli to measure the grain in storeroom 26, did they consider themselves to be first and foremost measurers or *operarii* of the *horrea Barbatiana*? Were the employees of a specific warehouse complex tempted to belong to a guild linked to their profession, rather than to their place of work? Indeed, were they allowed to? If Martelli is correct in interpreting the little terracotta statuettes depicting porters found in Ostia as representations of the *genius* of the association of *saccarii*, did these representations have any significance for porters working in warehouses? These questions once again bring us back to how work would have been organized inside the large warehouse

⁸⁰ See Steuernagel (Chapter 3) in this volume, for example, on how the Tyrians of Pozzuoli organized themselves around cults from their home city.

complexes, in which employees may have carried out a number of different tasks and had a number of different responsibilities, in contrast to the specialization which was common outside in the towns. As far as tasks which did not require any particular technical skills are concerned, is there any reason to think that staff could have fulfilled a number of functions – manual handling, measuring, security, cleaning – as the situation and their manager required?

So we can see that warehouses were spaces where people from all different social groups and many contrasting port occupations came into contact with each other. Although it is necessary – though not always easy – to distinguish between the world inside the warehouse, the workers connected to the place and the numerous people who went there as part of their professional activity without being connected to any one specific complex, what one must remember above all is that these warehouses were veritable microcosms of port societies – which is hardly surprising, given how important they were to Roman trade and commerce.

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8 | The Imperial Cult and the Sacred Bonds of Roman Overseas Commerce

TACO TERPSTRA

The emergence of the Imperial cult and its role in provincial diplomacy have been much studied by Roman scholarship.¹ In general, the balance is tipped in favour of studies of public practice, although private practice has certainly also been on the scholarly agenda.² However, the role of emperor worship in overseas commerce has received precious little attention. The evidence is admittedly thin (I lay no claim to being comprehensive in my treatment here). Moreover, absent above all are documentary data, the type of source material that would have been most useful and that scholars of more recent time periods have access to, for instance in the form of private business letters.³ Nonetheless, what has survived is intriguing and worth discussing jointly, an endeavour that to my knowledge has never been attempted.

Merchants in the Roman world who settled overseas often brought their native religions with them as markers of a communal identity. By remaining distinct from their host societies, which included the continuation of native cult practices, groups of diaspora traders could maintain mercantile networks, a dynamic that facilitated inter-community exchange.⁴ However, although ancestral religions could bind diaspora communities internally, they could not bind them to their hosts. To function effectively, heterogeneous trading groups inevitably had to find ways to cross the social boundaries that separated them. As I will argue in this chapter, evidence suggests that they engaged in the Imperial cult to do so. The cult was not the exclusive domain of any particular group, and its universal character endowed it with the power to fill the gap left by region-specific cults.

My discussion will encompass evidence not only from inside the Empire but also from its liminal zones and beyond its boundaries, areas that have

¹ Recently Kolb and Vitale 2016. I thank Eivind Seland for commenting on earlier versions of this chapter, Federico de Romanis for providing me with useful reading suggestions, and the anonymous reviewers for Cambridge University Press for giving me helpful feedback.

² Santero 1983; Price 1984; Ando 2000; Gradel 2002.

³ On communication in Roman long-distance trade, see Terpstra 2017.

⁴ Trade diasporas: Cohen 1971; Curtin 1984; Stein 1999: 46–55; Tilly 2005: 65–9; Roman diasporas: Terpstra 2013; 2015; 2016.

yielded interesting and sometimes puzzling bits of information. Obviously our interpretation of this material has to be different from how we view the evidence from inside the Empire. I will argue that for Roman diaspora traders operating in non-Roman environments, the Imperial cult served not as an inter-community connector but as a communal marker of political identity, providing trading groups with a way to emphasize their social autonomy. I will conclude that through the two mechanisms just outlined, the cult facilitated both mercantile circulation within the Empire and mercantile interaction crossing Imperial boundaries.

1 The Emperor in the Roman World

Invoking religion while conducting business can have important benefits. It can help build a shared sense of identity, strengthen reputational enforcement mechanisms and establish intra-group trust. The idea that religion can play such a role in trade is by no means new or revolutionary, and studies from both ancient history and the modern world provide us with examples. In *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, Nicholas Rauh discussed the importance of ancestral cults for the trading groups on Hellenistic Delos, such as the Poseidoniastai from Berytus and the Herakliastai from Tyre.⁵ In letters from merchants operating in the medieval Mediterranean, we witness Jews, Christians and Muslims explicitly referring to their respective religions while negotiating transactions.⁶ A modern-day example is ultra-orthodox Jewish diamond dealers in Antwerp, Amsterdam, London, New York and Tel Aviv gaining enforcement and transaction-cost advantages because of the tight-knit nature of their communities.⁷

Trading groups in the Roman Empire likewise employed their religions as community identifiers. In previous work I have focused on that aspect of diaspora groups' collective behaviour, interpreting it as a mechanism through which they maintained internal unity and forced their members to obey the rules of trade. Evidence for this phenomenon comes from Hellenistic Delos, but later evidence as well shows that merchants overseas identified themselves by the religions of their homeland. Palmyrenes operating in Rome and Nabataeans

⁵ Rauh 1993. See also the contributions by Steuernagel (Chapter 3) and Verboven (Chapter 14) in this volume.

⁶ Goitein 1973; Lopez and Raymond 2001.

⁷ See Sosis 2005: 11–12 for a discussion with references.

operating in Puteoli, for instance, constructed temples to their native deities as part of a shared identity.⁸

Although the adherence to native cults strengthened ties within individual groups, region-specific religions did not have a universal appeal and references to them will have had little currency outside the communities that maintained them. This left a void, as trading groups living overseas could not employ shows of faith in their gods as an honesty-signalling device with their hosts.⁹ Forms of religious syncretism occurred, and deities that were particular to a city or region were equated with deities from the Roman pantheon, often with Jupiter as the supreme Roman god. Jupiter Maleciabruces and Jupiter Damascenus – both originating in Syria – are examples, as is Jupiter Sabazius, a god native to Thrace. Such syncretism will have made alien gods more comprehensible to non-adherents, but they remained foreign, exhibiting traits that were particular to their region of origin.

The Roman Mediterranean was *A World Full of Gods*,¹⁰ and a unifying religion to which all Roman traders could relate was lacking. The one exception was the Imperial cult. Of course, in key respects this cult was an odd one within the wider Roman religious landscape. First of all, there was not a single entity, the same throughout the Empire, that can be identified as *the* Imperial cult. Rather, ‘there was a series of different cults sharing a common focus in the worship of the emperor, his family or predecessors, but . . . operating quite differently according to a variety of different local circumstances’.¹¹ Secondly, and related to the previous point, not all worship was directed to a single figure. The Imperial pantheon grew as deceased emperors (and sometimes their wives) continued to be deified. Living emperors received divine worship as well, pointing to the most important element setting the Imperial cult apart from other Roman religions: it was by no means just a religious phenomenon, being intimately connected to whoever was in power in the physical, not the metaphysical world. In that sense it was as much an ideological as a spiritual affair, as Clifford Ando has rightly emphasized.¹²

That emperor worship formed part of an Imperial ideology can be seen in an extensive body of evidence from epigraphy, archaeology and literature, showing that the Roman world bristled with images of emperors and members of the Imperial family.¹³ Coins spread Imperial portraits far and wide, but

⁸ Terpstra 2015; 2016. ⁹ On signalling, see Posner 2000: 18–27; Bulbulia and Sosis 2011.

¹⁰ Hopkins 1999. ¹¹ Beard, North and Price 1998: 318. ¹² Ando 2000.

¹³ Pekáry 1985: 42–65; Elsner 1998: 53–87; Ando 2000: 232–9; Gradel 2002: 198–212; Kampen 2009: chs 2, 4, 5; Manders 2012.

the emperor's face could be seen also in bathing complexes, basilicas and theatres and on triumphal arches. Images of the emperor were carried around by Roman officials and military personnel: soldiers' shields, insignia and banners could be emblazoned with the emperor's portrait; in a civilian setting, curule seats and staffs could bear the ruler's image.

The practice of embellishing objects and buildings with Imperial portraiture was not limited to public structures and the equipment of soldiers and government officials. In a letter to the young Marcus Aurelius, at the time not yet *princeps*, Fronto wrote how representations of the soon-to-be emperor were ubiquitous, exposed in 'all money-changers' bureaux, booths, bookstalls, eaves, porches, windows' and just 'anywhere and everywhere'.¹⁴ Fronto here alluded to images set up privately, intending to emphasize how widespread this practice was among Marcus' future subjects. We may suspect that he was exaggerating out of a desire to please and flatter, but material evidence suggests that he was not. Daily objects like scale weights and gaming pieces could be beautified with Imperial imagery. Bread stamps found in the Danubian provinces demonstrate how images of the emperor could adorn loaves and pastries, which were likely exchanged during official festivals.¹⁵

Especially the latter evidence underscores that shows of adherence to the ruler should be seen in the framework of an Imperial ideology. The Empire knew several both *ad hoc* and regular festivals at which reigning and former emperors' birthdays, accessions or major victories were celebrated. One fixed occasion of central importance was the performance of the *vota pro salute principis*, vows for the emperor's well-being, made annually on 3 January in public ceremonies around the Empire.¹⁶

2 Diaspora–Host Relations

Ideology plays a central role in diaspora networks, an aspect discussed by Abner Cohen in his seminal article on the subject:

[t]he creation of a trading diaspora requires the mobilization of a variety of types of social relationships, the utilization of different kinds of myths, beliefs, norms, values, and motives, and the employment of various types of pressure and of sanctions. These different elements . . . are so interdependent that they tend to be seen in terms of an integrated ideological scheme.¹⁷

¹⁴ *Ad M. Caes.* 4.12; Haines 1919. ¹⁵ Pekáry 1985: 42. ¹⁶ Ando 2000: 359–62.

¹⁷ Cohen 1971: 276.

As noted above, Imperial ideology and cult will have played different roles inside and outside the Roman Empire. To evaluate those differences we first need to consider the various shapes that diaspora–host relations can take, a topic explored by Gil Stein in *Rethinking World-Systems*.¹⁸

Stein proposed a coherent classification scheme of diaspora groups' social position, consisting of a continuum along which the most important points are (1) marginal status, (2) social autonomy and (3) domination over the host community. Point 3, which is historically rare, is exemplified by the seventeenth-century Dutch and Portuguese mercantile posts in Southeast Asia, which were under European military control and used to dictate the terms of trade to the host community.¹⁹ To the degree that such a dynamic had any parallel in the Roman world it will have been during Rome's expansion under the Republic, when ruthless governors and publicans in the provinces used the power of the state to their advantage.

On the other side of the spectrum, point 1, 'marginal status', in its most extreme manifestation involves treatment of diaspora traders as pariahs, to be exploited at will by their hosts. This, too, seems to have been the position of few if any Roman groups. But as Stein's classification scheme is a sliding scale, modified forms logically follow moving away from point 1 on the spectrum. In those forms, diaspora traders are more than merely tolerated by their hosts, participating in the social life of their adopted communities. Participation of that nature creates a social situation in which diaspora groups are 'in, but not of' the host society, in Anne Haour's terminology.²⁰ Such a fluid dynamic can be difficult to trace, and diaspora scholarship has addressed the question of what evidence to look for in both literate and preliterate societies. In her contribution to this debate, Haour discusses the archaeological visibility of outside traders at Yendi Dabori (Ghana), a site inhabited between the fifteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries.²¹ She notes how spatial patterning is a key revealing factor: foreign trading communities remained physically separate from the host settlement, living in discrete sectors, while the houses of 'landlord-brokers' functioned as spaces of contact and loci of exchange.

We see similar forms of spatial patterning in the Roman world. In the major Italian harbour town of Puteoli, for instance, a group of Tyrians maintained their own trading station and lived in the 'Tyrian quarter'.²² Another example is provided by the foreign wine merchants in the city of

¹⁸ Stein 1999. ¹⁹ See Curtin 1984: 137–44, 152–5. ²⁰ Haour 2013: 9, emphasis in original.

²¹ Haour 2013: 73–81.

²² Terpstra 2013: 76–7, 82–3. See also the contributions by Steuernagel (Chapter 3) and Verboven (Chapter 14) in this volume.

Lugdunum, who lived and traded in a separate urban sector, the *cannabae*.²³ Archaeological evidence suggests that in the Red Sea ports of Berenike and Myos Hormos as well, mercantile groups with different geographical origins occupied their own distinct quarters.²⁴

However, if trading groups remained physically separate from their adopted societies, obviously they needed to meet with their business partners to engage in exchange. It is hard for us to determine where such encounters took place, as they have left little trace in the archaeological record. A famous instance where we can pinpoint such a location can be found in Ostia, where the so-called Piazzale delle Corporazioni seems to have functioned as a meeting place for outside and local traders and shippers. On the face of it the Piazzale appears to present a wholly unique case, but it is worth noting that its seeming uniqueness may be merely a product of the permanence of its stone mosaic decoration.²⁵ In any event, equally important as physical spaces of encounter were mental, social or spiritual spaces of encounter, which heterogeneous groups needed to build inter-community trust. One of the main arguments of this chapter is that the Imperial cult served that purpose as a shared ‘ideological space’.

Beyond the Empire’s boundaries diaspora–host relations were different, the outsiders having moved to not only a socially but also a politically alien environment. In that setting, emperor worship as part of an Imperial ideology obviously played a role in diaspora–host relations different from the one it played within Imperial borders. Outside Rome’s political realm the Imperial cult could not serve as an ideological point of contact between foreign and native mercantile groups, and the evidence for it has to be interpreted differently. I propose that here the situation was closer to point 2 on Stein’s classificatory scale, with merchants coming from the Roman world adopting a strategy of ‘social autonomy’.

A parallel for such social positioning is provided by the behaviour of Chinese traders operating in Southeast Asia in the medieval and early modern periods. As Stein observes, ties to the homeland ‘played an important role in establishing the autonomy of the overseas Chinese’. At the same time, ‘Chinese diaspora groups forged close alliances with the local rulers, and played key roles in the financial and administrative hierarchies of their host polities.’ This strategy benefited both the Chinese merchants, who could occupy a ‘profitable, protected socioeconomic niche’, and their hosts, who gained new sources of income.²⁶ We see the Chinese example reflected

²³ Waltzing 1895–1900: II, 178–82; Christol 2000. ²⁴ Thomas 2012. ²⁵ See Terpstra 2014.

²⁶ Stein 1999: 50.

in Palmyrene merchants living and operating in the Parthian Empire. Although our evidence for Roman traders sailing to India is even sparser than our evidence for the Palmyrenes in Parthia, they seem to have adopted a comparable social strategy.

3 Imperial Ideology and Provincials' Loyalty

Epigraphic and archaeological evidence from major Italian cities contains scattered indications that diaspora groups turned to Imperial cult and ideology to connect to their hosts. In Ostia the already mentioned Piazzale delle Corporazioni was frequented by groups of traders and shippers from overseas. In the central square, statues were set up to *flamines* of the deified Vespasian, Titus and Hadrian, significant in a location otherwise devoted entirely to overseas trade and shipping.²⁷ Moreover, the Piazzale featured a centrally placed building that has credibly been interpreted as a *templum Divorum* (more below). At nearby Portus, an honorific inscription to Gordian III, 'the most god-beloved ruler of the world', was set up by a local priest of Marnas, the ancestral god of Gaza, in response to a divine oracular pronouncement.²⁸ In Rome, a statue base for the deified Sabina – Hadrian's wife who passed away in AD 136 – was erected in the Forum of Caesar by a private group from the city of Sabratha, likely as the result of trade relations between North Africa and Rome.²⁹ Yet another example is a wish of well-being to Trajan, set up in Puteoli by a resident group originating from Berytus. They honoured their native god Heliopolitanus in an inscription which they dedicated to the emperor.³⁰

The practice of displaying allegiance to the ruler in a religious fashion was also taken up by Tyrian resident traders in Puteoli. A well-known inscription contains the content of a letter they had sent to their city council.³¹ In their opening address they hailed 'the good fortune of our lord the emperor' (Marcus Aurelius). Further on they related how they had refurbished their communal building in celebration of the emperor's sacred festival days, a refitting for which they claimed to have incurred significant cost. Although the letter was addressed to Tyre's municipal political institutions, its drafters had it inscribed in stone, showing that they wanted its content to be more widely known within their social environment.

²⁷ Van der Meer 2009: 174. ²⁸ *I.Porto* 5. ²⁹ *CIL* VI, 40528; see Terpstra 2013: 134–5.

³⁰ *CIL* X, 1634. ³¹ *OGIS* 595; see Terpstra 2013: 70–9.

The logic of that behaviour is explained by a number of first-century AD documents on wax tablets. They provide us with detailed information on how emperor worship was invoked in everyday business by Puteoli's trading community. Five documents, all related to financial litigation and loan agreements, record how the contracting parties swore oaths on 'the divine power of the deified Augustus' (*numen divi Augusti*); two of the oath formulas included the 'divine spirit' (*genius*) of the current emperors (Gaius and Claudius).³² Swearing such oaths was a more widespread practice in the Roman world and seems to have been a requirement when dealing with the Roman bureaucracy, as shown by official declarations on papyrus from Egypt.³³ The wax tablets suggest that the practice in part carried over to the private business world. In all cases from Puteoli the documents were signed not just by the contracting parties, but also by a number of witnesses. The act of swearing an oath on living and deified emperors was thus seen by the wider community, not just the individuals entering into a contract, suggesting it conformed to a more broadly shared ideological system.

The same wax tablets contain another type of evidence showing the importance of the Imperial cult in business practices. They reveal how somewhere in Puteoli's forum stood a 'Hordionian' and a 'Suettian' altar of Augustus, monuments clearly serving emperor worship set up as private donations by the families of the Hordionii and the Suettii, respectively. The documents demonstrate how these altars were used as standard places of encounter to initiate litigation, a custom that stands in a far older and more widespread Roman tradition of meeting at altars to conduct business.³⁴ Other documents from Puteoli and Herculaneum refer to dispute settlement that, for unknown reasons, had to take place in Rome.³⁵ It is surely significant that the alternative location selected as a rendezvous was the Forum of Augustus, a public space with clear Imperial-ideology overtones.³⁶

The practice of including Imperial ideology and cult in economic life provided an obvious opportunity to diaspora traders to connect to their hosts, as they could participate in it without having to make any compromise to the piety they owed their native gods. Foreign groups seem not to have missed that opportunity. As we have seen, by their own account the Tyrians in Puteoli spent lavishly to participate in a public religious festival in honour of the emperor. A wax tablet indicates that they extended their

³² *TPSulp* 29, 54, 63, 68, 117. ³³ Ando 2000: 359.

³⁴ *TPSulp* 1–11, 16–18; for a discussion of the practice, see Rauh 1993: 129–41.

³⁵ *TPSulp* 13–15, 19; *Tabulae Herculanae* 15. ³⁶ Ando 2000: 297–8.

display of Imperial loyalty to their business practices. The document records a Tyrian embarking on dispute settlement with local bankers; the Hordionian altar of Augustus served as their meeting point.³⁷ Other overseas arrivals also conformed to this custom. Two documents record how an Alexandrian trader and Puteolan bankers agreed to meet in Rome at the Forum of Augustus for purposes of dispute settlement.³⁸ The evidence from the tablets, I suggest, points to what Simon Price has called the spread of 'elective cults' through 'weak ties'. Such ties 'enable us to reach out beyond our closely bound network of family and close friends to another, loosely-connected network, in which few of one's acquaintances may know each other'.³⁹

The spread of emperor worship as an 'elective cult' can be seen also in Ostia, where especially the sanctuary on the Ostian Piazzale is put in a new light by the evidence from the Puteolan tablets. Although the nature of the temple has been debated, both Patrizio Pensabene and Bouke van der Meer have argued that it was dedicated to the Imperial cult.⁴⁰ Pensabene based his interpretation on the statues honouring *flamines* of the deified Vespasian, Titus and Hadrian, already mentioned above, and on the structures flanking the temple, a feature said to be typical of *templa Divorum* in Hispania. Van der Meer adds that the late first-century AD date of the temple fits with a more extensive Domitianic building programme in Ostia, pointing further to the institution by Domitian of a *collegium Flavianium*, apparently a guild of priests of the cult of the deified Flavian emperors.⁴¹ He further argues that a possible parallel to the Piazzale is provided by a building in Lepcis Magna, consisting of a porticoed square with a temple in its centre that was dedicated to the emperors. Pieces of monumental statuary found on the Piazzale further support his idea that the central temple there served emperor worship.

The combined weight of this evidence certainly makes the Imperial cult the most convincing suggestion to date. But the simplest and perhaps strongest argument in favour of this interpretation was not put forward by Pensabene and only hinted at by Van der Meer: the temple's central location suggests that it catered to all communities on the Piazzale. No one group commanded a pre-eminent position there, as all occupied uniform stalls with similar dimensions adorned with similar-looking black-and-white mosaic decoration. The temple thus seems to have served people of a variety of geographical origins and engaged in a variety of crafts and

³⁷ *TPSulp* 4. ³⁸ *TPSulp* 13, 14. ³⁹ Price 2012: 10.

⁴⁰ Pensabene 1996; 2002; van der Meer 2009. ⁴¹ Suetonius *Domitian* 4.10.

trades. Only the Imperial cult possessed the characteristics of at once being sufficiently neutral, allowing all groups to participate, and sufficiently potent, having ideological meaning for all.⁴²

Given the evidence from the wax tablets, it is legitimate to speculate that the temple was used in a similar way to the altars in the forum of Puteoli. It is not difficult to see why traders might have desired to have such a structure in the middle of the place where they met and did business. It provided them with a conveniently proximate and highly visible location for oath swearing, deal making and dispute settlement. In addition, by performing religious rituals at the temple in sight of their business partners, foreign traders operating in Ostia would have been able to display loyalty to the Imperial house, and thus adherence to a shared ideology, which would have helped them create a bridge to Ostian and other mercantile communities.

4 Strangers in a Strange Land

Intriguingly, evidence suggests that Roman traders living and doing business beyond the Empire's borders, too, showed their loyalty to Rome by incorporating emperor worship into their religious practices. However, this was clearly a different phenomenon from traders within the Empire using the Imperial cult as a common religious and ideological language. Outside the Roman political realm, the Imperial cult had little to no significance to the host community and lacked the power to connect diaspora traders to their local trading partners. If merchants coming from the Roman world still chose openly to venerate the emperor, they had another motivation for doing so. Following the ideas of Stein, the argument put forward here is that, by displaying allegiance to Rome, traders identified themselves as members of a powerful state rather than unaffiliated middlemen, which helped them attain a stronger position within their host society.

In the city of Vologesias, the great Parthian emporium founded by Vologes I, a mercantile community of Palmyrenes was present during the second century AD.⁴³ We know of their existence through a number of honorary inscriptions set up to benefactors in gratitude for assistance received. Moving goods through the desert was a dangerous undertaking, and reliance on private donors who provided protection and other aid *en*

⁴² See also Terpstra 2014: 128–9. ⁴³ Chaumont 1974: 77–81; Celentano 2016.

route was standard practice in this business.⁴⁴ Apart from diplomatic and armed support, the Palmyrenes in Vologesias received physical donations from their domestic benefactors: a temple, a fire-altar and a banqueting hall.⁴⁵ Yet surprisingly, in a mid-second-century AD inscription we also hear of a monument to the emperors in Vologesias donated by the Palmyrene merchant So'adu, likely himself a long-time resident of the Parthian city. Unfortunately the shape of this monument remains unknown, as the text of the inscription is lacunose. But the emendation of *naon*, 'temple', proposed by Henri Seyrig, fits both the context and the lacuna, and is commonly accepted.⁴⁶ Apparently an Imperial-cult temple was erected in a state hostile to Rome. The settler–host dynamic that informed this rather puzzling act of munificence is worth exploring.

The Palmyrene community in Vologesias formed part of a larger diaspora operating in the area. A number of inscriptions show Palmyrene settlers holding political office in the kingdom of Mesene, which occupied the lower part of Mesopotamia.⁴⁷ From the mid-second century AD onward Mesene was a Parthian vassal state, but its diplomatic status during the preceding years is debated. An inscribed Hercules statue⁴⁸ has led to the suspicion that after the end of Trajan's eastern campaigns Mesene was allied to Rome, not Parthia. If indeed Trajan left Mesene a client state after his withdrawal from the East, Rome for a while exercised some indirect influence in the region. But it is hard to see why that influence would have incentivized a private Palmyrene community in the Parthian heartland to engage in emperor worship. The ingenious solution of shifting the Mesenian border northwards, placing Vologesias inside Mesene and thus within the area of a presumed Roman vassal state, is also insufficient.⁴⁹ A Mesenian monarch may 'have had no objection to a shrine of the Imperial cult being established in one of his cities',⁵⁰ but a lack of royal objections does not explain the incentive either.

Still, even if Vologesias fell inside Parthia, it is tempting to interpret the construction of the Imperial-cult temple as somehow politically motivated, and that is indeed the explanation scholars have mainly adopted. David Potter, for instance, proposed that the 'shrine at Vologesias is one sign of the care that Vologeses took to maintain good relations with the emperors'.⁵¹ Yet the obvious problem with that interpretation is that

⁴⁴ Seland 2014. ⁴⁵ *Inv.* 10.15.

⁴⁶ Mouterde and Poidebard 1931: 107, n. 3; *SEG* 7, 1934: no. 135; Bru 2011: 105–6; Andrade 2013: 200; Smith 2013: 165, n. 75; Celentano 2016: 41–4.

⁴⁷ Young 2001: 143–8. ⁴⁸ For the text, see Potter 1991: 278–9.

⁴⁹ Young 2001: 143–8; Smith 2013: 164–5. ⁵⁰ Gawlikowski 1994: 28–31.

⁵¹ Potter 1991: 284.

Vologeses did not build the temple. A private Palmyrene benefactor and caravan leader erected it as a personal benefaction to the local community of settlers from his hometown. Michael Speidel, for his part, has suggested the possibility of formal *amicitia* between Parthia and the Roman Empire under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.⁵² But once again, even if true, it is not clear why such a high-level and unsteady diplomatic alliance would have induced a private Palmyrene benefactor to donate an Imperial-cult temple to his fellow city members.

Whatever the mid-second-century diplomatic relations between Parthia and Rome may have been, considerations of the socio-economic position of the Palmyrene diaspora must provide the key to solving the problem. The business community in Vologesias benefited from the presence of Palmyrene residents, who provided a permanent trade connection to an overseas market that was lucrative, but difficult to access for Mesopotamian traders.⁵³ Parthian rulers profited from this trade through increased revenue, which will have made them sympathetic to the Palmyrenes' presence. The dynamic of rulers benefiting from, and favouring the presence of, foreign traders explains how Palmyrenes achieved administrative positions in Mesene. Their economic utility to the local rulers was the determining factor here, not the shifting diplomatic ties of those local rulers.

As diaspora traders the Palmyrenes needed to assert their difference from their hosts, all the more so because some of them attained official positions in Mesene and became integrated into the political structure of a foreign state. They could have done so by worshipping Palmyrene gods such as Malachbel, Aglibol and Iarhibol, the way their fellow diaspora settlers in Rome did.⁵⁴ There can in fact be little doubt that adherence to the Palmyrene ancestral cults formed part of their communal practice, as the epigraphic mention of the fire-altar in Vologesias shows. However, to maintain social autonomy it was helpful for them also to emphasize their political identity.

Seen from that angle, the language of the inscription mentioning the temple in Vologesias is revealing about the building's ideological purpose. Its donor So'adu referred to his fellow citizens in the city as *poleitai*, a term different from the ones used for Palmyrenes in the diaspora within Roman Imperial borders, where they are called either *Palmyrenoi* in Greek or *tdmry*' in Aramaic. The latter two terms both allude to their geographical origin, but the first alludes to their political status. As Nathanael Andrade

⁵² Speidel 2016a: 111–13; 2016b: 181. ⁵³ Seland 2016. ⁵⁴ Terpstra 2016.

observed, the ‘Roman administration and local Palmyrene elites . . . had collaborated to fashion an ideological context in which Palmyrenes conceived of their city as a Greek *polis* sustained by Imperial Roman patronage.’⁵⁵ This is the ideology we see expressed in the Imperial-cult temple in Vologesias: it showed the Palmyrenes’ political identity and ‘social autonomy’ as Roman subjects living beyond the Empire’s borders. This dynamic is reminiscent of the one surrounding the Chinese traders in medieval and early modern Southeast Asia, who also achieved political office in their host societies because of their economic usefulness, and for whom ties to the homeland also played an important role in establishing their autonomy overseas.⁵⁶

Evidence for Palmyrene diaspora merchants displaying an Imperial identity outside the Empire is not limited to Mesopotamia. An undated inscription found in Coptos, Egypt, honours a certain Zabdalas for building a propylaeum, three stoas and an unspecified number of atria with his own money.⁵⁷ Where exactly the donated buildings stood is uncertain, but it is a reasonable inference that they were erected in a public space somewhere in Coptos. Both the number and the elaborateness of the architectural donations suggest that the Palmyrenes were strongly affiliated with the city, which was likely their permanent residence. Indeed, the inscription was unearthed in a building that, based on twelve *stelae* carved in the typical Palmyrene frontal pose, is usually interpreted as the local headquarters of this group.⁵⁸

As in Italian harbour cities, at Coptos the Imperial cult seems to have served as a shared ‘ideological space’ for heterogeneous mercantile groups, suggested for instance by two religious dedications made by traders from Aden (south Arabia) in honour of the emperor and the *domus Augusta*.⁵⁹ This ideological backdrop is visible equally in the inscription that the Palmyrenes set up for their benefactor. They identified themselves corporately as the ‘Hadrian Palmyrenes sailing the Red Sea’, a title referring to a visit by the emperor to their hometown in AD 129.⁶⁰ The group thus represented themselves as citizens of a city within the orbit of Imperial power, acting ‘collectively to honor one of their own . . . all the while asserting . . . their political and social identities as Palmyrenes’.⁶¹

This assertion of socio-political identity is especially significant given the geographical range of their mercantile activities. Headquartered in Coptos,

⁵⁵ Andrade 2013: 200. ⁵⁶ Yambert 1981: 180; Stein 1999: 50.

⁵⁷ AE 1912: no. 171; *Portes* no. 103.

⁵⁸ Bingen 1984; Sidebotham 1986: 95–6; Metzler 1989: 197; Young 2001: 80–1; Smith 2013: 162.

⁵⁹ *Portes* nos. 62, 65. ⁶⁰ Rey-Coquais 1978: 54–5. ⁶¹ Smith 2013: 162.

they were already stationed on the far edges of the Roman world. Yet it is evident from the mention of the Red Sea (which could refer to what we call the Red Sea, but also to the Persian Gulf) that they did business well beyond southern Egypt and were involved in maritime trade with non-Roman lands, principally Arabia and India.⁶² I propose that the expression of an Imperial Roman identity by this group operating in non-Roman environments had a purpose similar to the adherence to the Imperial cult by their compatriots in Vologesias.

Mention of Roman trade with India brings me to the most intriguing piece of evidence for emperor worship outside the Empire, namely, the Peutinger map, which dates to around AD 1200 but duplicates a lost original probably dating to c. AD 300.⁶³ The section of the map representing India includes the name of the city of Muziris and, visible above it to the left, the generic vignette of a temple with the words *templ(um) Augusti*. Some scholars prefer to see this as an incorrectly identified shrine to an Indian deity.⁶⁴ However, the reason for wanting to read the map differently from what it plainly says seems to stem only from the preconceived notion that an Imperial-cult temple in this location is just too outlandish to be correct. This scepticism is unwarranted, though. The evidence on the temple in Vologesias shows that it is not at all inconceivable for such a building to have existed in an area not controlled by Rome.

As to how this detail worked its way into the Peutinger map, some of the map-maker's sources seem to have contained information on eastern marketplaces. In the Mesopotamian section, for instance, we find the comment *finis exercitus Syriatic(a)e et commertium Barbaror(um)*. Another example is the city of Persepolis, which is labelled *Persepoliscon. Mercium Persarum*, a medieval copying mistake for *Persepolis Commercium Persarum*.⁶⁵ I cannot refrain from pointing out here, by the way, that a bust of Hadrian was found in Persepolis, the 'only major Imperial portrait discovered beyond the confines of the Roman Empire'.⁶⁶

As for Muziris, it was definitely a mercantile node connected to the Mediterranean through the Egyptian Red Sea ports and Alexandria, as is clear from an important document usually referred to as the 'Muziris papyrus'.⁶⁷ In addition, the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* – a manual for shippers sailing the trade routes from Egypt to Arabia and India – mentions Muziris,

⁶² Metzler 1989: 197, n. 10; Young 2001: 81; Seland 2016. ⁶³ Talbert 2010: 83–4, 123.

⁶⁴ Ray 1994: 66; Francis 2002: 156; Ruffing 2002: 371, n. 62; Tomber 2008: 30, 148; Sidebotham 2011: 191.

⁶⁵ Metzler 1989: 196–7; Speidel 2016a: 104, 111. ⁶⁶ Vermeule 1968: 393, no. 23.

⁶⁷ *P.Vindob.* G 40822; see Casson 1990; Young 2001: 55–8; Tomber 2008: 25.

giving us a wealth of information on the commercial products available there.⁶⁸ Those were high-value goods, some produced in the city's immediate hinterland, some transhipped from further away. They included ivory, Chinese silk, Gangetic nard, black pepper, pearls, gems and tortoiseshell.

The *templum Augusti* at Muziris might have been built as a diplomatic gesture. Augustus in the *Res Gestae* (31.1) boasted of frequent Indian embassies to him. Regardless of whether one thinks he exaggerated in his claims,⁶⁹ coins bearing a Roman emperor's portrait minted in the Kushan kingdom (northwest India, Pakistan and Afghanistan) suggest friendly relations between at least Kushana monarchs and Rome.⁷⁰ However, the Malabar coast where Muziris was located fell outside the Kushan. Rulers on India's far southwest coast had little to fear from Roman arms, and if they erected the temple one has to wonder what they hoped to achieve with their display of respect.

According to Speidel, the temple indicates that they had entered into a formal *amicitia* relationship with Rome, the mutual objective of which was to encourage Indian exports to the Roman Mediterranean.⁷¹ Yet in Speidel's view the incentive to reach an agreement was mostly on Rome's side. Emperors had to rely on their Indian *amici* to secure the treacherous waters along the Malabar coast and desired a formal arrangement to that end. If that was indeed the case, Indian rulers held most of the cards and were under no pressure to showcase their respect for Rome by constructing Imperial-cult temples. I think that we would do better here to look in another direction entirely.

Some of the Roman merchants transacting at Muziris almost certainly lived there, as both the *Periplus* and the Muziris papyrus indicate. The latter contains references to loan agreements at Muziris between two traders from the Roman world, one of them likely residing overseas. The *Periplus* (56), for its part, mentions grain imports 'in sufficient amount for those involved with shipping', adding that 'the merchants do not use it'. This confusing remark has been explained as a reference to two discrete groups: Indian merchants, who ate the local rice, and resident western shippers, who ate imported grain.⁷² On the analogy of the evidence for Palmyrenes in Parthia, it seems to me best to assume that in Muziris as in Voloesias, construction of the Imperial-cult temple was done on the initiative of Roman shippers and traders, who would have been the building's primary users. We should remember here that the India trade was conducted by

⁶⁸ *Periplus* 56; see Casson 1989: 222–3. ⁶⁹ Cooley 2009: 249–50.

⁷⁰ Speidel 2016a: 114–15; 2016b: 178–9. ⁷¹ Speidel 2016a: 109–10, 117; 2016b: 177, 180, 182.

⁷² Casson 1989: 24, 31–4; Young 2001: 30–1; Seland 2007: 78; 2016.

private professionals motivated by profit. The political geography of the regions they sailed to was of obvious interest to them,⁷³ but matters of high diplomacy were at most a distant consideration. Such matters are referred to only once in the *Periplus* (23), and only in passing.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, documentary evidence on the men who maintained the trade routes is all but lacking. But their near invisibility in our sources should not lead us to overlook them as agents of history. Putting their concerns first in our models and interpretations – a micro-economic approach that I have repeatedly advocated elsewhere – seems to me preferable to thinking in terms of top-level, international, export-related diplomacy. As to why India traders coming from the Roman Empire might have desired to erect an Imperial-cult temple in the harbour where they did business, they had to negotiate a complex social situation and operate within a socio-politically alien environment. I propose that as diaspora traders they employed the Imperial cult as a marker of political identity within their host community. They could have built temples to their native deities to maintain their distinctiveness, for instance to Serapis if they were Alexandrians. Instead, or perhaps complementarily, they chose the Imperial cult. Here as in Vologesias, the best explanation is that emperor worship and the association with formal state power it conveyed most forcefully established their social autonomy from their host.

5 Conclusion

The phenomenon of emperor worship by trading communities has been discussed by Roman scholarship, but the question of what explains it has never received any serious consideration. I have argued that for groups operating inside and outside the Empire the mechanism differed, but that for both it helped solve the same basic problem: how to straddle the line between forming part of the host society and remaining distinct from it.

Evidence suggests that within the Empire, Roman merchants incorporated the Imperial cult into their business dealings as an honesty-signalling device. This practice provided diaspora traders with an easily accessible way to connect to their hosts. The Imperial cult was neutral, excluding no one, yet meaningful to all subjects of the Empire, rendering it well suited as

⁷³ See Casson 1989: 45–7.

a shared 'ideological space'. By showing allegiance to the same ideology as the members of their new social environment, diaspora traders could establish trust locally, a mechanism that facilitated inter-community trade.

Outside the Empire as well, Roman diaspora merchants displayed allegiance to an Imperial ideology by openly engaging in the Imperial cult. Here their aim was clearly not to find an ideological common ground with their hosts, and the explanation for their behaviour must be different. I have argued that, beyond Rome's borders, diaspora groups displayed Imperial loyalty to attain a position of 'social autonomy'. This position allowed them to participate in their hosts' commercial and even political life, while maintaining sufficient social boundaries to safeguard the integrity of their diaspora communities.

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9 | Law and Life in Roman Harbours

JEAN-JACQUES AUBERT

My starting point is a scholarly mess. A few years ago, I came across a very special Latin inscription. It was reportedly found ‘pochi anni fa’ (as of 1995) in the harbour of Rhodes during some reconstruction and enlargement work. It was described as a column of white marble, 220 cm high, with a diameter of 125 cm, ‘testimonianza marmorea della *lex Rhodia* de iactu proveniente da un antico edificio portuale di Rodi’. According to the first editor, the Greek legal scholar Giorgio S. Marcou, it reads, in ‘six or seven lines’ (?):

LEX RODIA [sic] CAVETVR [sic] VT [sic] SI LEVANDAE NAVIS
GRATIA IACTVS [sic] MERCIVM FACTVM [sic] EST ONIVM [sic]
CONTRIBVTIONE SARCITVR [sic] QVOD PRO OMNIBVS DATVM
EST.¹

It is not clear whether the text provided by Marcou is the one he thought he had read on the column, or a text hastily lifted from the Digest. I have not seen the original inscription, but I had access to the rather inadequate photograph published in the 1995 *editio princeps*, the product of a joint venture by the attorney Giorgio Brouchos and the photographer Vangelis Iliopoulos. The photograph shows that the text is composed of the title and of another five lines, for a total of six lines (cf. below, Badoud’s reading). The first two words of the title are clearly in the nominative case (*lex Rodia*), which does not fit with what allegedly follows, the passive voice (*cavetur ut*), not seen on the photograph, introducing the unmistakable indicative mode *sarcitur*. *Onium* for *omnium* is an obvious typo in the *editio princeps*, and so is probably *factum* instead of *factus*.

In recent years, the inscription was discussed by Gianfranco Purpura in 2002, who very tentatively dated it to the late second or early third century AD on the basis of letter-shapes. It was also mentioned by

¹ Marcou 1995: 614: Sulla colonna vi è incisa la seguente sentenza di Paolo in 6, 7 righe, parte della *lex Rhodia de iactu* che corrisponde con Digesta 14,2: ‘Lege Rhodia cavetur, ut, si levandae navis gratia iactus mercium factum est, onium contributione sarcitur quod pro omnibus datum est . . .’ (sic) reflects an oddity in the transmitted text, [sic] is a typo in Marcou’s article, <s> a genuinely missing letter (in Badoud’s text below). For the photograph, cf. Marcou 1995: 615.

Emmanuelle Chevreau in 2005 and Jolanda Ruggiero in 2009. No one seems to have seen the actual column. It was suggested that the inscription was a modern commemorative production to be attributed to the Italian administration or archaeological mission in charge of the Dodecanesos from 1912 to 1943.² Its purpose would then have been purely decorative and commemorative.

More recently, a former pupil of mine, Nathan Badoud, a specialist in Rhodian epigraphy and the author of a forthcoming monograph on the Rhodian sea-law, visited Rhodes and was able to examine the original inscription. Badoud concluded that the inscription was genuinely ancient. Engraved on grey granite rather than white marble, as initially reported, the text reads:

LEX RODIA DE YACTU
 SI LEVANDAE NAVIS GRATIA
 YACTV<s> MERCIVM FACTVS EST
 OMNIVM CONTRIBVTIONE SARCITVR
 QVOD PRO OMNIBVS
 DATVM EST

Badoud's recent autopsy of the column not only provides an epigraphically and linguistically correct text, but points to a later date, namely after the end of the third century, on the basis of the Ys and narrow letter-shapes, especially for the Ds. Purpura, who was familiar with the 2012 oral version of Badoud's paper, remained unconvinced.³ I am afraid that we will have to leave it at that, in the expectation of a new edition of the Rhodian inscription by Badoud or others.

1 Legal Actors and Transactions in Latin Inscriptions

For the present purpose, the Rhodian inscription, be it a genuine one, a modern artefact or a forgery, is almost too good to be true. It brings together Latin epigraphy, sea-borne trade and juristic writing in a harbour setting. The text of the inscription is a near-exact quotation of the opening passage by the early third-century AD jurist Iulius Paulus in title 14.2 of the Digest, entitled *De lege Rhodia de iactu*:

² Purpura 2002 and Ruggiero 2009, cited in Badoud 2014: 451. I thank Dr Ruggiero for sending me her paper.

³ Purpura 2013: 52–4.

Lege Rodia [Rhodia] cavetur ut si levandae navis gratia iactus mercium factus est omnium contributione sarciatur quod pro omnibus datum est.

The Rhodian law prescribes that if goods have been jettisoned in order to lighten the ship, all should contribute to make good for what has been given on behalf of all.

As such, it is a highly unusual type of inscription. The text is matched, with minor, though not insignificant, changes (in bold below), in the later *Pseudo-Pauli Sententiae* (2.7), a late third- or early fourth-century legal writing, originating in Numidia, known to us through Alaric's *Breviarium* composed in AD 506:

[Ad legem Rhodiam:] Levandae navis gratia iactus **quum** mercium factus est, omnium **intributione/in retributione sarciatur**, quod pro omnibus **datum/iactum** est.

[On the Rhodian law] When goods have been jettisoned in order to lighten the ship, all should contribute to compensate for what has been given/thrown out on behalf of all.

This refers to a well-established maritime usage,⁴ whereby shippers were to compensate the owners of goods jettisoned on the value of the goods saved as a result. Like maritime loans, the law on jettison constitutes an early form of maritime insurance whereby winners are called upon to relieve losers in a show of imposed and organized solidarity. Even though the compilers of the Digest collected only ten excerpts in the sixth century, the juristic opinions quoted in them span the whole period of classical jurisprudence, from the late Republican period to the end of the Principate, a possible testimony to the lasting availability of the customary or legal arrangement.

Title 14.2 scarcely refers to legal transactions performed in harbours. Callistratus,⁵ in the early third century, quoting the earlier jurist Sabinus (first century AD), recalls the case of merchandise transferred from sea-going ships onto river-boats (*scaphae*) that eventually capsized.⁶ Such transfers were sometimes required in order to enter shallow rivers or harbours inaccessible to heavily loaded ships. The risk was not insignificant. Let us note, however, that 'vel portu' (twice) may be the result of a later interpolation.

⁴ This is an issue discussed, amongst others, in Chevreau 2005; Aubert 2007; Mataix Ferrándiz 2017.

⁵ 2 *quaestionum*, Digest 14.2.4.

⁶ On river-boats and boatmen, cf. Tran (Chapter 4) in this volume.

Another case is recorded by Iulianus: a ship hit by lightning has to stop in Hippo on the way to Ostia for repair.⁷ The question arises of whether the shippers who eventually reach their destination have to contribute to the expenses. The jurist's answer is negative, because maintenance of the ship is no ground for compensation, and there is no sign that goods had to be jettisoned in order to enable the ship to reach Hippo. On the basis of the specific locations mentioned in the excerpt, it may refer to a real rather than fictitious legal case. Place names are not so common in the Digest and in the Codes, even less so in the Institutes, and may provide a reliable criterion for establishing the authenticity of the case.

Economic actors connected with sea-borne trade are central in the dispositions of the Rhodian sea-law on jettison. The list includes, in the order of appearance in the text:⁸ ship-masters (*magistri*), passengers and freighters (*vectores*), merchants (*mercatores*), ship-owners (*domini*) and sailors (*nautae*). In an integrated Mediterranean world, pirates (*piratae*, *praedones* in Digest 14.2.2.3) were unlikely to loiter in harbours, but lurked in the background as would-be recipients of ransoms. Divers (*urinatores*) are mentioned by Callistratus⁹ and the result of their feats is sometimes still visible in shipwrecks (e.g. early/mid-first-century BC Madrague de Giens).¹⁰ They are occasionally attested in Latin inscriptions, from Ostia and Rome, where they seem to be organized in associations (*corpora*), by themselves or with others (*piscatores*).¹¹ Salvage raises important and complex legal issues, dealt with in the context of the law of shipwreck (*naufragium*)¹² and abandoned property (*derelictum*),¹³ upon which the

⁷ 86 *dig.*, Digest 14.2.6. ⁸ Paul 34 *ad ed.*, Digest 14.2.2. ⁹ 2 *quaest.*, Digest 14.2.4.1.

¹⁰ Purpura 2013: esp. 45, with reference to Nardi 1986. See also Tchernia 1989; Nardi 2004–5; Boscolo 2005; Carlson 2011 (with photograph, 384); and Rougier (Chapter 6) in this volume. Cf. also *Pauli Sententiae* 2.7.3: *Iactu navis levata si perierit, extractis aliorum per urinatores mercibus eius quoque rationem haberi placuit, qui merces salva nave iactavit.*

¹¹ *AE* 1982, 131 (Ostia, AD 150–1, *corpus urinatorum Ostiensium*); *CIL* XIV, 303 = 4620 = *ILS* 6169 (Ostia); *CIL* VI, 29700 and 29702 (Rome); 1872 = *ILS* 7266 (AD 206, Rome): *praesertim cum navigatio sca/pharum diligentia eius acquisita / et confirmata sit ex decreto / ordinis corporis piscatorum / et urinatorum totius alv(ei) Tiber(is) / quibus ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coire licet; 40638 = 1080 = 31236 = AE 1966, 15 = 1996, 90 (4 April, AD 211 rather than 218, Rome).*

¹² Digest 47.9 (*De incendio ruina naufragio rate nave expugnata*); cf. Mataix Ferrandiz 2014.

¹³ Digest 41.7 (*Pro derelecto*), esp. Iulianus (2 *ex Minicio*) Digest 41.7.7: *Si quis merces ex nave iactatas invenisset, num ideo usucapere non possit, quia non viderentur derelectae, quaeritur. Sed verius est eum pro derelecto usucapere non posse.* This excerpt echoes another one by Iulianus; Digest 14.2.8: *Qui levandae navis gratia res aliquas proiciunt, non hanc mentem habent, ut eas pro derelecto habeant, and Paul (34 ad ed.), Digest 14.2.2.8: Res autem iacta domini manet nec fit adprehendentis, quia pro derelecto non habetur.* Cf. also Iavolenus (7 *ex Cassio*), Digest 41.2.21.1–2; Gaius 2 (*rerum cottidianarum sive aureorum*), Digest 41.1.9.8; and Ulpian (41 *ad Sabinum*), Digest 47.2.43.11, with Purpura 2013: esp. 41.

doctrine compiled in the Digest is consistently unanimous, though voluminous enough to reveal an ongoing debate, probably nurtured by recurrent cases of shipwrecks.

One such case is reported by the mid-second-century AD jurist Volusius Maecianus,¹⁴ the author of the only attested monograph on the Rhodian sea-law. In an excerpt quoted in Greek in the Digest, Maecianus recorded the petition addressed by one Eudaimon of Nicomedia to the emperor Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius, concerning the questionable conduct of some public servants or officials (*demosioi*), or tax-farmers (*demosiones*), in the aftermath of a shipwreck in the Cyclades islands (Digest 14.2.9). Whatever the proper identifications of those people, they are most likely to be epigraphically attested in an urban setting, especially in or near harbours.

Among all the economic actors listed in Digest 14.2, the most important one is the *magister navis*, whose decisions were crucial in critical situations. *Magistri navis* are the representatives of shippers (*exercitores, domini, navicularii, naucleroi*¹⁵) on board, but most of their legal activities are presumably performed in harbours. Title 14.1 of the Digest, *De exercitoria actione*, features *magistri navis* taking on passengers and merchandise on the basis of the contract of hire and lease (*locatio conductio*), contracting loans, buying and selling goods and services, offering guarantees and sureties, and dealing in all kind of commodities, such as food and building/repair material. Ulpian (Digest 14.1.1.12) mentions ships crossing the Adriatic sea, from Cassiopa (on the island of Corcyra) or Dyrrachium (the starting point of the Via Egnatia, leading from the Illyrian coast to Byzantium) to Brundisium, carrying no freight but passengers only, again in likely reference to a practical case.

The Latin inscriptions rarely commemorate *magistri navis*. One exceptionally famous case is recorded on an Ostian wall painting displaying a ship, named *Isis Giminiana*, with seven characters, amongst them the *magister* Farnaces, standing close to the stern of the ship, a central group of three with one Abascantus, possibly the ship-owner or the shipper (*exercitor*), and two of three *saccarii* boarding the ship on the right and unloading grain from a bag into a larger container, while one man sitting at the

¹⁴ CIL XIV, 5347 and 5348. Cf. De Robertis 1953; Merola 2007.

¹⁵ On these various categories, cf. Rougé 1966: 229–61; see also Arnaud (Chapter 15) and Rohde (Chapter 5) in this volume. Some of these functions were performed on behalf of public communities, cf. Worp (2014), who provides an up-to-date list of documents bearing on compulsory public services in the context of river transportation. On *munera/liturgia*i in connection with *dignitas* and epigraphic evidence (or the lack of it), see Arnaud and Keay (Chapter 2) in this volume.

prow states *feci* or *fece(runt)* ('I/they have done it' or 'I am/they are done') (*CIL* XIV, 2028).¹⁶

A quick glance through Clauss/Slaby/Kolb Epigraphik Datenbank¹⁷ yields another two examples. First, a small sampling amphora (*exemplar*) found at Pompeii, possibly of African provenance, was originally published by Della Corte in 1946, and successively revised by Marichal in 1975. A new edition, with several emendations, was recently published by Andreau, Rossi and Tchernia, whose text I provide here:¹⁸

1. ANTE EXEMPLAR
2. TR(itici) M(odiorum) XVCC (quindecim milium ducentorum)
3. IN N(ave) CVMBA AMP(horarum) MDC (mille sescentarum)
TVTELA IOVIS ET
4. IVNO(nis) PARASEMI (*sic*) VICTORIA P. POMPILI
5. SATVRI MAG(ister) M(arcus) LARTIDIOS VITALIS DOMO CLVPEIS.
(vacat)
6. VECT(ura) OSTISA(ccepta?) IIC- (duobus centesimis) SOL(ven) DO
(*in the right margin, second hand*) GRATIS M(odii) CC (ducenti)
7. (*first hand*) S(ine) F(raude) PR(idie) IDVS OCTOBR(es)

According to the new reading of the text, the small amphora would have contained a sample of wheat (*triticum*), out of a larger cargo of 15,200 *modii* conveyed from Ostia to an unspecified destination, probably a harbour in the Bay of Naples, like Puteoli. The commercial ship (*cumba*), identified by the name of *Victoria*, was sailing under the protection of Jupiter and Juno and had a recorded capacity of 1,600 amphorae.¹⁹ It was owned by one P. Pompilius Satyrus and operated by a *magister navis* named M. Lartidius Vitalis, whose *tria nomina* designate him as a free(d) man.²⁰ The latest editors point out that this is the only extant evidence for

¹⁶ On *saccarii*, see Virlovet (Chapter 7) in this volume. ¹⁷ www.manfredclauss.de.

¹⁸ Andreau, Rossi and Tchernia 2017. I thank Jean Andreau for sharing this article with me and for inviting me to use the corrected reading of the inscription. Original publication in *Not.Scav.* 1946: 110–11, n. 232 = *AE* 1951, 165, revised in 1963 = *CIL* IV, 9591. According to Della Corte in his 1963 edition in *CIL* IV, 3, the addressee of the inscription would have been one Rusticus (in the dative case), possibly with a second name, but the different hand and the red ink with which the name was painted suggest that the amphora was reused. Rusticus would then have had no connection with the original addressee of the sample. Cf. also Rougé 1966: 238, 327–8, and 420; and the revised edition by Marichal (1975: 524–7), with a new photograph of the jug (pl. II, 524bis). Pascal Arnaud, who kindly drew my attention to this article, is currently working on a new edition of the inscription.

¹⁹ This was about 112 tons, a midsize ship, according to Tchernia 2011: 275–87, esp. 276, n. 3 and 280, n. 17.

²⁰ M. Della Corte in *CIL* IV, 9591 identifies the place of origin of the *magister navis* M. Lartidius Vitalis domo Clupeas as African. Whether he was a citizen of Clupea (Clipea/Aspis, modern

the price (2 per cent, assumedly of the value of the cargo) of sea-borne transport in the Roman period, as well as the only evidence for the transfer of wheat from Ostia to another Italian town.

In the second inscription found in the Clauss/Slaby/Kolb database (*CIL* XI, 5183), the distance between the sea or the harbour and the setting of the ship-master Priamus Mar(ci) ser<v>us' (rather than Marserus') epitaph shows that sailors were sometimes based inland. The inscription was found in the middle of Umbria, in a place named Vettona (modern Bettona, south of Perugia), where there was no navigable waterway, apart from the small Lake Trasimene, some 40 km away:

PRIAMVS MAR(ci?)
SER<v>VS MAGISTE<r>
NAVIVM

Besides the location of the find itself, the inscription is remarkable for the use of the plural genitive *navium*, which suggests that the shipper's agent, obviously a slave, was in charge of more than one ship, and therefore clearly distinct from the pilot. Whether Marcus, the slave's *dominus*, was also the owner of the ships and/or the shipper (*exercitor*) cannot be ascertained. Since he is only referred to by his first name, third parties would have had a hard time identifying him as the agent's principal in case of litigation.

Apart from these three cases, all from central Italy, we know of two other ship's captains recorded in Latin inscriptions. One *actor navis* was attested on a votive inscription found at Ganuenta in Lower Germania on the North Sea (Colinjsplaat near Antwerp).²¹ Bosiconius Quartus, the agent of Florus Severus, made a dedication to the goddess Nehalennia (*AE* 2001, 1489 and 2003, 1228):

NEHALENNIAE
BOSICONIVS
QVARTVS
ACTOR NAVIS
FLORI SEVERI
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Considering the location of the find, which was not too far from the mouth of the Rhine, it is not clear whether Bosiconius was in charge of

Kelibia, east of Carthage), as suggested in the translation by Andreau, Rossi and Tchernia (2017: 336), is debatable.

²¹ Cf. Verboven (Chapter 14) in this volume.

a river-boat or of a sea-going ship. The same question hardly arises concerning an unidentified *vilicus navis*, whose votive inscription was found along the Rhône, in Montalieu-Vercieu, halfway between Lugdunum and Geneva (*CIL* XII, 2379, Gallia Narbonensis):

[--]

VILICVS NAVIS

V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Such rare inscriptions shed some dim light on the connection between Roman law and harbour economic and social life. The equivalent of the ship's captain for land-based trade hides behind a wide variety of labels, from rarely attested *institores* to all kinds of specialists often mentioned only in epigraphic material. Ulpian, quoting the earlier jurist Iulianus, refers to the case of a slave in charge of an oil outlet in Arelate/Arles, in Gallia Narbonensis, who was also known for taking out loans.²² The jurists rightly suggest that the regular nature of this twofold activity, retail trade and moneylending, provided sufficient grounds for engaging the principal's liability on both accounts. This is a typical example of a juristic opinion based on public perception. To my knowledge, this is the only occurrence of Arelate in the Digest, not to say in the overall collection of legal sources. Although there is no compelling reason to think that the slave's business was in any way connected with the harbour, Arelate was indeed an important harbour on the river Rhône, not too far away from the Mediterranean sea. The area has yielded hundreds if not thousands of inscriptions,²³ a few of them showing that Arelatenses were indeed involved in regional and long-distance trade. For instance, the *navicularii marini Arelatenses* honoured a local patron and city official (*CIL* XII, 692):

CN(aeo) CORNEL(io)

CN(aei) FIL(io) TER(etina)

OPTATO

IIVIR(o) PONTIFIC(i)

FLAMINI

NAVICVLARI (i) MARIN(i)

AREL(atenses) PATRONO

²² Ulpian (28 *ad ed.*) Digest 14.3.13: Habebat quis servum merci oleariae praepositum Arelatae, eundem et mutuis pecuniis accipiendis: acceperat mutuum pecuniam: putans creditor ad merces eum accepisse egit proposita actione: probare non potuit mercis gratia eum accepisse. licet consumpta est actio nec amplius agere poterit, quasi pecuniis quoque mutuis accipiendis esset praepositus, tamen Iulianus utilem ei actionem competere ait. Cf. Tran 2014.

²³ Clauss/Slaby/Kolb Epigraphik Databank = 1'115 s.v. Arles.

who are attested in nearby St Gabriel/Ernaginum (*CIL* XII, 982):

[D(is)] M(anibus)
 M(arci) FRONTONI EVPORI
 IIIIIIVIR(i) AVG(ustalis) COL(oniae) IVLIA(e)
 AVG(ustae) AQVIS SEXTIS NAVICVLAR(ii)
 MAR(itimi) AREL(atensis) CVRAT(oris) EIVSD(em) CORP(oris)
 PATRONO(!) NAVTAR(um) DRVEN-
 TICORVM ET VTRIC(u)LARIOR (um)
 CORP(orati) ERNAGINENS(i)VM
 IVLIA NICE VXOR
 CONIVGI CARISSIMO

The nature of the epigraphic evidence is such that it rarely offers a glimpse of legal transactions performed, if they ever were, by such people. One exception is provided by a famous and much-discussed text from Lebanon²⁴ addressed by one Iulianus, possibly a prefect of the *annona* under Septimius Severus, to the shippers of Arelate, traditionally organized in five *corporae*,²⁵ in reference to a decree issued by the said shippers and dealing with some litigious case.²⁶ The support was originally a bronze table reworked into a plate with animal decoration, hence its round shape. The text, too long to be quoted here, suggests that the shippers had been wronged, had therefore looked for support, and threatened to desist from their activities on behalf of the service of the corn supply. The cause of the *querella* is unknown, and redress seems to be sought through the intervention of the Imperial procurator or the prefect himself (*auxilium aequitatis*). It is connected with the delivery of grain in Rome (*in urbe*), under escort (*prosecutores*) and with the control of both volume and weight, by way of marked iron rulers. Diverging interests may have been at stake: on the one hand the service of the corn supply (*indemnitas rationis*), on the other hand the shippers themselves or the staff of the said service (*securitas hominum qui annonae deserviunt*).

Beirut²⁷ was one of the few harbour cities mentioned in the Digest by the late second-century AD jurist Cervidius Scaevola in one of the most precisely developed cases in the whole Digest. One Callimachus had taken out a maritime loan from a slave in Beirut for a round trip to Brindisi, to last 200 days, under pledge of both initial and return cargoes. Several conditions were attached to the loan, related to the calendar of the

²⁴ Deir el-Qamar, *CIL* III, 14165 = *ILS* 6987. ²⁵ *AE* 1998, 876 (P. Kneissl).

²⁶ *AE* 2006, 1580 (M. Corbier). ²⁷ Cf. Steuernagel (Chapter 3) in this volume.

return trip, conditions that Callimachus failed to abide by, to be eventually found liable for the loss of the money as a result of shipwreck.²⁸

Such arrangements must have been common within the Roman business community. Maritime loans (*fenus nauticum*) are rarely attested in papyri and inscriptions, but are dealt with in one title of the Digest (22.2) and one title of Justinian's Code (4.33), with respectively nine *excerpta* and four/five rescripts. The archive of the banking business of the Sulpicii at Puteoli²⁹ contains, out of more than 100 documents, one so-called receipt for a maritime loan combined with a promise to repay the money. *TPSulp* 78 (= *TPN* 68), dated to 11 April AD 38, is a bilingual document that features one foreigner, Menelaos, son of Irenaios, from Keramos in Caria (Asia Minor), acknowledging the receipt of a maritime loan (*naulotikè*) to the amount of 1,000 *denarii* from Primus, the slave of one Publius Attius Severus, and providing a surety (*eggyon*), with the promise (*fideiussio*) to have him repay the loan.

Eva Jakab (2014), following Emmanuelle Chevreau, pointed out that this was the only document in the whole archive to show the connection with maritime trade, and henceforth to illustrate the function of Puteoli as a major Mediterranean harbour. However, other documents from the same archive could be added to this effect: *TPSulp* 45–6, 51–2 and 79 refer to the storage of Alexandrian grain in public granaries, and *TPSulp* 80 (*TPN* 89, undated) is a letter from one Theophilos to his brother Aphrodisios announcing the delivery of wine and vinegar from a ship called *Octa*. The fragment of another document (*TPSulp* 106 = *TPN* 110), dated to 23 December AD 57, includes references to a ship (*navis*) bearing a now lost name (*parasemon*), possibly *Notus* (Camodeca 1999: 217), and connected with the Syrian harbour city of Sidon, with an unidentified economic agent, son of one Theodoros, possibly a peregrine, dealing in a large amount (18,000 *modii*) of an unidentified commodity, while someone enjoyed, by law and by custom (*et iure ipso et consuetudine*), the status of privileged, that is first-rank, creditor (*protopraxia*). These few documents reflect the importance of Puteoli as the main harbour in central Italy in the first century AD. As far as I know, Puteoli, unlike Ostia (in Digest 14.2.6 only!), is not mentioned in the Digest and Codes. (Puteolani are mentioned twice, but in an irrelevant way, such as an author (proper name?) or an example of *municipes*.³⁰)

²⁸ Cervidius Scaevola (28 dig.) Digest 45.1.122. Cf. Sirks 2002.

²⁹ Cf. Verboven (Chapter 14) in this volume.

³⁰ Ulpian (4 *ad ed.*) Digest 2.14.12; and (2 *ad ed.*) Digest 50.1.1.1.

2 Some Legal Evidence Concerning Harbour Activities

In the first part of this chapter, I have tried to list and discuss some epigraphic evidence for legal transactions performed by various economic agents in connection with harbour activities, insofar as they can be reconstructed by reference to those legal institutions described by Roman jurists. By nature, inscriptions provide precise, though narrow and elliptic, sometimes even fragmentary, evidence illustrating social and economic practices, in a way admittedly biased by the intention of those who set up the inscriptions.³¹ The legal sources, be they juristic writings or legislation, offer a different perspective, in that they have both a descriptive and a normative purpose. They provide evidence for a longer period (first century BC to sixth century AD) than the inscriptions, and sometimes are more explicit about the social context and the specific activities carried out in Roman harbours. In the second part of this chapter, I will examine some samples of the available evidence on harbours in the Digest, the Theodosian and Justinianic Codes and the Institutes. The question I plan to address is whether harbours (*portus*) are considered a specific place in law, in comparison with other geographical or structural contexts, such as a city, a villa, a road, the sea, a lake and so forth. The body of evidence can be approached through a search of the various forms of the word *portus* in the Amanuensis databank. I collected around 50 occurrences, distributed across eleven *excerpta* from the Digest, seven laws from the Justinianic Code, 25 from the Theodosian Code and the appended *novellae*, and a single passage in the Institutes of Justinian (though none in Gaius!).

Here, a few caveats are necessary. First, *portus* is not the only Latin word to designate a base or stopping place for ships. Ulpian also speaks of *stationes*.³² Consequently, the search should be extended to all occurrences of this word. Second, some texts can be discarded right away, either because *portus* is used metaphorically (*CTh.* 6.27.16.1, 413) or with a different meaning (= *horreum*). Ulpian offers a comprehensive definition of *portus* as an enclosed place into and from which goods are transported.³³ When Paul records a legacy of wine kept ‘in urbe seu in portu’, he means wine

³¹ Cf. Purcell (Chapter 16) in this volume.

³² Ulpian (68 *ad ed.*) Digest 43.12.1.13: Stationem dicimus a stando: is igitur locus demonstratur, ubicumque naves tuto stare possunt. Cf. *CTh.* 13.5.8 (336) and 7.16.2 (410). On *stationes*, see Steuernagel (Chapter 3) in this volume.

³³ Ulpian (68 *ad ed.*) Digest 50.16.59: ‘Portus’ appellatus est conclusus locus, quo importantur merces et inde exportantur: eaque nihilo minus statio est conclusa atque munita. inde ‘angiportum’ dictum est.

wherever it is located.³⁴ Here *portus* is akin to a *vinarium* or cellar. In the same vein, when Valentinian and Valens complain to the urban prefect Symmachus, in 364, that some *horrea fiscalia* within the city of Rome have been diverted from their intended use for private storage, to the detriment of the public good, they add, to be comprehensive, ‘nec non etiam portus’, which can be understood as an extension of the city or of the kind of facilities to be reclaimed (*CTh.* 15.1.12).³⁵

In the mid-third century AD, the jurist Aelius Marcianus reports that harbours, like rivers, are public places (*publica*). The statement is made in connection with an Imperial reminder that fishing was permitted to everyone, at sea and from the shore, with no trespassing of man-made facilities (*villae, aedificia, monumenta*), because the sea is governed by the law of nations (*ius gentium*).³⁶ Apparently, the principle was contested and the emperor, possibly Antoninus Pius, had to issue a formal decision, perhaps in response to a petition sent by fishermen from Formiae and, paradoxically, Capena (in central Latium, near the river Tiber), possibly a mistake for Capuani or Caietani. Marcianus’ excerpt is included in the title *De divisione rerum et qualitate*, where the nature of property (*res*) is defined. The issue is private versus public/universal property (*communia, publica, universitatis, nullius*), according to the *ius gentium* and *ius naturale*.³⁷ The passage was taken over and rewritten by Justinian in his *Institutes* (2.1.1–5), the only reference to harbours in this work. Even though rivers and harbours do not belong to the list of *naturali iure communia*, like the air, water, sea and seashore they are likewise open to fishermen, who enjoy there the *ius piscandi*.³⁸ This *usus publicus* is extended *iure gentium* to

³⁴ Paul (*sing. de adsignatione libertorum*) Digest 34.2.30: Si quis ita legaverit . . . placet omnia debere, sicuti cum ita legatur: ‘Titio vina, quae in urbe habeo seu in portu, do lego’, omnia debere: hoc enim verbum ‘seu’ ampliandi legati gratia positum est.

³⁵ On *horrea*, see Virlouvet (Chapter 7) in this volume.

³⁶ Marcianus (3 *inst.*) Digest 1.8.4: Nemo igitur ad litus maris accedere prohibetur piscandi causa, dum tamen villis et aedificiis et monumentis absteatur, quia non sunt iuris gentium sicut et mare: idque et divus Pius piscatoribus Formianis et Capenatis rescripsit. Sed flumina paena omnia et portus publica sunt. Cf. also Gaius (2 *rerum cottidianarum sive aureorum*) Digest 1.8.5: Riparum usus publicus est iure gentium sicut ipsius fluminis. Itaque navem ad eas appellere . . . cuilibet liberum est.

³⁷ Marcianus (3 *inst.*) Digest 1.8.2: Quaedam naturali iure communia sunt omnium, quaedam universitatis, quaedam nullius, pleraque singulorum, quae variis ex causis cuique adquiruntur. Et quidem naturali iure omnium communia sunt illa: aer, aqua profluens, et mare, et per hoc litora maris. Justinian adds (*Institutes* 2.1 pr.) ‘quaedam publica’ between the first and second categories.

³⁸ *Institutes* 2.1.2: Flumina autem omnia et portus publica sunt: ideoque ius piscandi omnibus commune est in portibus fluminibusque.

riverbanks and seashores, especially as stopping places for boats and ships (2.1.4–5).

Private harbours are not ruled out, though. Landowners must report them as well as fishponds to the *census*.³⁹ Harbours yield revenues in the form of *vectigalia*, so-called *vectigalia portus vel venalium rerum*, one kind of *publica vectigalia*, just like revenues derived from mines, salt beds and pitch factories.⁴⁰ Harbours are places of tax collection (*portoria*). Consequently, the modalities are governed by a *lex censoria* that can vary from one place to another. Alfenus Varus, in the late Republican period, quotes and discusses aspects of the *lex censoria portus Siciliae*, possibly implemented in all harbours in the praetorian province of Sicily, in matters related to the slave trade. Like personal belongings, slaves for personal use are exempted from custom duties (*portorium*).⁴¹ The same Alfenus Varus records another *lex dicta*, devised by Julius Caesar for the exploitation of quarries on the island of Crete. The regulation established a monopoly and called for a cessation of export of whetstones by mid-March for anyone but the designated contractor. The jurist discusses the case of a ship that had left on time, but had to return to the island because of bad weather. The initial departure is considered the determining moment to abide by the regulation. Which harbour the ship returned to makes no difference.⁴² Because of their fiscal interest, harbours were duly protected by law. Labeo, quoted by Ulpian, knows of an interdict shielding harbours, stations and roads from undue constructions, both in the sea or on shore, which would make navigation more difficult or risky.⁴³

Harbours have a special significance in the context of maritime loans. We have seen above some cases in the Sulpicii archive of Puteoli and in the Digest, as recorded by Cervidius Scaevola.⁴⁴ Maritime loans are treated in Digest 22.2 (*faenus nauticum*), which was supplemented by Title 4.33 of the

³⁹ Ulpian (3 *de censibus*) Digest 50.15.4.6: Lacus quoque piscatorios et portus in censum dominus debet deferre. On private harbours, see Arnaud (Chapter 13) in this volume.

⁴⁰ Ulpian (10 *ad ed.*) Digest 50.16.17.1: ‘Publica’ vectigalia intellegere debemus, ex quibus vectigal fiscus capit: quale est vectigal portus vel venalium rerum, item salinarum et metallorum et picariarum.

⁴¹ Alfenus (7 *dig.*,) Digest 50.16.203: In lege censoria portus Siciliae ita scriptum erat: ‘servos quos domum quis ducet suo usu pro is portorium ne dato’. Quaerebatur si quis . . .

⁴² Alfenus (7 *dig.*,) Digest 39.4.15: Caesar cum insulae Cretae cotorias locaret, legem ita dixerat: ‘ne quis praeter redemptorem post idus Martias cotem ex insula Creta fodito neve eximito neve avellito’. Cuiusdam navis onusta cotibus ante idus Martias ex portu Cretae profecta vento relata in portum erat, deinde iterum post idus Martias profecta erat. Consulebatur num . . .

⁴³ Ulpian (68 *ad ed.*) Digest 43.12.1.17: Si in mari aliquid fiat, Labeo competere tale interdictum: ‘ne quid in mari inve litore’ ‘quo portus statio iterve navigio deterius fiat’.

⁴⁴ 28 *dig.*, Digest 45.1.122.

Justinianic Code, all four rescripts of which are pre-Constantinian in date. Harbours constitute a turning point in the respective positions of the parties to the loan, because the allowance of risk passes from creditor to debtor when the ship arrives in the harbour, and the high rate of interest specific to maritime loans starts running from the moment the ship departs from the harbour and runs until the ship arrives in the harbour of its destination.⁴⁵ Some loans are made for specific stretches only, for instance for a trip to Africa, even though the loan has to be repaid in Dalmatia. The first leg is under the responsibility of the creditor, the second leg under that of the debtor. A change of itinerary is instrumental in shifting liabilities. Here again, the mention of the harbour of Salona makes it likely that we are dealing with an actual legal case.⁴⁶

The legislation of the fourth and fifth centuries dealing with harbours offers a different perspective. Harbours, like water conduits and city walls, are built and maintained by means of compulsory public services, from which members of the élite are not supposed to be exonerated. Such charges were mostly financial, at least for those who had the economic means to escape from the actual work.⁴⁷ Unsurprisingly, shippers had been altogether exempted from any kind of municipal liturgies whenever they landed on an island, in a harbour, along the shore or in any stopping place (*statio*). For that purpose, a law of AD 336 stipulates that *navicularii Hispaniarum* would be equipped with safe-conducts (*relatoriae*) that would ensure their ability to pursue their trip and deliver their goods. These safe-conducts consisted of the necessary paperwork documenting the delivery of goods wherever they had stopped on the way.⁴⁸ On the other

⁴⁵ *C.I.* 33.2(1): *Impp. Diocletianus et Maximianus AA. Scribonio Honorato*. Traiecticam pecuniam quae periculo creditoris datur tamdiu liberam esse ab observatione communium usurarum quamdiu navis ad portum appulerit manifestum est. pp. *iiii id. Mart. Maximo ii et Aquilione cons.* (a. 286). Cf. also *C.I.* 33.3(2) (a. 286).

⁴⁶ *C.I.* 33.4(3) (a. 286?), addressed to a woman named Aurelia Iuliana. Cf. also *C.I.* 33.5(4): *Idem AA. et CC. Pullio Iuliano Eucharisto*. Traiecticiae quidem pecuniae quae periculo creditoris mutuo datur casus antequam ad destinatum locum navis perveniat ad debitorem non pertinet sine huiusmodi vero conventionem infortunio naufragii non liberabitur. *D. viii id. Oct. Retiariae CC. cons.* (a. 294).

⁴⁷ *C.Th.* 15.1.23 = *C.I.* 8.11.7: *Imppp. Gratianus Valentinianus et Theodosius AAA. Cynegio pp.* Ad portus et aquae ductus et murorum instaurationem sive extructionem omnes certatim facta operarum collatione instare debent neque aliquis ab huiusmodi consortio dignitatis privilegiis excusari. *D. xv kal. Feb. Constantinopoli Richomere et Clearcho cons.* *D.* (a. 384). The reference to city walls (*muri*) is an addition in the Justinianic Code.

⁴⁸ *C.Th.* 13.5.8: *Imp. Constantinus ad Severum*. Navicularios Hispaniarum neque ad extraordinaria teneri officia neque alicubi retentos moras sustinere oportet, sed relatorias traditarum specierum intra decem dies a susceptoribus percipere, cum ad aliquas insulas portus litora stationes accesserint, ostensis relatoriis nullam prorsus inquietudinem sustinere. *D. xiii kal. Iun. Nepotiano et Facundo cons.* (a. 336). Cf. also *C.Th.* 13.5.4 (a. 324).

hand, a law of AD 365 (*CTh.* 14.6.3), issued in Milan and dealing with the supply of lime for the city of Rome, refers to a tax paid by the people (or the shippers) in or from Terracina for the use of a lighthouse and harbour, presumably in Ostia, in accordance with an old custom.⁴⁹ A network of shippers based in Ostia must have existed of long standing, as suggested by a much earlier mosaic found there which displays a damaged inscription set up by or in honour of the N[avic]V(larii) TARRI(cinenses).⁵⁰ In late antiquity, harbours had actually become a place of control over shippers (*nautici*) by public authorities. In 366, a law of the same Valentinianus and Valens, issued in Reims and addressed to the prefect of the *annona*, calls for a formal declaration by shippers in front of provincial governors and (municipal?) magistrates and in the prefect's office itself in Rome, to the effect that goods to be transported by them are indeed free of defects. The key moment is the time of arrival in the harbour.⁵¹

My last case is based on a novella issued by Valentinian III (and, accessorially, Theodosius II) in 447 at Rome (*NVal* 24.1).⁵² It deals with *negotiatores* and calls for a crackdown on the black market, a *furtiva negotiatio* that drives merchants out of urban centres and induces them to conduct business in *vici*, harbours and rural estates, the point being to avoid paying the merchant tax (*auraria functio* =? *chrysargyron*, cf. *CTh.* 13.1). Actually, it may be the response of the business community to the introduction in 444–5 of the little-attested *siliquae*, a 4 per cent tax on business transactions (*NVal* 15.1).

The fact that harbours had become the place where official control could no longer be exercised is in sharp contrast with the situation attested a few

⁴⁹ *CTh.* 14.6.3: *Impp. Valentinianus et Valens AA. ad Volusianum virum clarissimum vicarium . . . Hoc autem excepto a Tarracinensis praestationis canone suggera quae vetusto praeberi fari ac portus usibus more consuevit . . . D. viii id. Aug. Mediolano Valentiniano et Valente AA. cons.* (a. 365).

⁵⁰ *CIL* XIV, 279 and 4549.

⁵¹ *CTh.* 14.15.2 = *C.I.* 11.23.1: *Impp. Valentinianus et Valens (et Gratianus) AA(A). ad Iulianum praefectum annonae.* *Nautici apud curatorum / praesidum vel magistratuuum acta confiteantur incorruptas species suscepisse eorumque apud quos deponitur ista testatio praesens adspectus probet nihil in his esse vitii. Quod eo tempore quo ad sacrae urbis portum pervenit praefecturam iugiter observare praeceptum est. D. xviii k. Iul. Remis Gratiano A. i et Dagalaifo cons.* (a. 366).

⁵² *NVal* 24: *Impp. Theodosius et Valentinianus AA. ad Florianum comitem sacrarum largitionum.* *Inter cetera . . . maiestatis nostrae sancimus oraculo, ne ulterius furtiva negotiatio et claris urbibus rarum faciat mercatorem et obscuris ac reconditis locis in damnum publicae functionis lateat turba mercantium . . . Idcirco inlustris auctoritas tua pragmatici nostri tenore conperto sciat iuxta suggestionem suam omnes, qui declinatis urbibus per vicos portusque quamplures possessionesque diversas exercent negotiationis officium, pro aerarii nostri commoditate retinendos, ut secundum modum, quem iustitia suaserit, aurariam functionem cogantur agnoscere . . . D. vii kal. Mai. Romae, Calepio vc. cons.* (a. 447).

decades earlier, when emperors were dispatching their secret service agents into harbour areas to prevent exfiltration, infiltration, unfriendly acts and smuggling.⁵³

3 Conclusion

Harbours are places where people come and go, where business is conducted, where services are performed, where goods are transported in and out, sometimes to be stored there for short or extended periods of time, and where taxes are collected. Historians of ancient Rome could have expected jurists, law-makers and administrators to pay special attention to such a bubbly world. The extant legal evidence, spanning half a millennium from the late Republican period to the mid-fifth century AD, suggests that this was not the case. It can hardly be said that harbours were attributed a distinct legal status. They are at best considered sensitive areas for security and fiscal reasons. An increase in the quantity of documents produced in this context would come not from lawyers or legislators, but from administrators.

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⁵³ *CTh.* 9.23.1 (352?); 7.16.1 (408); 7.16.2 (410); and 6.29.10 (412).

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10 | Living Like a Cosmopolitan?

On Roman Port City Societies in the Western Mediterranean

SABINE PANZRAM

Port cities are places *sui generis*. They are starting points for opening up the world both militarily and economically, sites of intersection between land and sea trade, for the local, regional and trans-regional exchange of goods, and are thus places characterized by economic activities, migration and cosmopolitanism. In short, they are ‘urban agglomerations of human mobility’.¹ Roman port cities were provided not only with the usual elements of infrastructure and architecture, designed to impress with their monumentally staged regularity, but also with extravagantly planned ‘waterfronts’ (see [Figure 2.1](#) in [Chapter 2](#)): the orthogonal network of streets; aqueducts, fountain buildings and thermal baths; the centrally located sanctuaries dominating squares, columned streets leading towards them; the towering theatre buildings which, tall and massive, caught the eye from the outside across the houses of the cities; the solid fortifications, completed by harbour basins, breakwaters and gigantic piers; a lighthouse, sometimes made of white marble; and broad coastal roads with inlets to house the crews of incoming ships. Greater than life-sized statues flanked the entrances to the harbours, providing safety from the incalculable sea but also from piracy.² At the same time, however, a port city had the function of a gate, of both a ‘sally port’ and a ‘gateway’, predominantly the latter – for merchants, members of the armed forces and the Imperial administration, magistrates and subaltern public officials; for travellers, visitors, pilgrims, artists and scholars; for migrants who were not there for short stays but intended to stay longer, perhaps for good. They completed the society of a *municipium* or a provincial capital, of which we commonly know only of the élite – that is to say, those who dominated the political discourse and also, due to the donations and honours they received, the public spaces, as they occupied the prestigious offices or key positions of the socio-economic network of relationships, to form ‘sub-élites’, such as

¹ Amenda and Fuhrmann 2007: 7–11; Hein 2011; Mah 2014.

² So, for example, in Caesarea Maritima (Josephus *BJ* 1.21.5–8) and Alexandria (Strabo 17.1.6–10).

those of the members of cultic and professional associations: *ingenui*, *peregrini* and *liberti*.³ Thus, port cities had social structures that were both much more differentiated and more ethnically mixed than those of other cities.

Usually Ostia is considered a paradigm for the port city, although in several respects it differs from the ideal type. From the time of the building of the harbours at Portus initially under Claudius, who in AD 42 built a huge basin of some 200 ha, and then under Trajan, who connected this basin to an inner hexagonal one of 33 ha, the *colonia* has been considered Rome's most important port for grain supplies.⁴ Furthermore, olives and wine were imported or traded, along with textiles, perfumes and animals for the games in the amphitheatre, amongst other items.⁵ The cityscape of Ostia was that of a 'boomtown'. Due to the new harbours built by the emperors and the consequent rapid growth of trade volume, the city developed into a profitable investment and residential place in a comparatively short span of time, from the end of the first until the beginning of the second century AD.⁶

The new cityscape was restless and rarely homogeneous, and an overall harmonizing design cannot be readily identified. Its streets were mostly deliberately and unsystematically developed. It had a forum whose small size was conspicuous given the rapid growth of the city. Its multistoreyed *insulae* followed the pattern of the city of Rome in replacing the *domus* that had dominated previously, multifunctional building complexes whose ground floors were used for commercial purposes and whose upper storeys were rented out as residential spaces (Figure 10.1). Oriental cults flourished to a certain extent; the sanctuaries of Bona Dea or Hercules and the temple for the Imperial cult were now joined by facilities for the communities surrounding the cult of Mithras, Serapis and Magna Mater, for example, thus augmenting the traditional Roman pantheon. The *collegia* were present: amongst others those of the *navicularii*, who were in charge of the trans-regional shipment of goods across the sea,⁷ but also the *mensores* who received the goods – in particular grain – at the harbour, measured them and stored them at the *horrea*,⁸ and had a *statio* at the so-called Piazzale

³ Rohde 2012: 32–7; cf. Cracco Ruggini 1980: 55–76; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1996a: 83–9; Cébeillac-Gervasoni and Zevi 2000: 5–31.

⁴ Suetonius *Claudius* 20.1–3; Juvenal 12.75–9; Pliny *Ep.* 8.17.1–2; Pliny *NH* 9.5.14–15; 16.76.201–2; 36.14.70; Cassius Dio 60.11.1–5. Testaguzza 1970; Rickman 1996: 281–91; Keay *et al.* 2005.

⁵ Rougé 1966: 125.

⁶ For this and the following, Heinzelmann 2002: 103–21; Mar Medina 2002: 111–80; Pavolini 2006.

⁷ Bollmann 1998: 323–7; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2002: 123–72, esp. 140–3; Steuernagel 2004: 98.

⁸ Bollmann 1998: 291–5; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2002: 123–72, esp. 138–40; Steuernagel 2004: 98–9.

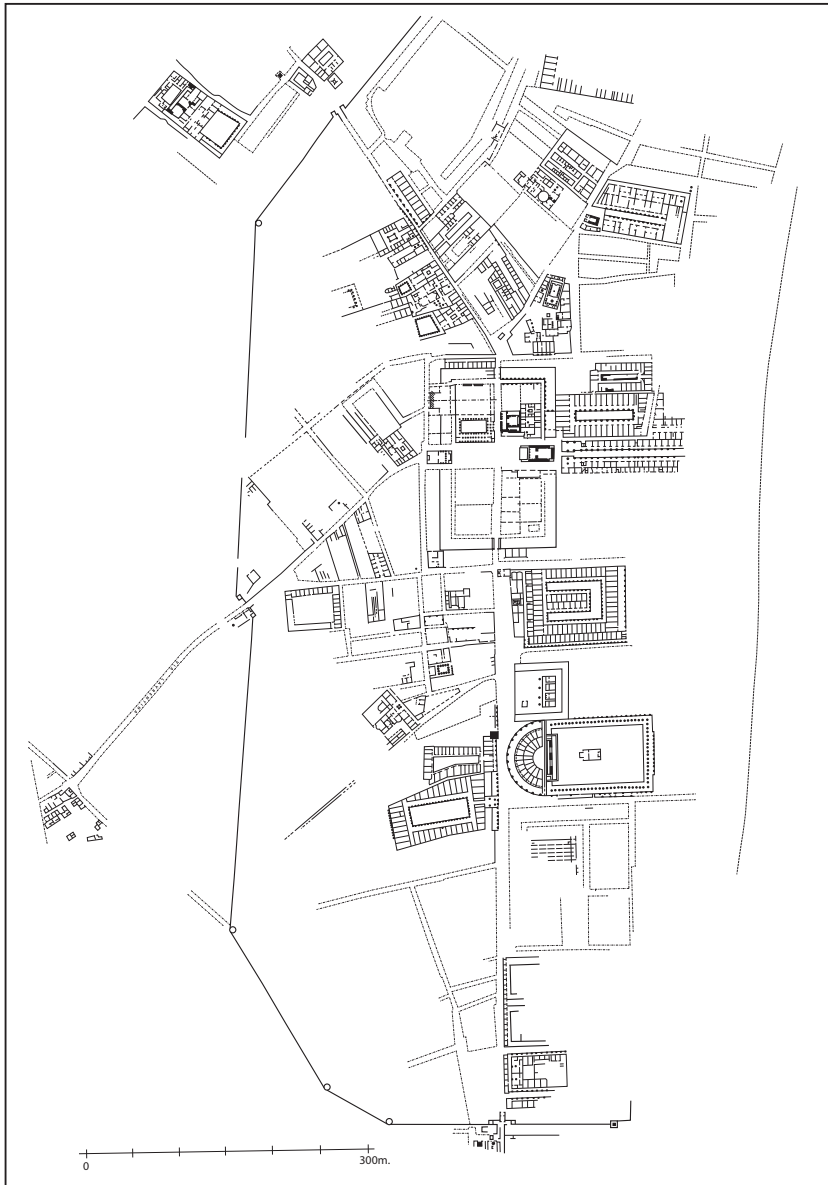


Figure 10.1 Ostia after the extension of its harbour by Trajan.

delle Corporazioni, a square of impressive size (107×78 m) situated behind the theatre.⁹ They were also provided with luxuriously designed *scholae* in privileged neighbourhoods.

⁹ Rohde 2012: 101–13, cf. Rohde 2009: 31–61; Meiggs 1973: 283–8; Steuernagel 2004: 197–202.

Thus the transformation of the cityscape, reflecting a market economy based on competition, represents an economically, socially and ethnically very heterogeneous population. Representatives of the Imperial administration who were in charge of the *cura annonae* are found there, as are members of the local élite who held the urban magistrates or were active as *benefactores*, or foreigners from other cities of the Italian Peninsula and also from the Gallic, Hispanic and North African provinces or the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁰ Given Ostia's function as a hub of a variety of maritime trade routes and its integration into a trade network spanning the entire Mediterranean, this social structure does not come as a surprise.¹¹ The port city society seems to have been characterized by an 'openness' which justifies describing the way of life of both the local élites and the new citizens as 'cosmopolitan'.¹² For in this case it is not only a co-existence of different cultures, or publicly perceivable diversity so to speak, but clearly also a constellation going beyond an expected degree of co-existence, a combination of factors leading to the genesis of institutions. Is Ostia a special case in this respect as well, as it is from an urbanistic point of view? Or was life in the port cities of the *Imperium Romanum* always so 'cosmopolitan'?

This chapter will examine this question using the example of the Iberian Peninsula, the region of the Mediterranean where for the first time Rome was forced to perpetuate its dominion at a considerable distance from the Italian mainland, in an almost unknown country with a 'barbarian' population, which makes it a particularly suitable 'test case'. From the end of the Second Punic War, sea routes to Tarraco (Tarragona), Carthago Nova (Cartagena) and Gades (Cádiz) were established, trade routes which intensified a development that was particularly supported by Augustus, under whom the Pillars of Herakles and Hispania Citerior 'moved closer' to Ostia, to a distance of seven days in the former case and a distance of four days in the latter.¹³ This upswing corresponds to a paucity of sources that, due to their fragmentary nature, allow only a rough sketch to be drawn of the structures of cities and their harbours (as a first step) and of the social structure (as a second step), and only *grosso modo* for the period from the first to the second century AD.¹⁴

¹⁰ Meiggs 1973: 189–234; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1996b: 557–67; Mouritsen 1998: 229–54; Salomies 2002: 135–59.

¹¹ Rougé 1966: 81–105; Arnaud 2005: 162 and 5.

¹² Fuhrmann 2007: 12–26; Moatti 2014: 130–52. ¹³ Pliny NH 19.4. Rougé 1966: 142–4.

¹⁴ A systematic analysis of the social structure is not yet possible, since Tarraco continues to be the only city on the Iberian Peninsula that is well documented through numerous dated inscriptions for a period of about 800 years. Any comparison with Carthago Nova and Gades

1 Tarraco: A Provincial Capital without a Harbour

Tarraco was founded by the Scipio brothers during the course of the Second Punic War, on the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, between the estuary of the Iberus (Ebro) and the heights of the Pyrenees, at a natural bay and in a landscape characterized by rocky hills.¹⁵ According to Strabo, its harbour did not deserve the name (ναύσταθμον) – it was not possible to pull ships onto land there and to store them over the winter – but it probably looked like a *statio*, a more or less protected pier (ἀγκυροβόλιον) where ships could anchor.¹⁶ In 217 BC, 30 *longae naves* as well as freight ships had indeed done so, having taken about 8,000 soldiers to Hispania, and only six years later two legions and more than 13,000 soldiers had landed there.¹⁷ The pier protecting the anchorage and the beach was perhaps modelled on that of Puteoli; the facilities were at least completed with storage buildings.¹⁸ Tarraco exported local agricultural products, such as wines – which, according to Pliny, were not second rate to those from Italy – and linen; it imported luxury goods, metal objects and occasionally grain.¹⁹ The site of the city – protected by walls made of large ‘Cyclopean’ blocks with strong towers and mighty gates – covered an area of about 70 ha by the turn of the era, and was characterized by the buildings of both the municipal and the provincial Imperial cult; they made manifest the division of its layout which was predetermined by the natural topography. In the lower district of the Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco, near the harbour, there was already an Iberian *oppidum* called Cissis or Kesse on a hill, and now there were also the Forum with the Basilica and the *Augusteum*, residential buildings and a theatre (Figure 10.2).²⁰ The upper district of the city on the rocky hill was dominated from the time of the Flavians onwards by a monumental cult complex: the *arx* contained the buildings of the *concilium provinciae Hispaniae citerioris* on

will therefore remain necessarily sketchy. For the problems of evaluating the epigraphic contribution to the reconstruction of the societies of harbour cities, see the essential contributions by Arnaud and Keay (Chapter 2) and Purcell (Chapter 16) in this volume.

¹⁵ Pliny *NH* 3.21; Livy 21.32.1–5 and 21.60. resp. Polybius 3.76; Livy 34.16.6; 40.39.3.

¹⁶ Strabo 3.4.7. ¹⁷ Livy 22.22.1–3; 26.17.1–3; cf. Polybius *Fragments* 43.

¹⁸ Pociña López and Remolà Vallverdú 2001: 85–95; Díaz García 2002–3: 67–79; Bea Castaño 2008: 149–85.

¹⁹ Pliny *NH* 14.71; 19.10. *CIL* II²/14, 1231.

²⁰ An overview of the corresponding state of the art is given by Alföldy 1978: 570–644; Panzram 2002: 23–127; Dupré and Raventós 2004; but also the history of the city recently published by Mar Medina *et al.* 2012; 2015.

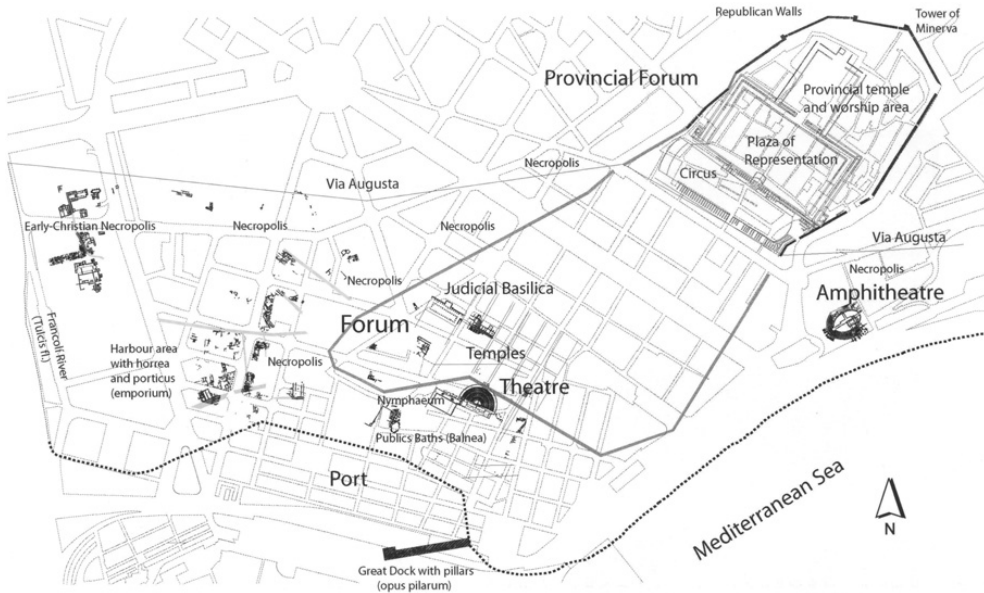


Figure 10.2 Tarraco at the beginning of the second century AD.

three terraces, covering an area of about 12 ha, a cult district, a large *forum* and a circus, extended by an amphitheatre in the immediate vicinity.

Augustus had visited Tarraco twice. In the course of his administrative reforms, the first *princeps* had elevated the city to the capital of all *Tarraconensis* and one of its seven *conventus*, and ultimately his presence had temporarily made the city the capital of the *Imperium Romanum*.²¹ Accordingly, it was at Tarraco that he received a number of delegations, of which that of the Mytileneans under Potamon is certainly one of the best known.²² The inhabitants had thanked him by erecting a temple that was supposed to be a model for all other provinces, and which they depicted – as an altar dedicated to him – on their coins.²³ The office of the provincial high priest, the *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, who through observance of cult practice embodied the province's worship of the goddess Roma, the consecrated rulers and the ruling Augustus, had to organize the corresponding games such as chariot races, and was considered to hold the

²¹ Suetonius *Augustus* 26.3; Cassius Dio 53.22.5; 25.5–7. Pliny *NH* 3.18; Cassius Dio 54.25.1; 23.7.

²² *IG XII*, 44/58 (= *IGRR IV*, 38/39).

²³ Tacitus *Ann.* 1.78; Quintilian *Inst.* 6.3.77. Temple: Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès Alegre 1992 (in the following *RPC*), 219, 222, 224, 226; altar: *RPC* 221, 225, 231.

highest office the province could award to one of its inhabitants.²⁴ We know of 75 *flamines* from the first three centuries AD.²⁵ They were elected annually by the *concilium provinciae*; Roman citizenship was indispensable, and wealth and social reputation may be supposed to have been helpful. The *flamines* were in charge of performing the cult: at the meetings of the *decuriones* they had, for example, the right to state their opinion or to propose motions, and during the games they were entitled to seats in the front row of the amphitheatre amongst the dignitaries. During their periods of office they represented the interests of the *concilium provinciae* in Rome or were active as benefactors in Tarraco.²⁶ At least the life-size statues and epigraphic monuments on the middle terrace of the *arx*, honouring the *flamines* after the end of their periods in office, reflect the ‘openness’ of this society, as the candidates for this prestigious office came not only from the provincial capital itself, but also from smaller *municipia* in the hinterland, such as Segobriga (Saelices, Cuenca).²⁷ At the level of the individual *cursus*, Tarraco provided them with a degree of social mobility that could take them to Rome, and in return the city benefited from their financial resources. This ‘offer’ also included the urban dignitaries who made dedications at specific places within the urban space.²⁸ Although most of the twenty of these dignitaries we can identify had been born in Tarraco, meaning a municipal career of three or four offices, foreigners essentially had the same opportunities. Some stayed for only a short time in Tarraco to take up their offices, while others moved away from their hometowns for good. Most new citizens were not even required to hold the lowest office, the aedileship. About one-third of all *flamines* subsequently achieved more prestigious military or administrative jobs that were only accessible to *equites*.

Thus, in Tarraco there was no clearly defined, genuinely urban élite. Rather, the élites of the provincial towns temporarily formed the élite of the capital, until they could start an Imperial career, for example. However, they were constituted not only from *duumviri* and provincial *flamines*, but also from *equites* and senators, as far as they still maintained connections to their home provinces. Tarraco produced at least thirteen *equites* and seven

²⁴ Still fundamental Alföldy 1973; cf. Fishwick 2002; 2004; Panzram 2010: 368–96.

²⁵ Cf. now the revised edition, improved by new findings *CIL* II²/14, 1109–99.

²⁶ *CIL* II²/14, 1193; 1109.

²⁷ Alföldy 1984: 193–238. *CIL* II²/14, 1144; 1142; 1112; *CIL* II, 4252 (see also *CIL* II, 3119); for this see Abascal Palazón *et al.* 2007: 685–704.

²⁸ *CIL* II²/14, 1006; 1012; 1014–17; 1205; 1019; 1217, 2293; Fabre, Mayer Olivé and Rodà de Llanza 1984 (in the following *IRC*) I, 101; *CIL* II²/14, 1204; 1206; 1210; 1201–3; 1209; 1215; Fabre, Mayer Olivé and Rodà de Llanza 1997 (in the following *IRC*) IV, 69; *CIL* II²/14, 1216; 1211.

senators – Raecius Gallus, one Fabius, one Licinius, two *ignoti* and one member each of the *gens Fulvia* and the *gens Alfia* – the majority of them in the period between AD 69 and 138, and thus at a time when the province’s Imperial cult became established and the presence of the *Hispani* in Rome – not least due to Trajan and Hadrian – was strongest.²⁹ According to the city’s legal status, the provincial governors as well as the *legatus Augusti iuridicus*, several procurators such as the *procurator Augusti provinciae Hispaniae citerioris* with their staffs and also a *praefectus orae maritimae* were present,³⁰ as well as soldiers numbering at least one *centuria*. Among them the *stratores* formed a *collegium stratorum*.³¹

On the one hand, these social groups were completed by freedmen and slaves belonging to Italian families who probably continued to live in the Italian Peninsula while they – most probably for economic reasons – stayed in Tarraco permanently.³² The *seviri Augustales* had their own seats in the amphitheatre and not only took over cult-related tasks, but also honoured members of the *domus divina* by dedicating statues.³³ One citizen donated a *horilegium* (*sic*) to the *collegium fabrum*;³⁴ we know of goldsmiths, roofers and merchants, but also teachers and physicians.³⁵ On the other hand, more than just a few foreigners came to settle in Tarraco from neighbouring cities such as Barcino (Barcelona) or Ilerda (Lleida), the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula or the interior – such as from Cascantum (Cascante), Osicerda (La Puebla de Híjar/Teruel), Calagurris (Calahorra) or Complutum (Alcalá de Henares) – and from other parts of the Empire such as Rome itself, Gaul, North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean,³⁶ from which they brought the cults of Dea Caelestis, Isis or Mithras.³⁷ The

²⁹ *Equites*: CIL II²/14, 1155–6; 1147; 1161; 1137; 1139; 1006; 1012; 1015–17; 1019; 1132; Senators: CIL II²/14, 992; 998–9; 2291; 2289; 981; 971.

³⁰ Governors: CIL II²/14, 976; 989; 975; 873; 979; 987; 984–5; 972; 978; 929–30; 997; 973; *legatus Augusti iuridicus*: CIL II²/14, 983; 994–5; 973; 993; *procurator Augusti provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*: CIL II²/14, 1002–3; *praefectus orae maritimae*: CIL II²/14, 1010–16; 1019; 1139; 1147–8; 1161. A comparison with a harbour city like Ephesos shows who else could have been present, an issue discussed by Arnaud (Chapter 13) in this volume.

³¹ CIL II²/14, 975; 842.

³² CIL II²/14, 870; 865; 1200; 1447; 1560; 1314; 1624; 1626; 1686; 1703.

³³ CIL II²/14, 1393. CIL II²/14, 1252; 1254; 1248; 1262; 1110. CIL II²/14, 912; 922.

³⁴ CIL II²/14, 1272; 1214.

³⁵ Craftsmen: CIL II²/14, 1288; 843; merchants: CIL II²/14, 1289–90; 1255; 1279; teacher: CIL II²/14, 1277; 1282; physician: CIL II²/14, 1280.

³⁶ Barcino: CIL II²/14, 1013; 1022; Ilerda: CIL II²/14, 1295; 1241; 1026–8; Cascantum: CIL II²/14, 1299; Osicerda: CIL II²/14, 1206; Calagurris: CIL II²/14, 2280; Complutum: CIL II²/14, 1201. Rome: CIL II²/14, 1148; 1178; 1033; Gaul: CIL II²/14, 1315; 1258; North Africa: CIL II²/14, 1204; 1297; 1305; 1296; 1306; 1271; Eastern Mediterranean: CIL II²/14, 1277; 1300.

³⁷ CIL II²/14, 1286; 827; 846; 1454.

case of the poet P. Annius Florus, who came from Africa, may be considered paradigmatic. According to his own statement, fate refused him Rome as a home, so after a long period of travelling through the Mediterranean he settled in Tarraco. Having been asked by a stranger from Baetica if he was not suffering because his extraordinary talent was being hidden in the province, he argued on the one hand by pointing to the city's natural advantages, such as its particularly moderate climate which hardly experienced any change of the seasons, and on the other by referring to his *savoir vivre*, which, he said, was self-sufficient.³⁸

2 Carthago Nova: 'The Biggest of All Ports, of All Trade Places'

It was Hasdrubal who, in the years 229–228 BC, for military and economic reasons founded Qart Hadašt, a 'New City', at a perfect location on the Iberian Peninsula. It was deep within a bay, on a peninsula bordering the sea to the north and a lagoon to the south, and not far from a sierra that was well known for its wealth in lead and silver.³⁹ An area of about 40 ha was structured by five hills, determining the topography of this port city under both Carthaginian and Roman rule.⁴⁰ It was Scipio who conquered it in 209–208 BC, during the course of the Second Punic War, but he did not completely destroy it; in this way, both the street network and the new buildings could be based on the Phoenician-Punic layout described by Polybius: the city walls, the agora or the sanctuaries.⁴¹

In the mid-first century BC – in all probability in the year 54 – Pompeius rather than Caesar elevated the city to the status of a *colonia*.⁴² Furthermore, together with Tarraco and Gades, Salacia and Osca,⁴³ it was one of the few cities that were allowed to call themselves *urbs*; however, evidence for this privilege of being the *colonia Urbs Iulia Nova Carthago* only exists up to the point of coins struck under Tiberius.⁴⁴ At the least, this elevation of the city's status may be supposed to have initiated a programmatic building activity which was once again supported by Augustus, insofar as he made Carthago Nova the main city of the *conventus*

³⁸ Florus *Vergilius orator an poeta* 1.7–9 resp. 2.7.

³⁹ Polybius 2.13.1–2; 10.10; Diodorus Siculus 25.10.12; Pliny *NH* 3.21.

⁴⁰ Polybius 10.6.8; 10.8–15. ⁴¹ Polybius 10.16.1; 10.10.7–10.

⁴² Abascal Palazón 2002: 21–44; see also Galsterer 1971: 29.

⁴³ Tarraco: *CIL* II²/14, 819; Gades: Pliny *NH* 4.36; Salacia: Pliny *NH* 4.35; Osca: *RPC* 281, 283, 285, 287, 289, 291, 295–303.

⁴⁴ García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 100/18* 33, 19* 35–6; cf. *RPC* 179–86.

Carthaginiensis; thus building lasted into the Julio-Claudian period.⁴⁵ The cityscape was characterized by the desire to impress with its monumentality, creating and accentuating the harbour, and probably a certain degree of homogeneity, as it was clearly planned by a group of Italian architects and builders. Apart from the mighty walls with towers and gates,⁴⁶ there was an impressive forum stretching across two levels of one of the hills – with a temple probably dedicated to Augustus on the upper terrace⁴⁷ and a basilica as well as a *curia*, amongst other buildings, on the lower terrace. Another square surrounded by a *porticus* was situated next to the forum, as well as a theatre with a peristyle, for which the northwestern slope of another hill was used (Figure 10.3). If one approached the city from the sea by sailing through the bay, one moved parallel to the axis of the temple of the Imperial cult in the same way as sailors may have had the *arx Hasdrubalis* with its terrace sanctuary before their eyes some two centuries earlier. Under the Flavians, this building complex was completed by the construction of the seat of the *collegium* of the Augustales⁴⁸ next to the forum and the amphitheatre.

According to Strabo, Carthago Nova was ‘the biggest trade place for overseas goods for the countries in the interior and for goods from the latter for all those coming from the outside’.⁴⁹ Prior to the Carthaginian foundation, this natural harbour was already being used for the shipment of lead and silver. After the second century BC, it was used by the *societates publicanorum*, which had 40,000 slaves working at the mines and produced an income of 25,000 drachmas a day for the state treasury.⁵⁰ The stamps on the *massae plumbeae* refer to *liberti* and slaves belonging to the Atellii, Messii, Planii, Utii, Seiii and other families of Italian origin, particularly from Campania and elsewhere in the south of the Italian Peninsula. At the end of the second and the beginning of the first century BC, the harbour was extended insofar as piers and warehouses were built; the slaves and *liberti of domini* and *patroni* of Italic origin contributed to the construction works.⁵¹ Obviously there was a demand in the sense that goods were not only exported but now also imported – such as luxurious pottery – from the eastern Mediterranean (Corinth, Rhodes and Delos), along with wine from the Italian Peninsula

⁴⁵ Pliny *NH* 3.18; Strabo 3.4.20.

⁴⁶ Abascal Palazón and Ramallo Asensio 1997 (in the following *ICN*): 2–11. For this and the following, Ramallo Asensio and Ruiz Valderas 2010: 95–110; Soler Huertas and Noguera Celdrán 2011: 1095–105; Noguera Celdrán 2012: 121–90.

⁴⁷ García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 99/17^a 29, 17^a 31; cf. *RPC* 174–7.

⁴⁸ *ICN* 109–10. ⁴⁹ Strabo 3.4.6; cf. also Livy 26.47.6.

⁵⁰ Polybius 34.9.9; Strabo 3.2.10; Domergue 1985: 197–207; 1990; Rico 2010: 395–415.

⁵¹ *ICN* 1; cf. Gianfrotta 2011: 188–93.

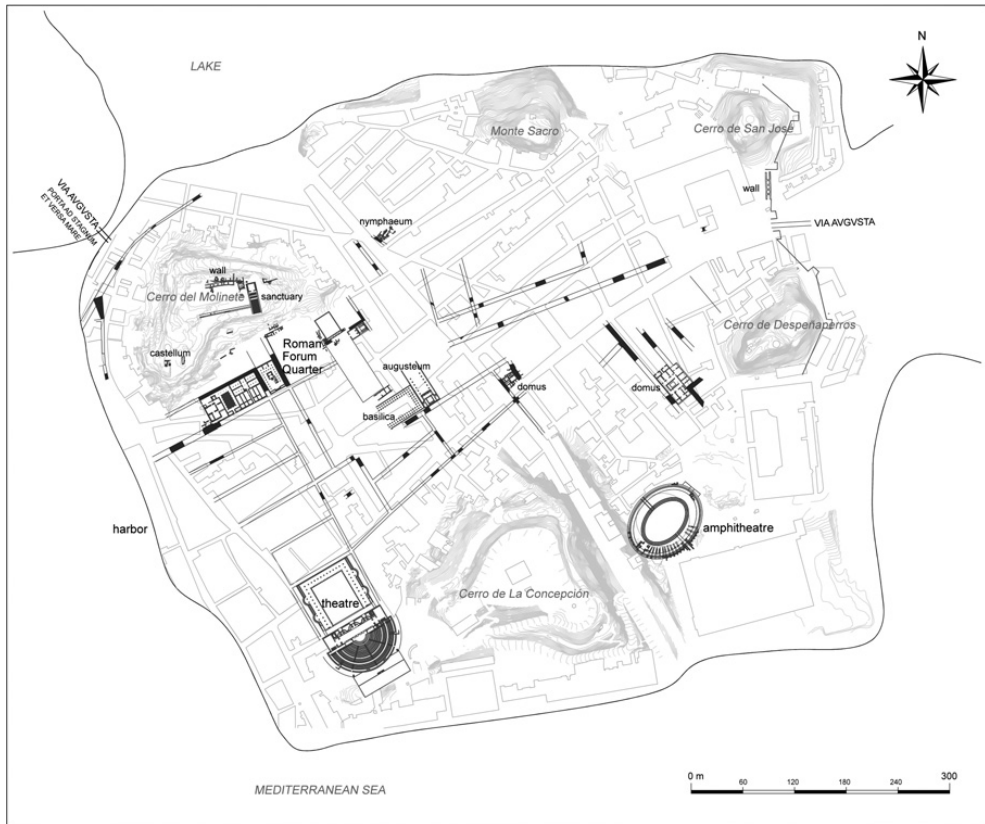


Figure 10.3 The Roman *colonia* of Carthago Nova.

and other goods from North Africa.⁵² Migrants who came to the city, however, as a consequence of these economic links were predominantly from Italy. From the beginning of the first century AD onwards, the city and its hinterland had an outstanding reputation as the producer and exporter of the locally produced fish sauce *garum* and salted fish.⁵³

The names of the 'big families' whose wealth came from the mines are also found on the coins of the *Ilviri quinquennales*, starting in 54 BC and coming to an end in AD 37.⁵⁴ In terms of developing the city, however, they were obviously only partially involved. Lucius Aemilius Rectus became committed to this particular cause, determining in his will – as a *civis adlectus* – that his wealth was to be spent on public buildings.⁵⁵ Furthermore, descendants and

⁵² Pérez Ballester 1985: 143–50; 1998: 249–61. ⁵³ Strabo 3.4.6; Pliny *NH* 31.94.

⁵⁴ *ICN*, pp. 61–3; García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 95–100; cf. *RPC* 146–86; Koch 1993: 191–242; 2009: 158–71; Blázquez Martínez 2000: 95–115.

⁵⁵ *ICN* 59–60.

friends of influential generals and politicians from the Republican period, as well as the members of the *familia Caesaris*, functioned as benefactors: for example, Gaius and Lucius Caesar provided the funds for the theatre.⁵⁶ In fact, the *princeps* himself and Agrippa, Tiberius, Nero, Drusus and Caligula, and client kings such as Iuba II of Mauretania and his son Ptolemy, as well as governors such as Silius Nerva, occupied the duumvirate for about five years or were acting like a *patronatus*, thus contributing considerably to the social reputation of the local élite and to the reputation of the city.⁵⁷ However, this is precisely why the élite as such is so hard to pin down: magistracies such as the *Ivir quinquennalis* were occupied by twenty-five people of Italian origin, while the regular duumvirate was occupied by a total of two, the *aediles* by six and the augurs by five.⁵⁸ Since we know only their names, however, it is not possible to classify them by *origo* or *cursus*. We know of only three *flamines*, one of whom, Lucius Numisius Laetus, was elected provincial high priest twice,⁵⁹ whereas the other two – probably foreigners – acted as priests of the *conventus*.⁶⁰ In the case of Carthago Nova it seems as though there was no genuine local society, since the population was composed mostly of people of Italic origin, and members of the ‘big families’ such as representatives of the *domus Augusta* and functionaries of the Imperial administration; the city did not produce *equites* and senators of its own. Scipio had been surprised by the degree of Hellenization that he encountered at Qart Hadašt, but most of all by the variety of its social groups – sailors, merchants and workers.⁶¹ This trend continued under Roman rule with the arrival of soldiers, Italian merchants and others from the east of the Mediterranean, while the presence of freedmen and slaves broadened its base. Such heterogeneity was mirrored in the range of deities honoured at Carthago Nova, most notably Atargatis, Isis and Serapis, whose worshippers were provided with a house near the forum.⁶² Apart from religious associations related to deities such as these, there were also professional *collegia* such as those of the *piscatores* and *propolae*,⁶³ which were appropriate to the social and professional *milieux* of a port city.

⁵⁶ *ICN* 2–4; 12–13.

⁵⁷ Augustus and Agrippa: García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 98/11^a 17, 11^a 19–20; cf. *RPC* 162–5. Agrippa: *ICN* 42. Tiberius: *ICN* 41; García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 98/12^a 21; cf. *RPC* 166. Nero and Drusus: García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 100/18^a 33–4; cf. *RPC* 179–81. Caligula: García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 100/19^a 35–7; cf. *RPC* 182–4. Iuba: *ICN* 49; García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 98/14^a 24; cf. *RPC* 169. Ptolemy: García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 99/16^a 27; cf. *RPC* 172–3. Silius Nerva: *ICN* 45.

⁵⁸ *Duumviri*: *ICN* 54–5, 108. *Aedileship*: *ICN* 7, 54–5, 59–60, 73, 108, 221. *Augurs*: *ICN* 5, 7, 107; García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 96/5^a 7–8; cf. *RPC* 152–3.

⁵⁹ *ICN* 54–5. ⁶⁰ *ICN* 43, 57. ⁶¹ Polybius 10.8.5; 10.17.10; Livy 26.49. ⁶² *ICN* 205; 37–8.

⁶³ *ICN* 36; García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 99/16^a 27; cf. *RPC* 172–3.

3 Gades: ‘All Kinds of Ports’ at the End of the World

The colonists who had set out from Tyre in search of precious metals, probably in the ninth or eighth century BC, reached the westernmost regions of the *oikumene* and founded ‘all kinds of Gadeira’.⁶⁴ The offshore islands of Erytheia and Kotinoussa and the mainland, where the Tyrians built settlements, complemented each other insofar as the geographically favourable location and direct access to the resources of the hinterland supported the commercialization of the latter. In all probability, the sanctuary of Melkart was involved in this: the temple of the most outstanding deity of the Tyrian pantheon in the diaspora developed into both a *lieu de mémoire* of the Phoenician-Punic colonization and the symbol of the *finis terrae*. Both Carthage and Rome, represented by their best-known generals such as Hannibal and Caesar, expressed their reverence for Melkart, who transformed into Herakles and finally became Hercules Gaditanus, and consulted his oracle.⁶⁵ The coins reflect his identity-creating function, which was connected to the city’s pride in its Phoenician-Punic past.⁶⁶

Accordingly, the ‘New City’ (*Neapolis*), which was created on the mainland adjacent to the offshore island in the second half of the first century BC, was built on top of earlier Phoenician-Punic structures. This building initiative, which was initiated by Caesar’s grant of Roman citizenship in 49 BC, as well as the elevation of the city to the status of the most important settlement within the *conventus Gaditanus*, resulted in the creation of a genuinely Roman cityscape which, along with the typical elements of Roman infrastructure and urban architecture, was characterized by the building of several harbours.⁶⁷ The walls of the port encompassed an area of about 50 ha and framed a network of streets that followed pre-Roman alignments or may have been organized orthogonally; one of the longest aqueducts in Hispania (at over 75 km) provided the water supply to the port. Some of its sanctuaries betrayed its origins as

⁶⁴ Justinian *Epit.* 44.5.2; Velleius Paterculus 2.3.3; Strabo 1.3.2; Pomponius Mela 3.6.46; Pliny *NH* 5.76. Strabo 3.5.3 and 5–6; Pliny *NH* 4.119–20.

⁶⁵ Hannibal: Livy 21.21.9; Silius Italicus *Pun.* 3.1–60. Caesar: Suetonius *Iulius* 7; cf. Plutarch *Caes.* 11.3; Cassius Dio 37.52.2, 41.24.2. For the sanctuary still fundamental, García y Bellido 1963: 70–153; see also more recently Bock Cano 2005.

⁶⁶ García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 146–54.

⁶⁷ Livy *Per.* 110; Cassius Dio 41.24.1; Pliny *NH* 3.7. For this and the following, Ventura Villanueva 2008: 76–81; Bernal Casasola 2008: 267–308; Bernal Casasola and Lagóstena Gutiérrez 2010: 407–44; Bernal Casasola and Lara Medina 2012: 423–73; see also Niveau de Villedary y Mariñas 2014: 485–501.

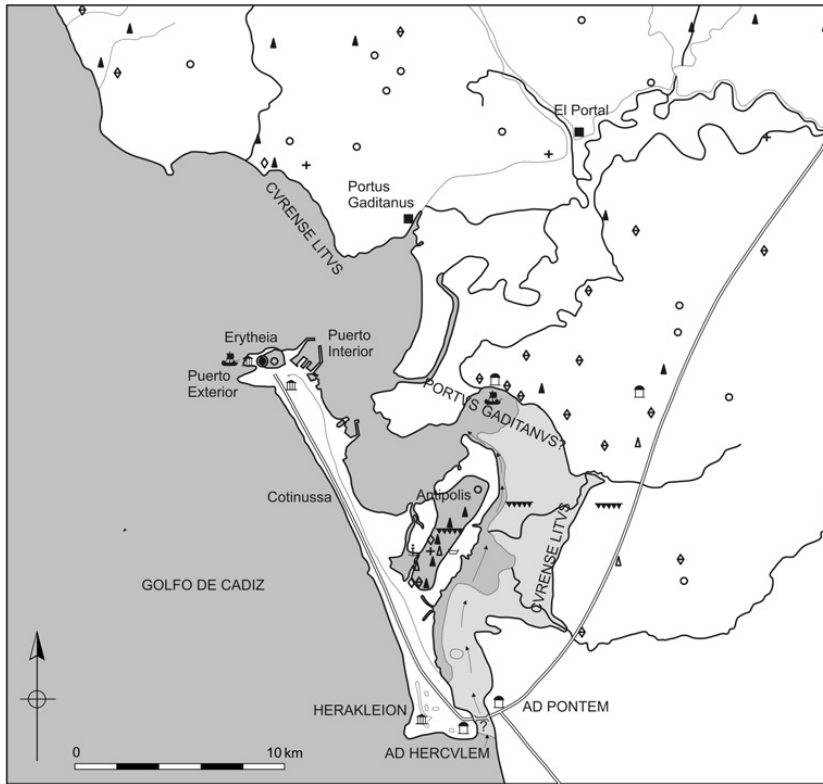


Figure 10.4 The Bay of Cádiz.

a Phoenician colony, including Hercules Gaditanus Kronos-Saturn (Baal Hammon)⁶⁸ and Venus Marina (Astarte),⁶⁹ while others clearly referred to Rome, such as the temple of Minerva⁷⁰ or a testrasylos which in all probability was dedicated to Augustus himself.⁷¹ The theatre, one of the three venues for the games, was located near the entrance to the harbour channel (La Caleta) that separated the two islands, and crucially may be supposed to have dominated the view of the city on approach from the sea (Figure 10.4). Both islands were provided with harbours, the smaller being oriented towards the Atlantic, whereas the larger faced towards the mainland and was thus protected to such a degree that large-scale loading and

⁶⁸ Strabo 3.5.3.

⁶⁹ Pliny *NH* 4.120; Avienus *De ora maritima* 314–17; thus González Fernández 1982 (in the following *IRPC*) 438, 443.

⁷⁰ *IRPC* 120.

⁷¹ García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 146–54, here p. 154/13^a 77; cf. *RPC* 94–5.

unloading were possible.⁷² Furthermore, there was an ἐπίγειον on the mainland, the so-called Portus Gaditanus, while along the shores of adjacent peninsulas were a number of jetties made from amphorae and (pine) wood.

One lighthouse opposite the larger of the two harbours made it easier to enter the bay of Gades, with another probably showing the way into the *portus*. Gades benefited from the peaceful conditions afforded by the *pax Augusta*. Ships transporting cargoes from the Baetis (Guadalquivir) valley – especially the olive oil that contributed to the *annona* and the metals from the mines in the Sierra Morena that were to pass into Imperial ownership – were now obliged to stop there. Gades functioned as a starting point for navigation between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and the routes from the port to Ostia and Puteoli became two of the most important in the Empire.⁷³ An inexhaustible wealth of grain, wine, olive oil of the highest quality, cattle and deer, oysters, congers and tuna seems to have left Gades on ‘gigantic freighters’.⁷⁴ The Bahía Gaditana and the neighbouring Campiña were studded with kiln workshops which produced the amphorae that transported *garum*; indeed, their density was one of the highest for amphora production in the Roman Empire. The new economic dynamics generated by Rome here, however, were created at the expense of the north–south exchange that had previously existed in the so-called *Circulo del Estrecho*.⁷⁵

We remain almost completely in the dark about the identity of those who carried out this trade, with the exception of the Cornelii Balbi; we are thus unable to gain even a rudimentary overview of the social structure of this port city. The Cornelii Balbi, uncle and nephew, who were wealthy friends of Caesar and Octavian, were integrated into the innermost circles of Roman power to an extent which until then had been unknown for ‘foreigners’, as they were the first non-Italic people to join the Senate.⁷⁶ Balbus junior, after his victory over the Garamantes in North Africa, was granted a triumphal procession in Rome and was responsible for erecting the *theatrum Balbi* there. It is likely that it was he who initiated the ‘building push’ in the Neapolis of Gades, the theatre generally being attributed to him, thereby contributing towards a more general appearance of Graeco-Roman

⁷² Arteaga Matute, Schulz and Roos 2008: 21–116; Cobos Rodríguez, Muñoz Vincente and Perdignes Moreno 1995–7: 115–32.

⁷³ For this, see Chic García 1997; 2008: 325–2; Lagóstena Barrios 2009: 293–308.

⁷⁴ Strabo 3.2.5–6. ⁷⁵ Pons Pujol 2000: 1251–89; Callegarin 2008: 289–328.

⁷⁶ For his person and the career of his nephew, respectively, see Rodríguez Neila 1973; Boscs-Plateaux 1994: 7–35; Lamberty 2005: 155–73.

architectural and cultural forms in his home city. In general, the Gaditanians – as Strabo tells us – lived ‘on the sea most of the time’ or stayed in Rome, with which Gades could compete in its number of inhabitants; we are told that it certainly counted 500 *equites*, a number of which elsewhere in the Empire only Patavium (Padua) could boast.⁷⁷ In reality, we know of only two *equites* from the first half of the first century AD, L. Iunius Moderatus Columella, the writer, and M. M<e>ttius Maternus.⁷⁸ Furthermore, we know of nine magistrates occupying the duumvirate, functioning as *IIIIViri* or at least holding one office.⁷⁹ A certain M. Antonius Syriacus was certainly a foreigner, but how long he stayed in Gades on the occasion of taking his office and how far this geographical mobility was in his case perhaps connected to social mobility we do not know.⁸⁰ Holding the duumvirate as an honourable magistrate was Iuba II, the *amicus* of the *princeps* who had ruled Mauretania as a client king since 25 BC. Perhaps he was also a *patronus* of Gades and supported the city economically and juridically – a function fulfilled by Agrippa, who is named on coins as a *municipi parens* or *municipi patronus parens*.⁸¹ In this way, the Gaditanians probably attempted to strengthen their relationships with North Africa on the one hand, while on the other hand maintaining their significance in the *urbs*: at the *Amphiteatrum Flavium* they were collectively provided with their own reserved seats in Rows 11 and 12.⁸² While Gades was the capital of a *conventus* and, as such, would have been expected to use the Imperial cult as a form of dialogue with Rome, we do not yet know of any Gaditanian who held the office of a *flamen provinciae*. Clearly, therefore, Gades had different channels of communication with Rome. At least the presence of foreigners in the city itself – such as the eye specialist Albanus Artemidorus, or the Greek orator Troilus⁸³ – clearly indicates a certain degree of ‘openness’ towards foreigners; they may also have been pleased by the *puellae Gaditanae*, who were famous for their saucy dances, their disreputable songs and their exuberant zest for life.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ Strabo 3.5.3. ⁷⁸ Columella *Rust.* 7.2.4; 8.16.9. Caballos Rufino 1998: 123–46, nos. 9, 33.

⁷⁹ *Duumviri*: *IRPC* 127 with Curchin 1990: no. 97; *IRPC* 346 with Curchin 1990: no. 100 and Delgado Delgado 1998: no. 15; *IRPC* 2 with Curchin 1990: no. 97. *IIIIViri*: *IRPC* 123 with Curchin 1990: no. 98; *IRPC* 361 with Curchin 1990: no. 102; *IRPC* 445 with Curchin 1990: no. 104. One office was held by *IRPC* 126 with Curchin 1990: no. 103; *IRPC* 125 with Curchin 1990: no. 99; *IRPC* 124 with Delgado Delgado 1998: no. 14.

⁸⁰ *IRPC* 2 with Curchin 1990: no. 97.

⁸¹ Avienus *De ora maritima* 275–83; García-Bellido and Blázquez Cerrato 2001: 146–54, here 152–3/7^a 60, 8^a 63–4, 9^a 67; cf. *RPC* 77–84.

⁸² *CIL* VI, 32098 1–m; for this see Orlandi 2004: no. 14.11. ⁸³ *IRPC* 133–4.

⁸⁴ Martial 5.78.26–28; 6.71.3; 14.203; Juvenal 11.162–163.

4 Three Port Cities – Three Worlds

Tarraco, Carthago Nova and Gades: the reality behind these three cities, which was to be outlined in terms of their nature as ‘cosmopolitan’ port cities, can be highlighted in only a rudimentary way, due to the arbitrary nature of the evidence that survives. This holds for the structures of the cities and their inhabitants as well as for the social élites and their economic activities.

All three were important urban centres – either as a provincial capital in the case of Tarraco, or as capitals of a *conventus* in the cases of Gades and Carthago Nova – and all three experienced at least one ‘building push’ in the second half of the first century BC, although at different times – following a ‘formative phase’ of developing their cityscapes.⁸⁵ In Tarraco this was due to being visited by Augustus, whose presence made this city on the Mediterranean coast the capital of the *Imperium Romanum* for a short period. Its silhouette is characterized by the buildings of the municipal and provincial Imperial cult, making manifest the division of the city layout into two parts, predetermined by the natural topography. The harbour, which, according to Strabo, was not a harbour but only a protected ‘roadstead’ where ships could drop anchor, was nevertheless protected by a mole. Carthago Nova, located deep inside its bay and on a peninsula, projected its urban image right from the beginning by monumentalizing its (natural) harbour with piers and storage buildings. Gades, which was built on offshore islands at the *finis terrae*, had been provided with several harbours and lighthouses since its foundation, and during the Roman period retained a Melkaart sanctuary in the context of an architectural landscape that was characterized by the usual elements of infrastructure.

All three cities show the kind of social structure that may be expected in Roman cities of that time; however, due to the resources of the respective cities, their status and their functions within the structure of dominion, there are certain features that are specific to each town. Tarraco, the *urbs opulentissima* and μητρόπολις,⁸⁶ was characterized by a wealthy and well-respected local élite. It boasted *equites* and senators amongst its population and was open to social advancement for the inhabitants of the city itself, as well as wealthy migrants from the region, *conventus* and province as a whole. The latter had the opportunity to hold the provincial flaminiate, a step in the *cursus honorum* that might lead as far as Rome. In this respect, the élites of the provincial towns temporarily formed part of the élite of the

⁸⁵ Woolf 1995: 9–18; cf. Panzram 2002. ⁸⁶ Pomponius Mela 2.90; Strabo 3.4.7.

capital itself. Tarraco was also open to foreigners from all parts of the Empire, whose imported cults complemented the omnipresent Imperial cult. This ‘openness’ became visible not least through the presence of *seviri Augustales*, social climbers by definition, as well as by means of *collegia* into which certain social groups were organized.⁸⁷ Carthago Nova, the *urbs opulentissima omnium* in Hispania,⁸⁸ was characterized by the presence of the so-called big families – such as those of the *negotiatores* – from the Italian Peninsula, whose wealth was derived from exploiting the lead and silver mines in the city’s hinterland. They won over functionaries of the Imperial administration and client kings such as Iuba II, but also members of the *domus Augusta*, such as Agrippa, and even the emperors themselves, who acted as patrons or honorary magistrates. But this dominance was not propitious for the emergence of an urban society, the members of which are almost undetectable within the ‘epigraphic habit’. Gades was the *finis terrae*, but also the harbour by way of which the olive oil of Baetica in the context of the *annona* as well as the metal from the mines passed from Hispalis (Seville) *en route* to Rome. Members of its population were amongst the first non-Italic people to join the Roman Senate, as well as, according to Strabo, contributing 500 (!) *equites* who lived ‘on the sea’ and stayed for a time in Rome. In any case, known municipal and provincial magistrates are in such low numbers that it is impossible to gain even a rudimentary insight into Gades society.

It is clear that the genesis of society in all three port cities – independent of the province of which they are a part and their status as a *municipium* or *colonia* – required two factors: on the one hand a significant amount of high-quality resources in the hinterland, and integration into the economy of the Empire on the other. Carthago Nova was blessed with the most significant lead and silver mines in the western Mediterranean; by being taken over by Rome and thus subject to the *societas publicanorum*, the city experienced an upswing in its fortunes that was unparalleled. Gades functioned as the harbour for the uniquely fertile land of Baetica and its productive mines; its peak came with the establishment of the *annona* at around the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD. It is striking that both cities lost their significance at the moment when the exploitation of the mines came to an end and – in the case of Gades – the centre of economic activity with the consent of Rome shifted towards Hispalis.⁸⁹ Economically, in the second century AD both

⁸⁷ See Mayer’s contribution (Chapter 12) in this volume, in which he speaks of an ‘open’ society at Narona.

⁸⁸ Livy 26.47.6. ⁸⁹ Callegarin 2014–15: 51–72.

Gades and Carthago Nova were largely insignificant. Both their 'boom' and decline resulted from the habits of their respective élites, who did not exactly see themselves as being 'local': the Italian *gentes* were there for gain in Carthago Nova, and the Gaditanians used the wealth they had amassed to become established in Rome. For them, the institutions of their respective *patriae* and their environment were obviously – to put it pointedly – insignificant, and their channels to Rome did not depend on these factors. In contrast, we have Tarraco, the youngest city, which was not based on Phoenician-Punic structures, but was instead the *Scipionum opus*.⁹⁰ This provincial capital, which functioned more as a place of trade between sea and land, created a functionally outstanding and extraordinarily 'open-minded' élite, allowing the city to maintain an existence that was subject to transformation, but still remained steady until the invasion of the Arabs.⁹¹ It not only functioned as a 'melting pot' of cultures, but also clearly developed structures – such as the practices of the Imperial cult or organization into *collegia* – which resulted in the integration of migrants from a variety of social groups into the community.⁹² In this respect, Tarraco must be considered as 'cosmopolitan' and as the epitome of port cities such as Ostia – although, unlike the latter, it did not attach any visible importance to its harbour.

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⁹⁰ Pliny *NH* 3.21. ⁹¹ Macías Solé and Muñoz Melgar 2013.

⁹² Fuhrmann 2007: 12–26; Moatti 2014: 130–52.

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11 | Ports, Trade and Supply Routes in Western Europe

The Case of Narbonne

MICHEL CHRISTOL

The exploration of this subject is based principally on epigraphic evidence, as illustrated in Hatzfeld's ground-breaking work of 1919, to which may now be added the epigraphy of production and commerce, which goes hand in hand with trade and to which it owes its existence.¹ The case studied here deals with the most westerly part of the Mediterranean, providing access to the continent through the network of routes from the areas around the Aquitaine isthmus² and the Rhône isthmus as far as the Rhine and Garonne basins and out to the Atlantic Ocean. It looks at dynamic trends, phenomena which vary over time, just as contexts and economic circumstances may vary. These trends are integrated within the space formed by the routes created and used by people. The study deals with the commercial activities related to the production, transportation and consumption of goods, as well as the networks and directions of trade routes. Ports are important points of passage, places where goods are transferred, stored and distributed, as well as being the principal or secondary places of business.

The following reflections consider the role of the port of Narbonne, which Strabo qualifies as an *emporion* when he talks about the Mediterranean of his time and of the time of the sources he refers to in his works.³ Posidonius gives a flattering account of the town. Should the port be considered in parallel with the town? Strabo does not mention any *limen* (sheltered dock), thus providing a second chronological reference point (early first century BC), giving both a *terminus ante quem* and a *terminus post quem* and so adding substance to the chronology. This is a cycle which covers hundreds of years and which has not yet ended.

An initial period, before the foundation of the *colonia* (118 BC), can be identified and is a point of reference which needs to be assessed in context. Next comes the *emporion* era of Posidonius and Strabo. Finally, with the development of trade on the Rhône axis, the Narbonne *emporion* had to adapt

¹ This chapter was translated from the original French by James Minney. ² Roman 1989.

³ Strabo 4.6.1.

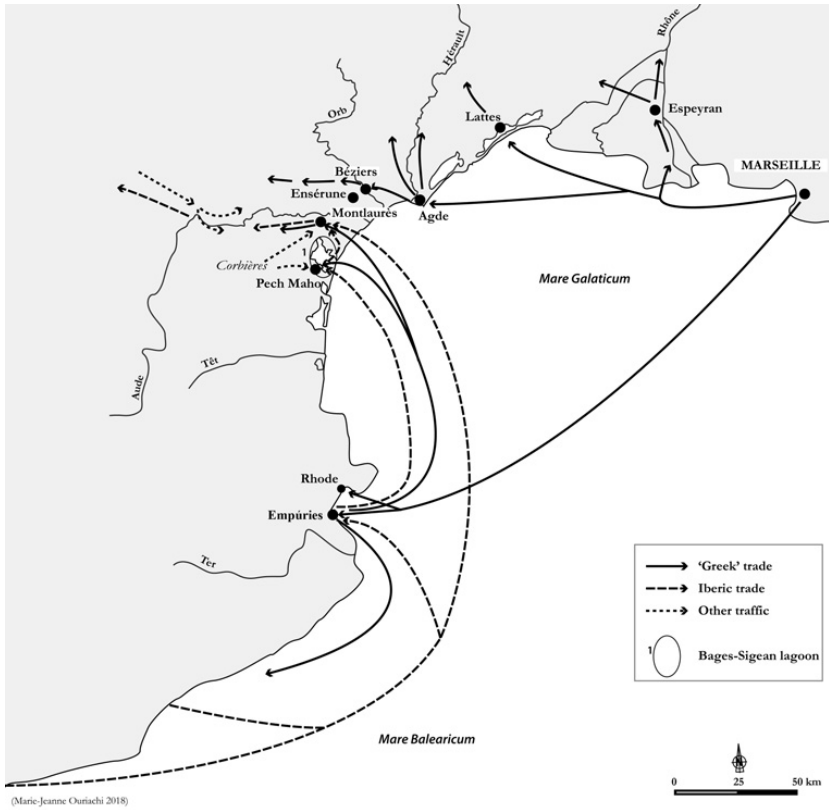


Figure 11.1 Greek and Iberian commerce towards the end of the protohistoric period.

to a new and much larger economic context, leading to a reorganization of the network of routes.

1 Context

The natural setting of the Mediterranean affects the flow of trade (see [Figure 11.1](#)), a form of data which is 'timeless' in nature.

1.1 Navigation

It is well known that shipping tended to steer clear of the Gulf of Lions. In the maritime geography of the ancient world, this is a stretch of sea which corresponds to that part of the Galatic Gulf between the Iberian and Ligurian seas (*mare Ibericum* and *mare Ligusticum*), corresponding to the

divisions of the *mare internum*.⁴ Pliny provides more details.⁵ He mentions a *mare Balearicum*, which is in fact the northern extension of the *mare Ibericum* and has also been subdivided. The same changes affect the *mare Ligusticum*. Pliny introduced the term *mare Galaticum*, facing Gallia Narbonensis, restricting the *mare Ligusticum* to the Gulf of Genoa and the area up to Corsica. We should therefore initially consider the Gulf of Lions and then those areas between the Iberian Peninsula and Italy.

The *mare Galaticum* corresponds to those areas affected by the Mistral and Tramontane, with their sudden high winds causing rough seas. To this can be added the adverse winds from the east and south-east locally called ‘Le Grec’ and ‘Le Marin’. The weather in this area is unpredictable, while further south more regular winds prevail. This is why the optimism of Roman,⁶ who considers the conditions for navigation to be advantageous, should be tempered in light of the risks involved. The Gulf of Lions, where Strabo does not mention any *limen*, was not conducive to navigation and was best avoided unless there was a specific reason for sailing there. Eratosthenes emphasized that the direct route from Marseille to Rhode and Empúries in the Iberian Peninsula was a more usual one from a very early date.⁷ In light of these observations, one cannot help but wonder what the role of the ports of call on the north coast – the trading ports of Espeyran, Lattes or even Agde, a Greek outpost then a trading port in the Marseille region – may have been.

1.2 *The Emergence of the Emporion: The Foundation of the Colonia*

Any explanation of the founding of Narbonne requires consideration of the situation in the third century and the first half of the second century BC. Was there already a Narbonne *emporion* around which trade was organized? The evidence provided by Diodorus regarding the transportation of tin⁸ should be interpreted with caution, due to the possible anachronism concerning Narbonne⁹ and its port facilities.¹⁰ Further clarification is needed for this evidence.

On the other hand, a complex network of routes appeared around Marseille. If Empúries is to be seen as an important point of distribution towards areas north of the Pyrenees,¹¹ then the role played by Agde needs to be reconsidered and its importance reduced. This trading harbour, which by this time also had a *chora*, was a relay point for Marseille, the

⁴ Rougé 1966: 41–5; Arnaud 2005: 149–53. ⁵ NH 3.74–5. ⁶ Roman 1983: 13–20.

⁷ Arnaud 2014: 194–5, 206. ⁸ Diodorus 5.38.5, cf. 5.22. ⁹ Roman 1983: 484–5.

¹⁰ Gorgues 2010: 212–13. ¹¹ Nieto 1988: 380–2; Andreau 2010; Gorgues 2010: 81–4.

last one heading west. But what was its function for shipping heading towards northern Catalunya, in particular if most shipping used ‘offshore routes’, as Arnaud terms them? Did Agde necessarily attract shipping towards the south-west? The coastal relay ports, notably Lattes, opened up access to the Celtic interior. Further to the west, was Agde the final stopping-off point on the way to Iberia, or was it an entry point into the Celtic world, via the Hérault valley and Béziers, where Greek influences are evident and are explained by the appeal of the rural environment and the access to mining areas?¹²

Relations with the Iberian Peninsula were vital. The Narbonne region (the topographic reference is used for convenience here) is more like the endpoint of Iberian trade, that had a distant point of origin and which grew along the way as it brought in Greek trade on the final leg of the journey. The region appears to be not a focal point, but rather an outlying or peripheral location.

This would have been the situation when trade from the Italian Peninsula increased at the time of the Second Punic War. The Second Punic War has been chosen as a point of reference for two reasons; the first relates to the short-term context, the second to the long-term. The short-term context relates to the destruction of the *oppidum* of Pech Maho, on the route of the Via Heraclea, on which it controlled the movement of people. This event, which was of limited significance, meant that other places on the Gulf of Narbonne (Bages-Sigean lagoon) grew in importance. The *oppidum* of Montlaurès was no longer overshadowed or counterbalanced by a more southerly site; however, this transfer of influence was not immediate.¹³ Within the limited context of the areas of contact between Mediterranean traders and indigenous populations, the event played a significant role in determining the places where commercial exchanges took place. The hinterland of Pech Maho was relatively small, although it did provide access to the mines of Corbières.¹⁴ The hinterland of Montlaurès, on the other hand, had greater potential as it was better located along the trade routes and allowed long-distance trade (metals not found locally) to develop alongside local trade from the whole Corbières region, thus facilitating an overall increase in trade. As a result, trade routes, trading places and goods traded were redefined. However, this chronological reference is only a *terminus ante quem* in terms of evaluating changes in the economic context and the transformation of the regional geography.

¹² Barruol 1973: 62; Ugolini, Arcelini and Bats, 2010: 149–53. ¹³ Sanchez 2009: 263, 282–3.

¹⁴ Gailledrat and Rouillard 2003; Gailledrat and Solier 2004; Gailledrat 2010.

Archaeological research, notably the work of Bats, suggests there is little reason to go back very far into the third century BC to look for these early developments. The period between the First and Second Punic Wars seems crucial.

2 The Era of the *Emporion*

2.1 *The Initial Development of the Emporion: Between the Iberian Peninsula and Italy*

A new and far-reaching economic context then developed. Exports from the Italian Peninsula constitute a new element in the commercial landscape, creating a longer-term shift in the economic context, the first phase of which continued into the second half of the first century BC. Bats states that during the third century BC, Graeco-Italic amphorae ‘were essentially distributed by sea’, that is to say corresponding to the long-established distribution area of amphorae from the Marseille region. However, he also adds that it is difficult to imagine that they would have reached the shores of western Languedoc via Marseille.¹⁵ He comes back to the significance of Catalunya because of the close commercial and dependent monetary ties¹⁶ between this region and the Gulf of Narbonne (Bages-Sigean lagoon).

The founding of Narbonne in 118 BC fits into this context.¹⁷ The town gradually contributed to the long-term development and reorganization of trade and trade routes, accentuating and reinforcing them (Figure 11.2). However, one must immediately add that the northern coast of Hispania Citerior also developed and grew in importance, becoming a significant entry point into the Celtic world. ‘Narbonne is the *emporion* for the whole of *Celtica*’, writes Strabo, echoing Posidonius and confirming what Diodorus had written. Links between areas south and the north of the Pyrenees were preserved.

An archaeological study is exploring the geographical context of the *emporion*.¹⁸ Let us just remind ourselves of the basic facts: the site at La Nautique at the northern end of the Bages-Sigean lagoon was an important dock between 30 BC and AD 70; the entrance to the lagoon at Gruissan was vitally important and the Robine canal which crosses Narbonne corresponds to the ancient course of the river Aude. Although the town played a role as an *emporion*, which became more important once it became

¹⁵ Bats 1986: 396–9; Tchernia 1999: 104, n. 4. ¹⁶ Rancoule 2003. ¹⁷ Barruol 1973.

¹⁸ Sanchez and Jézégou 2011.

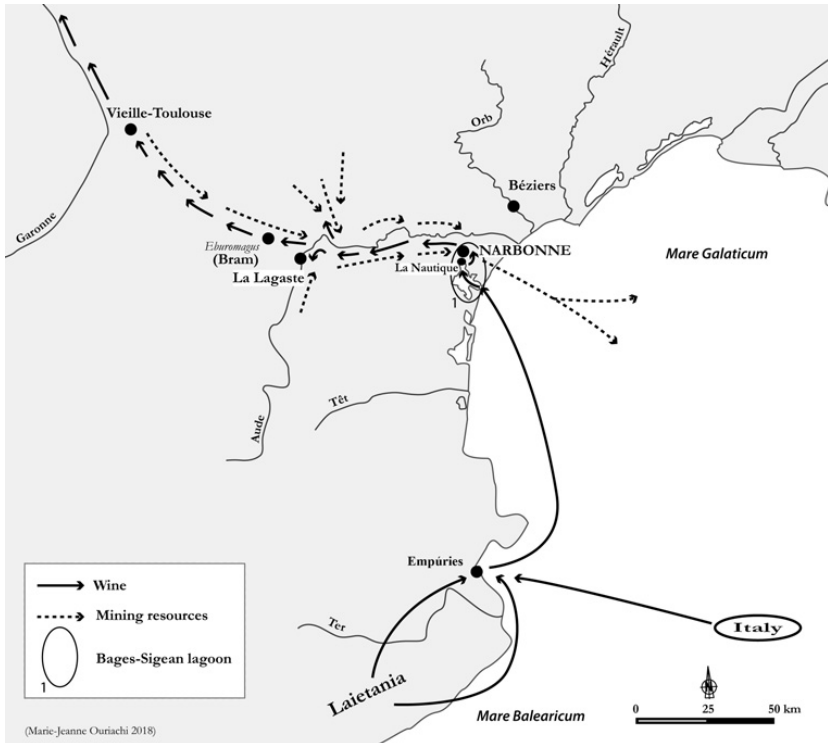


Figure 11.2 Exchanges of the first century BC focused upon the *emporion* of Narbonne (end of the Republican period).

a *colonia* and through the greater direct Roman control which being part of an Imperial province entailed, it cannot be exclusively considered as a port town. It only became one after the site at La Nautique was abandoned.

Narbonne, a *colonia* of Roman citizens and a place of provincial power, gradually developed into a centre of attraction and migration.¹⁹ The town was more and more closely linked to Italy, the endpoint of a major route which was important for travel in the western Mediterranean. This route eventually became the most important one and many other routes joined up with it.²⁰ However, especially during the initial phase of this development, the evidence for immigration from the Italian Peninsula and the relationships between the town and Italy cannot be separated from the presence of Italic communities in Catalunya. This context even helps us better understand some of the epigraphic evidence by allowing us to distinguish the period before the founding of the *colonia* from the period after it. Nevertheless, the *emporion* of Narbonne

¹⁹ Bonsangue 2014: 182–5. ²⁰ The ‘connectivity’ discussed by Horden and Purcell (2000).

quickly takes on its own identity. Posidonius' account, dating from the beginning of the first century BC, provides an important point of reference. Within a generation the town had become a major focal point for Mediterranean trade.

The arrival of Italian migrants is reflected in the onomastics and in the epigraphic customs observed in the Augustan period. It is consistent with dependence on Rome and Italy. In funerary epigraphy, the inscriptions for the living and the dead (V, VIV etc.; the *theta nigrum*) are distinctive. These customs are particularly in evidence in two principal locations: the town of Narbonne and its neighbour Béziers, which from the end of the second century BC formed a contiguous area which made up the rural hinterland of the *emporion*.

We should not forget its widespread influence. This influence extends towards the Catalan coast, where it is still in evidence to this day. First of all, we shall consider evidence from inscriptions, for the most part written in Iberian characters rather than Latin script, painted on the Italic amphorae of Vieille-Toulouse,²¹ giving evidence for the importation of wines from the Italic Peninsula. At some distance from Narbonne, Vieille-Toulouse provides a reference point which pre-dates those from Eburomagus (Bram). On the one hand, we are dealing with the second quarter of the second century BC, and on the other, the second half or possibly even the last quarter of it,²² whereas the development of the *oppidum* of La Lagaste, on a route going up through the upper Aude valley towards the western Corbières mines,²³ probably dates from the turn of the second to the first century BC. At Vieille-Toulouse, the presence of inscriptions in the Iberian alphabet seems to indicate that trade was still part of a dynamic principally originating from the south of the Pyrenees, but this comes alongside anthroponymic evidence which is undeniably Italic, or rather which can be interpreted in this way. This evidence most likely relates to the merchants who were organizing the trade. However, should we see Narbonne as the focus for all of this activity? This was Tchernia's initial view, but he now prefers to argue in favour of Empúries due to the impressive number of Iberian amphorae associated with the site and with the Catalan coast.²⁴ Italian wine was being transported along the 'Via Aquitana' even before Roman control extended this far. All Roman control meant in this respect was that the journey became easier to organize, thanks to the creation of relay and staging posts where traces of goods from Italy

²¹ Vidal and Magnol 1983. ²² Passelac 2002a; 2003. ²³ Rancoule 1999; 2002.

²⁴ Nolla and Nieto 1989; Tchernia 1999: 104–5.

can be found.²⁵ Chronologically, this corresponds to developments in the Greek world.

At the end of the Caesarean era, the provincial vineyards in Laetania expanded.²⁶ As a result, amphorae needed to be produced (Pascual 1 and Laietana 1 amphorae). The distribution of these containers has been mapped between the north of Hispania Citerior and the Narbonne region, at a time when the *emporion* was fully established and had become a pole for a variety of economic activities and was a major centre amongst the *emporia* of the Mediterranean world. Having initially been reliant on other trade centres, Narbonne gradually grew more autonomous. No longer just an outpost on a trade route, it became a focal point of economic activity, shaping its own development by adding other growth factors to the activities already established during the previous era, such as exploiting agricultural and mining resources from its hinterland, on the one hand, and optimizing the economic potential related to its role as a seat of power, on the other. This increase in importance and prestige led to an increase in trade.

The relationship between stone inscriptions and amphora stamps also gives food for thought. Peña discussed the stamps on the Laietana 1 amphorae (L•VENVLEI; L•VOLTEIL/VOLTEILI).²⁷ The second of these, indicating a workshop located in Mataró, has been found in Narbonne, as well as on the Aquitaine isthmus. As we pointed out at the same time,²⁸ there is epigraphic evidence, concentrated in Narbonne, for the presence of the *gentilicium* Volt(e)ilius, combined with various *praenomina* (D., T., P., L.). There could also be interesting evidence for the L•VENVLEI mark found at Empúries and at various points along the journey of the amphorae from Laetania.²⁹ A High Empire inscription mentions a civic notable whose name is incomplete: [-] C(ai) f(ilius) Pap(iria) / [-]nuleianus.³⁰ The *cognomen* was probably either [Ca]nuleianus or [Ve]nuleianus. In light of the anthroponymy apparent from the amphorae, [Ve]nuleianus, derived from Venuleius, seems the more likely of the two, as numerous Italian *nomina gentilicia* are encountered in the centres of production as well as along the distribution routes of the Laietana 1 and Pascual 1 amphorae. Peña subsequently noted other connections, relating to the marks of the *gens* Loreia, confirmed by stone inscriptions in Narbonne and Empúries, and to those of the *gens* Stata and *gens* Mevia found only in Narbonne.³¹

²⁵ Passelac 2002b; 2002c; 2002d; Gorgues 2010: 268–71. ²⁶ Tchernia 1986: 174–5, 179, 190–1.

²⁷ Peña 1997; Bonsangue 2006: 30–5. ²⁸ Christol and Plana-Mallart 1997: 93–5.

²⁹ Peña 1997: 55–66. ³⁰ CIL XII, 4401. ³¹ Peña 1998; 2000.

We must now consider how the port, trade routes and goods traded functioned together, with the wine trade providing particularly useful evidence. Rosa Plana-Mallart and I put forward several ideas which Tchernia explored more fully. Tchernia and Peña helped us to formulate several geographical observations which we did not put forward in 1995 and which will be discussed in detail. We are dealing with a specific market in a clearly defined geographical area. Although some of the finds come from further afield, the amphora evidence shows that this trade started from the coast of Laetania and then headed north, as is indicated by evidence from shipwrecks involved in transporting the amphorae, but did not go much further north than Narbonne from where, via access to land routes, it headed towards Toulouse and Aquitaine. This evidence shows how important the port complex in Narbonne was, as this was where most of the shipments arrived and where the wine was stored and warehoused. Using this as our starting point, we will analyse the economic activities carried out by the people for whose presence in the area we have evidence. In light of what we know about the presence of Italian merchants in the Greek world, is it not reasonable to speculate whether the evidence is affected by patterns of movement that we can only imagine? Although this is always taken into consideration when interpreting archaeological evidence, should it not also sometimes be the case when considering epigraphic evidence? For individuals, that means considering their movements related to trade before burial ties them to one final resting place. For family members engaged in a tradition of regional trade, it means their movements and journeys between the main trade centres. It was these comings and goings that caused a loosening of ties to a specific, geographical base. More generally, for those social groups established along the trade route, more widespread mobility became a fact of life, in terms of both regular journeys between fixed points and more general travel, sometimes from centres of production to centres of consumption, sometimes from one trading centre to another or from a trading centre to a centre of production. How can they be detected?

It is also reasonable to speculate where it would have been possible to maximize profits: at the production site or at a place at the end of the trade cycle, nearer to consumers? In this context Narbonne appears to have been in pole position, with Toulouse in second place. Indeed, an early inscription from Toulouse shows groups organized into associations under the leadership of *magistri*, as was the case in Greek areas in the eastern Mediterranean and other Mediterranean areas (Empúries, Cartagena, Tarragona, as well as, by this time, Arles). On this basis, we can conclude

that Narbonne had established itself as a major *emporion* in the west and as the centre of the Laietanian wine trade. Did the coast of Laetania, where western Italian wine production was most impressive, remain the focal point of this economic system? There is no doubt that to begin with the importance of the region was maintained through long-established Iberian trade networks and the extensive investment of the western Italians. Later, however, once the trade network was in place, a transfer of hegemony was unavoidable. The area where the goods were being produced for trade was bound to end up playing second fiddle to the *emporion*, where trade in a variety of goods was already concentrated.³²

If one accepts the interpretation of the inscription relating to the civic notable whose *cognomen* might be [Ve]nuleianus, then, for this first period in the development of the port of Narbonne, in terms of the evidence it provides, we would have a case comparable to that of the Usuleni. The stone inscriptions and those of the *instrumentum domesticum* (amphorae and tiles) give us an insight into the commercial network organized by representatives of this family, the most significant being P. Usulenus Veiento, who was linked to the manufacture of Pascual 1 amphorae and tiles at Llafranc in the Empordà. A member of his household was linked to the manufacture of tiles (marked M•VSVL) to the west of Narbonne on the Via Aquitana.³³ There is indirect evidence for both of them at this site through their freed slaves, *magistri pagi*.³⁴ There is also evidence that the whole household was established in Narbonne amongst the freed slaves and civic notables.³⁵ Cartography illustrates the central role played by Narbonne and how dominant the town was. It suggests that investment was made in the manufacture of containers as near as possible to production areas, thus taking away the advantage agricultural producers usually had by being close to the artisans who produced the amphorae.³⁶ In other words, it suggests that the ceramic workshops were independent of units of agricultural production (in this case wine-growing estates).³⁷ Tchernia put forward a very nuanced but firm critique of this interpretation. Using our study and taking into consideration the advance purchase of grape harvests, he highlighted the tendency for the use of independent (in the sense of independent of the production structures) wine storehouses. Without categorically rejecting this interpretation, he points out that it must be considered 'far from certain', adding that 'there is no guarantee' that what

³² Nieto 1988: 383–5. ³³ Christol and Fédière 1999.

³⁴ *CIL* XII, 5350; Christol and Fédière 1999: 85–95; Christol 2000. ³⁵ Christol 2012.

³⁶ Christol and Plana-Mallart 1998: 300–2; Bonsangue 2014: 186.

³⁷ Christol and Plana-Mallart 1997: 79–82.

was discovered at Llafranc ‘could not be placed in the context of “classic” production structures’. His nuances appear to be a desire not to take this interpretation too far, which, if applied more generally, could give too modern a view of the situation.

Should one counter this by putting forward the case of the Urittii, whom Tchernia himself highlighted for their ‘extraordinary versatility’?³⁸ Amongst the various possible interpretations, another may be worthy of attention too. Since the *emporion* of Narbonne was a centre of attraction, could this not have caused a honeypot effect regarding the Iberian Peninsula, especially as Narbonne’s appeal increased in the first half of the first century, leading to Italians from the south moving to the north? Traces of this survive in the anthroponymy of Narbonne and the towns of north-east Citerior, easily detected through the rare *gentilicium* Usulenus, becoming Usulenius at a later date, which is found in Narbonne and Barcino.³⁹ Italians from Citerior would have been attracted onto the trade routes in order to sell wine and would have created diasporas who continued to own property in their native areas, while prospering on their newly adopted lands. A spatial projection of the evidence shows neither mobility nor changes over time. Similarly, research has shown a concentration of evidence relating to the Planii household in Narbonne, even though we know that most of their activity was based in Cartagena,⁴⁰ drawing parallels with the case of the L(ucii) Cervii.⁴¹

2.2 *The Upheavals of the Augustan Age*

At the beginning of the first century AD we see a shift in trade routes towards the Rhône valley, linking to and increasing traffic on the Marseille route. This does not necessarily mean that the port became less busy through the transfer of trade from one route to the other. It is more likely that overall increases in the volume of trade meant that there was no reduction in commercial activity; indeed, this may even have increased as Narbonne captured part of the developing oil trade with southern Spain.

It should be noted that the Rhône axis, as shown by the development of the port of Arles and its port complex, as well as the increase in power of the Lyon *emporion*,⁴² was part of a much larger market involving long-distance trade. In short, trade increased and became more diverse and trade routes grew longer.

³⁸ Tchernia 2011: 81–2; cf. 24–5.

³⁹ *CIL* II, 6161 = *IRC* IV, 227; *CIL* II, 4594 and p. 982 = *IRC* IV, 228.

⁴⁰ Domergue 2010: 112–14. ⁴¹ Bonsangue 2006: 19–68. ⁴² Tchernia 2011: 144–55, 323–34.

For Narbonne, with its main dock at La Nautique (between 30 BC and AD 70), this period saw a change in the type of goods traded there. Put simply, the Laietanian wine trade was replaced by oil from Hispania Baetica, which represented a larger cargo. In addition to oil, trade in fish sauce passed through Narbonne. Trade in these goods, which came from the south, although following the coast, used off-shore routes rather than hugging the coast. As Bonsangue has suggested, following on from Nieto,⁴³ Narbonne's principal role would have been as a storage and redistribution port.

A new factor then arises in the form of the export of local wines. The Laietanian wine trade was replaced by trade in wines from around Narbonne, where the previously small-scale production increased, creating opportunities for export. It was this trade, requiring new facilities for the reception and storage of goods,⁴⁴ that allowed the ports in and around Narbonne to maintain their pre-eminent position, serving as departure points for sending goods abroad, notably to Italy, particularly Ostia.

In this context, the re-examination of an inscription from Narbonne is instructive. It concerns a freed slave from the *colonia*.⁴⁵ The *gentilicium* comes from the name of the community. In Narbonne (Narbo Martius) it is Martius. Those who use this *gentilicium* in the *colonia* are either freed slaves or their descendants. This is the case for L. Martius Satullus, an exporter of 'wine from Béziers', whose name was painted on a Dr2-4 amphora found in Rome near to the Castra Pretoria.⁴⁶ The reference is significant, as it denotes the owner of the product when it is in a trade network. Even though we only have one piece of evidence on which to establish the profile of a merchant, it suggests a group of people linked to Narbonne, as well as indicating the ties between an area of production and an important marketplace, from which the goods were exported. There is no doubt that, once the direction of this trade shifted and was towards the Mediterranean markets rather than towards the interior of Gaul, its focal point became Narbonne. This is why the predominance of amphorae from Laietania which came from the south for transporting produce coming from south of the Pyrenees gave rise to imitations of these containers in the Narbonne area. Once wine from Gaul arrived on the major Mediterranean commercial routes, this trend was reversed. Evidence of this is provided by the presence of Gauloise 4 amphorae on the Iberian Peninsula and their use as a production model there. It is clear that, after a while, wine from Gaul

⁴³ Bonsangue 2014: 180–1; Nieto 1988: 388–92. ⁴⁴ Sanchez 2009: 300.

⁴⁵ CIL XII, 4983; Christol 2014. ⁴⁶ CIL XV, 4542; Tchernia 1986: 67–8, 234, 246.

was exported from other ports (notably Arles), but Narbonne remained pre-eminent in this trade, thanks to its location next to an important area of production.

3 Business and Businessmen

3.1 Goods In and Goods Out: Added Value

Although wine and wine growing are good indicators of the economic context, economic activity was by no means restricted to this (Figure 11.3). Export of metallurgical products was an essential component of trade in Narbonne and its context could tell us much if it could be better defined. We cannot attribute all the discoveries made in the Gulf of Lions to the mines in southern Gaul.⁴⁷ Most of the copper found near the coasts, away from the Rhône delta, if it came from the Iberian Peninsula, may not have followed the most direct route to get to Arles⁴⁸ and may have gone via Narbonne, with ships unloading some of their cargo there and taking other produce on board. Regional production is associated with significant contributions from the Iberian Peninsula, demonstrating its inclusion or integration in long-distance trade. This is the case in particular for the iron from Corbières, the importance of which has been re-evaluated, albeit only relatively so.⁴⁹ Those parts of the town of Narbonne linked to port activities took in ore extracted in the region and, in the case of iron, were a place where semi-finished products were prepared;⁵⁰ the case of lead is rather different.⁵¹ The town was directly involved in this necessary intermediate stage, as this is where the processing and production workshops were, whose work added value to the metal.

Various types of artisan would therefore have been present in the town. Epigraphic evidence from Narbonne typically relates to occupations and dates from the High Empire, mainly the Augustan or Julio-Claudian periods, as well as a smaller number of examples from the Flavian period. In terms of chronology, one may link this evidence to the use of the site at La Nautique (30 BC to c. AD 70), but without suggesting any causal link between the two. Thanks to meticulous works of classification,⁵² we can see how diverse and specialized these professions were and how important

⁴⁷ Domergue 2003. ⁴⁸ Jézégou *et al.* 2011. ⁴⁹ Maintenant 2011.

⁵⁰ Pagès *et al.* 2008; Domergue 2010: 112. ⁵¹ Domergue 2010: 118–21.

⁵² Gayraud 1981: 479–557; Bonsangue 2002.

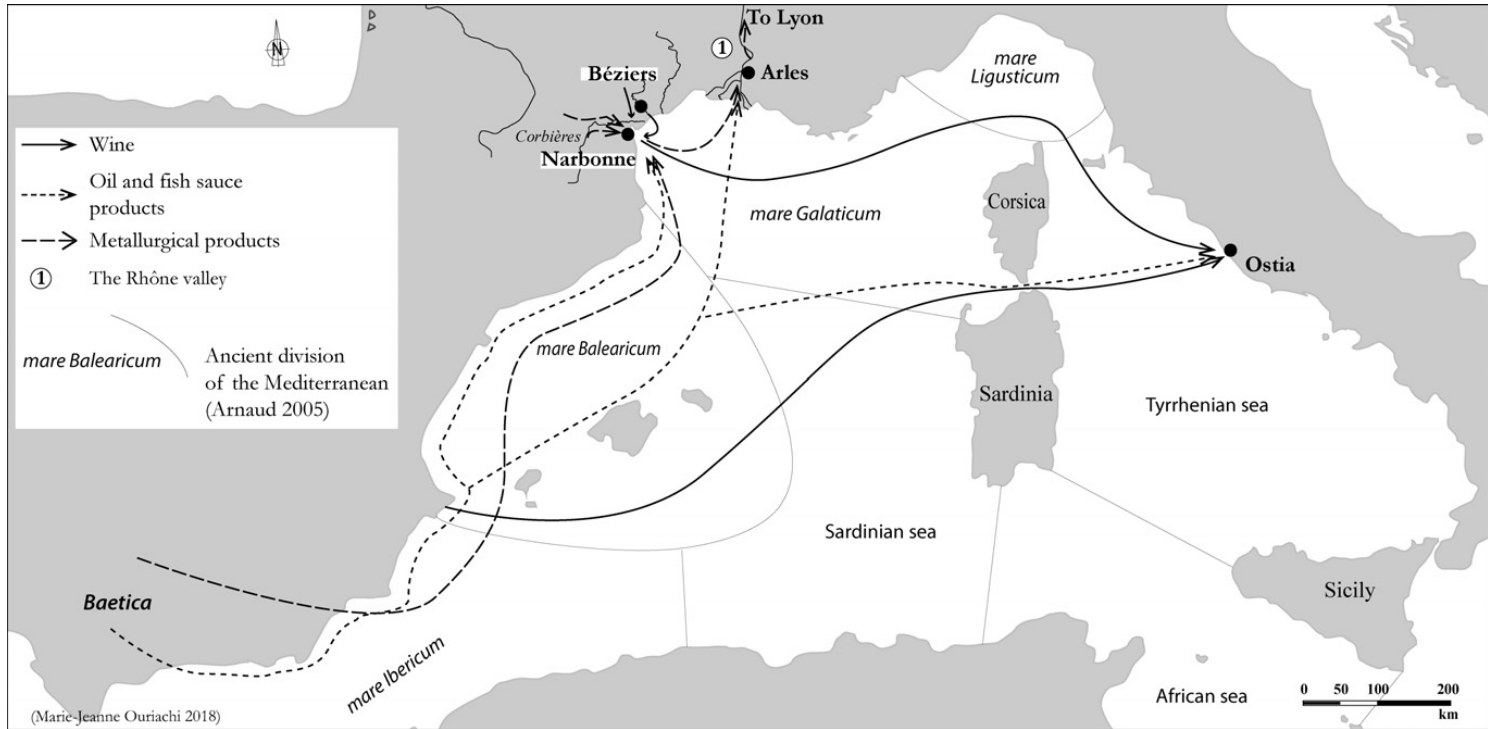


Figure 11.3 Narbonne in the context of exchanges in the Roman West during the Augustan period and under the High Empire.

trades relating to the processing of metals, textiles, skins and wood were in providing supplies for much wider redistribution.

If one wishes to attempt to understand the value of trade in Narbonne, then examining the principal goods traded according to whether they were leaving from or arriving in the town is a good place to start. Goods in and goods out should be assessed in terms of tonnage for shipping and in terms of profits for trading. In the case of metals, it is goods out, either as finished or semi-finished products, which predominate. Narbonne's role as a metallurgical centre continued into the second century AD, according to the inscription relating to Ti(berius) Iunius Fadianus, *conductor ferrariorum ripae dextrae*. Shipwrecks show a shift in trade routes towards that which followed the Rhône. As far as the wine trade is concerned, the export of produce from the hinterland of Béziers and Narbonne outstripped the import of more sought-after wines. It seems likely that trade was principally with Italy; anywhere further east was without doubt less important than the commerce generated by Rome itself. After Rome, the Iberian Peninsula would have been Narbonne's next most important trade partner. Even though the Catalan vineyards maintained their production capacity, this production was not as dominant as it had been in the Augustan era. In this sector of commercial activity, the dominant flow changed direction. These exports could have balanced out the imports of oil and fish sauce products, the principal goods being imported from the Iberian Peninsula. Overall, Narbonne maintained its importance as a centre of trade, a role which was enhanced through the town's position as the capital of a province, the seat of a proconsul and an Imperial procurator.

We should, however, consider the wider context, beyond what was happening in the port of Narbonne, since the economic activity taking place there must be assessed in relation to Arles. We should consider the western Mediterranean more generally and therefore the business activities of ship-owners and merchants within a much larger commercial network. Once the main trade routes of the provinces of Gaul and their hinterland (Britain and the German provinces) passed through Arles and Lyon, the merchants who had made Narbonne the centre of their activities needed to redirect their business to avoid being marginalized.

3.2 *Élites in the Town: Civic Notables and the Business Community*

Although inscriptions from Narbonne dating from the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods provide plenty of evidence for the diversity of occupations represented in Narbonne, as well as for the importance of the

town as a manufacturing, processing and distribution centre, in the following period it provides evidence for 'businessmen', as is also the case with epigraphic evidence from Arles from this period. Individuals and groups such as the private ship-owners from the *colonia* of Narbonne, whose involvement in the world of business we can sense, enjoyed a high public profile in the local area. At Ostia, the *navicularii Narbonenses* are mentioned in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, a major centre for big business in the Mediterranean.⁵³ The evidence from Monte Testaccio which Héron de Villefosse brought to light is also essential in this context.

It is important to revisit the content of his work, *Deux armateurs narbonnais Sex. Fadius Secundus et P. Olitius Apollonius*,⁵⁴ published in 1915 and still quoted to this day, as well as the arguments he put forward in it. These two men take centre stage: the first appears on an honorary inscription relating to an association of the *fabri subaediani*. Although it was the decurions who authorized the inscription, it is in fact a tribute from the craftsmen, *patrono ob merita*, and their role is the more important. However, Sex. Fadius Secundus Musa, as a civic notable, was not one of them; he was outside their world. It should be noted that the text does not state that he is a ship-owner; this is merely an interpretation. The second person, P. Olitius Apollonius, is known thanks to an inscription.⁵⁵ This text is also a tribute, this time from the *seviri Augustales*, imitating the procedure of the *ordo decurionum, ob merita et liberalitates eius*. In this case the tribute was made in a meeting place of the *seviri Augustales* and, as one of their number, Apollonius was honoured in the most familiar of contexts. The inscription also adds the term 'ship-owner' (*navicularius*). Whether or not Apollonius originally came from Narbonne, this was where he set up his shipping business. The term ship-owner was a distinguished one, since it showed involvement in public affairs, notably the transport of grain and oil for the city of Rome. Being both one of the *seviri Augustales* and a ship-owner established in Narbonne would have been viewed in a positive light.

Héron de Villefosse used the term 'ship-owner' to connect them both in the title of his work and in the argument that he put forward, but he may not be fully justified in doing so. While P. Olitius Apollonius clearly was a ship-owner, this is far less obvious in the case of Sex. Fadius Secundus, who was of a higher social class since by the time of his death he had attained the rank of 'civic notable'. The term 'ship-owner' should therefore be used with caution. What was original about Héron de Villefosse's

⁵³ Tchernia 2003.

⁵⁴ 'Two ship-owners from the Narbonne area, Sex. Fadius Secundus and P. Olitius Apollonius'.

⁵⁵ *CIL* XII, 4406.

approach was his systematic comparison of lapidary texts and amphora inscriptions. However, we now know that the administrative marks found at Monte Testaccio designated the merchants, not the transporters, and referred to oil from Hispania and not to wine from Gaul. However, it is the term ‘ship-owners’ for which the article is remembered. It continues to link these two men together, to the extent that they are now inseparable. If one mentions one of them, one inevitably mentions the other, even if it is done surreptitiously;⁵⁶ Apollonius’ attributes end up being transferred to Musa, who is referred to as ‘a rich Gallic shipper’.⁵⁷

We know that when it came to supplying Rome, the Roman state dealt with two distinct groups: transporters of goods, or *navicularii*, and the important merchants called *negotiatores* or *mercatores* and sometimes *diffusores*, specifically in the oil trade.⁵⁸ The second group brought together the required quantities and the first group were there to provide transport for this second group and therefore for the state. They were all represented at the Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia, but this does not mean that the lines of demarcation between their different roles became in any way blurred. Even though it was possible for a transporter to buy cargoes and for an important merchant to provide shipping, Roman lawyers made a clear distinction between the boat and the cargo and between the transporter and the owner of the goods. Their social standing was not the same either. The *navicularii* were further removed from the circle of civic notables, at the highest level belonging to the *seviri Augustales*, like the *navicularii* of Arles or Narbonne. However, the grain and oil merchants were on the fringes of the world of the civic notables, and some even managed to join their ranks. The ship-owner P. Olitius Apollonius was one of the *seviri Augustales* and the inscription shows the limits of his social elevation.⁵⁹ We should not be surprised that, according to evidence from Monte Testaccio, he sent cargoes of olive oil from Hispania Baetica to Rome in AD 147. However, this was not his main occupation when he was honoured with a tribute by the *seviri Augustales*. He did not yet belong to the major associations of merchants who dealt with the Roman administration. Why would the term *navicularius* have been attributed to him when belonging to the other group was more prestigious? Does the Narbonne inscription indicate his as yet incomplete social ascent?

There was a considerable distance between Sex. Fadius Secundus Musa and the circles of the *seviri* and the *navicularii*, and this was also the case for

⁵⁶ Tchernia 2011: 317–18. ⁵⁷ D’Arms 1981: 141. ⁵⁸ Sirks 1991.

⁵⁹ Tchernia 2011: 184–6; Christol 2008: 290–1.

another Narbonne civic notable, L. Aponius Chaerea, who was publicly honoured by a freed slave.⁶⁰ The important merchants, who were close to the civic notables, could more easily join their ranks. Should we not consider that they may have sometimes completed their social rise because they quickly made their fortune and came 'back to port' in order to continue business in other ways? As presented, the epigraphic evidence studied by Héron de Villefosse indicates the distance between the two groups, but also shows that their business dealings generally meant that they worked together in mutually beneficial ways.

A more nuanced typology is therefore required, as is shown by the examples already discussed. The case of L(ucius) Martius Satullus seems to show that freed slaves were able to become involved in certain categories of business. The inscription relating to L. Aponius Chaerea (late first to early second century AD), mentioned in this context because of his connections with Sicilian port cities, does not specifically state his type of business. We have to push the notion of plausible interpretation to its limits and, more especially, note that the text as it stands defines this person's honourable status as that of a civic notable, with no reference to his business activities, however important those activities may have been. L(ucius) Aponius Chaerea can be considered in the same bracket as Sex(tus) Fadius Secundus. Finally, the inscription concerning Ti(berius) Iunius Eudoxus and Ti(berius) Iunius Fadianus⁶¹ also merits careful consideration. It is a funerary text that does not have the usual characteristics of most of the others found in public places. It more closely resembles the funerary inscriptions through which we know of individual *navicularii* in Arles. Nevertheless, one may consider that those who wrote these tributes had good reason to do so and that they are more or less equivalent to the tributes made to businessmen in their meeting places. The dead person's honourable status was always expressed with reference to their place in society. If, then, as was the case for Martius Satullus, we are dealing with someone linked to the world of freed slaves, this would have been made clear. L. Martius Satullus was not necessarily a freed slave; he may have been born a free man but descended from a family of freed slaves. The same can be said of the two brothers we have just mentioned. They may also have been free born but sons of freed slaves. In Petronius' *Satyricon*, Trimalchio, a slave who changed master, was for this reason named Trimalchio Maecenatianus. But Fadianus, which is also derived from a *gentilicium*, cannot be interpreted in the same way. This *cognomen* does not necessarily

⁶⁰ *ILGN* 573; Rougé 1966: 137, 250. ⁶¹ *CIL* XII, 4398.

refer to a first master, but seems instead to indicate that the person is the freeborn child of two freed slaves, one from the *gens* Iunia and the other from the *gens* Fadia. This system for the transmission of the *gentilicium* is also found in Nîmes, showing that there were marriages within the social group which was made up of freed slaves from wealthy households, copying the practices of freed slaves from the households of civic notables.⁶² If this interpretation is applicable here, then Eudoxus would also be the son of a freed slave whose family has retained the use of the Greek *cognomen*. We would then have evidence to suggest the existence of a social group which extends beyond just freed slaves, linking subsequent generations to them, thereby constituting what Tchernia calls 'rameaux adventices'.⁶³

So, from the social standing indicated by the epigraphic evidence, be that funerary inscriptions or tributes, we can distinguish two social levels. The wording helps us to separate those people whose business interests are mentioned from those whose are not, even though they may have been businessmen. The latter had access to public office and were usually free born. The former only obtained such access through the *seviri Augustales*, but in their case we can see their involvement in big business, shipping, the management of public finances and probably trading. Freed slaves and people closely linked to them are found at this level.

The evidence from Monte Testaccio confirms this. Amongst the markings painted on the amphorae are several names which have Greek *cognomina* and which are considered to be those of freed slaves. This is probably more often than not the case. But we also have the example of Trimalchio,⁶⁴ who explains that, having made his fortune, he changed his way of doing business, stating 'coepi libertos fenerare'; if one translates this in the style of epigraphic Latin, which avoids the use of the possessive when this is implied by the context, and taking care not to over-interpret, it gives us 'I started lending to my freed slaves.'⁶⁵ The first circle is that of his own freed slaves, providing greater security for the lessor of the funds, and also a way of keeping himself at a suitable distance.

Finally, let us turn our attention to the connections between Arles and Narbonne.⁶⁶ Even though the ship-owners and merchants from these important ports presumably found themselves using the same routes and trading in the same goods, it does not seem that they worked together or on an equal footing. Individuals from Arles focused their attention on the interior of Gaul, towards Lyon, Gallia Belgica and the German provinces.

⁶² Christol 1992; Mouritsen 2011: 123–7.

⁶³ Extended family network/household; Tchernia 2011: 80, 82–4. ⁶⁴ Petronius *Sat.* 76.

⁶⁵ Christol 1971; Veyne 1990: 36–47; Tchernia 2011: 48–50. ⁶⁶ Rougé 1966: 142, 306–7.

In the Mediterranean, Ostia was the focus of economic activity. However, although one must presume that Gaulish merchants from the towns in the east of Gallia Narbonensis and the Rhône valley⁶⁷ must have been active on the continental routes of the Hispanic oil trade – as well, presumably, as Iberian merchants, other than on the Aquitaine isthmus route – this commerce should probably not be seen as constituting a major part of Narbonne's trade in the strictest sense. The same applies to the trade in fish products, which was directed more towards Lyon and northern areas.⁶⁸ However, the evidence from Monte Testaccio shows that Gaulish merchants were more directly involved in supplying oil from Hispania for the *praefectus annonae*.

We do not have any records of tributes having been made to the *seviri Augustales* in either Narbonne or Arles. There are, however, examples of tributes made to them in several towns in the first century AD: Narbonne and Aix,⁶⁹ Narbonne, Lyon, Orange and Fréjus.⁷⁰ However, the documentation from Arles fits within a broader context: one ship-owner originated from Fréjus⁷¹ and is indicative of the ties that coastal navigation created. One could thus conclude that the various groups of traders did not really operate in the same areas or trade in the same goods and that they rarely crossed paths. It is perfectly reasonable to speculate that, over time, the scope of their activities became more and more well defined and structured, with this change occurring towards the end of the first century AD as a consequence of the dominance of Arles. In summary, the available sources and timeline defined above may now allow us to make a clear distinction between the two groups of ship-owners in Gallia Narbonensis, each one having a specific area of activity in the western Mediterranean, in terms of both trade routes and goods traded. Could these findings now be used within the context of reflections on the limits of the interdependence of markets?⁷²

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⁶⁷ For transportation of goods along the Rhône axis, see Tran 2014.

⁶⁸ López Castro 2007: 114. ⁶⁹ *CIL* XII, 4414, 4424. ⁷⁰ *CIL* XII, 3203. ⁷¹ *CIL* XII, 4494.

⁷² Tchernia 2011: 101–31.

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12 | The Port Society of Narona

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The title of this chapter may seem provocative. While a port society is typically perceived to be an unambiguous concept, it is an anachronistic one when applied to the ancient world.¹ It has yet to be conclusively proven that societies living in areas connected by waterways, and therefore with access to major commercial routes, differed significantly from other land-based urban settlements of equal size. However, we ought to pause here a moment to observe an undoubted fact, especially evident for example in Hispania: the social behaviours of coastal cities differ from those of inland settlements of a similar scale. The evidence related to social promotion is crucial in this case, with freedmen playing a key role. In contrast, the noted social conservatism of inland societies has contributed to the creation of a power struggle between such open and closed societies.² Perhaps this is not the forum to discuss and clarify these issues, but it can be argued that the society of Narona was an open one, and its port access can be considered an essential determinant of this characteristic, as it was for most coastal cities for which there is sufficient historical information. Furthermore, its location at the midpoint of the north Adriatic maritime trade route enhanced the significance of the city.³

The site of the city of Narona, today Vid, Metković, next to the present-day Norin in the Neretva river basin in Croatia (Figure 12.1), has undergone major morphological changes since antiquity, especially with regard to its coastal areas. The topographical changes are not yet well clarified from an archaeological point of view, although recent progress has been remarkable.⁴ But we know with relative certainty that what is identified as the forum was near the edge of a waterway that provided access to the Adriatic transport routes.

¹ This chapter was translated from the original Spanish by Kassie Cigliana, with assistance from Simon Keay.

² On the freedmen in Narona and especially the *seviri Augustales*, see Rodà 2009–11, with a repertoire on pp. 191–206; Mayer 2010; 2004c. For the role of the freedmen in Narona, see Medini 1980: 195–206. For an example of an open port society, see Mayer 2009b: esp. 56–7 for Dertosa; and 2005b for Barcino. For a case of an apparently closed society of the interior, see Mayer 2005a.

³ On Adriatic navigation, for which its ports and its routes become indispensable, see works compiled in Zaccaria 2001; for the local area, see especially Cambi 2001: esp. 139–41 for Narona.

⁴ Information can be found in the recently re-edited booklet by Patsch (1996). See also the most recent works of Vučić: 1998; 2000, with bibliography; 2005; 2012.



Figure 12.1 The broader geographical context of Narone within Dalmatia.

The relatively recent discovery of a *rostrum*, the prow of a ship,⁵ in the area of the forum, dated to between AD 14 and 50, is of exceptional importance for our purpose. If the proposed chronology is taken into account, the find itself could relate to the monumentalization of the area. The *rostrum* could have been a trophy related to Octavian's naval victory at Actium, if not earlier or later events which took place near Naron. The limitation of the discovery to a single *rostrum* could also suggest that it relates to a different type of port-related monument, such as that illustrated on the fresco from the Villa Farnesina in Rome, which appears to have been dedicated to Poseidon.⁶ Without wanting to digress further about this kind of monument, it is worth noting its similarity to the *rostra* on the *columna rostrata* in the Roman Forum, and the monument of Cartilius Poplicola at Ostia.⁷ The naval trophy of St Bertrand de Comminges,⁸ the *rostra* visible on the reliefs of the Arch of Orange, or the bronze *rostra*, which are now lost, from the Arch of Trajan at Ancona, are also worthy of note. A more closely related example, albeit in a funerary context, is the bow of a ship preserved in the Museo Nazionale di Aquileia, which corresponds to a sepulchral monument for a navarch.⁹ The *rostrum* of Naron may thus have served as some kind of naval trophy, but it could also have featured as a prominent element of a more decorative monumental construction.¹⁰ A more detailed study should uncover closer parallels for this monument. The suggested dating to between AD 15 and 50 and the iconography on both sides of the *rostrum* have led Marin to suggest that it

⁵ Marin 2006: esp. 75–7, figs 2, 3.

⁶ Relating to one of the scenes of the Augustan era, whose origin is attributed to the painter Studius, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 1233, see Bragantini and de Vos 1982: 338, pls 215–16, 350–1; Gasparri and Paris 2013: 420–1, frescoes along the corridor F–G; see also Sanzi di Mino 1998: 115–23, esp. 119.

⁷ See on the evolution of *rostra*, Coarelli 1999 and Verduchi 1999; on the *columna rostrata*, Chioffi 1993, now also Kondratieff 2004, the column of Duilius restored by Augustus; other Roman naval monuments may have also played an important role. For the case of Ostia, see e.g. Floriani Squarciapino *et al.* 1958: 194–5, for the *rostrum* of the funerary monument of C. Cartilius Poplicola, where there are also ships depicted in the frieze, pp. 195–207. See also for another example the *rostrum* that serves as decoration on a fountain of *decumanus maximus* in the city.

⁸ Related to the so-called *trophée naval* see Boube 1996: 26–30. For the arch at Orange, see the two vols of Amy *et al.* 1962.

⁹ Santa Maria Scrinari 1972: nos. 81c, 28; also Bonino 2001, which connects it to the celebration of the victory of Actium, 454. For a purely funerary and more modest example in the Museo Civico Archeologico Etnologico de Modena, cf. Giordani 2001: esp. 258 and fig. 188, 259. For a similar example from Aquileia, cf. Santa Maria Scrinari 1972: 192–3 no. 599, having funerary and honorific characteristics, and dated to the Augustan era.

¹⁰ The dimensions as indicated by Marin (2006) are for the conserved section, 56 × 68 × 35 cm for the interior of the *rostrum*. The material appears to be limestone and, judging by the aspects that are visible, it could be part of a block of panelling or scaffolding which would secure the *rostrum* in an outward position. Note as well that it could be a sepulchral representation.

could relate to Gaius and Lucius Caesar as well as/or to Nero and Britannicus. This would lead us to consider the monument as complementary to the honours that these members of the Imperial family received in the *Augusteum* of Narona.¹¹ This would not of course prevent it from having some kind of commemorative significance for the Battle of Actium.¹²

The presence of this naval motif is entirely consistent with a port city. Moreover, as Marin notes, the place of its discovery is crucial for locating the position of the forum area (Figure 12.2).¹³ He also points out how the position of the forum could have been conditioned by the course of the river Naron. Another port may have been established nearby during the reign of Vespasian.¹⁴ The evidence for this comes from the relatively recent discovery of an inscription on an indeterminate structure that records an intervention by the emperor and the name of a new governor: the *legatus Augusti propraetore*, Gnaeus Pedius Cascus.¹⁵ Vespasian's intervention is likely to have taken place during the territorial reform occurring throughout the Empire during his reign. Although many have considered that the port of Narona underwent a reform by that time, the action undoubtedly pre-dates and presumably post-dates the foundational moment of the city as such.

Narona is mentioned in the correspondence of Cicero as a place of refuge for a slave who had stolen books from his library;¹⁶ Cicero's text is a good example of the importance of the port and its accessibility from the moment of Dalmatia's conquest.¹⁷ Despite this, the claim of Daicovici in interpreting the situation in Narona at that time as 'un intero mondo di italici' is somewhat risky.¹⁸ In the autumn of 46 BC, according to the

¹¹ Marin 2006: 75, 77. ¹² See, for example, the reconstruction by Murray (1993).

¹³ Marin 2006: 77: 'The excursus on the single monument, which I am pleased to present here for the first time, allows us to present, *pars pro toto*, a key fragment that enables us to imagine how intensive life was within the naronitan *forum*. The rostra columnata was a cardinal point in the forum, itself a cardinal point in the Roman colony within the province.'

¹⁴ Marin 2006: 77: 'the terrain dictated certain alterations, including a deviation towards the northwest in line with the flow of the Naron. This resulted in a slightly rhomboidal form in the eastern part of the forum. It seems clear to me that it stood above the river which flowed towards the south, and where harbour installations may have existed. These may have been ordered by the emperor Vespasian, who may have documented this. In return, the city may have installed a magnificent marble statue of the Emperor in the *Augusteum*.' Also, Mayer 2015: esp. 32–3; also see the works cited in notes 65 and 67 below. A possible evolution of the port is in Cambi 2001: 139–40.

¹⁵ Marin 2001: no. 71 = Kurilić 2006: esp. 142, no. 111.

¹⁶ As e.g. Daicovici 1932: 63, n. 7; also Wilkes 1969: 42. Marin (2008: esp. 154) summarizes the theme, where the important urban situation of Narona is illustrated and defended, from the second century BC. Cf. now Mayer 2009–11: 169–77.

¹⁷ On this initial instance, see Deniaux 2001. ¹⁸ Daicovici 1932: 64.

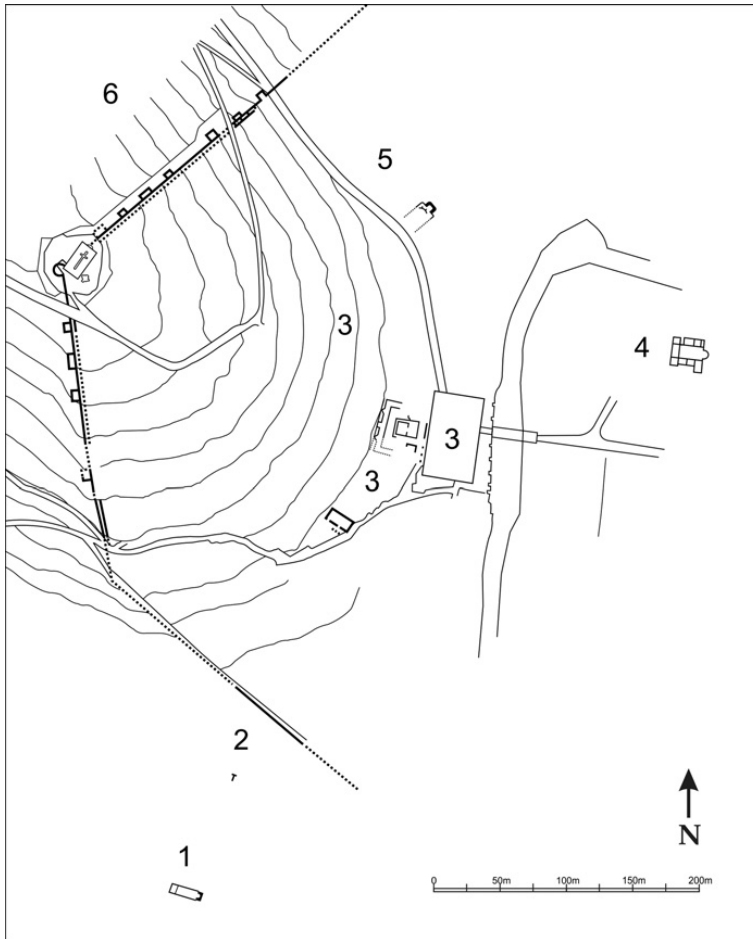


Figure 12.2 Topography of Narona. 1. Villa and church in Erešove bare. 2. Villa in Šiljegove bare. 3. Forum, *Augusteum* and late burials. 4. Basilica and baptistery of Sveti Vid. 5. Christian basilica. 6. Town walls.

correspondence of Cicero,¹⁹ P. Sulpicius Rufus, to whom he refers in his letter as *imperator*, was governor of Illyricum.²⁰ In 45 BC Publius Vatinius, the ‘dark arm’ of Caesar and main supporter of the triumvirate during the year 59 BC when he served as tribune of the plebs, was proconsul of the

¹⁹ Cicero *Fam.* 13.77.3 = Tyrrell and Purser 1915: 638.3; 148–9, esp. 149. See also Beaujeu 1991: 192 letter DLVII, which dates the correspondence to the first or second intercalary month of 46 BC, and divides the first section that considers, in turn on 136, letter DXV, which is dated in November at the beginning of the first intercalary month of 46 BC.

²⁰ This individual was consul in the year 51 BC. Cf. Broughton 1952 (= *MRR* II), index 624 and 299, on his presence in Illyricum, probably as proconsul.

area,²¹ sent there by Julius Caesar, who was *dictator* at the time. Vatinius was to be found at his headquarters at Narona, according to what we can learn from one letter written by him to Cicero from Narona,²² on 11 July 45 BC, and in another from the same city in 44 BC.²³

The ‘urban’ port of Narona, and possibly others located in nearby territories, could undoubtedly have served as outlets for the routes to the Adriatic from the mines within the province of Illyricum.²⁴ Nor should the military importance of the port and others along the coast be discounted.²⁵ In this respect, one needs to bear in mind the sustained military presence in the territory relinquished by the city, known as the *pagus Scunasticus*;²⁶ the garrison of Bigeste in the area and several *stationes* could have been a response to the need to protect this route and not simply ensure land-based communication along the length of the Adriatic coast.²⁷

At this point we must pause a moment to appreciate a term that may be of importance to our enquiry: *statio*. The term can denote a port,²⁸ with Caesar himself referring to the ports of Dalmatia in this way.²⁹ The *statio* that could have been located in Narona, if the documented *beneficiarii* were associated with the city itself, could perhaps refer to a port *statio* used to control important traffic in the area from the interior to the sea and the

²¹ *MRR* II, index 190, for the tribune, 216 for the praetorship and 286 for the consulship in 47 BC; see also 310 for his proconsulship in Illyricum in the year 45 BC. Cf. also Sternkopf 1912: esp. 329, on succession between Sulpicius Rufus and P. Vatinius and the duration of the mandate of the latter until 44 BC. Also see Wilkes 1969: 43. P. Vatinius had already supported by sea the predecessor of Sulpicius Rufus, Q. Cornificius, in 47 BC.

²² Cicero *Fam.* 5.9.2 = Tyrrell and Purser 1915: 639.2; 150–1, esp. 151. See also Beaujeu 1983: 211–12, no. DCXXXII.

²³ Cicero *Fam.* 5.10.1 = Tyrrell and Purser 1918: 696.1; 232–4, esp. 232. See also Beaujeu 1988: 33–4, no. DCCXVI.

²⁴ On the administration of these resources, see Alföldy 2003: esp. 226–7, where we find a *beneficiarius consularis* who was destined for the *statio argentariarum Pannonicarum et Delmaticarum procuratoris* and is one of the most well-known cases. Cf. in general Zaninović 1977; Dušanić 2004: esp. 254, n. 16, 267; also see Škegro 2006: esp. 150–5, with a complete bibliography on the theme. Note as well the propositions from *ILJug* 2367 in the reading *prin(ceps) col(oniae) m(etallorum) N(aronae)*.

²⁵ Reddé 2001; cf. Figure 1, 45.

²⁶ *AE* 1950, 44 = *ILJug.* 114: *Divo Augusto et / Ti(berio) Caesari Aug(usti) f(ilio) Aug(usto) / sacrum / veterani Pagi Scunast(ici) / quibus colon(ia) Naronit(ana) / agros dedit*. Also see Wilkes 1969: 112–13, 243.

²⁷ Marin *et al.* 2000; Mayer 2017b.

²⁸ See the interesting work of Franzot (1999: 15). In relation to ports, note also Iader in Davison, Gaffney and Marin 2006: 68–9.

²⁹ Caesar *BC* 3.8 on the *stationes*, ports or quays on the Dalmatian coast. Livy 10.2.6, to limit ourselves to just one example: note the river port of Patavium, at 14 Roman miles from the city, *statio navium*. I am grateful to Núría García Casacuberta for her insightful information on port *stationes*.

banks of the river upon which the city was located. On the other hand, the fact that the term ‘emporium’ was used to identify the earliest settlement could also indicate the existence of a port, thereby clarifying the initial role of Narona.³⁰

What we know about the primary, and otherwise singular, organization of the first Roman citizen institutions of Narona is symptomatic of the importance of the town, certainly justified by the strategic location of its nearby port and its connection to the Adriatic Sea.³¹ The significance of Aquileia as a distribution centre for the cities on the Dalmatian coast should also be mentioned,³² playing a role similar to that of Venice in later centuries. This leads us to consider Narona’s inevitable role as a commercial port, similar to the later port of Dubrovnik, for the easternmost Adriatic coastal region.³³ Of course, anachronistic comparisons have the tendency to distort reality; but we will have to accept, *mutatis mutandis*, that such an example can be singularly illustrative of a process that historically repeats itself.

If we look at the possible status of Narona under Roman rule,³⁴ we can assume that it was a Caesarean colony that was undergoing a second stage

³⁰ Franzot 1999: 12–13, on the emporium. On the navigable condition of access to the *emporion*, perhaps of Greek origin, located in Narona in the fourth century BC, cf. Cambi 2001: 139. Note as well that, at this point in time, Rome also had a river zone known by this name. On the evolution of the population of another port in Dalmatia, see Feissel 2014: 197–206. On the presence of individuals of eastern origin at ports, see Steuernagel (Chapter 3) in this volume.

³¹ The inscription *CIL* III, 1820 = 8423 = *CIL* I, 1474 = *CIL* I², 2291 = *ILS* 7166, is key to this reasoning and has created interest from a chronological point of view. Hatzfeld (1919: 22) was able to date it, together with *CIL* III, 1784 = *CIL* I, 1469 = *CIL* I², 2289, *CIL* III, 1785 = *CIL* I, 1470 = *CIL* I², 2290 and *CIL* III, 1821 = *CIL* I, 1472 = *CIL* I², 2292, to the second century BC, which was followed by doubts expressed by Daicovici (1932: esp. 88, 91); the chronology of the second century BC does not seem to be the correct option and, in both cases, they may be dated to the first century BC.

³² Cf. Carre and Maselli Scotti 2001 and Maggi and Urban 2001. Also of significance, Franzot 1999: 53–6, and the appendix on Aquileia 80–5.

³³ On the role of Dubrovnik, cf. for example the contributions by Krekić (1961; 1980; 1997).

³⁴ *CIL* V, 1829 and 1830, and 172, on the reconstruction of the *magistri* statute by Mommsen. *CIL* III, 1820 = 8423 = *CIL* I, 1474 = *CIL* I², 2291 = *ILS* 7166, is key, as indicated in a previous note, with a formula not without its problems, but already largely resolved by Mommsen. The presence of a quasi-judiciary group with administrative charge is represented by a *quattuorvirate*. This was constituted by two pairs of ‘magistrates’, the first of which is indicated as *MAG · NARO*, and understood to be *mag(istri) Naro(nae)*. The second is identified by *Q*, which is expanded to *q(uaestores)*. In both cases the pair constitutes an *ingenuus* and a freedman, respectively. With reservations, it would seem to fit approximately with the content *CIL* I², 2293 = *ILJug* 1881, given that both inscriptions are related to the construction of the towers of the walled area of the city. It is important to insist on the relationship between the beginnings of the city and its wall, as did Wilkes (1969: 298), and more recently Paci (2007), who provides a brief commentary on the city walls.

of development.³⁵ Generally, it is accepted that the city originated as a Greek *emporion*.³⁶ Its strategic location must have ensured that it played an important role in the region, given that it would have provided key services for fixed military garrisons in the surrounding area, and that it was host to a *statio*. The city would therefore provide an easy means of supplying provisions by sea, with an optimal position for controlling the riverine supply of mineral resources to the sea from the interior. The Neretva river (the ancient Naron) is presented as a clear and convincing example in support of this claim, if the fluvial routes which would later play a similar role are studied.³⁷ A parallel for this can be found at Dertosa (modern Tortosa) in northeastern Spain. Prior to the recent modification of the morphology of the Ebro delta and its adjacent coastline on account of deforestation in the interior, this river port was situated near the mouth of the river Ebro. While Portus and Ostia clearly surpassed the importance of Narona, their characteristics as both river and sea ports certainly share common features with Narona. Narona was also an important landmark on the road which ran along the coastline of Dalmatia and which was indispensable for control of the land-based communications in the region.

A crucial element to consider when the organization of the city is analysed is the possible existence of *magistri Mercuriales*, or perhaps *Martiales Mercuriales*, depending on different possibilities for expansion of the abbreviation M.M.³⁸ This is because they would suggest the presence of an early cult-based organization in the first century BC that was markedly commercial in character and, therefore, very relevant to the theme that we are investigating. Even so, it is clear that Narona very quickly came to adhere to the Imperial cult that was the responsibility of the *seviri Augustales*, an organization that established itself in almost every city throughout the Empire. However, in the case at hand it appears to involve on several occasions the survival of earlier titlature as a form of traditionalism

³⁵ Cf. Wilkes 1969: 35 and 42–3 on the first stadium, 57 on the condition of the Caesarian colony, and 156–7, 163, 165, 170–7 and 484–5 on the later *conventus*; a summary on 248–52. Wilkes (1969: 35 and 38) discretely speaks of a ‘trading community’, the first instances of a stable Roman presence and its continuation; on p. 247, he refers to the condition of *conventus*. Others such as Glavičić (2003: esp. 221–2) interpret the first stage of the town as if it were a *conventus civium Romanorum*. Narona was a colony from 27 BC and veterans of the legion VII of *Tilurium* settled within the *Pagus Scunasticus* under Tiberius; for subsequent development see also, e.g., Wilkes 1969: 248–9.

³⁶ E.g. Daicovici 1932: 63–4, 87–91. ³⁷ Cambi 2001: esp. 139–41.

³⁸ An initial commentary on the theme in Marin *et al.* 1999, on the inscriptions that contain this acronym; for further details and with new dates, see Mayer 2004c; see also Mayer 2010; also the works cited in note 2.

appropriate to an early foundation,³⁹ which would have been maintained as an element of prestige. The survival of the *Mercuriales*, or to be more prudent the M.M., and their incorporation into the sevirate after the mid-second century AD can thus be interpreted as a symbol of ancient Roman culture within a socially open-minded city.⁴⁰ Such a notion seems to exemplify the case of Naronā, which exhibits the optimal conditions for the distinctive social promotion appropriate to a commercial and port city that also retained a strong military presence.⁴¹ A well-established claim made by Wilkes is that the promotion of indigenous people did not take place at Naronā, contrary to what occurs in other parts of Dalmatia. He suggests that this cannot be considered a feature of the conservatism of the city, so much as the consequence of a loss of its economic attractiveness, which would have rendered social promotion and manumission of indigenous peoples impossible.⁴² This may be a more plausible explanation, but given that the social advancement of the indigenous tribes does not occur in this province until the Flavian period,⁴³ we can also think that the Italic influence and the commercial and cosmopolitan character of the city could have diluted this component. This would be likely if this process had been ongoing from an earlier stage in the development of the city, and was no longer noticeable in the Flavian period when the city undoubtedly underwent urban and structural changes. The Lusii, the only senatorial family with signs of having their origin in the city, did not reach the *ordo senatorius* until the third century. This is a fact which may be significant in evaluating the composition of the society of Naronā. Either the names of individuals with active interests in Naronitan society are masked by those of their dependants, or this was a population that was rooted in its territory and descended from the initial and successive settled colonists and veterans. The epigraphic documentation and onomastics, however, do not seem to support this latter view.

The presence of cults or divinities in Naronā undoubtedly provides useful evidence⁴⁴ linked to the existence of cult-based *collegia*. As a result, it is not surprising to note that, given the likely existence of *Mercuriales* and commercial activities in the city, there was a fairly high

³⁹ See note 33. On the Imperial cult and sea-borne commerce, cf. Terpstra (Chapter 8) in this volume.

⁴⁰ See the works cited in note 2 and esp. Mayer 2010: 271. ⁴¹ See the works cited in note 6.

⁴² Wilkes 1969: 252.

⁴³ Wilkes 1969: 399 on the beginnings of what would be known as the 'ruler class'.

⁴⁴ Marin 1980; Miletic 2003. For a background to the Adriatic context, see the works compiled in Delplace and Tassaux 2000.

number of dedications to *Mercurio Augusto* by the *seviri Augustales*.⁴⁵ The mention of a *Genius plebis* may also be considered an important element given the early institutionalization of the city,⁴⁶ as was an important dedication to Aesculapius by the *seviri*.⁴⁷ The presence of eastern deities is also to be expected in such a port city, as in the case of Iuppiter Dolichenus, who is documented at Narona from the beginning of the third century AD onwards.⁴⁸ Nor does the presence of the cult of Neptune come as too much of a surprise given the portuary character of the city.⁴⁹ In any case, the cult of Liber Pater held a singular importance for the city and its surrounding territory, and may have served as the point of convergence for all of the trends which characterize this apparently heterogeneous society;⁵⁰ otherwise this cult was seen as deeply rooted in Dalmatia.⁵¹

If we revisit social issues, in particular the overwhelming number of freedmen who achieved honorific positions, we can legitimately ask whether we are facing another example of what occurred at a city like Barcino (Barcelona), where the patrons, with one or two important exceptions, are masked by an abundance of freedmen, and whether it is possible to gauge their importance by means of onomastics, which makes possible some identifications.

⁴⁵ *CIL* III, 1791–3; Marin 1980: 209–10, on Mercurius and the *magistri Mercuriales*; also see Combet-Farnoux 1980; 1981. On the possible *magistri Mercuriales*, see Mayer 2010 and 2016b: 390–8.

⁴⁶ The military environment may have had an influence on this cult, cf. Speidel and Dimitrova-Milceva 1978: esp. 1544–51, on the distinct forms of *Genii*, although we ought to assume that they were known principally as *genius populi Romani*, on which Béranger 1973 serves as useful background; also see Cesano 1922: esp. 468.

⁴⁷ On the presence of the cult of Aesculapius in Narona, see *CIL* III, 1766; *AE* 1932, 82 = *ILJug* 1870; *CIL* III, 1768 and *CIL* III, 1767 = *CIN* I 24; Marin 1980: 209. Cf. Tiussi 1999. On the surrounding area and general background, Edelstein and Edelstein 1998; Musiat 1992; also see the works recalled in De Miro, Sfameni Gasparro and Cali 2009. On Dalmatia, Rigato 2013: 129–30.

⁴⁸ *AE* 1912, 45 = *ILJug* 1873, on which Mayer 2005c. Also see Medini 1982: esp. 55, n. 15 and 56, for this inscription. For general background on the divinity, cf. Hörig 1984: especially 2148–50 on Dalmatia. On Isis in Narona, cf. Budischovsky 1977: 187, no. XIV, 1 and 187–8; on the figurations, with reference to *CIL* III, 1864 = *SIRIS* 678 and Bricault 2005: 723 no. 615.

⁴⁹ *CIL* III, 1794. Given the possible origins of Narona, the influence of Poseidon is not discountable. On the Roman cult of Neptune, cf. Arnaldi 1997: 6–18, 210–13. Remember here that the *rostrum* discovered in the city may correspond to a monumental representation of Poseidon, as is the case of the Villa Farnesina paintings, cf. note 6.

⁵⁰ Mayer 2009a: esp. 309–12 on the surrounding area of Narona.

⁵¹ On Liber Pater in Dalmatia, Paškvalin 1963: esp. 137–8; Zaninović 1984; 1990; 1996: 338–44; 1997; Tassaux 1997: esp. 78; Matijašić and Tassaux 2000: on Liber esp. 66–76, and also the framework synopsis on 92–6; on *CIL* III, 1784, Jadrić 2008: 128 n. 6; on other aspects of the Liber cult in Dalmatia, cf. 2007, and also Paškvalin 1986; Olujić 1990; Glavičić 2002. On the case of Narona, Marin 1980: esp. 208–9; Miletić 2003: esp. 215; also for a general perspective on the Roman Orient, see Mayer 2017a.

At present, there is very little documentation regarding the presence of families from Narona who achieved senatorial status.⁵² One such case is that of Claudia Aesernina, who pledges her devotion to Saturn and becomes a *sacerdos divae Augustae*.⁵³ In theory, there seems to be no doubt that this woman would belong to the *ordo senatorius*,⁵⁴ and that she would have been a member of the Claudii Marcelli Aesernini family, who are well documented at Aesernia itself.⁵⁵ If we wish to analyse the presence of the Aesernini in the territory of Narona, we must also take into account the case of the Papii, Kanus and Celsus families, who could have had the same origins.⁵⁶ They probably originated from the centre of the Italic Peninsula; they erected a statue to Octavian and their names undoubtedly correspond to those of the first colonists settled in Narona in the late Republican era.⁵⁷ We also have to revisit briefly the abundance of members of the Lusii documented at the city. Only one of them can be shown to have achieved social promotion, given that an inscription of a temple dedicated by the *speculator* refers to an individual bearing this *nomen*. On the inscription, the dedicant refers to his patron, Marcus Lusius Severus, or better yet his owner, as *v(ir) c(larissimus)*, in a way that suggests that he was a slave. This dedication demonstrates the presence of this type

⁵² Cf. Wilkes 1969: 318–36 on the senators and other players of the equestrian order in Dalmatia; 334 for Narona and Lusius Severus.

⁵³ *CIL* III, 1796 = *ILS* 3327. Another case of *sacerdos divae Augustae* in *CIL* III, 6361.

⁵⁴ Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: 201, no. 215 and stemma VII.

⁵⁵ Cf. Alföldy 1968: esp. 133–4, no. 111.

⁵⁶ *CIL* III, 14265 = *ILS* 8893 = *ILLRP* 417, dated to 36 BC, *Sicilia recepta*, after the defeat of Pompey. Ricci (2015) revisits the possibility, following Münzer 1949, col. 1078, no. 10, that the moneyer Lucius Papius Celsus might be related to those in Narona, although it also signals that no evidence existed of the relationship between the Papii of Rome and those from central Italy. The relationship between this moneyer and the players in Narona seems to be more harmonious than that which is based in kinship, as proposed by Münzer. On the moneyer, cf. Broughton 1952: 448; 1986: 155. Cf. La Regina 1991 on the Papii of Aesernia, without evident reference to the Tasovčići in the environment of Narona. On the Papii in the surrounding area of Narona, see Wilkes 1969: 393 where we first see the existence of colonists; 396 where it is specified that the territories next to the Narenta in Tasovčići are opposite a villa in Dretelj that features *tegulae* of the Pansiana and of M.C. Chresimus of Italian origin. Alföldy (1968: 109) emphasizes that the largest group of Italic origin came from the centre and south of the Peninsula, among whom were the Papii; also see Wilkes 1969: 232 n. 1 on the origin of the colonists. Note as well that in *CIL* III, 6361, to Papia Brocchina, *sacerdos divae Augustae* is mentioned.

⁵⁷ Mayer 2016a: 487–9 on the Papii and the management of this first colonization; see also the essential contribution of Wilkes (1969: 298–300) on the families of the Republican era in the city and its surrounding territory. The presence of those families in Narona is important until the second century, when the prosperity of the city begins to decline, but the environment is filled with rustic villas from the colonists from the first century, including the richest *villae* which were situated in Stolac in the valley of Bregava; see Wilkes 1969: 396–9.

of social promotion in the territory of Narona, or at least the dependency upon the Lusii, if they were outsiders, by a large part of the population of Narona.⁵⁸

We also know that one Marcus Lusius made a donation *ob dedicationem] balnei*,⁵⁹ a traditional example of citizenly euergetism related to the baths that was well known in Narona.⁶⁰ However, we find that members of the Lusii family documented in the city rarely bore the *praenomen* Marcus, which might perhaps lead us to think that this was not a unique case; at the very least we must accept that the example of the Lusii allows us to assume that the same could also have been true of other well-documented *gentes* in Narona.⁶¹

The existence of an inscription which refers to a *lapidarius*, Maximus, who makes a dedication to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, cannot be omitted from consideration, since it could be an important index of commerce or extractive activity that was not simply limited to the surrounding area.⁶² Proof of the extent of such trade can be seen in the varied origins, particularly Italic, of *tegulae* and the increasing number of stamped amphora stoppers that in this case constitute a clear index of a flourishing commerce in the distribution of goods. Successive studies have taken note of these finds, whose importance needs to be evaluated.⁶³

We conclude by exploring a final theme which has justifiably revolutionized the archaeological study of Narona: the discovery of the *Augusteum*. No one can deny that the so-called Imperial cult seems to have been the common ground of change and harmony in the Roman world; it was the 'meeting point' amongst people of different origins and the cities that co-

⁵⁸ Cf. Marin *et al.* 2003: esp. 99–100. Cf. *PIR*² L, 441 (L. Petersen) on *Lusius Severus*. On the Lusii, cf. Alföldy 1969: 95–6; Comes 2009–11: esp. 121.

⁵⁹ *CIL* III, 1806 and 1494–5 (= *CIL* III, 8422); we also have new epigraphic documentation on Lucii Lusii in course of publication in the second volume of the *Inscriptiones Naronitanae*.

⁶⁰ *CIL* III, 1807, where the Imperial legate is mentioned; see also *CIL* III, 1805 (= *ILS* 5695 = *CIN* I, 28), dated with confidence to AD 280, a date which seems essential in documenting the end of the equestrian procuratorships, as well as being significant for this measure in a late context; cf. Mayer 2004b.

⁶¹ On the families established in the area in the Imperial era, cf. Wilkes 1969: 300–8, where he looks at families throughout Dalmatia, and 306–7 on Narona.

⁶² *CIL* III, 1777: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) s(acrum) / lapidari/us ex voto / aram pos(uit). Wilkes (1969: 250) suggests, with reason, that this inscription is the only evidence that Narona was a centre of production or manufacturing.

⁶³ Patsch 1908: esp. 93, fig. 7; Abramić 1926–7, now in Marin *et al.* 1999: 121–8; Siljeg 2003: esp. 268, found in Darka Zovka, and 274, fig. 5; Mardešić and Šalov 2002; Mayer 2008: esp. 230, 232, 236; 2012–13: esp. 19, n. 7. On the importance of marked *tegulae* from a chronological and economic point of view in the area, see Wilkes 1969: 398–9; Mardešić 2006. On commerce in general, see Wilkes 1969: 407–15.

existed in the Roman Empire. Narona was a good example of this, although we must bear in mind that the so-called *Augusteum* is just one of the many possible local examples of monuments that were constructed on public or private initiative, which have an official external appearance, were heterogeneous in form and also have underlying similarities by virtue of their content.⁶⁴

A variety of recent publications have been dedicated to this monument and its contents, signalling the early introduction of the Imperial cult as a key feature of the city, as was common in many other cities throughout the length and breadth of the Roman Empire.⁶⁵ Again, Marin has recently recognized and dated the beginnings of this cult,⁶⁶ linked to the *Augusteum*, which we know underwent changes during later reigns, and survived well into the Severan era as a place of worship until its apparent abandonment later on.⁶⁷ However, its social role as a unifying centre within a commercially based and relatively open society is still unclear. As well, we should address the role it could have played in connection with the *VIviri Augustales* or the M.M. We might assume, justifiably, that they participated in its construction, but we cannot truly know if their connection was subsequently retained, or whether subsequent alterations could have been theirs or not. The lists of names that are preserved on the lintels of what appears to have been the entablature of the portico on the forum also provide little evidence.⁶⁸ Typically these would have contained the names

⁶⁴ An unexhaustive approach to the question, with bibliography, in Mayer 1998; Witschel 1995; 2002; Gros 2015; La Rocca 2015; Scheid 2015. Also see Mayer 2007 and 2016c.

⁶⁵ On the numerous contributions, most worthy of note is Marin and Vickers 2004; see also Marin 2003 for an initial complete bibliography; Duplančić 2003 for a complete bibliography on the city. Also, Marin and Rodà 2004 and Marin and Liverani 2004 for reproductions of the content of the catalogue of the exhibition in various versions, either complete or with some additions. Finally, cf. Marin *et al.* 2007; 2007–8. Most recently see the studies collected in Zecchini 2015 and in Gros, Marin and Zink 2015, esp. Rodà and Marin.

⁶⁶ It deals with the commentary upon *ILJug* 107 in light of new fragments by Marin (2015: 184), who specifies: ‘Mais eu égard à notre sujet, il convient d’accorder une place particulière à l’inscription trouvée à proximité du temple, en l’honneur de l’empereur Auguste (pontifex maximus, muni de la tribunicia potestas), datée entre l’an 2 avant J.-C. et l’an 1 après J.-C. Cette inscription correspondrait à l’époque de la construction de l’Augusteum à Narona: d’ailleurs, la nature du marbre où elle est gravée correspond à celle du programme d’Auguste. L’introduction du culte impérial à Narona a donc été précoce, puisque nous pouvons ainsi la situer avec certitude dans le cours de la première décennie avant notre ère. La seconde impulsion au culte impérial devait ensuite être donnée, comme nous l’avons vu, après la mort d’Auguste, par Publius Cornelius Dolabella.’

⁶⁷ On the intervention during the reign of Vespasian, see note 14. On these kinds of intervention under Vespasian, see in general Deppmeyer 2008. On the monument to the Severans in the *Augusteum* of Narona, see Marin 1999 and Mayer 2004a. See also see the works cited in note 73.

⁶⁸ *ILJug* 1882 and *CIL* III, 8446 = *ILJug* 1883, also found in new documents in the process of being published; see Mayer 2004c: 237–9.

of freedmen, which as mentioned previously could perhaps be linked to the afore-mentioned corporations. However, this was not the case, as if it were it would have provided much more concrete evidence to support such a claim, based on its proximity to the *Augusteum* and the port area. Yet not all social aspects can relate exclusively to the ‘Imperial cult’. Other indicators may be seen in the dedications to divinities, most common of which would have been to Aesculapius and Mercury, which could have a certain logic in the environment of a commercial port. The results of work by Combet-Farnoux on the *Mercuriales* suggested that their presence could reflect the sacralization of the prosperity of business relationships, which supports the notion of the commercial status of Narona, if this association is truly to be associated with the abbreviation M.M.⁶⁹ Other evidence that may be relevant is the presence of the *collegia*. These were common in all cities but particularly so at port cities, most notably at Ostia,⁷⁰ even though much is still to be learned of their presence at Narona.⁷¹ The same may be said of the unique *collegium iuvenum*, *thiasus iuventutis*, of which we have record in the city.⁷² On the other hand, a more salient example may be reference to the *vigessima* in Narona, or much less likely the *vectigalia*,⁷³ which would show, in any case, the presence of officials for the collection of revenue. This is to be expected in a port environment with the entry and exit of traded goods, although not, of course, exclusively. An inscription dedicated to Pertinax may be seen as a sign of the ability of the town to receive information rapidly from the metropolis.⁷⁴ This is especially relevant if we consider that the fastest means of communication with the centre

⁶⁹ Combet-Farnoux 1981, and esp. 1980. A new recent interpretation in Bekavac and Miletić 2016 needs to be contrasted.

⁷⁰ Cf. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli and Zevi 2010: 253–79, with numerous examples.

⁷¹ A *collegium fabrorum* in *CIL* III, 1829 = *CIN* I, 23. Also of note is *ILJug* 1889, where a *sevir* receives funerary honours on behalf of the *collegium fabrum* of Narona. Also to be mentioned is *CIL* III, 1825 = *ILS* 7309, a tombstone on which the *sevir* Gaius Aconius Agathopus is named as a *convictor Concordiae* or, perhaps less likely, is honoured by the *convictores Concordiae*. Given that all the other known documentation on this corporation is in Patavium and its surroundings, this document may demonstrate to us the accessibility of Narona by sea routes. See Mayer 2010: 268–9. An undetermined *collegium*, perhaps the *Augustales*, in *CIL* III, 14624, 1 = *ILJug* 1866. On the *collegia* associated with navigation, see Tran (Chapter 4) and Rohde (Chapter 5) in this volume.

⁷² *CIL* III, 1828, see Wilkes 1969: 250, n. 2; Mayer 2004c: 237; 2010: 269 and fig. 13 on this inscription.

⁷³ *AE* 1998, 1025 indicates *detracta XX*, which corresponds to the presence of this type of administration. The *curatela* of the *vectigalia publica* is documented during the career of the consul Ducentius Geminus, *ILJug* 1879, and does not appear to be linked to Narona.

⁷⁴ *AE* 1912, 45 = *ILJug* 1873; Mayer 2005c, where he focuses on the inscription; Reddé 1986: 448; Cracco Ruggini 1994: esp. 14–15.

of the Italian Peninsula was by means of the Adriatic Sea, as it remains today.

In concluding what we have presented from an archaeological point of view, we must first return to the *Augusteum*, an exceptionally well-preserved building in the city that has recently been the subject of renewed scientific studies. The discovery of a *rostrum*, with its proposed association with Augustan monumentalization, is another element to consider, as is the chronological development of the city. So too is its walled circuit, even though this has been slightly overshadowed by the discovery of the spectacular *Augusteum*. The role of the port of Naronia in the conflicts between Caesar and Pompey, which involved both Marcus Antonius and Octavian, also remains to be clearly identified, but is a subject which will become progressively better known as we give further consideration to the navigation of Adriatic routes. The commercial importance of Naronia is not in doubt when the volume of cultural material that has been documented thus far is taken into account. The long survival of the city,⁷⁵ and even what we know of its early process of Christianization, is to some extent comparable to other coastal cities of Dalmatia.⁷⁶

Perhaps we might think back to our initial provocative title and the notion that everything can be adapted to the point of view from which a study is undertaken. Naronia has traditionally always been thought of as a point of Greek influence, as a military establishment or even as the temporary capital of Dalmatia, as was Carthago Nova in Hispania. However, what has not been taken into account or sufficiently emphasized is that the strategic importance of the city and its territory depended on its geographical location and its position as a point of convergence between river-, sea- and land-based transportation routes. The consequence was none other than its growing importance as a Greek *emporion* and later its rapid social evolution in the Roman period as a *colonia*, as a *caput conventus*, as a military and administrative centre and, naturally, as a port. To speak of an open society in the case of Naronia may come as no surprise, given that the rapid social promotion of its inhabitants seems to be recognized as fact on

⁷⁵ On the end of Naronia, studies have again centred fundamentally on the dates suggested by the *Augusteum*, thus recently Liverani 2007, a first version in 2004 and 2015, who reflects upon the fifth century AD; Porena 2015, suggesting a period between the middle of the fourth century and the second half of the fifth century; Mayer 2015: 37–41, suggesting some time in the second half of the fourth century. We must take into account the Christian survival and the discoveries of hoards dating to the Byzantine period down to the beginnings of the seventh century, cf. Marović 1988; 2006.

⁷⁶ On Christianity and the later periods of Naronia, see chapters 16–18 in Marin *et al.* 1999: 217–54. See also Mardešić and Šalov 2002: 105–63; 1999. See also note 4.

the basis of epigraphic evidence. We can now add to these characteristics the fact that, as in many other coastal cities, such developments are accelerated, or perhaps even accentuated, by the presence of an active port that ensured communication with the interior through a well-established network of channels, amongst which river and maritime routes are especially significant. Having accepted this fact, the characteristics of this city, open to the Adriatic Sea, can certainly be considered as being within the parameters by which an ancient port city would be defined. To such features, and Narona's role as a type of capital city with its need for broader connectivity, can be added a vital commercial trade that permeates multiple layers of the society. These features also encouraged renovation and a relatively constant social progression within the society by means of the economic and human resources of the city. As such, these characteristics could be considered a defining element of a port society, of which Narona is undoubtedly a prime example.

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13 | Municipal Authority, Central Authority and Euergetists at Work at the Port

Layers of Activity and Interplay at Ephesos

PASCAL ARNAUD

The administration and management of sea ports under the Roman Empire remain a puzzling mystery. In a fundamental paper, George Houston reached at least two essential conclusions. Both are worth quoting:

we are justified in concluding that necessary work in these ports – for example, building of and repair to breakwaters and docks, provision of storage facilities, and regulation of commercial activities – was ordinarily accomplished through a combination of imperial subvention, local administration, and private initiative.¹

And again,

We are, in fact, compelled to conclude that the ordinary administration of Italian ports outside of Ostia and Puteoli was left in the hands of local officials, and that there was, so far as we can tell, almost no interest in such ports on the part of the central administration during the early Empire: we find no hint, in the administrative record, either of imperial control or of imperial exploitation. It thus appears that, from the point of view of administrative history, Ostia and to a lesser degree Puteoli were anomalies.²

Houston had been led to these conclusions not by factual information, but rather by the absence of evidence. As far as ports were concerned, the kind of people whose presence usually leaves visible traces in publicly displayed inscriptions were simply missing in surviving evidence, and this was in itself a significant clue in support of the idea that there was no major interest of the central administration in Italian ports.

Nor has modern scholarship paid much attention to the administration of ports outside Italy, especially in the Greek East, where different habits in the display of public records may provide an index to the complex range of people involved in the life of the port, either as officials, as members of guilds or simply as individuals. Both the high number and the variety of inscriptions

found at Ephesos have made this city an exceptional case study for the examination of the society, administration and municipal life of an eastern Imperial city. But this city was not just any eastern city; it was also the capital of one of two consular provinces of the Empire, as well as one of the major ports of the Empire, making this case study more relevant for our purposes.

Geophysical and geo-archaeological surveys have made clearer – if not completely so – the evolution of the port-system of the city.³ Light has also been shone on its administrative organization and on the prosopography of many high-ranking individuals whose activities played a key role in the life of the city and its monuments.⁴ Unfortunately, the issue of the administrative status of the city – *civitas libera* or *civitas stipendiaria* – has found no convincing solution yet.⁵

This city thus provides us with a better picture of the people involved in the building, administration and maintenance of a port than any other. These include urban officials, Imperial agents, euergetists and the emperor and governors, amongst others.

1 The ‘Port of the People of Ephesos’: The Authority of the City over the Harbour

1.1 *Portus Ephesiorum*

In his recording of events likely to have taken place in AD 61 – surely slightly before AD 63⁶ – Tacitus (*Ann.* 16.23) calls the harbour of Ephesos ‘the harbour of the people of Ephesos’, *portus Ephesiorum*. This was already the name of the port of Ephesos by the time of Xenophon and it was retained throughout the history of the Roman Empire.⁷ The same use of the people of Ephesos characterizes the city wall between the agora and the port as a public work of the city – the people of the Ephesians – at its own expense (δημοσίαι κατασκε[υήι ὑπὸ τῶν] | Ἐφεσίων) in a decree of the proconsul Marcus Herennius Picens dated to c. AD 11⁸ and in Greek and

³ Stock, Pint and Horejs 2013; Steskal 2014.

⁴ Guerber 1995; Karwiese 1995; Koester 1995; Halfmann 2004; Kirbihler and Cusinius 2005; 2012; Kokkinia 2014; Arnaud and Asso 2015.

⁵ Guerber 1995.

⁶ According to the same passage of Tacitus, Barea Soranus was sued in AD 63, just after his return from his proconsulate of Asia. The events must therefore take place in AD 61 or 62.

⁷ Xenophon *Hellen.* 1.5.12; 1.5.15; Plutarch *Lysand.* 5.1; Joannes Cinnamus *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* 277, 19.

⁸ *IEph* 1521 = Curtius, *Hermes* 4, 1870, 194–6, no. 10 = Waddington, *Fastes* 84 = *GIBM* 521 = *Syll*³ 784 = Abbott & Johnson 39 = Sherk 71 = McCabe 226: Μάρκος Ἑρέννιος Πίκης ἀνθ[ύπατος λέγει]

Latin texts, all relating to the city as a political body and to its estates.⁹ This echoes the similar expression ὁ Μιλησίων λιμὴν¹⁰ and uses the ethnic epithet in the genitive to express the civic community in its fullest sense – the political civic entity – so also Μιλησίων πόλις, βουλή, δημός, ἀγόρα or ἀποικία. This is actually the most usual way of naming the city and its sphere of authority on inscriptions and coins, but it would be very unusual to characterize just a place name.¹¹ This way of naming harbours is very rare among Roman authors, who generally give the name of the place rather than that of the community it belonged to. In the aforementioned passage Tacitus, using the official name of the city, points out that the port was placed under the normal authority of Ephesos as a city, and insists on the fact that the governor who had ‘opened’ the harbour acted as a benefactor and euergetist with respect to the city of Ephesos. The hierarchical relationship between a city and its port usually remains implicit and is not made clear unless this port is located elsewhere and bears another name, but is placed under the authority of another city, which is the meaning of the word *epineion*.¹² As I will argue in another study, this way of naming *epineia* and some ports (when the port itself is named rather than the place) tends to indicate that the cities of the Greek East and Africa, and most, if not all, of the cities of the Empire, with the possible exception of Ostia, had full authority over their harbours under the Empire.

| ἀφανοῦς γεγενημένου τοῦ πα[ρατειχί]σ[μα]τος, ὅπερ δημοσίαι κατασκε[υή] ὑπὸ τῶν | Ἐφεσίων μεταξύ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κα[ὶ] τοῦ λιμέ[ν]ος γεγονέναι συνεφωνείτο, εἴ[τε] ἔν τινι | τῶν καιρῶν ἢ τοῦ πολέμου πε[ρ]ιστάσει εἴ[τε] διὰ τὴν τούτων ἀμέλιαν, οἱ τ[—]. ‘Marcus Herennius Picens says: Since the cross-wall that had been built, we are informed, at public expense by the People of the Ephesians between the agora and the port no longer exists, either by an effect of hazards or war, or because of the negligence of the People [—].’

⁹ Cicero *Tuscul.* 5.105: *de principe Ephesiorum Hermodoro*; Vitruvius *Arch.* 7.1: *agris Ephesiorum Cilbianis*; Vitruvius *Arch.* 7.9.4: *in Ephesiorum metallis*; Vitruvius *Arch.* 10.2.1: *cives Ephesiorum*; Pliny *Ep.* 6.31.3: *Ariston princeps Ephesiorum*; Strabo 12.2.10: τὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐμπόριον.

¹⁰ Plutarch *Caes.* 2.5: ἐκ τοῦ Μιλησίων λιμένος; Arrian *Anab.* 1.19.3: ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἐπέπλεον τῶν Μιλησίων; Arrian *Anab.* 1.19.8: τὸν λιμένα ἐφύλαττε τῶν Μιλησίων; Charit. *Cher. Chalirh.* 2.1.6: παριῶν δὲ τοὺς Μιλησίων λιμένας ἅπαντας καὶ τὰς τραπέζας καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὄλην; Charit. *Cher. Chalirh.* 4.1.5: καλοὶ δὲ Μιλησίων εἰσι λιμένες; Charit. *Cher. Chalirh.* 4.7.8: ἕως γὰρ τοὺς Μιλησίων λιμένας. See also Strabo 14.1.36: ὁ Συμρναίων κόλπος καὶ ἡ πόλις, *FHG IV*, 371 (= Athen. *Deipnos.* 8.62): ἐν τοῖς Ἐφεσίων ὄροις.

¹¹ Usual forms are the apposition (cf. Pliny *NH* 3.7: *portus Baesippo*; 3.34: *Citharista portus*; 3.59: *Caieta portus*, etc.), the genitive (cf. Cicero *2Verr.* 5.95: *Syracusarum portus*; *Liy.* 22.22.2 *portum Tarraconis*; 28.18.12: *Nouae Carthaginis portum*; 28.30.6: *ex portu Carteiaae*; Pliny *NH* 3.48: *portus Vadorum*, *portus Delphini*, etc.), or the adjective (cf. *Livy* 22.11.6: *portum Cosanum*; 23.33.4: *portus Brundisinum Tarentinumque*; Caesar *BC* 1.25.5: *Brundisini portus*, etc.).

¹² Lehmann-Hartleben 1923: 24; Rougé 1966: 107–10; Blackman 1982: 193.

Inscriptions from Ephesos confirm the existence of at least two levels of municipal authority over the harbour.

1.2 *The Jurisdictional Competence of the grammateus tou dèμου*

A well-known edict displayed by the proconsul L. Antonius Albus under the reign of Antoninus Pius (text and translation in Appendix 1), whose date of AD 147 or 161 has long been a *vexata quaestio*,¹³ prohibited the sawing of stone and the storage of timber on the piles at the port. This was clearly promulgated at the governor's behest. A recently uncovered inscription from Ephesos now dates this edict to the very last year of the reign of Antoninus Pius, or 161.¹⁴ Most interpretations of the text had stressed the governor's authority over the harbour, for the proconsul was giving 'orders' to local magistrates,¹⁵ until a recent study pointed out the conventional and rhetorical nature of the edict.¹⁶ For Guerber, this edict was a major argument in support of the idea that Ephesos was not a *civitas libera* but a *civitas stipendiaria*. However, he also emphasizes that at a preliminary stage the port was under the authority of the city: 'Il en va tout différemment lorsque le proconsul, prenant acte des carences de l'administration municipale décide de se substituer à elle.'¹⁷ He rightly pointed out that at some point the governor simply replaced the municipal administration on account of the latter's failure to address the problem. Lines 21–3 are essential for our purpose. They read as follows:

ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐπιθεμέ[νο]υ μου | οὐκ ἐ[γενε]το ἱκανὸς Μάρκελλος ὁ γραμματεὺς
ἐπισχεῖν ἄν ὡς τὴν θρασύτητα.

The main concern regards the translation of the words ἐπιθεμέ[νο]υ μου. Kokkinia translates them as 'Now, since I gave an order.'¹⁸ In this sense the governor would have given orders to the city from the start. The words of the proconsul are actually much more polite and fit well with the uncomfortable situation of a governor who had to interfere with the sphere of

¹³ SEG 19, 684 = AE 1967, 480 = IEPH 23 = McCabe 234. For the debate about dating Antonius' proconsulate, see Guerber 1995: 399, n. 37; Bowersock 1968; Eck 1971; Merkelbach 1977; 1978; Syme 1983. Translation of the edict in Kokkinia 2014. We shall discuss the few points where we disagree with this translation. On this edict, see also Engelmann 1978.

¹⁴ The recently published letter of Antonius Albus (Tauber 2015) now dates to 161 AD the earthquakes mentioned by Aelius Aristides in relationship to Albus' proconsulate (*Hieroi Logoi* 317.29–30: οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πικνοὶ σεισμοὶ γίνονται ἐπὶ Ἄλβου ἀρχοντος τῆς Ἀσίας). Bowersock (1968) had earlier listed all known earthquakes.

¹⁵ Hurler 2007; Kokkinia 2014. ¹⁶ Kokkinia 2014. ¹⁷ Guerber 1995: 399.

¹⁸ Kokkinia 2014.

a city's authority and impinge upon its autonomy, a problem that was particularly acute when the city was as prestigious as the 'Greatest metropolis of Asia', or indeed any free city.¹⁹ All the scholars who have paid attention to this text have pointed out the unusual severity of the edict as well as what they consider personal attacks against Marcellus, who was not only a senior official of the city, but also an Asiarch, and an outstanding figure at other cities within the province. Notwithstanding this apparent brutality, the text is not as tough as one might imagine. The translation is certainly not 'Now, since I gave an order.' The governor has avoided the verb *κελεύειν*. A similar opposition between the same genitive absolute *ἐπιθεμένων ὑμῶν* and a *κέλευσις* occurs in *POxyr* 33.2673 (AD 304). In this document, the word *ἐπιθεμένων* characterizes the municipal magistrates and *κέλευσις* a formal order given by 'the most illustrious *magister rei privatae*'. The verb 'order' would have been totally inappropriate with respect to the politeness and respectful behaviour usually paid by governors towards cities. The governor has not ordered the secretary of the People to do something. He has urged him, or kindly requested him, to do so. He then presents himself as an adviser of Marcellus, and places his action in the context of his normal role of advising Marcellus and the city over taking certain decisions. The whole passage may thus be translated as follows: 'considering that Marcellus, whom I had urged to put an end to that form of impudence, has proved himself unable to do so'. This translation seems much closer to the edict both in letter and in principle. Urging the *grammateus tou dè mou* to take measures in order to resolve the problem of the damages caused to the port was above all a reminder of the legal requirements for protecting public waters²⁰ and part of the governor's duties. It was in turn the *grammateus*' duty to transfer these requirements to his own area of competence, probably by means of an edict.

In any case, this text clearly states that the governor's edict took place only after the *grammateus tou dè mou* had himself displayed an edict to prohibit sawing stone and storing timber on the piles at the port, and that it had failed to achieve the expected results. For that reason only, the governor had decided to cross the red line and contravene the sacred city's autonomy. All of this is largely rhetorical.²¹ The *grammateus tou dè mou* is anything but the scribe some have imagined. As a magistrate, he was actually one of the most important officials of the city, the one who chaired the *ekklèsia* and who was also the representative of the city.²² As a person,

¹⁹ Reynolds 1982: nos. 14–15. The city is said not to belong to the *formula provinciae*, and was outside the area of competence of the governor.

²⁰ Engelmann 1978; Arnaud 2011. ²¹ Kokkinia 2014. ²² Arnaud and Asso 2015.

Claudius Marcellus was not a man of little weight and experience: Asiarch, and Roman citizen, he also headed the *ekklèsia* of Magnesia at roughly the same time that he was leading the assembly of the People at Ephesos.

The main point of this affair is that, whether under pressure from the proconsul or simply upon his advice, or because it was in the city's interest, the *grammateus tou dè mou* had first attempted to put an end to the damages and failed to reach the expected results, mainly because the fines were not dissuasive enough to resolve the problem. The institutional grounds of Marcellus' decision are less clear. Available evidence clearly shows that during the second century, the *grammateus tou dè mou* was still the eponymous representative of the city. As Chair of the assembly of the People, he would have prepared the agenda for its meetings and organized a vote on these issues. Did he have any executive power as well? The holder of his office used to have this in earlier periods in Asia. By the mid-second century BC at Metropolis,²³ for example, he would have been able to give orders to the magistrates. But was this still the case under the Empire? Most scholars consider – without any evidence – that it was not. This text, however, probably demonstrates that the *grammateus tou dè mou* still had executive power under Antoninus Pius.

It is likely that he had obtained a vote from the assembly of the People that forbade what the proconsul was now attempting to prohibit. But the kind of penalty the city could impose was limited to fines, and these proved themselves not dissuasive enough and for that reason ineffective. This explains why the proconsul makes the distinction between two penalties that were due. On the one hand we find the fines that were to be paid to the city, probably on behalf of the previous municipal regulation. This is probably the reason why the amount of the fine has been left blank. One may of course imagine that, as part of the edict, it was being re-evaluated and was still under discussion. Rather, it just referred to an amount that was the city's affair, not the governor's; the fines still were the concern of the city, while the criminal action was taken against those who acted in contravention against the edict on behalf of the emperor's authority. On the other hand we find more serious and deterrent punishments. In addition to contravening municipal regulation, liable to the city's tribunal, the governor's edict defined these acts as a crime against the emperor. For all these reasons this edict does not appear to be that different from the others issued by the proconsul at Ephesos or elsewhere: as has been noted, 'l'édit du proconsul ne valide pas le décret de la cité: il donne à l'application de ce

²³ AE 2003, 1679 = IK 63, 1.

décrot un caractère obligatoire qui lui permet d'être unanimement respecté'.²⁴ The edict simply gives the city's decision a force it did not have because the city's competence was legally limited to fines, which were not in themselves dissuasive enough to resolve the problem.

All the argumentation of the proconsul tends to make it clear that he would not have interfered in the city's affairs if the fate of the port affected the city alone (this the preamble clearly states). And actually, he had not. The city had full authority over its port, indeed, but only until the governor decided that the higher interest of the 'Universe' placed under the paternal authority of the emperor had been harmed, and considered that the city had proved itself unable or ill-equipped to resolve problems that were not simply of its own concern. The governor was acting justly to underwrite the decision of the city with the authority and power that could only be wielded by the repressive power of the state.

1.3 *Limenarchai*

Another three inscriptions from Ephesos confirm the authority of Ephesians over the 'port of the Ephesians'. These state that there existed in the city an office in charge of the harbour. Holders of this office would bear the title of limenarch, as was also the case in at least another five eastern cities. These cities were Thespieae in Beotia, Cyzicos in Asia, Rhodes, Arados in Syria and Kestros in Cilicia.²⁵ Limenarchs would likely be placed under the authority of higher civic officers. All three inscriptions from Ephesos are dated between the early years of Septimius Severus' reign²⁶ and the mid-Severan period;²⁷ they all mention the office among other offices

²⁴ Guerber (1995: 399) nevertheless thinks that this edict would be an exception to that common rule.

²⁵ Thespieae: *IG VII*, 1826 = Roesch *IThesp* 266; cf. also Roesch *IThesp* 84; Cyzicus: *IMT Kyz Prop. Küste* 1915 = *AM* 9 (1884), 18 3. Inschr; Rhodes: *SEG* 41, 660 = *Studi Emanuele Ciaceri* (1940), 256, III = *ASAA* 64/65 (1986/1987) 282, no. 18; Arados: *IGLSyr* 7, 4016²; Kestros: Bean and Mitford, *Journeys 1964–68*, 166, no. 176.

²⁶ *JÖAI* 55, 125, no. 4267 = *SEG* 34, 1093 = McCabe 1360: Γ(άιου) Μίνδιου Ἡγούμε-|νον φιλοσέβαστον, | δεκαπρωτεύσαντα, | ἔφηβαρχήσαντα ἐν|δόξως, λιμεναρχήσαν|τα, παιδονομήσαντα, νε|οποιήσαντα εὐσεβῶς | καὶ φιλοτείμως αὐθαίρετον, | πατέρα Μινδίας Στρατονείκη[ς] | Ἡγουμένης, ἀρχιερείας Ἀσίας | ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσω καὶ θεωρ[οῦ] | τῶν μεγάλων Ὀλυμπίων κα[ὶ] | Μινδίας Σωτηρίδος Ἀγριππείν[ης], | ιερείας τῆς κυρίας Ἀρτέμιδος, | [πάπ]πον ἱεροκῆρυκος | [— Ἡ]γουμ[—]. (Statue of) C. Mindius Hegumenus, devoted to the emperors. Dating: Kirbihler 2012: 95.

²⁷ *I Eph* 558.1 = Eichler, *AAWW* 103, 1966, 14, n. 9 = *BE* 1967: 513 = McCabe 1366 (Ephesos, after Caracalla). Inscribed weight: ἡμι|λειτ|ρον // Αὐρ(ηλίου) Στατιλ|ιανοῦ φιλο|σεβ(αστοῦ), παραφύ|λας, λιμεν|άρχης, ἀγορανόμου 'half-litra. Aurelius Statilianus, devoted to the emperors, currently being agoranomos, (he had previously been) paraphylax and limenarchēs'. The *gentilicium*

within a survey of an individual's civic career. This does not mean that the office had been created under Severus. It is more likely that mention of this function as well as other *archai* is an epigraphic custom used for dating the inscription.²⁸

It had once been thought that *limenarchai* were Imperial agents.²⁹ Much confusion has arisen from the polysemy of the word *limenarch*,³⁰ which had at least two – and maybe up to three – different meanings, as M.G. Raschke rightly pointed out almost 40 years ago in an almost forgotten note.³¹ Some, especially those mentioned in Egyptian papyri, were involved in gathering customs duties, called *limenes*, while others were civic officials in charge of ports, called *limenes* as well. For that reason, it is always uncertain whether a particular occurrence of the term refers to civic officials or to the homonymous holder of the right to collect *portoria*.

At Ephesos, the *cursus* to which this office belonged makes it clear that it was one of the local civic *archai*. They were therefore civic officers, not tax-farmers, but no intrinsic information about the nature of their duties is provided by this evidence. Scholars involved in the study of ports and port administration have hitherto taken no account of this layer of civic authority upon ports. A parallel with inscriptions mentioning the same office in other cities confirms that these officials were the civic officials in

Aurelius places this inscription probably after AD 212. He is likely to be the son of M. Aurelius Statilius Stratonikus (*IEph* 625), a prytanis, whose activity may have taken place under Caracalla, rather than under Elagabalus, as assumed in the commentary of *IEph* 558.1.

IEph 802 = McCabe 1778 (Ephesos, May ? 217): ----- | ἐπὶ τὸν [κύ]ριον [ή]μῶ[ν] | Αὐτοκράτορα | Μ. [Ἰ]οπέλλιον Σεουήρο[ν] | [Μ]αρκεῖνον Εὐσεβῆ Σεβατό[ν] | καὶ τὸν ἱερώτατον Καίσαρα | [Δ]ιαδομενιανόν, υἱὸν τοῦ | Σεβαστοῦ, | περὶ τῶν πρῶτειων καὶ τῶν λο[ι-]πῶν δικαίων καὶ νεικήσαντα, πρεσ[βεύ-]σαντα δὲ καὶ συνδικήσαντα ἐπὶ θεοῦ [Σε-]ουήρον καὶ Ἀντωνίνου εἰς τε τὴν βασιλ[ί]δα | Ῥώμην πλεονάκις, καὶ εἰς Βρετανίαν κα[ὶ] Γερ-]μανίαν τὴν ἄνω, καὶ γενόμενον καὶ μέχ[ρις] | τοῦ Γρανίου Ἀπόλλωνος διὰ τὴν πατρ[ί]δα | [κα]ὶ ἐν Σιρμίῳ καὶ ἐν Νεικομηδείᾳ | [κ]αὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, γενόμενον δε[ξ]ῆ | [κ]αὶ μέχρις Μεσοποταμίας πλεον[ά-]κις διὰ συνδικίας, καὶ πάντα κατο[ρ-]θώσαντα, στρατηγόν, παραφύ[λα]κα, δεκάπρωτον, λιμενάρχ[η]ν, | εἰρήναρχον μόνον γενόμενον | τῆς χώρας, συνδικήσαντα δὲ καὶ ὑπ[έρ] | [το]ῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνους κ[αὶ] | -----. '(The Council and the People? honor N) sent (for an embassy or as a *syndikos*) to our Lord the emperor M. Opellius Severus Macrinus, Pious, Augustus, and to the very sacred Caesar Diadumenian, son of Augustus, about the issue of the privileges and other rights, and successful in his mission. He has been sent for embassies or in defence (of the city) to the gods Severus and Antoninus, several times at the Palace, in Rome, and in Britain, and in Upper Germany – and he has been as far as (the temple of) Apollo Granius (as an ambassador) on behalf of his mother-city, and he has been at Sirmium, Nicomedia, and several times as far as Mesopotamia for the defence (of the city), stratege, paraphylax, decaprote, limenarch, sole irenarch for the territory of the city, and for the defence of Koinon of the people of Asia [...].'

²⁸ Kirbihler 2012. ²⁹ Rougé 1966: 210.

³⁰ E.g. Fabre 2004: 142; Dumitrache 2011: 56; Fuhrmann 2012: 34 and n. 43.

³¹ Raschke 1978: 778, n. 566. Despite this clever advice, the confusion remains in most recent works.

charge of the port. It also shows that this office was not an original feature of Ephesos.

The exact nature of this office is difficult to establish and will be the topic of a specific future paper. It is distinct from the function of *emporiarches*, who also occur at Ephesos and at a couple of other ports as well as in cities of the hinterland, and is thus not a term specific to ports *stricto sensu*.³² A passage of Paul³³ has led some scholars to interpret them as the chiefs of the port police. This is unlikely. In this text, *limenarchae* are mentioned together with *stationarii*, while civic officers are mentioned later. For that reason, the *limenarchae* mentioned by Paul are likely to have been tax-farmers. On the basis of other evidence we can infer that they had authority over the port as an estate and probably controlled to some extent movements of ships and goods; one may imagine that they were also involved in gathering harbour taxes due to the city (*ellimenion*).³⁴ The reason the function is so rarely quoted by inscriptions is probably to be explained by the idiosyncracies of epigraphic habit.³⁵ About AD 300, Arcadius Charisius lists *limenarchae* among the *munera civilia personalia*, together with other services that can all be characterized by the spending of public money.³⁶ The *limenarchai* thus introduce us to the ill-defined and confusing issue of

³² Ephesos: *JÖAI* 55, 143–4, no. 4371; *SEG* 34, 1107 = McCabe 1886; other ports: Nicaea/Iznik (*IK Iznik* 1071); Byzantium (*IK Byzantion* 3 = *CIG* 2060 = *IosPE* I² 79); Side (*Side Kitabeleri* 127); hinterland: Prusias ad Hypium (*IK Prusias ad Hypium* 29); Apameia Kibotos (*JGR* I, 796); Aphrodisias (*SEG* XLV, 1995, 1505 = *AE* 1995, 1523). Other *emporiarchai* are known on the Lower Danube (*IGBulg* II 695 and III, 2 1690).

³³ Digest 11.4.4: = Paul Sent. 1.6a 3–4: *limenarchae et stationarii fugitivos deprehensos recte in custodiam retinent. Magistratus municipales ad officium praesidis provinciae vel proconsulis comprehensos fugitivos recte transmittunt.* ‘*Limenarchae* and police-officers, if any fugitive slaves are apprehended, do well to keep them in custody. Municipal magistrates, on arrest of such slaves, send them on securely to the office of the governor of the province or the proconsul.’

³⁴ Vélissaropoulos 1980: 207–11; Chankowski 2007: 313–19; Gabrielsen 2013: 339–41. The question of the exact nature of *ellimenion* is still open. At Kaunos, under Hadrian, the *ellimenion* is a tax gathered also on goods entering the city by land (Marek, *IKaunos* 35, II. 6–8 and A 10–11: τὸ ἐλλιμένιον τῶν ἐξαγομένων πάντων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν).

³⁵ See Chapter 2 of this volume and Horsterm 2001.

³⁶ Digest 50.4.18.10 = Arcadius Charisius *De muneribus civilibus*: Hi quoque, qui custodes aedium vel archeotae, vel logographi, vel tabularii, vel xenoparochi (ut in quibusdam civitatibus) vel limenarchae vel curatores ad extruenda vel reficienda aedificia publica sive palatia sive naualia vel mansiones destinantur, si tamen pecuniam publicam in operis fabricam erogent, et qui faciendis vel reficiendis navibus, ubi usus exigit, praeponuntur, muneribus personalibus adstringuntur. ‘Also those who are appointed as guards of (public) buildings, or *archeotae* or *logographi*, or keepers of public archive, or *xenoparochi* (as in some cities), *limenarchae*, or curators in charge of building or restoring public buildings, palaces, naval infrastructure or post-houses, even if they are spending public money for the purpose of the work’s achievement; and also those in charge of building or restoring ships, where it is the use to impose it, are holding *munera personalia*.’

the *munera civilia*, or compulsory public municipal services. In some periods and at some cities, some of these could have been considered as *honores* that were generally not worth mentioning.³⁷ Indeed, it is in precisely this vein that Plutarch describes the value and benefits that accrue to those who administer ports.³⁸

The question as to whether any city had a similar authority over its port or whether it was just the privilege of those cities that had been granted freedom is an essential one for our understanding of the administration of Roman ports. We have seen that the case of Ephesos is still unresolved: any claim to a solution lacks incontrovertible proof, and clues marshalled hitherto could support both hypotheses in equal measure. The list of documented limenarchs nevertheless likely provides us with the answer to the first question: Thespieae, Cyzicus and Rhodes were free cities and, thus, independent of the governor's decision. But, as far as we know, Arados was not; nor was Kestros. We can therefore reasonably infer that any port city may have had similar officials devoted to the management of its port. This idea is supported by the total lack of evidence relating to state officials acting in ports on behalf of the central state.³⁹ It is also supported by the collective liability of cities in the movements of ships from their port in the later Roman Empire.⁴⁰ As a result, the existence of limenarchs in Ephesos unfortunately does not make the status of the city any clearer, but it probably does shed light on the institutional role of cities in maritime trade.⁴¹

³⁷ See Chapter 2 of this volume; also Lewis 1963; 1968; Neesen 1981; Horstkotte 1996.

³⁸ Plutarch *An seni respublica gerenda sit* 794a (19): ἔστι δ' ὄπου καὶ τὸ φιλόνηκον καὶ παράβολον ὥραν ἔχει τινὰ καὶ χάριν ἐπιπρέπουσαν τοῖς τηλικούτοις ὁ πρεσβύτης δ' ἀνὴρ ἐν πολιτείᾳ διακονικὰς λειτουργίας ὑπομένων, οἷα τελῶν πράξεις καὶ λιμένων ἐπιμελείας καὶ ἀγορᾶς, ἔτι δὲ πρεσβείας καὶ ἀποδημίας πρὸς ἡγεμόνας καὶ δυνάστας ὑποτρέχων, ἐν αἷς ἀναγκαῖον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ σεμνὸν ἔνεστιν ἀλλὰ θεραπεία καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οἰκτρὸν, ὧ φίλε, φαίνεται καὶ ἄζηλον, ἑτέροις δ' ἴσως καὶ ἐπαχθεὲς φαίνεται καὶ φορτικόν. 'But the old man in public life who undertakes subordinate services, such as collecting taxes and the supervision of ports and that of the market-place, and who moreover works his way into embassies and trips abroad to visit the emperors and rulers, in which there is nothing indispensable or dignified, but which are merely services and seek of gratitude, seems to me, my friend, a pitiable and unenviable object, and to some people, perhaps, a burdensome and vulgar one' (trans. Goodwin 1874).

³⁹ Cf. Arnaud 2016.

⁴⁰ *CTh*.13.5.34: Idem AA. Faustino praefecto praetorio. Post alia: iudices, qui in portibus dioeceseos suae onusta navigia, cum prosperior flatus invitat, sub praetextu hiemis inmorari permiserint, una cum municipibus et corporatis eiusdem loci fortunarum propriarum feriantur dispendiis. Navicularii praeterea poenam deportationis excipiant, si aliquid fraudis eos admisisse fuerit revelatum. Dat. xviii kal. Sept. Ravennae Varane v. c. cons. (15 August 410).

⁴¹ Arnaud 2016.

2 Roman Representatives and Local Administration

Various agents of the Imperial power were also active in the sphere of the city.

2.1 *Governors and Emperors*

Although there is no doubt that the city of Ephesos had full authority over its harbour, there are also traces of direct interference by the central power in the running of the harbour, as was explained earlier. There was a long-lasting tradition of interventionism by the Roman governor in local affairs at Ephesos, but in general this was to ensure greater efficiency in the making of municipal decisions.⁴² It is no surprise that the governor intervened when the city apparently thought of rebuilding the city wall between the agora and the port in AD 11.⁴³ Fortifications were not only the city's concern, but also the emperor's. The main piece of evidence is, again, the decree of Antonius Albus, whose tonality and concerns are quite unusual. Kokkinia has clearly pointed out that this text had to be understood as a very conventional exercise in rhetoric intended to illustrate the closeness of the relationship between the governor, the emperor and the city.⁴⁴ As noted above, modern scholarship knows how respectful the governors used to be to the cities' prerogatives, and this edict is not the arrogant act that some have thought it was.

The intervention of the governor is presented not as a personal decision, but as the expression of the continuing interest of the emperor himself in the protection of the port of Ephesos. The reasons for this interest are unclear, but are probably to be found in the fact that, before he became emperor, Antoninus Pius had been proconsul of Asia. During his mandate he developed a particular relationship with the capital of the province, which is fully expressed by the way in which the emperor is celebrated at Ephesos as 'Saviour and founder'. As a proconsul, he had also enacted a number of edicts.⁴⁵ When Antonius Albus replaces his own edict in a long series of edicts of Antoninus Pius, it is therefore impossible to determine whether these were edicts of the proconsul T. Aurelius Fulvius Bionius Arrius Antoninus or of the emperor Antoninus Pius, who were of course one and the same person. These edicts clearly expressed the benevolence of

⁴² Guerber 1995: 339. ⁴³ *IEph* 1521. ⁴⁴ Kokkinia 2014.

⁴⁵ Digest 48.3.6.1 = Marcianus *II de iudiciis publicis*, quoting an edict of Antoninus Pius, then *proconsul Asiae*.

the emperor towards the city, rather than simply his authority. It was also a reminder that Ephesos was part of a world empire and that, because it was also a major port, it could have an impact upon the rest of the Universe. An edict quoted by Maecianus indicates that Antoninus Pius would call himself ‘Lord of the Universe’.⁴⁶

The chronology of the earthquakes⁴⁷ that struck Ephesos and other cities in Asia Minor now places a significant event under the proconsulate of L. Antonius Albus. This could explain the particular attention paid to the efficiency of the port. But the small lapse of time left before the news of Antoninus Pius’ death on 7 March 161 reached Ephesos, and the lack of any mention of the earthquake in the edict, does not allow any convincing connection to be drawn between the earthquake and the edict. The governor’s edict acts rather as a warrant of Roman law: it has been noted that a sentence in the last part of his edict is the exact translation of a passage of the *edictum perpetuum*. Ports, as indeed any public water, were protected by law, and nothing could be done that would prejudice navigation, mooring and berthing.⁴⁸ The governor was therefore competent to enforce legal requirements on public waters throughout his province. Only the extreme nature of the penalty imposed by the governor is unusual.

As was argued above, the tone of the edict is milder than is usually considered. L. Antonius Albus had his origin in the province of Asia, and this probably ensured that he had an even closer relationship with Ephesos than would otherwise have been the case. Also there is little likelihood that Antoninus Pius, whose relationship with Ephesos was particularly good, would have sent a hostile proconsul to the city.⁴⁹ The competence of the city is a point developed in many passages of the edict, where the governor demonstrates that he is not challenging its authority. Nor does he blame Marcellus: he just indicates that the measures that he has taken have not been sufficient to resolve the problem. On the contrary, the governor stages his own *epimeleia* and technical evaluation of the risks in order to support the city.

The first lines of the edict balance the importance of the harbour to the city against its importance to the whole ‘Universe’. As long as the port was the city’s affair, there would be no reason why the proconsul should interfere with the city’s authority. But when the Universe’s interests were compromised, then the emperor, or ‘Lord of the Universe’, could not stay

⁴⁶ Digest 14.2.9 = Maecianus *ex lege Rhodia*: (. . .) Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦ κόσμου κύριος, ὁ δὲ νόμος τῆς θαλάσσης . . . ‘I am the Lord of the Universe, but the Law is that of the Sea.’

⁴⁷ Bowersock 1968; Taeuber 2015. ⁴⁸ Engelmann 1978; Arnaud 2012.

⁴⁹ Halfmann 1977: no. 58.

out of the game. In a first step the governor let the city manage the affair. His complex rhetoric affirms on the one hand the autonomy of the metropolis of Asia and, on the other, the absolute superiority of the emperor on behalf of the supreme interest of the Universe, a view that recognized the emperor's and governor's understanding of, and dominance over, nature. It was ultimately the duty of the emperor and his representative to protect not just a single city, but the Universe as a whole, responsibilities that defined the limits of civic autonomy. Naturally, in the perfect world of harmony overseen by the emperor, the interest of the Universe and the city were one and the same, and the governor's edict simply reinforced an earlier municipal decision.

The governor also acted as an adviser to the city in which he was stationed, and clearly expresses the awareness of his own cleverness with respect to a local institution. He is thus fulfilling the role assigned to him by the emperor and echoes a certain idea of the superiority of Rome and its élites over the rest of humankind. This is a common rhetorical apparatus among governors: Pliny the Younger presents himself and his actions in a very similar way.⁵⁰ It is also interesting to see how, although acting on behalf of the emperor, the governor was enhancing his own image too. He had already been a consul, but the *clientelae* of Ephesos were not secondary to the rest of his career. The personal relationship between a governor and a city could be a dangerous one. At that point, the balance between the personal image of the governor and the service of the emperor could be imperilled with dangerous results, as is shown by the example of Barea Soranus who was sued under Nero.⁵¹ The way in which he expressed his dredging of the harbour was considered to have been an offence against the emperor, and his act of undertaking it, together with other things he had done during his proconsulate, was considered to go beyond the limits of what his *mandata* allowed him to do without taking the advice of the emperor. We shall see below how difficult it was for the city to reward another proconsul for his activity at the port. The behaviour of the proconsul was such a problem that, under the Severans, normative texts had framed the relationships between the proconsul, the cities – especially Ephesos – and their families.⁵² The

⁵⁰ *Ep.* 10.38; 10.39; 10.40; 10.41.

⁵¹ Tacitus *Ann.* 16.23: At Baream Soranum iam sibi Ostorius Sabinus eques Romanus poposcerat reum ex proconsulatu Asiae, in quo offensiones principis auxit iustitia atque industria, et quia portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumperat vimque civitatis Pergamenaе prohibentis Acratum, Caesaris libertum, statuas et picturas evehere inultam omiserat.

⁵² Digest 1.16.4 = Ulpian libro primo de officio proconsulis.

boundary between the duties of the proconsul and his acts as an euergetist was a narrow and dangerous one.

2.2 Customs Administration

It is usually assumed that the people in charge of customs were hated.⁵³ Even Imperial decrees sometimes treat the *publicani* as lawless people. This is the reason Nero ordered that all copies of the extant customs regulations of Asia and Lycia should be displayed in customs-houses.⁵⁴ Some texts are more cautious and make a distinction between the publicans of higher degree and their employees, called ‘factions’, and said to be the evil ones.⁵⁵ No tax-farmer or *telônês* has so far been attested in the epigraphy of Ephesos, and this confirms their poor social profile.

The impression provided by the epigraphy of Ephesos is that of a more civilized image of the relationship between the *promagistri Quadragesimae Asiae* and the city and port of Ephesos. As representatives of the central state and members of the Imperial élite, they had another kind of relationship to the city. Sustainable links could be built between the young *promagistri* and the city: thus under Commodus the city honoured a certain Marcus Aurelius Mindius Mattidianus Pollio, once *promagister Quadragesimae Asiae*, now *procurator vicesimae hereditatis* and a high-ranking *ducenarius* or knight, and now on the threshold of the great *praefecturae*. We see how just before he became a *ducenarius*, that man, now out of office, was a Higher Priest at Ephesos and organized five days of games for the Great Ephesiaca at his own expense, providing them with wild beasts from Africa.⁵⁶ It seems that these young knights were greatly concerned with their good relationship with a mighty city. Under Trajan, we find the bilingual dedication of statues of Daidalos and Ikaros to Artemis Ephesia, Trajan and the People of Ephesos by Aulus A[. . .]cius Crispinus.⁵⁷ The *promagister* was likely to be close to the local gentry, who included knights and senators, and gentry involved in trade.

At a lower level, we shall see below the importance of the customs-house of the fishermen to the social life of the city.⁵⁸ It is unfortunately unclear whether this building related to municipal or state taxes, although the latter is more likely to have been the case.⁵⁹ The base of a statue of Isis mentions

⁵³ Van Nijf 2008. ⁵⁴ Tacitus *Ann.* 13.51; Takmer 2007; Cottier *et al.* 2008.

⁵⁵ Digest 39.4.12 = Ulpian 38 *ad ed.*: pr. Quantae audaciae, quantae temeritatis sint publicanorum factiones, nemo est qui nesciat.

⁵⁶ *IvE* 627 = McCabe 1141; *IvE* 3056 = McCabe 1142. ⁵⁷ *IvE* 517 = McCabe 761.

⁵⁸ *IvE* 20 = McCabe 267. ⁵⁹ Lytle 2012; Arnaud 2016: 139–41.

a dedication to ‘those who have their business’ at that customs-house. These were clearly not the personnel who ran the building, but the fishermen and fishmongers who met and had their business there.⁶⁰

2.3 Praetorians

An inscription records that there was a *statio* of the Praetorian Guard at Ephesos.⁶¹ The same VIIth cohort also had a *statio* at Smyrna.⁶² This was part of a normal arrangement to control ports or roads.⁶³ In Africa, a similar detachment of praetorians watched over the *ripa Uticensis* in the first century AD, and there was probably another one from the same cohort at Thaenae (or Thysdrus) under the Severans.⁶⁴ Others were located at Rusicade in Numidia under Claudius II⁶⁵ and a *beneficiarius* of the proconsul was active at Byblus.⁶⁶ These suggest that there was a direct connection between these *stationes* and port activity. Other praetorian *stationarii* are attested in Asia. According to Christol and Drew-Bear, they controlled boarding and were involved in the *cursus*

⁶⁰ *I Eph* 1503 = McCabe 788*5: [Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐφεσία] | καὶ Αὐ[τοκράτορι Τ(ίτω) Αἰλί]ω | Ἀδριανῶ Ἄντωνείνω | Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ Εὐσεβεῖ |⁵ καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ | μητροπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας | καὶ δις νεωκόρου (*sic*) τῶν Σεβαστῶν | Ἐφεσίων πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ | τὸ τελώνιον τῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς |¹⁰ πραγματευομένοις | Κομινία Ἰουνία | σὺν τῶ βωμῶ τὴν Εἶσιν | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν· | πρυτανεύοντο[ς Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυδίου] Δ]ημ[οσ]τ[ρ]άτ[ου].

⁶¹ *CIL* III, 6085 = *CIL* III, 7135 = *CIL* III, 7136 = *D* 2051 = *IK* 16, 2319, Ephesos: Dis Manibus // T(ito) Valerio T(iti) f(ilio) Secundo militis(!) coh/ortis VII / praetoriae centuriae Severi // T(itus) Valerius T(iti) f(ilius) Secundus miles / cohortis VII praetoriae cen/turiae Severi domo Liguriaie / militavit annis VIII stati/onarius Ephesi vixit / annos XXVI menses VI.

⁶² *IK* 23, 382, Bayrakli / Smyrna: D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Maximinus / mil(es) c(o)ho(rtis) VII pr(aetoriae) [(centuria)] Se/cundini stat(ionarius) Zmyr(nae) Iu/liae Marcell(a)e co(n)iuge (!) / bene merenti memo/ria fecit.

⁶³ Lucernoni 2001.

⁶⁴ *CIL* VIII, 25438 = *D* 9072 = *ILTun* 1198 = *AntAfr* 8.1, 279 = *AE* 1899, 1 = *AE* 1991, 1668, Techga / Tachegga / Thisica: D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Tufienius Speratus / mil(es) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) stationa/rius ripae Uticensis / vix(it) ann(is) XXXV militavit / annis XV // O(ssa) t(ibi) b(ene) q(uiescant) // T(erra) t(ibi) l(evis) s(it). Dated second half of the first century on the ground of the formular (DMS already abridged, OTBQ and TTLS still in use); a soldier of the same cohort is documented at Thaenae, a port of the Lesser Syrtis, and was probably in charge of the local *statio* (*IL Afr* 34, Thina / Tina / Thaenae [or Thysdrus]: D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Olus Cosinius for/tis mil(es) cohort(is) VI / praet(oriae) Piae Vindicis / Severianae praepo/[situs stationis?], under the Severans.

⁶⁵ *ILAlg* II.1, 8 = *D* 9073 = *AE* 190915, Skikda / Ras Skikda / Philippeville / Rusicade: Iovi Optim[o] / Maximo / votum ret(t)uli / Genio Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) / M(arci) Aureli Claud[i] / Invicti Pii Felic(is) Aug(usti) / Aelius Dubitatus / mil(es) coh(ortis) VIII pra [et(oriae)] / [(centuria) Etrii annis VIII] / [g]lessi stationem Ven(eria) / [R]usic(ade) salvis et f[el] ici[b(us)] / [comm]anipulis fac(iendum) [cur(avi)].

⁶⁶ *ZPE* 212, 2019 (Jubayl / Byblus): I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano) / Aufidius C(ai) f(ilius) / Verus b(ene)f(iciarius) Lae/liani co(n)s(ularis) / Beryten/sis statio/.

publicus.⁶⁷ They have astutely pointed out that these praetorian *stationarii* are so far known from harbours alone, and not only in Asia, but also in Africa and Numidia, mainly in the consular provinces.⁶⁸ Inscriptions which mention similar *stationarii* of the *statio* at Lychnidum, along the Via Egnatia in the province of Macedonia, record that they were involved in gathering something that may have been grain.⁶⁹ At Syllectum (second century?)⁷⁰ and Perinthus (Severan or later),⁷¹ there is possible evidence for similar *stationarii* from the *cohors urbana* XIII and *leg. II adiutrix*, while a soldier from the XIIIth Urban Cohort was *agens supra ripam Hippone Regio* and died during the first century at Hippo.⁷²

At this point we can return to the above-quoted passage,⁷³ which indicates that they were controlling people and had the power to arrest them. These were probably the individuals in charge of controlling ships leaving the harbour. Their likely elevated social status is suggested by the activity of one of them as an euergetist at Maionana in Asia.⁷⁴ They may also be responsible for ensuring the legality of the cargoes.

2.4 Navy

Some scholars consider that *vexillationes* of several fleets are likely to have been present at Ephesos on a permanent basis,⁷⁵ even though the evidence to support this assertion is minimal. Strabo reports the existence of ship-sheds, of uncertain date.⁷⁶ A *scriba classis Misenensis* who had been sent on a mission to Ephesos died there and was buried ‘near the camp (*castra*)’ at

⁶⁷ Christol and Drew-Bear 2001; Hermann 1962; *AE* 1964, 231; *TAM* V.1, 419.

⁶⁸ Nelis-Clément 2000: 50 n. 180.

⁶⁹ *CIL* IX, 1602 = *AE* 1998, 380: Benevento / Beneventum: D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Aeli Aeternalis [mil(itis)] / coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae) [(centuria) Victor[i(?)] / Nat(alis) stat(ionarii) provinc(iae) M[ace]/doniae Lychnidum [frum(entum)] / percepit VIII in itin(ere) [ann(ona?)] / functi / Antonius Veturius [3] / heres hom(ini) opt(imo) b(ene) m(erenti) [f(ecit)].

⁷⁰ *CIL* VIII, 11107 = *D* 2123, Salakta / Sillakta / Sullectum: Dis Man(ibus) sac(rum) / C(aio) Tanusio Luppo / militi cohortis XIII / urbanae stationis / I[--].

⁷¹ *CIL* III, 7396 = Perinthus 76, Marmaraeregli / Perinthus: D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Marcellus miles leg(ionis) I / Adiutri(cis) coh(ortis) VI st(ationarius?) v(ixit) ann(os) / XXX militavit ann(os) VI Ael(ius) / Iustinus et Aur(elius) Taurus et / Sep(timius) Sabinianus heredes pos/uerunt bene merenti m(onumentum) ex(ternum) [h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)].

⁷² *CIL* VIII, 5230 and 17402 = *ILAlg* 30: D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / M(arcus) Ciarcius Pu/dens, mi/les coho(r)tis XIII Vr(bana) / (centuria) Silani, agens su/pr(a) ripa(m) H[i]/ppone Re[g](io). Ara / posita ex test(amenti) / iusso, cura(m) / agente Mer/curio liber/to. H(ic) s(itus). For *stationarii* in general, see Petracchia Lucernoni 2000.

⁷³ *Digest* 11.4.4: = Paul *Sent.* 1.6a 3–4. ⁷⁴ *AE* 1964, 231; *TAM* V.1, 419.

⁷⁵ Reddé 1986: 234–5. ⁷⁶ Strabo 14.1.24.

Misenum, where the inscription was found; a trierarch and a carpenter from the fleet of Seleucia are also recorded at the port.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, this evidence is too limited to support the idea that there was a permanent naval task force at Ephesos.

3 Euergetists

Under the Roman Empire, euergetism was a means for the monumental development and everyday life of ancient cities, and had its own rules in terms of amounts, objects and circumstances. Tiberius Claudius Aristio and his wife built for his city of Ephesos a 38 km aqueduct, a monumental fountain and two *nymphaea*. The total cost of this operation is unfortunately unknown, but it is likely to have reached several million *sestertii*. As a result, considering this gift over-sized, some of his fellow citizens sued him, although he was eventually acquitted.⁷⁸ The gift had to fit with the benefactor's civic and social position and legibility. If this were the emperor, then there was no limit. For anyone else, it was essential to respect unwritten limits and, above everything, not to challenge the emperor. It was apparently the emperor's privilege to offer the construction of ports to a community.⁷⁹

3.1 *The Emperor and His Agents*

For complex reasons, emperors were often involved in port building as euergetists. Because the emperors were 'Lords of the Universe' and 'saviours', it was their duty to act in this way, but in offering a port to a city, emperors were basically granting marks of personal affection (*eunoia*) and honour (*timai*) to that city where it was built. Cassius Dio⁸⁰ thus lists the ports and aqueducts offered by Hadrian, together with monuments, gifts in cash or grain supply, as various *timai* or marks of honour given to cities.

After a fever of building during the reign of Trajan, Ephesos under Hadrian seemed unable to confront alone the issue of the sediments washed down by the river Kaystros. For an unknown reason, Hadrian

⁷⁷ Cf. note 38. ⁷⁸ Pliny *Ep.* 6.31.3; Halfmann 2004: 88–91.

⁷⁹ For a general discussion, see Arnaud 2015: esp. 67–71.

⁸⁰ Cassius Dio 69.5.3 (= Xiph. 244, 1–245, 6 R. St., Exc. Val. 294 [p. 713], Suidas s.v. Ἀδριανός): πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ καὶ εἶδεν αὐτῶν, ὅσας οὐδεὶς ἄλλος αὐτοκράτωρ, πάσαις δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐπεκούρησε, ταῖς μὲν ὕδωρ ταῖς δὲ λιμένας σῖτόν τε καὶ ἔργα καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς ἄλλαις ἄλλας διδούς.

had a very bad relationship with the city. During his voyage in AD 124, he clearly decided to humiliate Ephesos. Although it was the capital of the province, it was now ranked only third in terms of the Imperial neocorates, behind the hated Pergamon and Smyrna. While the emperor spent 10 million *denarii* in favour of Smyrna, his passage through Ephesos has left no trace. In the year AD 120 he had ordered the city to build a small tributary of the river Kaystros at its own expense.⁸¹ This may well have been the beginning of works that were later celebrated as the emperor's. During his second voyage to Ephesos in AD 129, the emperor was less rude towards the city, perhaps given the size of the problem and its probable broader impact. He seized this opportunity to 'divert the river Kaystros, which was disabling [βλάπτειν]⁸² the ports' and 'made the port navigable'.⁸³ It is interesting that, even then, he did not simply offer a sum or a particular monument, but made offerings to the goddess Artemis and supplied grain to the city. As a reward, he is honoured as 'founder and saviour' of the city, rather than as a benefactor. He had not embellished the city, but nor had he granted it a second Imperial neocorate: he had just saved it.

Amongst the reasons, all of which related to the management of his proconsulate, was why Marcius Barea Soranus – the uncle of Marcia, the emperor Trajan's mother – was sued by Nero and eventually committed suicide. Tacitus mentions the fact that the proconsul had 'opened' the port of the Ephesians, whose mouth and/or channel was silted up.⁸⁴ The suing of Barea Soranus probably formed part of the wave of repression directed against Rubellius Plautus and his relatives.⁸⁵ The pretext was that Soranus rendered an award in favour of Pergamon in a case against a freedman of the emperor and that he had 'opened the port of Ephesos'. As usual, Tacitus' words deform technical expressions in order to give the reader the impression that there was nothing objectionable in the behaviour of the innocent victim of the tyrant, especially when this was the great-uncle of the *optimus princeps* Trajan. The expression *curam insumperat*, literally

⁸¹ For more details, see Halfmann 2004: 98–9. Gifts to Smyrna: Philostratus *VSoph.* 531; channelling the Mantheitès river: *JÖAI* 62, 1993 (Hauptbl.), 122/3, no. 12 = *Suppl.Ephesium* 329*1 = *AE* 1993, 1472.

⁸² The same verb βλάπτειν is used to characterize the deposit of sediments in the agora: *JÖAI* 62, 1993, 123/4, no. 13 = *Suppl.Ephesium* 439.2.

⁸³ *I Eph* 274, l. 12 sq.: (. . .) σειτοπομπή[ας δὲ] | ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου παρέχοντα καὶ τοὺς λιμένας | πο [ιήσαν]τα πλωτοῦς, ἀποστρέψαντά τε | καὶ τὸν βλά[πτοντα τοὺς] λιμένας ποταμὸν | Κάϋστρον διὰ τὸ [- - -]. 'and he has sent corn from Egypt and made the ports navigable, and has even diverted the river Kaystros that caused damage to the ports'.

⁸⁴ Tacitus, *Ann.* 16.23: et quia portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumperat; 'and because he had bestowed pains on opening the port of the People of Ephesos'.

⁸⁵ Tacitus *Ann.* 16, 30.

‘had bestowed pains’, is close to *curam agere*, and suggests that he had personally performed the work, but on behalf of the emperor. Yet Tacitus does not say *curam egerat* ‘had been in charge of’ opening the port. When the governor of Lycia built the lighthouse at Patara,⁸⁶ ‘for the salvation of those who sail’, this was explicitly undertaken on behalf of the emperor Nero, who bears the title ‘Emperor of the Land and of the Sea’ ([αὐτῶκρ] ἄτω[ρ γ]ῆς | καὶ θαλάσσης). This event took place exactly at the time when Barea Soranus was being sued. Unlike the governor of Lycia, Barea Soranus probably had not asked for the emperor’s permission before undertaking this, and since he had probably been celebrated by the city as its saviour and benefactor, he had in effect challenged the emperor.

This intervention probably consisted of dredging the canal or its mouth. A later inscription commemorates the similar intervention of the proconsul Valerius Festus, who is said to have ‘made the port of Croesus larger’. This operation took place under the reign of Elagabalus (16 May AD 218 to 11 March AD 222). The location of this port at Ephesos is unclear, as is the exact nature of the work undertaken. The ‘port of Croesus’ could refer to any of the recorded ports of Ephesos. It recalls the siege of the early city by King Croesus and is likely to be a pedantic name for the inner port. The phraseology of this encomiastic text is the reason for this lack of clarity. It clearly and probably consciously echoes the previous inscription dedicated to Hadrian after he had diverted the Kaystros river and dredged (‘made navigable’) the ports. Both this context and the existence of a simultaneous dredging of only one port, made explicit by another inscription,⁸⁷ suggest that Valerius Festus had dredged the harbour with the contribution of local euergetists. This inscription sheds some light on the case of Barea Soranus. The proconsul Valerius Festus has been honoured as ‘saviour’ and ‘founder of many buildings’ by the people of Ephesos. The title of ‘saviour and founder’ was granted to two emperors only, namely Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, both of whom were known for their concern for the harbour. For the security of Valerius Festus, even a long time after Elagabalus’ death, the elements of this title appear separately, and *ktistès* applies no longer to the city itself but only to a number of buildings. Furthermore, his activity as a benefactor is placed under the higher patronage of the dead emperor called ‘hero’ – but not god – and thus enjoying only a partial rehabilitation. Even years after these events, and the death of a hated emperor, celebrating his proconsul’s achievements, especially regarding the port, was still a sensitive topic. Dredging ports as well as

⁸⁶ İşkan-Işik, Eck and Engelmann 2008; Jones 2008. ⁸⁷ *IvE* 3071 = *PHI* 1156.

building ports was ‘royal work’, ἔργον δὲ μέγα ἢ βασιλείον, according to the words of Josephus.⁸⁸ Palaeography has suggested a date of about AD 250 or shortly afterwards, but the statue is likely to have been erected and the inscription cut under the reign of Gordian III, when Severus Alexander was eventually consecrated and the memory of Elagabalus partially restored. By that stage, honouring an old man like Festus – if he was still alive – for a work done some twenty years or more before could not hurt the emperor.

3.2 Local Euergetists and Civic Subscriptions

Notwithstanding the fact that it was hardly conceivable for a single person to fund the building or the maintenance of the port, the evidence gathered from Ephesos illustrates the sustainable activity of local euergetists. For several reasons, larger infrastructure works, especially but not only those involving the port and the associated infrastructure, were within the city’s area of competence, and were funded through public subscriptions rather than by a single person. We know that at Smyrna the port had been built by a public subscription. Although the list of subscribers is unfortunately lost to us, the title of the inscription leaves us in no doubt about the origin of the funds used for building the harbour (εἰς τὴν τοῦ λιμένος | κατασκ [εὐήν]).⁸⁹

The words used in this inscription shed some light on several inscriptions from Ephesos which mention the term κατασκευή of the port in connection with sums that are clearly too low to be interpreted as the total cost for building the port. For that reason it may be tempting to translate the word κατασκευή as ‘embellishment’, but this is not the meaning of the word in several hundreds of occurrences. Similarly, the inscription from Smyrna seems to mean the full realization of a public work. It can apply to statues, inscriptions, vases, weights and measures or whole monuments. The same word is used at Ephesos in the late Augustan decree of the proconsul Marcus Herennius Picens⁹⁰ to characterize the construction of the city wall segment between the agora and the port, as part of the public works of the city, and it is also used to record the full reconstruction of the

⁸⁸ *Ant. Iud.* 19.205; Arnaud 2014: 167–71.

⁸⁹ *ISmyrna* no. 696, p. 191 (Petzl 1987): Ἡ νεωκόρος | Σμυρναίων πόλις | τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν | ὑπεσχημένων | καὶ συνεισενεκάντων | εἰς τὴν τοῦ λιμένος | κατασκ[εὐήν-----]. ‘The neocore city of the Smyrnaeans (displays) the names of the subscribers who brought money for building the harbour [-----].’ The first neocorate has been granted by Tiberius (Tacitus *Ann.* 3.63; 4.56), the second one by Hadrian (cf. Chapot 1967: 452).

⁹⁰ *IEph* 1521: (. . .) τοῦ π[ρα]τειχίσ[μα]τος, ὅπερ δημοσίαι κατασκε[υή] ὑπὸ τῶν | Ἐφεσίων μεταξύ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κα[ὶ] τοῦ λιμέ[ν]ος γεγενῆσθαι συνεφωνεῖτο.

square agora under Domitian after its destruction.⁹¹ It appears again together with the related verb (κατασκευάσαντες) in connection with the construction of the customs-house of the fishermen under Nero.⁹²

If κατασκευή of the port meant ‘building the port’, then should we consider that the small amounts mentioned relate to contributions to public subscriptions for building the harbour, or contributions to the total cost of a public work? This idea is supported by the fact that these inscriptions use the formula ‘have given *n denarii* for the building’, used in cases of public subscriptions as early as the late Hellenistic period.⁹³

It seems that a large building operation took place at the port of Ephesos under Trajan. At least two euergetists paid for ‘building’ the harbour under this emperor. C. Licinius Maximus Iulianus paid 2,500 *denarii*.⁹⁴ This sum is modest, but was only part of this euergetist’s gifts to the city of the Ephesians. It was paid out during the benefactor’s tenure of the office of prytanis in AD 105, but these 2,500 *denarii* came in addition to the 10,000 *denarii* he had received for the organization of the processions, and that he had actually used to create a perpetual foundation in order to fund the activities at the gymnasium while he paid for the processions at his own expense. In other words, he had personally spent 12,500 *denarii* on the city, of which only 2,500 were expended upon building of the port. A certain T. Flavius Montanus spent the much higher sum of 75,000 *denarii* for the building of the port.⁹⁵ The benefactor is well known. He was an outsider of

⁹¹ *IvE* 3005 = McCabe 272. ⁹² *IvE* 20.

⁹³ Cf. *IG* II² 2334: οἷδε ἐπέδωκαν εἰς τὴν | κατασκευὴν τοῦ θεά[τρου].

⁹⁴ *IEph* 3066 = McCabe 1342 (slightly after AD 105): ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἐτέμμησαν | Γ(άιον) Λικίνιον Μενάνδρου υἱὸν | Σεργία Μάξιμον Ἰουλιανὸν |⁹⁵ φιλοσέβαστον τὸν πρύτανιν | καὶ ἱερέα Ῥώμης καὶ Ποπλίου Σερ-|ουειλίου Ἰσαυρικοῦ, ἀνδρα λαμπρόν | καὶ φιλοτιμῶς γυμνασιαρχήσαντα, | νεοποιήσαντα, στρατηγήσαντα, πρεσ-|¹⁰ βεύσαντα πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν καὶ ἐν ταῖς | λοιπαῖς δὲ τῆς πατρίδος χρεῖαις εὐχρηστ[ον] | γεγονότα, δόντα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεωρι[ῶν] | τῆς πρυτανείας * μ(ύρια) εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον γυ[μνα]-|σιαρχίαν καὶ ἐν τῇ πρυτανείᾳ εἰς τὴν τ[οῦ] |¹⁵ λιμένος κατασκευὴν * ,βφ', δόντα δὲ κ[αί] | εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ καινοῦ γυμνα[σί]-|ου, ἐστίασαντα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς πρυτανείας | χρόνῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς νεοποιείας τοῦς | πολεῖτας κληρωὶ κατὰ φυλὴν καὶ διὰ |²⁰ τοῦ υἱοῦ Μενάνδρου γυμνασιαρχή-|σαντα καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα καὶ | πρεσβεύσαντα. The same person is honoured in *IEph* 1385. Cf. also *IEph* 1022.

⁹⁵ *IEph* 2061.II + Add. pp. 21–2 = McCabe 1455: ἡ βουλὴ | καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἐτέμμησαν | Τ(ίτον) Φλάου |ιον Μοντᾶνον | δις ἑπαρχὸν τεχνειτ[ῶν], |⁵ ἀρχιερ[ε]ὰ Ἀσίας ναοῦ τ[οῦ] | [ἐ]ν Ἐφέσω κοινῶς τῆς Ἀσίας, σεβασ-|τ[ο]φάντην καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ | [βί]ου, τελειώσαντα τὸ [θ]έατρον | [κα]ὶ κα[θ]ιερ[ω]ώσαντα ἐν τῇ [ἀ]ρχιεροσύνη |¹⁰ δ[όν]τα καὶ μ[ονο]μαχίας καὶ κυνήγια, | κα[τ]αθένητα κ[αί] τοῖς πολ[έ]ταις τὸ [ἀ]ριστ[ο]ν [ἐ]κ[ά]στῳ δην(άρια) γ', [τῆ] τε β[ο]υ[λ]ῆ | καὶ τῆ γερουσία πληρώσαντα τὰ δίκαια | πάντα, ἀριθμήσαντα καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ |¹⁵ [λιμέ]νος κατασκευὴν μυριάδα[ς] ἑπτά | [ῆ]μισυ καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα ἀγῶνα | κοινῶν τῆς Ἀ[σί]ας ἐπιφανῶς | Λ(ούκιος) Οὐε[ί]βιος Λέ[ι]ν[τ]ρυ[λο]ς, ἐπίτροπος Αὐτοκρά[το]ρος Νέρο[υ]ς Τραιαν[οῦ] Καίσαρος |²⁰ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ | [ἀ]πὸ τῶν λόγων, ἐκ προσόδων δη-|[μοσ]ία δελ[τ]ικῆ διαθήκη λελεμ[ε]ν[ω]ν ὑπ' αὐτ[οῦ]. The same person is honoured in *IEph* 2062 + Add. pp. 21–2 = McCabe 1456; *IEph* 2063 + Add. pp. 21–2 = McCabe 1457.

high degree and had his origin at Alcmoneia in Phrygia.⁹⁶ He had been a *praefectus fabrum* twice and was therefore of equestrian rank. He had also been very active in building parts of the theatre, as many others had also been. The inscription dedicated to him by the city that mentions the sum he had paid for building the port is on the latest of the three statues erected to him at the theatre, the construction of which he is recorded as having completed. This inscription belongs to a pair of statues that L. Vibius Lentulus, an equestrian *procurator Augusti a rationibus*, and T. Flavius Montanus had dedicated to each other. The theatre was not only devoted to spectacle and festivals in honour of Artemis; it was also the seat of the Assembly of the People and, thus, a key place in the city. This man introduces us to the small circle of the families of Asiarchs, who were linked to each other. His sister was probably married to another Asiarch from Kibyra.⁹⁷ The inscription dates to some time between AD 102 (Trajan *Dacicus*) and AD 114 (not yet *Optimus*). The occasion of this funding is not explicit, and is unlikely to have been on the occasion of a magistracy or associated with an identifiable honour. C. Licinius Maximus Iulianus in AD 105 and T. Flavius Montanus at roughly the same time are likely to have brought money to the same operation of port building.

Given the words used in these inscriptions, it is probable that the sums given by these two individuals represent contributions to the same public work. But they do not make it clear whether this was totally or partially funded through a public subscription, like the one for the port at Smyrna between the reign of Tiberius and AD 124, or that for the customs-office of the fishermen at Ephesos.⁹⁸ Rather than considering that the individuals made two distinct interventions named ‘building the port’, we should imagine them both contributing money to the construction of the port by the city.

This interpretation is confirmed by a third, fragmentary inscription that refers to the building of the port, not because the author of the inscription says he had paid for the port, but as a dating element or circumstantial information for some work realized by the persons mentioned in the inscription.⁹⁹ This had been made by two (or more) benefactors ‘when the

⁹⁶ *IGR* IV, 643 = 1696; *MAMA* VI List 149, 164; Halfmann 2001: 63–4. ⁹⁷ Kearsley 2005.

⁹⁸ *IvE* 20 = *PHI* 267.

⁹⁹ *Ieph* 1391 = McCabe 122: ¹ πόλεως ἐπιφαν[εστατ—]μην ἀδιαλείπτως [— ὑπη]ρσειας εὐσεβοῦν [τες — εἰς τὰς τῶν ἡγε]-[μόνων ὑπαντήσεις [—] | ⁵ δεξιούμενοι μὲν εὐφ. [—] | δὲ κοσμοῦντες ἔν τε τοῖς ο[— καὶ] | ταῖς ἱεραῖς προόδοις τοῦ ἀρχιερέας? — τῆς] | Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν στεφ[άνων — φιλοτι]-[μουμένουσ ἀνδρας τῆς [— καλλίστης] | ¹⁰ ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιούντες κα[—] | ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ἔνγιστα [— νῦν δὲ κατασκευ]-[αζομένου τοῦ λιμένος εἰ[—] | εὐχρηστῖαν αὐτοκέλευ[στοι —] | καὶ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ δαπάνη[α —] | ¹⁵ ἑαυτῶν ἱκανὸν .c.4. [—] | δὲ τῶν οὐτῶσ ἀγαθῶ[ν ἀνδρῶν —] | μο. [—].

port was being built' ([κατασκευ] | αζομένου τοῦ λιμένος). This inscription was found in Trajan's Nymphaeum. It probably forms part of the group of texts found there that celebrate the gifts made to the city by T. Claudius Aristio and his wife Claudia Laterane, as we have seen above; for this, he was sued in AD 106–7.¹⁰⁰ It is then likely that the great enterprise of Aristio took place during the completion of the harbour, a development that occurred in AD 105. This may well be a second harbour, built in addition to the older inner harbour, for in AD 129 an inscription mentions several ports¹⁰¹ for the first time.

Together with the inscription at Smyrna, and another from Istros¹⁰² in Pontus where a Higher Priest and Pontarch, whose name has later been erased, is said to have been what would be in Latin the *curator operis* of building the port (προνοησάμενον δὲ [καί] τῆς κατασκευῆς τ[οῦ λι]μένος),¹⁰³ this document indicates that cities were building their ports and shows that the work was funded through a mixture of public funding, individual contributions and compulsory offices, as with other public works. This sense of a combined funding source is captured perfectly by a local dignitary from Ephesos who is said to 'have managed the highest public works of his home-city, had brought money through public subscriptions or by his own will for these public works' (ἐπιστάντα ἔργοις | τῆς πατρίδος τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν καὶ |¹⁵ συντελέσαντα καὶ παραδόντα).

This statement is but a summary of this man's activity. The same inscription also records that he brought money for dredging the port. It refers to ἐπινεικία that would have taken place under Severus Alexander or Maximinus Thrax, according to the editors of the text. The onomastic formula of the benefactor's son, mentioned in the same text, was still expressed in classical terms, while the other people involved in dedicating this statue are all Aurelii and named using the new formula of *duo nomina*. The inscription is undoubtedly later than AD 212, but would not be too much later than this. Among other things, it records that a certain M. Aurelius [-], father of the knight M. Aurelius Artemidorus

¹⁰⁰ Scherrer 1997. ¹⁰¹ *IvE* 274 = *PHI* 1007.

¹⁰² *IScM* I 178 Istros-Histria, second century AD ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. | ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος τ[όν] | ἀρχιερῆα καὶ ποντάρχην | [— — — — —] ἐν [πολ]λοῖς διαδειξάμενον τ[ὴν] | περὶ τῆν πατρίδα εὐνο[ίαν], | προνοησάμενον δὲ [καί] | τῆς κατασκευῆς τ[οῦ λι]μένος καὶ λογιστε[ύσαν] | τα μετὰ πάσης πίστεω[ς] | δημοσία τῆ ἀναστάσει | τοῦ | ἀνδριάντος ἡμείψατ[ος]. (The same text is provided by *IScM* I 179.)

¹⁰³ For a parallel in the same area, cf. *IGBulg* V 5636 = *SEG* 32, 672 = *SEG* 42, 641.1, Augusta Traiana (AD 144), ll. 15 sq. προνοήσαντος τῆς κα[τασκευ]ῆς Ναρκίσσου Ζήνων[ος]. Other parallels occur within the Aegean in Roman times. The formula seems to translate the Latin *curam agente*.

Metrodorianus, had given 20,000 *denarii* for dredging the port on the occasion of becoming a Higher Priest (δόντα καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης εἰς τὴν ἀνακάθαρσιν τοῦ λιμένος δηναρίων μυριάδας δύο).¹⁰⁴ So far this text is our only explicit mention of dredging operations and of their cost. Here again, the words used suggest that this was a contribution to a public work, whose full amount was necessarily higher than that of the contribution. This public operation of dredging the harbour is probably the same as the one initiated and led by the proconsul Valerius Festus under Elagabalus. The sum of 20,000 *denarii* is just customary at Ephesus for a Higher Priest.¹⁰⁵ This system of contributions allowed donors to support public works that had been decided upon by the city with customary amounts that were appropriate to the position they had reached, but were definitely too large to fit with the moral rules of euergetism.

A public subscription is mentioned in a long inscription found ‘im Bereich des Hafens von Ephesos’.¹⁰⁶ This lists the subscribers who pooled money for building (κατασκευάσαν|τες) the τελωνῖον τῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς, or customs-house for fishery tolls. After a vote by the city, the fishermen and fishmongers received the site, upon which they then built their customs-house. Contributions were made in kind (columns, pavement, bricks, tiles) or in cash, and are presented in decreasing order of importance. The largest contributions are in kind, four columns; the smallest preserved in the inscription are expressed in monetary terms, and their amount is 5 *denarii*.

The main points of interest in this inscription are the details that it provides about small euergetists, whose legibility is usually very limited in epigraphy; the role played by the customs-house as a place of sociability and commercial activity; and the importance of fishing in the life and society of a major port city. The text clearly identifies three groups of donors, generally entire families. The most generous are Roman citizens

¹⁰⁴ *I Eph* 3071 = McCabe 1156 (between AD 212 and 233): [— ζυγῶν ἀποτόμων] | [τρι]ακον[τ] αενὸς δι’ ὄλων [τ]ῶν ἡμερῶν, [ἀποσφάξαντος καὶ ζῶα λιβυκά, | πρῶτον γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου | καὶ βούλαρχον ἔνδοξον] ⁵ [καὶ] γυμνασίαρχον πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων, | [δ]όντα διανομίας καὶ πάση τῇ πόλει, | [κ]αὶ στρατηγὸν πρῶτον, δόντα ἐν τῷ | καιρῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ἰς παράδειμον | [ἐ]λαΐου * (δηναρία) ,ε, καὶ εἰρήναρχον μόνον, καὶ | ¹⁰ [τ]ρις ἀγνοθέτην, δόντα καὶ ἐν τῷ | καιρῷ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης εἰς τὴν ἀνακάθαρσιν τοῦ λιμένος δηναρίων | μυριάδας δύο, καὶ ἐπιστάντα ἔργοις | τῆς πατριδος τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν καὶ | ¹⁵ συντελέσαντα καὶ παραδόντα, | πατέρα Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μητροδω-|ριανοῦ ἱππικοῦ φιλοσεβ(άστου) πρυτάνεως | καὶ γυμνασιάρχου πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων | καὶ ἀγνοθέτου καὶ εἰσαγωγέως τῶν | ²⁰ μεγάλων ἐπινεικίων, ἐν τε τῷ καιρῷ | τῆς πρυτανείας στρώσαντος τὴν ἀπὸ | τοῦ πρυτανείου κάθοδον ἕως τῆς ἐνβάσεως τῆς πλατείας· | προνοησαμένων τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδρι-|άντος Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εὐφῆμου καὶ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εὐγενίου | ²⁵ [γραμματέων – τοῦ ἰ]ε[ρωτᾶ]τ[ο]υ μισ[θω]τηρίου.]

¹⁰⁵ Arnaud 2015.

¹⁰⁶ *I Eph* 20 = McCabe 267. See Horsley 1989; 1992 (with translation, pp. 127–9); and Lytle 2012.

who offered the most prominent architectural elements up to a value of 50 *denarii*. Then, down at the level of 5 *denarii*, peregrines and Roman citizens are almost equal in number. At 5 *denarii* and below we find a majority of Roman citizens. The only civic officer is a *paraphylax* who donated 1,000 bricks, and is listed between 25 and 20 *denarii*. This probably allows us to place this compulsory office at a rather low level in the hierarchy of offices. No limenarch is mentioned in this inscription.

The small world of the customs-house makes it a place for business. This is indicated by the dedicatory inscription of a statue of Isis, which together with the altar was probably placed in a shrine within the *teloneion*. The text of the dedication states that it was made during the reign of Hadrian to Ephesian Artemis, the emperor, to the city of Ephesos, and ‘to those who have their business at the customs-house of the fishery toll’ (τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον τῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς πραγματευομένοις),¹⁰⁷ which means to say that the fishermen and fishmongers who are mentioned in the preamble of the list of contributors of *IvE* 20 met at the customs-house, where the fish auction probably took place. It also shows that the small world of fishermen was not a society of cockneys. It also involved a larger middle class, which is rarely visible in the epigraphic evidence.

The scope of the activity at the *teloneion* is usually considered to have been local, but this point of view has been challenged convincingly by Ephraïm Lytle, who believes that it is the Imperial *telonieon*. Whatever its role, this text leads us to reconsider the role of customs-houses in the social life of Roman ports.

Outsiders from other port cities could be active as benefactors in the sphere of monuments relating to the economic activity of the port. Such is the case of a certain Hesychius of Alexandria, who refitted the portico of what was probably a public bank of a kind that was often involved in bottomry loans.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ *I Eph* 1503 = McCabe 788*5: [Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐφεσίᾳ] | καὶ Αὐ[τοκράτορι Τ(ίτω) Αἰλίου] | Ἀδριανῶ Ἄντωνείῳ | Κασορί Σεβαστῶ Εὐσεβεῖ | ⁵ καὶ τῆ πρώτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ | μητροπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας | καὶ δις νεωκόρου (*sic*) τῶν Σεβαστῶν | Ἐφεσίῳ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ | τὸ τελώνιον τῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς | ¹⁰ πραγματευομένοις | Κομινία Ιουνία | σὺν τῶ βωμῶ τὴν Εἶσιν | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν· | πρυτανεύοντο[ς Τιβερίου] Κλαυδίου Δ]ημ[οσ]τ[ρ]άτ[ου].

¹⁰⁸ *I Eph* 3065 = McCabe 1201 (first century AD): ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἐτείμησεν | Ἦσυχον Ἦσυχου τοῦ | Ἀθηναίου Ἀλεξαν- | ⁵ δρέως υἱόν, | ὑποσχόμενον ἀντι | ἔλαιο[θεσί]ας λευκάνας | τὰ λευκ[ώμασ]τ | α τῆς τραπε- | ζειτικ[ῆς] στ]οᾶς καὶ σκου- | ¹⁰ τλώσα[ι τοὺς] τοίχους | σκούτ[λη] ραντῆ καὶ | κανκέλλους καὶ συμψέλια | ποιῆσαι εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Παυλεῖ- | νου ἐξέδραν· ἃ καὶ ποιήσας | ¹⁵ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀποκατέστησεν | γραμματεῦντος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου | Ὁ Ἐρμιά Ο. ‘(. . .) instead of the oil supply, he offered the stucco at the bank’s portico and made a revestment of veined marble on the walls and made the *cancellae* and the *subsellia* at the exedra of Paulinus’.

4 Private Harbours? The Maritime Villas of T. Flavius Damianus and Related Ports

According to Philostratus, T. Flavius Damianus, a wealthy sophist of late Antonine Ephesos, created ports for merchantmen. The exact meaning of the text is, once again, unclear, because of the rhetoric developed by this encomiastic text. Damianus was a personal relative of Philostratus, and the quoted passage was intended to illustrate the sophist's personal wealth by following on from his description of Damianus' activity as a euergetist. Philostratus distinguishes three categories of estates: land, maritime estates (probably villas) and suburban villas. He describes the way in which the land was planted with fruit trees, indicating that it was therefore used for its owner's leisure rather than as a major source of income, which would have been the case if it had been used as a farm; in terms of the maritime estates, the author focuses on port infrastructure in order to illustrate the extensiveness of this infrastructure. In terms of the suburban villas, he pays attention to architecture, just to underline once again that these villas were not farms.

As for maritime infrastructure, the text says only that there were artificial islands and sheltered harbours, and that they afforded protection to ingoing and outgoing ships. The word *προχώσεις* is usually translated 'moles'. This is highly unlikely. If so, then Philostratus' text would be the only occurrence of this meaning, since the normal word for a mole or jetty was *χώμα*. *Πρόχωσις* is a rare word, which always means the sand banks created by rivers at their mouths and projecting thence into the sea or, in one case, a sandy cape similar in its aspect to these formations.¹⁰⁹ It is precisely characterizing the sandy formations that were formed by the Kaystros river and projected into the sea and appear in Strabo's description of the port of Ephesos, which balances the hand-made *χώμα* of the port with the *προχώσεις* made by the river.¹¹⁰

There is little doubt that Damianus' harbours were natural ones, protected by dunes or accumulations of river sediments (*προχώσεις*), and that islands had only been built at their entrance in order to divide ingoing from

¹⁰⁹ Strabo 1.3.18; 4.1.8; Plutarch *Facie in orbe lunae* 941 b; Dion. Byz. *Anapl. Bosp.* 23; 97; Eust. *Comm. in Dion. Per.* 775; Suid. sv *Χλιδος*, 342.; vide also *Papyr. Michael.* 4, col. 1, l. 18. Sandy cape at Actium: Aelius Aristides *Isthm.* (21.34).

¹¹⁰ Strabo 14.1.24 (description of the inner port of Ephesos): οἰηθεις γαρ οὔτος βαθύν τὸν εἰσπλουv ὀλκάσι μεγάλας ἔσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν λιμένα τεναγώδη ὄντα πρότερον διὰ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Καῦστρου προχώσεις, ἐὰν παραβληθῆ ἡχώμα τῷ στόματι πλατεῖ τελέως ὄντι, ἐκέλευσε γενέσθαι τὸ ἡχώμα.

outgoing traffic, as was the case in a number of ports. I therefore suggest the following translation of Philostratus' text:

the wealth of Damianus was also displayed in what I shall now describe. In the first place all the land that he had acquired was planted with trees, both to bear fruit and to give abundant shade. As for his estates by the sea-shore, there were artificial islands, and harbours protected by sand promontories providing safe anchorage to merchantmen when they put in or set sail; then his suburban villas were in some cases built like town houses, while others were more like grottoes.¹¹¹

The image that Philostratus was trying to create was that the ports associated with Damianus' maritime villas were as big as public ones and that they would be open to cargo vessels. This may have been often the case for villas. At the Torre Astura in Italy,¹¹² or at Seneymes-Les Laurons, between Marseille and Fos, maritime villas and the ports that protected the buildings from waves and swell were used by merchantmen too who would call in there. There was also a sense of euergetism in providing these shelters. The symbolic message of their architecture probably relied upon the association of palace and harbour, as at Alexandria, Portus or Fréjus, and in using the port as landscape, as is portrayed in wall paintings.

The mention of ingoing and outgoing ships may well refer to the role of artificial or natural islands that would separate streams of traffic and prevent collisions, as is often recorded in iconographic representations. It may also refer to the particular situation of the ports of Ephesos. Ingoing ships could not directly enter the narrow channel leading to the inner port. They had to stop before the entrance of the channel in sheltered areas. As prevailing winds blow from west to north-west, outgoing vessels would face contrary winds and call in at convenient places, in order to wait for more favourable conditions to leave the bay. For these reasons there was a need for complementary ports within the bay of Ephesos.

However, the main point is that the ports mentioned in this text were apparently private ones. Otherwise their description would make no sense. I have already had the opportunity to point out the existence of private ports.¹¹³ Although the sea (and therefore the harbour basins of a port) was by nature public, any infrastructure could be private, as could the ports associated with it.

¹¹¹ *Vit. Soph.* 2.23.606: πλοῦτου δὲ ἐπίδειξιν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ κάκεῖνα εἶχεν· πρῶτα μὲν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα, ὁπόσῃν ἐκέκτητο, ἐκπεφυτευμένη δένδροισι καρπίμοις τε καὶ εὐσκίοις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ νῆσοι χειροποίητοι καὶ λιμένων προχώσεις βεβαιοῦσαι τοὺς ὄρμους καταιρούσας τε καὶ ἀφιεῖσας ὀλκάσιν, οἰκία τε ἐν προαστείῳ αἰ μὲν κατεσκευασμένα τὸν ἐν ἄστει τρόπον, αἰ δὲ ἀντρώδεις.

¹¹² Felici 2006 (Astura); Leveau 2002 (Seneymes-Les Laurons). ¹¹³ Arnaud 2014.

This is made explicit by the legal constraint for the *dominus* (owner) to declare his ports for the evaluation of the census. In the *forma censualis*, ports belong to the same category of estates as *lacus piscatorii* (lakes exploited for fishing). Ports were therefore to be declared not because they were private estates (unexploited water surfaces were excluded from the *census*), but because they were a source of income. These elements allow us to look again at sites like Torre Astura or at Seneymes-Les Laurons, where villas and ports would be closely associated and were probably under the *dominium* of the same owner. Private ports are therefore to be considered as a full part of the port-system and, on the grounds of this text by Philostratus, some ports of significant size, like the one at Astura, associated with what appear to be villas, may be interpreted as probable private ports. Merchant vessels could access these ports, and their presence was a source of revenue for the owner.

The case of Ephesos then brings to light a third level of intervention in port infrastructure: private enterprise. The extraordinary evidence gathered from Ephesos not only confirms the intuition of George Houston, but also provides us with an entirely new perspective on the life and administration of an eastern port under the Roman Empire. First, it reveals the continued importance of cities in maritime trade,¹¹⁴ even in terms of their autonomy. This generated an interesting interplay between Imperial and local administration in a subtle game that required a significant amount of tact from all the performers, where the emperor and the governors are in turn rulers and benefactors. It also reveals the hidden face of funding ports with a mixture of municipal public funds and euergetism, including the emperor's, when the city was unable to face this expense or when the emperor wanted to demonstrate a particular affection towards a certain city. When, under Hadrian, it appeared that remedying the issue of the Kaystros river was beyond the city's resources, either because there was not enough money left after the expenditure lavished on building the port in AD 105, or just because the city did not have the technical capacity to manage such works as diverting the river, the emperor did the work, and this was his duty. Last but not least, the evidence shows the importance of private estates in port-systems.

5 Conclusion

This complex interplay of respect, pride, prestige, self-presentation, susceptibility, tact and authoritarianism is after all nothing but the normal way

¹¹⁴ Arnaud 2016.

of life of Imperial cities, and it is no surprise to find it when one looks at matters relating to ports, since these were the city's concern. There are enough parallels to suggest that the situation of the port at Ephesos was not an exception. The only reason for the relative lack of evidence is to be sought and found in the conventional unwritten rules that framed the display of inscriptions, especially when the offices were not the prestigious magistracies, but the less attractive and glorious *liturgieiai* or *munera*. Glory and honour were the filters that conditioned the contents of epigraphy.

The case of Ephesos as a collection of port-related inscriptions is unique in the Roman world. There are several reasons for this. Ephesos was a first-rank port and the capital of two consular senatorial provinces. However, this was also the case for Carthage. Ephesos does not lie under a modern city and has bequeathed us an exceptional corpus of several thousand inscriptions. It also had to confront a number of specific port-related issues, mainly silting, that help explain why there is so much evidence relating to port infrastructure building and maintenance. Analysing the society of Ephesos as a *port society* would require another chapter, and there would probably be striking parallels with the society of Lugdunum (Lyon).

Yet as a case study Ephesos may have a special paradigmatic value, for it illustrates not only models that find parallels in the Greek East, but also the significance of epigraphic practice in governing whether or not certain offices or practices were recorded at specific periods. The shedding of light upon unsuspected aspects of port administration and management on account of local epigraphic custom is not limited to the Greek East. It highlights what probably happened in areas where the epigraphic habit was not accustomed to record these offices or achievements, something relevant to the Latin West as well.

APPENDIX

Decree of the Proconsul L. Antonius Albus

SEG 19.684 = AE 1967, 480 = *IEph* 23 = McCabe 234 (AD 147): [Ἀγαθῆ] · Τύχη· | Λ. Ἀντώνιος Ἄλβος ἀνθύπατος | λέγει· | Εἰ τ[ῆ] μεγίσ]τη μῆτροπόλει τῆς | ⁵ Ἀσίας [καὶ] μόνον οὐχὶ καὶ τῶ κόσ|μῳ [ἀναγκ]αῖόν ἐστιν τὸν ἀποδεχό|μενον τοὺς πανταχ[όθ]εν εἰς αὐ|τὴν καταγομένους λιμέν<α> μὴ | ἐνποδιζεσθαι, μαθῶν τίνα τρόπον | ¹⁰ βλάπτ[ου]σι, ἀναγκᾶιον ἡγησάμην | διατάγ[μ]ατι καὶ κῶλυσαι καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀπει|θούτων τ[ῆ]ν προσήκουσαν ζημίαν ὀρίσαι. | παραγγέλω [οὔ]ν καὶ τοῖς τὰ ξύλα καὶ τοῖς | τοὺς λίθους ἐνπορευομένοις μῆτε τὰ ξύλα | ¹⁵ παρὰ τῆ ὄχθῆ τιθέναι μῆτε τοὺς λίθους

| πρίζειν' οί μὲν γὰρ τὰς κατασκευασθείσας ἐπὶ | φυλακῆ τοῦ λιμένος πείλας
 τ[ῶ] βάρει τῶν φορτίων | λυμαίνονται, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνειμ[έν]ης σμειρεως |
 [λατύ?]πης, ἐπεὶ εἰσφερομένη τὸ βάθος [συ]νχωννύντες |²⁰ τὸν ῥοῦν
 ἀνείργουσιν, ἐκάτεροι δὲ ἀνόδευτον | τὴν ὄχθην ποιοῦσιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐπιθεμέ
 [νο]υ μου | οὐκ ἐ[γενε]το ἰκανὸς Μάρκελλος ὁ γραμματεὺς | ἐπισχεῖν ἄν ὡς
 τὴν θρασύτητα, ἴστωσαν ὅτι | ἄν τις μὴ γνοῦς τὸ διάσταλμα καταλημφθῆ
 τῶν |²⁵ ἀπειρημένων τι πράττων, ἐσοίσει vacat | τῆ ἐπιφανεστάτη Ἐφεσίων
 πόλει καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον αὐτὸς τῆς ἀπειθίας ἐμοὶ λόγον | ὑφέξει' τοῦ γὰρ
 μεγίστου αὐτοκράτορος περὶ | φυλακῆς τοῦ λιμένος πεφροντικός |³⁰ καὶ
 συνεχῶς περὶ τούτου ἐπεσταλκός | τοὺς διαφθειρόντας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔστιν
 δι[κ]αιον μόνον ἀργύριον καταβάλλοντας | ἀφεῖσθαι τῆς αἰτίας. προτεθήτω.
 | Γραμματεῦντος Τι. Κλ. Πο|λυδεύκου Μαρκέλλου Ἀσιάρχου.

To the Good Fortune. Words of L. Antonius Albus, proconsul: 'If it is necessary not only to the greatest metropolis of Asia, but also to the Universe not to hinder the harbour that shelters those who come to it from everywhere, when I learnt that some had found a way to be rid of this, I thought it necessary to use constraint and to determine against the disobedient the convenient penalties. I therefore declare that it is forbidden to the timber- and stone-traders to place timber and to saw stone on the quay: these in fact cause damage to the *pilae* that have been set up for the protection of the harbour, the former because of the weight of the loads, the latter because of the rejection of the waste pieces of stone, for they silt the depth of water with this deposit, and therefore prevent the water from flowing; the former as the latter equally make the embankment inaccessible. Given that the Secretary (of the People) Marcellus whom I had urged to put an end to that form of impudence, has proved himself unable to do so, let them understand that any one who, ignoring the regulation, should be caught having done something in contradiction to these dispositions, will pay to the most splendid city of the Ephesians [*blank*] and that he nevertheless will render account to me of his disobedience. For, as the greatest emperor has been preoccupied with the protection of the harbour and has continuously sent edicts on the matter, it would not be right that people who take rid of him, would only pay the fine and escape this accusation. Let (this decree) be displayed. Being Secretary (of the People) Tiberius Claudius Polydeucus, Asiarch.'

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14 | The Structure of Mercantile Communities in the Roman World

How Open Were Roman Trade Networks?

KOENRAAD VERBOVEN

Trading systems are never random. The lone merchant, sailing the seas in search of lucrative markets, has little hope of rising above his station. Long-distance trade depends on networks that link merchants and shippers to financiers, suppliers and clients. Merchants need to cooperate, negotiate and mediate. They need to put faith in commitments. The shape of trade networks varies depending on cultural norms and values, legal requirements and distribution of resources, but also on the personality, talent, acuity and ingenuity of the merchants themselves.

The Roman world of trade offers examples of different types of networks providing different solutions to similar problems in different contexts. In this chapter I study three particular cases: late Hellenistic Delos; first- and second-century Puteoli; and second- and early third-century Gantueta by the North Sea. Each is exceptional in its own way, but illustrates the wide range of possible arrangements.

I will focus on non-family-based cooperation and collective action in long-distance trading communities. My central question is when and why long-distance traders established professional associations, rather than relying on private networks or informal communities. Formal associations pool private resources and create new ones that are put under the control of the collective body and its representatives. The organizational costs are obvious: members have to pay fees, liturgies are imposed on officers, time is lost on meetings and ceremonies, lucrative partnerships with outsiders are discouraged. In turn, the potential benefits are equally clear. Guilds provide 'club goods' such as meeting places, storage facilities, financial support, network opportunities and an internal justice system. Strong social ties and mutual trust among members are expected and encouraged. Meetings (often compulsory) provide information on market opportunities and on the reliability of potential partners. Misbehaviour is punished through social sanctions, such as public disapproval and shunning, that affect the transgressor's reputation and inflict psychological punishment. Last but

not least, guilds create new assets and resources, such as the status attached to being a guild officer or patron and the influence that goes with it. Public authorities can increase benefits – for instance by granting privileges and immunities, or using guilds as preferential suppliers – or on the contrary oppose the creation of private associations. Whether benefits outweigh the costs depends on the specific institutional context that merchants face.

My objective is to link up with research in late medieval and early modern economic history. Some of the arguments will be familiar to ancient historians, but they have not yet been cast in the research frame used by economic historians of later periods. By doing so I hope to make the structural similarities and differences more apparent.

Cooperation is the key to success in business, but is only possible if a minimum of trust is present. Businessmen need to put faith in future promises. Throughout history, household and family have provided the core units for business operations. Family members (in particular siblings) know each other intimately and share common values, social networks and (often) material interests. Yet family relations are limited in number and carry moral obligations that limit freedom of action. Kinship stimulates trust, but is no guarantee of talent. Brothers can be a burden as well as a blessing.

Slavery and freedmanship enabled Roman businessmen to expand their operations by creating networks modelled on the Roman *familia*. The interests of slaves or freedmen and their masters and patrons coincided insofar as they belonged to a closed group with common interests. But closure also limits opportunities. Especially in the case of long-distance trade, independent freedmen may have preferred local business partners over distant ex-masters. Slavery and freedmanship only work well to maintain trust if they rest on real, rather than nominal, dependence.

Business operations of some scale require cooperation between unrelated agents. The looser the bond between agents, however, the harder it gets to maintain the trust needed to support cooperation. Trust becomes a question of institutional constraints. These may be informal norms, enforced through social and emotional sanctions (as in the case of *amicitia*¹), or formal norms, created and enforced through an external authority. In modern society, laws, police and justice ensure that parties to a contract have an interest in honouring it. Social sanctions can have the same effect if there is a consensus on the informal rules (the social norms) governing social interaction, and if community members are able

¹ Verboven 2002.

and willing to impose sanctions against members who break these rules. Social sanctions range from shunning and slander to exclusion from community events and places (such as temples or churches) and refusal to cooperate with norm transgressors. Having a reputation for unreliability can make it difficult (or excessively more expensive) to find business partners and agents. Reputation mechanisms, however, depend on the availability of reliable information and on the presence of shared norms and values. For reputation to be effective in large or dispersed groups – such as long-distance mercantile communities – additional institutions are required.

There are various ways in which long-distance merchants deal with these problems. They can, for instance, respond by congregating in culturally homogeneous groups, centred around group-specific cults, rituals and community events that symbolically distance the group from the wider community and from other merchants. Closed homogeneous communities offer a cheap solution to overcome problems of trust, because formal institutions can be kept to a minimum (often ostensibly limited to religious purposes). However, this requires the existence of a distinct identity that segregates a specific mercantile community from other societal groups. It has the disadvantage, moreover, that it supports cooperation only between group members.

Alternatively, merchants may rely solely on rules enforced by public authorities regardless of cultural or social specificities. Cooperation can then be left to private initiatives and fluid social networks that cross cultural and social boundaries. This, nevertheless, requires open institutions that are conducive to commercial interests, and public authorities that are able and willing to enforce these institutions. Such open-access orders are expensive because they require elaborate formal institutions, but the costs are shouldered by public authorities and tax-payers.

An intermediate strategy is to ‘design’ formal but private order institutions to govern transactions.² Milgrom, North and Weingast analysed the merchant law code and private judges of the Champagne Fairs as such a system that

works by making the reputation system of enforcement work better. The institutions . . . provide people with the information they need to recognize those who have cheated, and it provides incentives for those who have

² Greif (2008) prefers the terms ‘organic’ and ‘designed’ institutions instead of ‘formal and ‘informal’; ‘formal organizations’ (such as guilds) are central to ‘designed’ institutions (such as guild charters).

been cheated to provide evidence of their injuries. Then, the reputation system itself provides the incentives for honest behaviour and for payment by those who are found to have violated the code, and it encourages traders to boycott those who have flouted the system.³

The range of private order formal institutions, however, is very wide. Guilds – or more generally professional associations – have received by far the most attention. They are formal private order organizations, with explicit membership criteria, agreed internal norms and officers endowed with the authority to enforce rules, to speak on behalf of the group and to exercise authority over its members. They express a collective identity and pool and create collective resources, available only to members as ‘club goods’.

Formal associations usually graft onto distinct social or cultural groups, reinforcing their informal normative system. Without shared informal norms and values to underpin the group’s formal ‘designed’ institutions, a guild faces (prohibitively) high monitoring costs. The same is true, of course, also for state authorities: monitoring costs (police and justice) are high when public institutions lack legitimacy. Because mercantile interests often do not coincide with the (perceived) interests of other social groups and élites – especially in agricultural societies – public authorities may face higher costs when they formulate rules favouring real or perceived mercantile interests rather than the real or perceived interests of other groups. Consequently, throughout history, merchants have been faced with public authorities unwilling or unable to formulate and enforce rules that support their interests.

Seen from a commercial perspective, the story of European modernity is that of the gradual creation of public order institutions that facilitated trade by laying down universalist rules regarding contracts, liability and enforcement procedures. This was a slow process, bound up not only with the formation of modern state institutions, but also with the specific contingent policies and political agendas of national and local rulers. In most places, the medieval political system that relied on fragmented authority and guild privileges only slowly gave way to modern institutions.

Do we find similar evolutions in the ancient world? The Roman Empire provided a common political and institutional order that transcended local polities, ethnicities and cultures. Roman and Greek intellectuals agreed that their way of life and welfare depended on local, regional and long-distance trade. But the Roman Empire was agrarian to the bone and its élites were

³ Milgrom, North and Weingast 1990: 19; for a critique, Ogilvie 2011: 264–7.

predominantly large landowners. How did the Imperial apparatus, local élites and polities respond to this reality? How effective were public order institutions in accommodating trade? What cooperative strategies did traders adopt in response?

1 Medieval and Early Modern Parallels

Before turning to our three case studies to examine these questions, however, we will look at the current state of research into mercantile associations in medieval and early modern Europe. A large amount of relevant work has been done in this field, with which most ancient historians are unfamiliar.

The vast majority of medieval merchant guilds were local associations who received privileges from local rulers. They were a common phenomenon in the new towns of the massive urbanization wave during the eleventh century. From the twelfth century onwards in some towns (but not everywhere), guilds of foreign merchants were established as offshoots from the merchants' hometown guilds. Guilds gained considerable political power in European towns in the thirteenth century. Merchant and craft guilds often had conflicting interests, and which prevailed over the other usually depended on local realities.⁴ In exceptional cases, such as Genoa and Venice, a merchant élite so dominated a city that it could dispense altogether with establishing a merchant guild.⁵

The debate on medieval guilds has been very sharp. The traditional view (going back to Adam Smith⁶) held that the legal monopolies established by and for the guilds damaged economic prosperity. Lack of competition caused prices to remain high. Innovations were blocked off; investments to improve efficiency were avoided. This view shifted in the 1990s when scholars began to argue that guilds protected their members from abuse by political élites and competitors.⁷ Although this protection was particularistic by definition, Greif, Milgrom and Weingast argued that it increased the overall efficiency of medieval trading systems. The ability and willingness of alien merchant guilds to boycott rulers who reneged on their promises propped up the credibility of rulers' commitments to protecting merchants' interests.⁸ Guilds, furthermore, reduced transaction costs by

⁴ Soly 2008. ⁵ Mauro 1993: 259; Ogilvie 2011: 24–5. ⁶ Smith 2003: 170–1.

⁷ For early guilds as protective organizations, see Hickson and Thompson 1991; Mauro 1993; Volckart and Mangels 1999.

⁸ Greif, Milgrom and Weingast 1994; see also Greif 2006: 91–123.

easing negotiations, stimulating the flow of information and providing private order contract enforcement where public order enforcement was lacking or ineffective. This again boosted overall economic performance.⁹ Few monopolies in the modern sense existed and guilds were rarely able to enforce them, but monopolistic privileges nevertheless provided stimuli for new investments and trade in areas that would otherwise have been avoided.¹⁰ The 'rents' provided to guild members in the form of monopolies and other privileges increased their interest in obeying guild rules, which in turn allowed guilds to play their protective role.¹¹

Sheilagh Ogilvie, however, vigorously rejects this 'efficiency' view. She argues that merchant guilds were established not to protect merchants against predatory rulers, but to facilitate collusion between privileged merchants and ruling élites. Guilds relieved rulers of the need to create public institutions that would ensure universal access to markets and contract-enforcement institutions. The monitoring and enforcement costs that the guilds thereby incurred were offset by the high profit margins on monopolistic trade. In turn, rulers incurred little or no cost in return for a predictable tax income (often levied by the guilds) and occasionally financial support when necessary. Guilds invested considerable resources in trying to enforce monopolies. Even if these were not effective, they significantly raised transaction costs for outsiders. The most successful trading systems in medieval Europe (such as the Champagne Fairs) were those where local rulers refused to grant monopolistic privileges and instead committed themselves to protecting the interests of all traders. Economic growth only took off when the power of the guilds was finally broken by the creation of public order institutions that offered protection and contract enforcement regardless of guild membership. Not coincidentally, economic growth occurred first in countries such as England and the United Provinces that first sidetracked guilds as agencies of economic control.¹²

Both models, however, pass over the differences in mercantile groups in medieval and early modern Europe. Only a minority of foreign traders established incorporated associations that received formal concessions or privileges from local rulers. Many of these included non-merchants

⁹ North and Thomas 1973; Volckart and Mangels 1999: 440–2.

¹⁰ Hickson and Thompson 1991; Richardson 2001; 2004; Stabel 2004 (but note that the discussion has mostly focused on craft guilds).

¹¹ Greif 2006: 104–5.

¹² Dessi and Ogilvie 2003; Ogilvie 2011; for a general critique of the neo-institutionalist 'efficiency' approach, Ogilvie 2007.

residing in the same place. In most cases, foreign merchants and residents formed informal communities, tied together by common origin, traditions, feasts and cults. They often clustered in specific neighbourhoods, sometimes voluntarily (as migrant communities often do), sometimes because they were forced to by local rulers.¹³ Informal communities based on nationality or common religious beliefs provided and structured social capital, promoted solidarity and punished norm deviance through social sanctions. The members' specific social identity excluded outsiders. When a formal mercantile association was established, it always included social and religious functions and thereby either 'incorporated' a foreigner community or became organically and inextricably entwined with it.

Gelderblom and Grafe conceptualize this diversity as a continuum along the lines suggested by Williamson: 'At one end lies a perfectly atomized market in which anonymous buyers and sellers meet in fleeting encounters of voluntary exchange. At the other end, all risks and decisions are incorporated into one large hierarchically ordered and vertically integrated firm.' Between these two ends lie endless permutations characterized by degrees of anonymity, hierarchy, market control and political involvement. Social networks, nations, consulates and guilds are positioned along this continuum as institutions governing transactions, differing in the amount of control delegated.¹⁴

Gelderblom and Grafe propose to capture these differences empirically by focusing on five degrees of 'control delegation':¹⁵

- 1 *Individual agents*: Merchants organize transactions without any interference from fellow traders. Individuals do not delegate any control.
- 2 *Informal constraints*: Merchants are organized loosely along social or religious lines, but have no formal economic organization. Control is not formally delegated, but social and/or cultural norms constrain decisions.
- 3 *Political representation*: Merchants rely on spokesmen to represent them in negotiations with other groups or political authorities. Only control to represent is delegated.
- 4 *Internal discipline*: Merchants elect officials to enforce general rules of conduct within the community. Members delegate control to establish general rules and enforce them through sanctions, but these do not include a formal prohibition to trade.
- 5 *Power of exclusion*: The group is endowed with a privilege granted by a political body that gives it the right to exclude members/others.

¹³ See Mauro 1993 for a survey; cf. Ogilvie 2011: 94. ¹⁴ Gelderblom and Grafe 2010: 486–7.

¹⁵ Gelderblom and Grafe 2010: 491, table 1.

Members delegate control to be sanctioned through total exclusion from market entry.

‘Control delegation’ is an ordered variable. Informal constraints may be present without political representation, which in turn can function without internal discipline, which itself can exist without the group being endowed with the power of exclusion. Conversely, however, the monitoring costs for groups in category 5 are so high that they presuppose the presence of internal discipline (category 4), of recognition and help from local authorities, therefore of representation (category 3) and cultural and social cohesion (category 2).

Historians generally agree on the secular trend (with local and regional variations) whereby state institutions eroded the economic functions of guilds. The institutional framework created by early modern states obviated the need for protection against instability and predatory rulers¹⁶ and/or the opportunities for collusion between guild élites and political élites to make profits through monopolistic trade.¹⁷ The onset of modernity heralded the decline of merchant guilds as regulatory or protective agencies.¹⁸

Interestingly, however, Gelderblom and Grafe found no evolution in the best available institutions before the seventeenth century. Competitive forms of organization (formal/informal, public/private) co-existed, with alternative institutional solutions being chosen to suit different political and market circumstances. According to Gelderblom and Grafe, guilds and rulers provided complementary goods/services, partly because strong guilds pressured public authorities to provide specific public goods, such as warehouses and exchange locations. The provision of ‘club goods’ that were otherwise unavailable or only available at a higher cost continued to be an incentive to establish or preserve guilds for centuries. Their general decline became obvious only after 1650. Gelderblom and Grafe found little empirical indication that protection against predatory rulers was a major reason why merchants formed strong associations – as predicted by Greif’s game-theoretical analysis.¹⁹ They did find evidence that the possibility of extracting rents incited some merchant groups to increase control delegation, but not enough to assume that this was the major explanation for the creation and flourishing of guilds.

¹⁶ Greif 2006. ¹⁷ Ogilvie 2011.

¹⁸ It is ironic to find Finley (1999: 138) referring to medieval guilds to downplay the modernity of Roman professional *collegia*.

¹⁹ Greif 2006; although it should be noted that the study by Gelderblom and Grafe (2010) may start too late in time (1250) to capture the early history of merchant guilds.

Guilds are *formal* associations, with clearly defined membership criteria and internal rules that require monitoring. Strong informal communities – based on homogeneous ethnic, religious or cultural groups, ‘with shared cultural beliefs and social norms but without any formal ties’ – obviate the need for strong formal associations. Gelderblom and Grafe refer to the English Calvinist cloth dealers in Amsterdam in the later sixteenth century as an example.²⁰ Close-knit mercantile communities can inflict social sanctions that provide a low-cost alternative to guild procedures or public law. Conflicts can be solved through mediation and arbitration, rather than by appealing to public order institutions.

The Calvinist cloth merchants in Amsterdam used local contractual arrangements to serve as a means of last resort in case of dispute. But in homogeneous close-knit communities, business transactions are imaginable without formal contracts. Avner Greif distinguished two models of cooperation respectively based on collectivist values, enforced through informal private order institutions, and on individualist values, enforced through formal public order institutions. The archetype of the former, in his view, were the Jewish ‘Maghribi’ traders in tenth- to eleventh-century Cairo.²¹ The Maghribi relied on voluntary ‘coalitions’ between merchants. Agreements were rarely formalized, but relied on the reputation of the merchants involved and the willingness of the Maghribi community to sanction breach of faith. The archetype of individualist traders, according to Greif, were the Genoan merchants, who cherished individualist values and distrusted each other too much to rely on informal agreements. Instead, the Genoan merchants hired dependent agents whose trustworthiness was based on the rational consideration that the future benefits they stood to lose were higher than the profits they could reap from cheating. The merchants’ control over the city state of Genoa allowed them to develop efficient public order institutions to enforce contractual obligations. The organizational costs in the Genoan model were much higher than in the Maghribi model, but the Genoan trade networks were more open and flexible than the Maghribi ones.

Greif’s interpretation has been sharply criticized.²² Goldberg re-examined the thousand or so documents of the Jewish Maghribi traders

²⁰ Gelderblom and Grafe 2010: 490; cf. Mauro 1993: 266–74 for Jewish and Armenian merchant communities.

²¹ So called because they migrated from Tunisia to Fatimid Cairo in the later tenth century, although they originally had migrated from around Baghdad to Fatimid Tunisia in the tenth century; Greif 2006: 61; Goldberg 2012a.

²² Edwards and Ogilvie 2012; eliciting a sharp response by Greif (2012).

in the Cairo Genizah. She concurs with Greif on the importance of social norms governing business relations among the Maghribi, but argues that private order and public order institutions were complementary.²³ Informal norms and private order enforcement played a major part also in Christian Europe, while the Maghribi traders relied more on legal enforcement procedures than Greif was prepared to admit.

Greif's models, however, may still be useful as ideal types. Rather than mutually exclusive models, we can envisage a continuum between the two poles represented by Greif's models and study the articulation of public and private order institutions.

2 Roman Merchant Communities and Associations

As in medieval and early modern Europe, we should expect diversity among mercantile communities in the Roman world depending on the institutional context in which they operated. Gelderblom and Grafe's classification provides a useful framework to study this diversity. For operational purposes, however, we need to include an additional variable: material and immaterial 'club goods' provided by mercantile associations. Gelderblom and Grafe (2010) stress the importance of these, but do not conceptualize them in their model because they assume that the degree of control delegation is itself a proxy for the relative value of club goods. Control delegation has a cost, which merchants are willing to incur only if it is offset by the relative value of club goods compared to the value of available public goods, such as legal services, and goods available on the market, such as storage and hotel facilities. Hence there is no need to conceptualize club goods as a separate variable. This assumption is no doubt correct, but poses operational difficulties for ancient economies, because available sources more often inform us on the existence of collective property and funds than on the degree of authority exercised by the officers of a merchant association. So, we here turn Gelderblom and Grafe's assumption around: the presence of valuable club goods (such as collective property, funds, privileges and immunities) is a proxy for 'incorporation'.²⁴ In addition, legal monopolies held by private persons are exceptional in the Roman world. The highest degree of control

²³ Goldberg 2012a; 2012b.

²⁴ *Sensu sociologico* (if not also *sensu iuridico*); whether *collegia* enjoyed *universitas* – the closest Roman law ever came to the modern notion of 'corporate capacity' – is hotly debated. I am convinced it did (against Sirks 1991: 87–9, but as Duff 1938: 129–58; De Robertis 1971: II, 239–59; Aubert 1999), but will not discuss that question here.

delegation usually merely implied that guilds were able to exclude merchants from state-granted privileges and immunities attached to guild membership. Thus, I distinguish the following five levels of control delegation:

- 1 Absence of control delegation
- 2 Group-specific informal constraints
- 3 Delegated authority to represent
- 4 Delegated authority to manage club goods, equivalent to delegated authority to define, interpret and enforce rules on members
- 5 Delegated authority to exclude from legal privileges and immunities.

I will now proceed by analysing the three cases of Delos, Puteoli and Ganuenta.

3 Three Ports

3.1 *Delos*

Delos had been a religious centre since the Dark Ages. It became a regional hub during its independence (314–166 BC),²⁵ but it was only after Rome returned it to Athens with the status of a free port in 166 BC that Delos became a commercial centre for the whole of the eastern Mediterranean. It maintained this status until it was sacked by Mithridates in 88 BC. Pirate raids and general instability in the following decades prevented its recovery, although it was still an active port in the late 50s BC.²⁶

Several foreign resident communities are attested on the island. The list of *ephebes* for 119/118 BC shows resident foreigners from all over the eastern Mediterranean (Figure 14.1). Only 23 (out of 90) *ephebes* are Athenians, 2 are local Delians – together a mere 28 per cent of the total; 22 per cent (20) come from Seleucid Syria,²⁷ 19 per cent from Phoenicia,²⁸ 3 per cent come from Phoenician Cyprus²⁹ and 6 per cent are Romans. The large numbers from Syrian and Phoenician cities correspond well with the data from other Delian inscriptions. Tréheux lists 68 residents from Antioch, 35 from Laodicea-ad-Mare, 66 from Berytus/Laodicea-in-Phoenicia, 31 from Tyre, 23 from Sidon, 16 from Askalon and 12 from Salamis. Other foreign resident communities

²⁵ Cf. Reger 1994. ²⁶ Cicero *Att.* 9.9.4 (hard to interpret exactly).

²⁷ Sixteen from Antiochia, one from Apamea and one from 'Syria', one from Laodicea-ad-Mare, one from Nikopolis.

²⁸ Six from Tyre, three from Arados, three from Berytos, three from Ptolemais (Akko), two from Sidon; on this Ptolemais being ancient Ake, see Kontorini 1979: 40; Cohen 2006: 214–15.

²⁹ Knidos, Salamis, Karpasia.

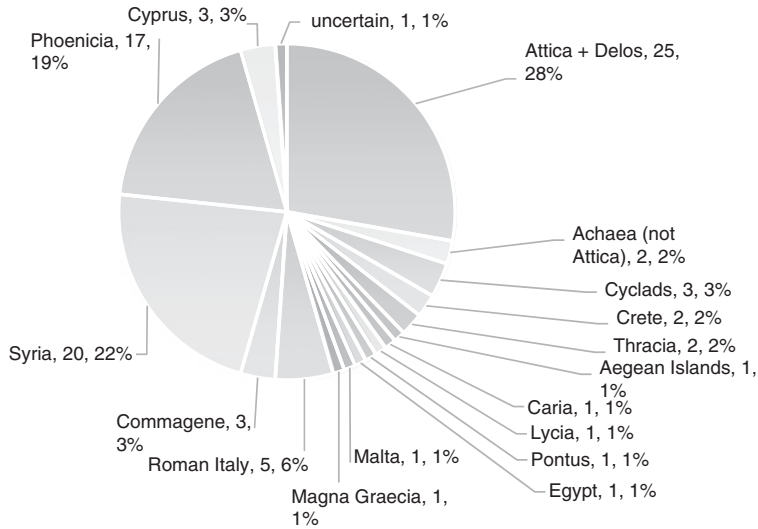


Figure 14.1 Geographical origins of the *ephebes* of 119/118 BC.

are clearly under-represented in the *ephebes* list. Egyptians, for instance, are conspicuously absent from the list, but other inscriptions document at least 47 Alexandrians.³⁰ Only 6 per cent of the *ephebes* are Roman or (non-Greek) Italian, but this is misleading because freedmen (and slaves) are particularly numerous among the Romans on Delos, and they would by definition not be included.

Phoenicians undeniably formed a sizeable minority on Delos. Their communities had begun to grow in the late third century BC. During the island's independence, their organization remained largely informal, structured around a limited number of powerful families, such as that of Iason from Arados.³¹ During the first decades of the second century BC, collective action by or on behalf of Phoenician communities increased. A mercantile group of Beirutian 'Warehousemen and Shippers' (ἐγδοχεῖς καὶ ναύκληροι), who had their organizational base in their hometown (ἐν Λα[οδικείαι]/τῆι ἐν Φοινίκηι), honoured the Seleucid official Heliodoros in 178 BC.³² A sanctuary 'for the Syrian Gods' (Hadad and Atargatis) was established in the first half of the second century BC.³³

Shortly after 166 BC, some of these communities began to establish more formal organizations. The Aradians had formed a *synodos* by c. 160 BC of

³⁰ Tréheux 1992; cf. also Le Dinahet 1997.

³¹ Baslez 2013: 229–30; for a later example see Le Dinahet-Couilloud 1997. ³² IG XI, 4 1114.

³³ Siebert 1968; Baslez 2013: 231.

which little else is known.³⁴ In or shortly before 153/152 BC,³⁵ foreign merchants from Beirut and Tyre established two highly formal associations. The group that honoured Heliodoros in 178 BC³⁶ created the ‘*Koinon* of Beirutian Poseidoniasts, Merchants, Shippers and Warehousemen’ (τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίων Ποσειδωνιαστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων). Tyrians established the ‘*Koinon* of Tyrian Heraklesiasts, Merchants and Shippers’ (Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Τυρίων Ἡρακλειστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων). The guild of the Beirutian Poseidoniasts owned a large and splendid compound (1,500 m²) with religious spaces, storage facilities, meeting places and perhaps lodgings for up to a hundred people.³⁷ Its internal organization was based on a statute (*nomos*) that provided for elected officers (*archontes*). These included a president (or *archithiasitès*) and treasurers (*argurotamiai*), as well as several priests. The statute also provided for a monthly assembly of (council?) members (*thiasitai*) during which reports by the officers were received and discussed, and decrees (*psèphismata*) were proposed, discussed and voted upon. Disputes were settled via internal proceedings before the *archithiasitès*, who could sanction transgressors with fines. The group’s activities were financed from its common treasury and through liturgies, but also through contributions, gifts and loans raised on the group’s behalf by a Roman banker who received elaborate honours in return. The association participated in the Apollonia – the great festival in honour of the Delian Apollo – and celebrated its own festival in honour of Poseidon/Baal-Berit.³⁸

The Tyrian Heraklesiasts established themselves as a formal organization around the same time. They relied on an assembly (*ekklèsiai*) of the wider Tyrian community (*koinon*) and a smaller council (*synhodos*) of *thiasitai* that met on a regular basis. Elected officers included a president (*archithiasitès*), treasurers (*tamiai*), a secretary (*grammateus*) and a priest (*hiereus*). The group received land in ownership from the Athenian assembly to build a sanctuary for Herakles/Melkaart that probably served for

³⁴ *ID* 1543 = *SEG* 37, 691; Baslez 1987: 276; 1994: 30–1; 2013: 231.

³⁵ The first inscription (*ID* 1520) probably dates to 153/152 BC, but the associations may have been created shortly before that.

³⁶ See in this sense Hatzfeld 1912: 157.

³⁷ The capacity of its banqueting rooms was between 68 and 96 people; on the ‘House of the Beirutian Posidoniasts’, cf. Bruneau 1978; 1991; Trümper 2002; 2011; Hasenohr 2007; see Harland 2013: 56 for more references; see also the contribution by Steuernagel (Chapter 3) in this volume.

³⁸ Most information comes from the elaborate inscription honouring the Roman banker M. Minatius (*ID* 1520), but numerous other inscriptions (*ID* 1772–96) found in the ‘House of the Beirutian Posidoniasts’ and elsewhere confirm and add to this. See Tod 1934; Picard 1936a; 1936b.

meetings of the *synhodos*.³⁹ Membership fees were paid into the treasury and officers had to perform liturgies.

Although differing in details, both guilds were organized similarly. While catering to larger, more diffuse groups of residents and affiliated non-residents, both were closed groups. Membership was costly but prestigious and offered access to valuable ‘club goods’ in the form of storage and (possibly) hotel facilities, meeting places, representation, protection of common interests and private dispute settlements and enforcement. It is striking to find that both guilds were established during the period of transition, when Athens had already established a *klerouchia* on the island – whose members described themselves as *katoikountes* (residents) – but had not yet fully integrated it institutionally into the Athenian *polis*.⁴⁰

Phoenician mercantile resident groups had shown a tendency to establish formal associations before. An association of Kitian merchants asked for and received permission from the Athenian assembly in 333/332 BC to own land and build a temple for Aphrodite.⁴¹ Residents from Kition’s rival Salamis had a similar association in honour of the Syrian Aphrodite by 281/280 BC.⁴² Sidonians formed a mercantile resident guild in Attica (probably) before 320/319 BC.⁴³ We will see below the same Phoenician tradition re-emerge in Imperial Puteoli.

Strikingly few other ‘nations’ are known to have established comparable formal associations on Delos. Even the merchants from Antioch, massively present on the island, seem not to have done so. The main non-Phoenician communities that may have developed a somewhat similar organization are the Samaritans and the Jews. The former – ‘the Israelites on Delos who contribute towards the temple on Gerizim’ – jointly honoured a benefactor in the late third or early second century BC. The name of the group implies that a collective institution existed to collect and ship the temple money. The intervention of the benefactor and the fact that the group was able to finance and erect an honorary inscription indicates that they had a meeting place where they held deliberative assemblies. In the later second or first

³⁹ On the distinction between the *koinon* and the *synhodos*, see ll. 7–8: διατελεῖ δὲ διὰ παντὸς κο[ι]/νεῖ τε τεῖ συνόδω; how exactly they differed is unclear; the *ekklēsia* (of the entire *koinon*) met in the temple of Apollo (*ID* 1519, l. 1).

⁴⁰ Roussel 1916.

⁴¹ *IG* II², 337; Vélissaropoulos 1980: 101–3; Jones 1999: 40–2; 332 BC was an ominous year for Citium; an earthquake destroyed its port, but it was also freed from Persian over-rule through the campaigns of Alexander.

⁴² *IG* II², 1290; on the date, see Osborne 2009: 87.

⁴³ *IG* II², 2946; Ameling 1990; Baslez and Briquel-Chatonnet 1991 (236–7 for the interpretation of the date ‘year 12 of Sidon’).

half of the first century BC, the same group voted a golden crown to another benefactor.⁴⁴ By that time, they may have been closely associated with the Jewish community, which c. 150–125 BC had bought a large compound and changed it into a synagogue. The size of the compound (some 870 m²) shows it served various community practices, rather than merely cult activities. There must have been functionaries responsible for the building and communal funds at their disposal.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, however, we have no clue to how this/these groups was/were organized and what its/their relation was to the larger Jewish and Samaritan community. Jewish congregations are well attested elsewhere (even though later in time) and they obviously cultivated a very specific identity that segregated them as a group from mainstream Graeco-Roman society. This may have obviated the need for strong formal institutions. The Jewish custom of collecting and sending gold to the temple in Jerusalem, however, presupposes the existence of communal institutions to coordinate and supervise the operation. This must have been the case also for the thriving Jewish community on Delos.⁴⁶

We have some information on the Egyptian community too. Around 200 BC Egyptian residents founded a sanctuary for Sarapis, where other Egyptian gods were also worshipped.⁴⁷ The temple had its own priest and personnel, but various other cult associations are attested in connection with it: the ‘Ninth-Day-Worshippers’,⁴⁸ the ‘Tenth-Day-Worshippers’,⁴⁹ the *thiasos* of the Sarapiastai,⁵⁰ the *koina* of the Servants (*therapeutai*) and of the ‘Black-Garb-Wearers’ (*melanèphoroi*)⁵¹ and an unspecified club of *eranistai*.⁵² We do not know whether or how these groups were related, but they suggest the existence of different clusters inside the same community. The Sarapeion and its priest(s) may have acted on behalf of the community towards public authorities, and may have exercised moral authority, but there is no indication that it exercised formal authority. Around 160/150 BC, however, an Egyptian *synodos* voted an honorary decree for two benefactors, who received a bronze statue and golden crowns paid for by

⁴⁴ SEG 32, 809, 810; cf. Bordreuil and Bruneau 1982; Harland 2009: 113–14.

⁴⁵ Trümper 2004; 2011: 61–2; this is the oldest synagogue attested, but see against this Matassa 2007; the importance of the Jewish community (since at least c. 200 BC) is in any case beyond doubt, cf. Baslez 1977: 203–6; Bruneau 1970: 480–93; 1 Maccabees 15, 15–23; Josephus *Ant. Jud.* 14, 145–8; 213–16; *ID* 1586; 2328–33; 2532; 2616.

⁴⁶ The Roman governor of Asia, Valerius Flaccus, prohibited the Jews from shipping gold to Jerusalem in 62 BC (Cicero *Flacc.* 67); Augustus and Agrippa expressly allowed this (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* 16, 160–73) and it continued until the destruction of the temple by Titus.

⁴⁷ *IG XI*, 4 1216; 1217; 1247; 1290; 1299. ⁴⁸ *IG XI*, 4 1228; 1229. ⁴⁹ *IG XI*, 4 1227.

⁵⁰ *IG XI*, 4 1226. ⁵¹ *IG XI*, 4 1226. ⁵² *IG XI*, 4 1223.

the association's funds (ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων), as well as exemption from liturgies and membership fees. A copy was sent to the fatherland (*patris*) and to a sister association. Unfortunately the name of the guild is not preserved, but two other inscriptions (c. 145–116 BC) record a 'Synodos of Elder(s) of the Warehousemen at Alexandria', which might be the same association or perhaps its 'mother association' in Alexandria. It seems, therefore, that this guild was either a local chapter of a larger organization or linked in other ways to similar guilds in Alexandria and elsewhere. They are clearly different from the Egyptian resident community on Delos as a whole.⁵³

We are relatively well informed about how the Roman community – the *conventus civium Romanorum* – was organized. It occupied a compound of considerable size, the so-called Agora of the Italians. In the third quarter of the second century BC, collective action by the Roman residents' community was socially structured through boards of *magistri*: the *Competalistai*, *Apolloniastai/Magistri Apollini*, *Hermaistai/Magistri Mercurii* and *Poseidoniastai/Magistri Neptuni*. The relationship of these to the Roman *conventus* is not clear. The *Competalistai* are all slaves. Their name links them to the *collegia Competalicia*, known also in Italy as neighbourhood associations.⁵⁴ The three other boards, however, composed of freedmen and *ingenui*, were more prestigious. Kornemann, Schulten and Boak interpreted them as the (chosen) representatives of the Roman-Italian community on Delos.⁵⁵ Hatzfeld, however, rejected this and noted the similarities with the *collegia* and *magistri* in Capua and identified them as semi-professional/semi-religious associations, whose implicit *raison d'être* was to defend commercial interests.⁵⁶ Flambard further underpinned this interpretation. He argued that the *magistri Mercurii* represented the oldest Roman merchant association on Delos, established c. 150 BC. As the community grew, two new *collegia* were created c. 125 BC: one of shippers, represented by the *magistri Neptuni*, and the 'Apollo-Worshippers', represented by the *magistri Apollini*. The *Competalistai* were established only towards the end of the second century BC.⁵⁷

⁵³ *ID* 1521; 1528; 1529; Vélissaropoulos 1980: 112–13; Fraser 1972: 186–7, 320–1.

⁵⁴ Boak 1916; Flambard 1981; 1982; Mavrojannis 1995; Hasenohr 2003; 2008.

⁵⁵ Kornemann 1891: 50–61; Schulten 1892: 71–82; Boak 1916.

⁵⁶ Hatzfeld 1912: 146–76; cf. p. 162 for the identification as 'semi-professional', and p. 180 for the supposition that although primarily religious associations, their *raison d'être* was to defend commercial interests; on the links between Campania and Delos, see Steuernagel (Chapter 3) in this volume.

⁵⁷ Flambard 1982; Hatzfeld (1912: 180–1) did not believe that the difference between *Hermaistai* and *Posidoniastai* was so clear cut. Flambard's hypothesis presupposes a clear distinction

Hasenohr recently reasserted Kornemann's view. She believes that the *magistri's* (formal) duty was to preside over cult activities and more generally to manage the 'Agora of the Italians'. She points to the absence of a reference to a collective body (such as *collegium*, *synhodos*) in the *magistri* inscriptions, to the often joint inscriptions by the boards, and to the fact that family members are found spread randomly over the *Apolloniastai*, *Hermaistai* and *Poseidoniastai*.⁵⁸ These arguments, however, carry little weight. Joint dedications by *collegia* are very common in Greek and Latin epigraphy.⁵⁹ There is no reason why family members could not join different *collegia*. If Flambard is right that the *Hermaistai* and the *Poseidoniastai* were functionally distinct but complementary organizations, spreading family members of various *collegia* would make excellent strategic sense. The absence of a term indicating a collective body conforms to the format of the inscriptions set up by the Capuan boards of *magistri*, who certainly represented specific *collegia*. A Capuan inscription from 112 BC, for instance, mentions construction or repair works supervised by the 'Masters of the Merchant Guild' (*magistreis / conlegi / mercatorum*).⁶⁰ The same guild is mentioned a few years later, in 105 BC, as the *magistri Mercurio Felici*.⁶¹ Roman *collegia* are explicitly attested on Delos in 87 BC, when they pooled funds to erect a statue in honour of Sulla.⁶² These may have included the olive oil dealers mentioned in three inscriptions from 100–95 BC as a mixed group of Romans and non-Romans,⁶³ but they no doubt comprised mainly the *Mercuriales*, *Neptunales*, *Apolloniastai* and *Competaliastai*. We have already mentioned that Roman freedmen were particularly numerous on Delos, but there was also a large number of *ingenui* residing on the island – such as the wealthy banker Marcus Minutius, who helped to finance the guild-house of the Beirutian

between merchants and shippers that almost certainly did not exist in reality. See also Rauh 1993: 33–41.

⁵⁸ Hasenohr 2002; 2003; the agora has been variously identified as a slave market (Cocco 1970; Coarelli 1982; 2005), a recreational centre (Rauh 1993) or a community-religious centre (Hasenohr 2001: 346).

⁵⁹ See for instance *CIL* I, 2947 (p. 930); *Lindos* II 300; *IMT NoerdITroas* 74; *IGR* IV, 790; the phenomenon is very common for the so-called *tria collegia* during the Principate: the *collegia fabrum (tignuariorum)*, *centonariorum* and *dendrophorum*; see Liu 2009 (*passim*).

⁶⁰ *CIL* X, 3773; cf. also *CIL* I², 682: *conlegium seive magistrei Iovei Campagei*. For other Campanian inscriptions mentioning *magistri*, see Flambard 1983; see also the *magister* of a Roman *collegium* on record in Ephesos c. 100 BC (*IK* 16, 2074).

⁶¹ *CIL* I², 2947; a joint dedication with the *Magistri Castori et Polluci*; note the telling *cognomina* of some of the freedmen mentioned here: *Aerarius*, *Pera*, *Purpur*.

⁶² *CIL* III, 7235.

⁶³ *ID* 1712; 1713; 1714; maybe also the Steersmen (*ploizomenoi*), although the inscription set up on their behalf is ambiguous about their collegial status: *ID* 2401.

Poseidoniasts.⁶⁴ If the Roman *conventus* had elected *magistri*, we would expect *ingenui* to have dominated these positions. This is not the case. Broekaert, furthermore, has shown that the *magistri* did not constitute an élite section of the Italian community on Delos. They came from a large and diverse group of families.⁶⁵

There is no reason, therefore, to doubt Hatzfeld's and Flambard's interpretation of the Boards of *Magistri* as representing separate social and religious associations. The Roman/Italian community as such did not have an associative organization. The *collegia* pooled resources, created institutions for collective action and put these under the control of their officers. They clearly structured social life in the Roman community on Delos, were probably instrumental in managing the 'Agora of the Italians' and presumably provided a framework for mobilizing the community when necessary. There is no indication, however, that they were elected or exercised formal authority over the *conventus* as a whole.

While we find various forms of associations representing non-Greek foreign mercantile communities, it is striking to find no comparable associative institutions for Greek residents, merchants or shippers on Delos – not even for the large group of residents from Seleucid Antioch and Syria. As local citizens, Athenians and Delians would have enjoyed protection from their own law courts and public institutions. Apparently, the other Greek residents were confident that they could rely on the same arrangements.

The mercantile communities on Delos are summarized in [Table 14.1](#).

3.2 Puteoli

Puteoli was Rome's main sea port during the late Republic and early Empire, until the opening of Trajan's enlargement of the Ostian harbour at Portus. It continued to be a major long-distance harbour afterwards.⁶⁶ Its population was very diverse. Like Delos, the town was home to foreigner communities from all over the Mediterranean.⁶⁷ The best documented is that of the Tyrians. Their first collective action is attested in AD 79 when the cult for the god of Sarepta (probably Eshmun) was brought from Tyre to Puteoli. Shortly later, the city council of Puteoli granted land to build a temple for the god.⁶⁸ The community is best known, however, for an

⁶⁴ See above. ⁶⁵ Broekaert 2015. ⁶⁶ D'Arms 1974. ⁶⁷ Camodeca 2006; Soricelli 2007.

⁶⁸ *AE* 1901, 151; Sarepta was an old Phoenician city, and still an active trading centre in Roman times, when it was controlled by Tyre, cf. Aliquot 2011: 85; for the cult of Sarepta in Puteoli, see Lombardi 2011.

Table 14.1 *Mercantile communities on Delos.*

Name	First attested	Last attested	Control delegation degree score
Egyptian business community			2 (or 3 via the religious associations)
Association of the Ninth-Day Worshippers (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἑνατιστῶν)	c. 200 BC	c. 200 BC	
Association of the Tenth-Day Worshippers (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν δεκαδιστῶν)	c. 200 BC	c. 200 BC	
Association of the Sarapiastai (ὁ θίασος ὁ τῶν Σαραπιαστῶν)	c. 200/150 BC	c. 200/150 BC	
Association of the Servants of the God (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν)	c. 200/150 BC	c. 200/150 BC	
Association of the Black-Garb-Wearers (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν μελανηφόρων)	c. 200/150 BC	c. 200/150 BC	
Unspecified social club (ἔραρισται)	c. 200/150 BC	c. 200/150 BC	
Assembly of the Senior (or Elders of the) Warehousemen in Alexandria (ἡ σύνοδος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πρεσβυτέρων ἐγδοχέων)	c.160/150 BC	c. 100 BC	4
Phoenician communities and guilds			
Warehousemen and Shippers from Laodicea in Phoenicia (οἱ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆι ἐν Φοινίκῃ ἐγδοχεῖς καὶ ναύκληροι)	178 BC	178 BC	2
Assembly of the Aradians on Delos (ἡ σύνοδος τῶν ἐν Δήλῳ Ἀραδίων)	c. 162/150 BC	c. 162/150 BC	3–4? (<i>synhodos</i>)
Association of the Beirutian Poseidon Worshippers, Merchants, Shippers and Warehousemen (τὸ ἐν Δήλῳ κοινὸν Βηρυτιῶν Ποσειδωνιαστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων)	c. 153/152 BC	90 BC	4
Association of the Tyrian Herakles Worshippers, Merchants and Shippers (Τὸ κοινὸν/ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Τυρίων Ἡρακλειστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων)	153/152 BC	153/152 BC	4
Samaritans and Jews			
The Israelites (i.e. Samaritans) on Delos Who Contribute towards Sacred and Holy Gerizim (οἱ ἐν Δήλῳ Ἰσραηλιῖται οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν ἅγιον Ἄρ γαριζεῖν)	c. 250/175 BC	c. 150/50 BC	2–4
Jewish community of Delos	c. 226 BC	c. 7 AD	2–4

Roman and Italian business community on Delos			2 (or 3 via the <i>magistri</i> boards?)
<i>Magistri Mercurii</i> /Ἐρμαιοῖται	c. 150/140 BC	57/56 BC	
<i>Magistri Neptuni</i> /Ποσειδωνιαστοῖται	c. 150/125 BC	74 BC	
<i>Magistri Apollini</i> /Ἀπολλωνιαστοῖται	c. 125 BC	74 BC	
Roman Shippers and Merchants Sailing on Alexandria (Ῥωμαίων οἱ . . . ναύκληροι καὶ ἔμποροι ἐν τῇ γενομένη καταλήψει Ἀλεξανδρείας)	shortly after 127 BC	shortly after 127 BC	2? (joint dedication of statue)
<i>Competaliastai</i>	c. 105/95 BC	c. 93 BC	
Ethnically/nationally mixed or undefined collectives			
Shippers and Merchants Sailing to Bithynia (οἱ καταπλέοντες εἰς Βιθυνίαν ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι)	c. 167 BC	c. 167 BC	1 or 2?
Wine dealers (οἰνοπῶλαι)	98/97 BC	98/97 BC	2? (joint dedication)
Olive oil dealers (<i>olearii</i> /ἐλαιοπῶλαι)	c. 100 BC	c. 96/88 BC	24? (joint temple building project + 'supervisors')
Steersmen (οἱ πλοιζομένων)?	c. 150/75 BC	c. 150/75 BC	2? (joint dedication in their name)

inscription set up in AD 174 by the *stationarii* of Tyre. It relates how the community had once thrived, allowing it to rent the most splendid *statio* in the city. Over time the community at Puteoli became smaller and poorer, probably because the enlarged harbour at Portus drew the wealthiest traders to Ostia and to Rome. For a time, the *statio* established at Rome paid the rent for the building at Puteoli, but around AD 170 this arrangement stopped. The group at Puteoli then sent an embassy to Tyre to request a subsidy of 250 *denarii*. During the debate in the council of Tyre, the alternative was suggested that both *stationes* would be placed under a single administration (ἐπι τῇ αὐτῇ αἰρέσει). Unfortunately, the inscription breaks off at the end. Sosin assumes that the group received satisfaction because the elaborate inscription detailing the events was erected in Puteoli, presumably on the wall of the Tyrian *statio*. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude that the fusion did take place and the new administration simply wished to publish this.⁶⁹

The relation between the community of Tyrians and those running the *statio* is not entirely clear, but it clearly implied delegation to represent, since one of the ambassadors who spoke on behalf of the ‘Tyrian residents at Puteoli’ (οἱ ἐν Ποτιόλοις κατοικοῦντες Τύριοι) was a *stationarios*. The letter he brought, moreover, was written ‘by’ the Tyrian residents (*katoikountes*). It also appears that the *stationarii* exercised some authority over the Tyrians at Puteoli, since the community pooled funds to pay for the cult of their ‘paternal gods’ and to celebrate Imperial holidays. In addition, the city of Puteoli charged it with paying for the yearly bull sacrifice at the city games. The *stationarioi* must have levied and administered these funds in addition to running the *statio*. Interestingly, the *stationarii* at Rome received income from shippers and merchants, while those at Puteoli did not. Why this was so or what it was for and on what legal grounds is unknown. The debate in the council of Tyre shows that the metropolis had a considerable moral authority over its *stationes* abroad. Whether it had the authority to impose a fusion of both *stationes* is doubtful, since the residents at Rome and Puteoli were clearly not on Tyrian territory. Steuernagel⁷⁰ sees the *stationarii* as commissioners charged by the mother city to manage the *statio*. The hypothesis is attractive, but nothing in the inscription positively supports it. The text merely shows that the *stationarii* act on behalf of the *katoikountes*. Teixidor believed that both *stationes*, at Rome and Puteoli, were under the formal authority of the city of Tyre.

⁶⁹ IG XIV, 830; Sosin 1999; Aliquot 2011: 88–91, no. 6 (and there for many more references); see also the contributions by Steuernagel (Chapter 3) and Terpstra (Chapter 8) in this volume.

⁷⁰ In Chapter 3 of this volume, following Lombardi and Sion-Jenkis.

Ahmeling rightly (I believe) rejected this. The embassy and the petition it brought show that the mother city was not, as a rule, involved in running the *statio*. The *katoikountes* were financially responsible for the rent, maintenance and management. The request for financial assistance was a call for help, which the city of Tyre could ignore or approve. Tyre is said to have ‘provided’ for two (trading) stations, one in Puteoli and the other in Rome, but what is meant by this is not clear. It could merely refer to the ‘migration’ of the god of Sarepta, which had to be approved by the city council of Tyre.⁷¹ The Tyrians living in Puteoli, furthermore, had their own district (*pagus*) with representative institutions (presumably the *stationarii*, although maybe under a different name) that elected patrons. In AD 150–200 (around the same time therefore as the embassy to Tyre) one of these, a Tyrian himself, donated a *taberna* with a ‘kitchen for cooking’ (*culina cocinatoria*) to the *pagani*.⁷²

The Tyrian community was not the only one in Puteoli that organized itself via formal institutions. Foreign residents from Berytus established a *corpus* in honour of Zeus Baalbek (Jupiter Heliopolitanus). It had statutes (*lex et conventio*) and owned a large terrain of almost 1.8 ha (seven *iugera*) with cisterns and (work)shops, with exclusive access for members.⁷³

Is it a coincidence that the two best-organized mercantile communities in Puteoli (as far as we know) are the same as we find two to three centuries before on Delos? The letter of the Tyrian *stationarii* refers to other *stationes* in Puteoli, but gives no further details. Other oriental cults and foreigner communities are well attested in Puteoli, but no collective institutions. Only the Nabataeans appear as a clearly defined ethnic and cultural group, although nothing indicates that they established formal institutions apart from the temple for their national god Dusares, which was built in 50/48 BC and renovated in AD 5.⁷⁴ Only vague traces suggest the existence of other foreign resident groups. There was a sanctuary for Jupiter Damascenus that may originally have been founded by resident merchants from Damascus, but no such community is attested and prominent Puteoleans were among the sanctuary’s priests in the second century AD.⁷⁵ A *vicus Tyanianus*, mentioned in a graffito in Herculaneum, may suggest the existence of a Cappadocian

⁷¹ Teixidor 1980: 462–4; Ameling 1990: 193–4. ⁷² *AE* 2006, 314 = Aliquot 2011: 87–8, no. 5.

⁷³ *CIL* X, 1579; 1634, Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 149; Heliopolis (Baalbek) was under the political control of the Augustan *colonia Romana* established at Beirut, until it received independent colonial status from Septimius Severus, cf. Butcher 2003: 115–16.

⁷⁴ *CIS* II, 158; *CIL* X, 1556; *AE* 1971, 86; 1994, 422; 423; 2001, 843; 844; Renan 1880; Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 141–3; Terpstra 2015.

⁷⁵ *CIL* X, 1575; 1576; cf. Bonsangue 2001: 207–9.

community.⁷⁶ Another graffito documents a neighbourhood group of *compitani Daphnenses* (probably) from Antioch.⁷⁷ The presence of a Jewish community under Augustus is mentioned by Josephus.⁷⁸ The Acts of the Apostles⁷⁹ suggest that some had converted to Christianity by the 50s AD. Unfortunately, the sources do not detail how the community was organized, although there were no doubt common religious institutions. The Jewish practice of sending gold from Italy to Jerusalem via Puteoli is referred to by Cicero.⁸⁰ As in the case of the Jews and Samaritans on Delos, this presupposes a minimal form of communal organization and institutions.

In contrast to second-century Ostia, only three texts inform us of collective action by Roman shippers or merchants in Puteoli. The first is an inscription found in the amphitheatre at Puteoli in honour of a *Divus* (probably Trajan) by a group of *navicularii* working for the *annona*. They may have formed a *collegium* and used one of the rooms in the amphitheatre complex as their *schola*. But the inscription is too damaged to identify the group more specifically and we cannot relate it to a specific room.⁸¹

In another inscription, from the Augustan era, merchants doing business in Alexandria, Asia and Syria (*mercatores qui Alexandr(ia) Asiai Syriai negotiantur*) honour a local aristocrat, L. Calpurnius L. f. Capitolinus. He probably belonged to a family with business interests in the East and may have financed the merchants honouring him, but nothing suggests that the latter had established a formal association.⁸²

Thirdly, Claudius Aelianus has a fantastic story about a giant octopus invading a seaside 'house' (*oikos*), used by Spanish merchants as a storage place.⁸³ Baetican merchants are well attested in Puteoli and the story suggests that the arrangement to use a common 'house' as a storage place was familiar to Aelianus' readers. The merchants ran the establishment using slaves, but the no doubt largely fictitious story does not specify whether they formed a specific partnership (*societas*) or a merchant *collegium*, nor does it specify when the event supposedly took place.

⁷⁶ *CIL* IV, 10676; Camodeca 2000; Soricelli 2007: 133.

⁷⁷ *AE* 1932, 71; Steuernagel 2004: 46, no. 170; Soricelli 2007: 133. ⁷⁸ *Ant.* 17.12.1; *BJ* 2.7.1.

⁷⁹ Acts 28.13–14. ⁸⁰ *Vat.* 12.

⁸¹ *AE* 1928, 120; Maiuri 1955: 54 (with an earlier date); Camodeca 1994: 114; Steuernagel 1999: 155; note that the amphitheatre had (at least) seven *scholae* used by *collegia* (Demma 2007: 73; Verboven 2011: 346).

⁸² *CIL* X, 1797 = *AE* 2002, 348; on the interests of the Calpurnii in the East and their possible relationship to the *mercatores* as financiers, see Andraeu 1980: 914–15 (against Rougé 1966: 279); cf. Jaschke 2010: 119–20 for further references.

⁸³ Claudius Aelianus *Anim.* 13, 6; cf. Jaschke 2010: 119.

Compared to Ostia, therefore – which is famous for its numerous merchant and shipper *collegia*⁸⁴ – the Roman business community at Puteoli appears to have relied largely on informal social networks. How did this work in practice? The remains of the archives of the Sulpicii, three financial middlemen, provide us with a fascinating snapshot of Puteolean business life in the middle of the first century AD.⁸⁵ The tablets mostly contain documents relating to loans or debts and trial proceedings. They mention 273 persons, of whom only 9 (3.6 per cent) are not Roman citizens,⁸⁶ 228 are free men (83.6 per cent), 12 are women (4.3 per cent), some 52 per cent are *liberti/-ae*⁸⁷ and 23 are slaves (8.5 per cent). The Sulpicii were mostly active as financiers or financial middlemen.⁸⁸ The creditors range from Imperial and senatorial freedmen, to a centurion to local businessmen and peregrine women. The debtors are long-distance merchants. Many clearly lived and worked in Puteoli, but not all, and some of those who did had their roots elsewhere.

The tablets give little information on social relationships, beyond the obvious master–slave or patron–freedman bonds. The large number of freed persons is typical for Roman commercial circles and reflects the importance of the extended *familia* as the core of Roman private commercial organizations.⁸⁹ The lack of clustering of names is consistent with the absence of formal associations, although it cannot be taken as positive evidence for this.⁹⁰

Nevertheless, the tablets are very informative about how the Puteolean business community established and managed trust. First of all, they document the existence of a formalized system of information storage and retrieval. Besides financing trade and acting as financial middlemen and brokers, the Sulpicii provided a ‘notarial’ service. The importance of such services as trust-supporting institutions in medieval and early modern

⁸⁴ See Rohde (Chapter 5) in this volume.

⁸⁵ The standard edition (with an excellent introduction) is Camodeca 1999; see also Andreau 1999: 71–9 for an introduction; the *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* published a thematic dossier on the Sulpicii in 2000.

⁸⁶ One from Tyr (*TPSulp* 4), one from Sidon (*TPSulp* 106), one from Alexandria (*TPSulp* 13; 14), one from Keramos (Caria) (*TPSulp* 78), one woman from Melos (*TPSulp* 60; 61; 62), whose *kurios* came from Athens (*TPSulp* 60; 61; 62), and three whose origins are uncertain (*TPSulp* 49; 80; 106).

⁸⁷ Verboven 2012: 92.

⁸⁸ There is strong disagreement on whether they were deposit bankers (*argentarii*) or ‘merely’ financial brokers. I have published my views on this elsewhere. The question is tedious and not relevant here; see Verboven 2003; 2008.

⁸⁹ Verboven 2012 and there for further literature. ⁹⁰ Broekaert 2013 for a discussion.

Europe is well established. The Sulpician tablets show the same mechanism at work in Roman Puteoli.⁹¹

Secondly, the documents illustrate how Roman law lay at the heart of Roman business culture. They rigorously follow the formalities we find in legal textbooks and show how Roman law served as an instrument to facilitate negotiation and coordination, thereby lowering negotiation and coordination costs. Thus, Roman law provided the dominant institutional framework to govern business transactions.

However, did Roman law also serve as a contract-enforcement institution? Procedural law did not entitle a plaintiff to assistance from public authorities, either to summon a defendant to court or to enforce a verdict. Terpstra argues that Roman law was not in itself suited to enforce contracts, since it relied on the willingness of contracting parties to accept litigation and carry out verdicts. It was an efficient way to handle conflicts only within local communities where social pressure could be used to force the parties to respect the law. Alien resident groups could fit in, but shippers and non-resident foreigners were outsiders and could not be constrained by Roman law. Long-distance trade had to rely on geographically defined *stationes* that provided non-resident traders with meeting places and local contacts where information on the past behaviour of potential business partners could be exchanged. This supported a reputation-based enforcement model. Norm deviance could be punished by exclusion from the *statio* and the services it provided.⁹²

Although Terpstra does not mention it, this view characterizes Roman law as an institution resembling Milgrom, North and Weingast's description of the medieval *lex mercatoria* at the Champagne Fairs. This private 'Law Merchant' (*lex mercatoria*) laid down rules of conduct and procedures to record agreements and to provide third-party judgements. It thereby supported private order, reputation-based enforcement, without coercive support from public authorities. Milgrom and his co-authors argue that this system was efficient even though the merchants were not from the county of Champagne and would return home at the end of the Fair, because they had a strong future interest in returning to the next Fair. A merchant who cheated or refused to comply with a verdict would be punished by exclusion. All that was needed was reliable information and impartial judgements by acknowledged experts; that is, fellow merchants.⁹³

⁹¹ Milgrom, North and Weingast 1990: 6; see for instance Hoffman, Postel-Vinay and Rosenthal 1994, on the role of notaries for early modern credit; see also Verboven 2008: 224–9 for similar services offered by deposit bankers and various other categories such as *proxenetae* and *pararii*.

⁹² Terpstra 2013. ⁹³ Milgrom, North and Weingast 1990.

This interpretation of the ‘Law Merchant’, however, and the role of the private judges was severely criticized by Ogilvie, who argued that there never existed a universal private merchant law code. *Ius commune* (derived from Roman and canon law) lay behind the private justice systems attested in most of western Europe. The application of this ‘private’ law system was efficient only where local rulers were prepared to enforce it. Pure reputation-based enforcement systems only worked within closed groups.⁹⁴

Terpstra argues that the business community documented in the Sulpician tablets was close-knit and could therefore rely on peer pressure and social sanctions to force contracting parties to accept litigation and to enforce verdicts. This seems doubtful, however. A significant number of people documented in the archive were probably local, but not all. On the creditors’ side, Imperial and senatorial freedmen and slaves (and no doubt local notables as well) acted as agents for their masters and patrons, who were investors, not (active) businessmen. The centurion mentioned as creditor⁹⁵ was clearly not a Puteolean businessman. On the debtors’ side, we simply do not know for most of the people involved what their origin or home base was. However, at least in the case of the *peregrini* we cannot take it for granted that they were members of a single, close-knit merchant society.

Roman public authorities were closely involved in every step of litigation in private affairs. Judges and arbitrators were selected by the litigating parties,⁹⁶ but they operated under the formal authority of judicial magistrates (*praetores*, provincial governors, or locally *duumviri* or *quattuorviri iure dicundo*), who appointed the judges and determined and specified the legal issues that had to be resolved. The magistrate could decree a *missio in possessionem rei servandae causa* against a plaintiff who refused to appear in court, which allowed the plaintiff to sell the defendant’s property publicly. Such a *missio in possessionem* was available also to enforce a verdict.⁹⁷ While it is true that these only gave the plaintiff a ‘right of seizure’, they made it impossible for the defendant to stay in business or to use his property to raise money. Moreover, while a judicial magistrate was not legally obliged to assist a plaintiff who tried to arrest a defendant or enforce a verdict, he certainly had the discretionary power to do so. Why would local or Imperial officials in Italy have refused their cooperation? Local magistrates were elected officials. The tablets document the traditional ‘formulary procedure’, which remained in use in Italy until the third century AD. Since Augustus, however, an alternative *cognitio extraordinaria* had developed in which public authorities did take charge of

⁹⁴ Ogilvie 2011: 250–68. ⁹⁵ *TPSulp* 12; 26. ⁹⁶ See Brokaert 2016.

⁹⁷ Kaser 1996: 427–32.

summons and enforcement of verdict. This procedure was common in the provinces, but only became dominant in Italy in the third century AD. Nevertheless, its development does indicate an acknowledgement on the part of the state of its role in the provision of justice.

Roman law, moreover, was not the only way in which the state accommodated merchants. Public and privately owned warehouses offered storage facilities for rent to overseas traders. Several of the Sulpician tablets refer to storage space being rented by merchants. These warehouses rented out storage space at market prices, but the state supervised the exploitation and lease contracts. So, if Claudius' Aelianus story has any historicity, the merchants in question at least were not obliged to use the storage space offered in the 'House of the Spanish Merchants'.

Thus, although ethnically based guilds played some part in the practices of long-distance trade at Puteoli, open-access institutions were readily available and supported individual business strategies based on voluntary social networks that potentially cut through geographical and cultural lines. The contrast with second-century Ostia and Portus – where merchant and shipper guilds are abundantly documented – is of course striking. It is likely that the same merchants and shippers who sailed to Portus sailed also to Puteoli. The absence of guilds in second-century Puteoli may be misleading, therefore, but the situation here suggests that the prominence of long-distance trade guilds at Ostia and Portus was due to the particular organization of the new Imperial port administration, specifically of the *annona* – not to inefficiency on the part of public authorities.

The mercantile communities at Puteoli are summarized in [Table 14.2](#).

3.3 *Ganuenta*

Delos and Puteoli were situated in the Mediterranean core of the Empire, yet long-distance trade stretched far beyond. Little is known of the original context of the altars for the goddess Nehalennia that were found on the beach at Domburg and under water in the Eastern Scheldt near the village of Colijnsplaat, approximately 25 km to the east. Clearly, the monuments derive from the same merchant group(s). One of the sunken altars suggests that the site, situated on the southern shore of the Scheldt estuary in the territory of the Menapii, was named Ganuenta.⁹⁸ Nucleated civilian

⁹⁸ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: B 50: Deae Neha[le]/niae / Gimio Ga/nuent(ae) cons(istens) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito); Bogaers wrongly assumed that Ganuenta was the capital of the Frisiavones, north of the Scheldt; cf. Bogaers and Gysseling 1971; Vos and van Heeringen 1997; Stuart and Bogaers 2001.

Table 14.2 *Mercantile communities at Puteoli.*

Name	First attested	Last attested	Control delegation degree score
Phoenician communities			
Association of Beirutian Worshippers of Zeus Heliopolitanus (Baalbek) Residing in Puteoli (<i>Corpus Heliopolitanorum / Cultores Iovis Heliopolitani Berytenses qui Puteolis consistunt</i>)	1st/2nd century AD	116 AD; 1st/2nd century AD	4
Tyrians Residing in Puteoli / Tyrian Station Holders (οἱ ἐν Ποτιόλοις κατοικοῦντες Τύριοι / οἱ ἐν Ποτιόλοις Τύριοι στατιωνάριοι)	79/96 AD	150/200 AD	2 (Flavian) => 4 (Antonine)
Other oriental communities			
Nabataeans	c. 50 BC	1/50 AD	2 (temple for Dusares)
Quarter of the Tyanians (<i>vicus Tyanianus</i>)	60/70 AD	60/70 AD	2?
Neighbourhood (association?) of the Daphnenses (<i>Compitani Daphnenses</i>)	c. 75/150 AD	c. 75/150 AD	2?
Damasceni?	138/161 AD	2nd century AD	2? (temple for Jupiter Damascenus)
Germellenses?	3rd century AD	3rd century AD	2 (temple of the Germellenses for Jupiter Heliopolitanus)
Ethnically/nationally mixed or undefined collectives			
Merchants Doing Business in Alexandria, Asia, Syria (<i>mercatores qui Alexandr(iai) Asiai Syriai negotiantur</i>)	Augustan	Augustan	2? (joint dedication)
Shippers Working for the Annona (<i>navicularii . . . qui ad urbem [-] / et copiam . . .</i>)	c. 90/150 AD	c. 90/150 AD	3–4?

settlements (*vici*) are rare in the northern part of the *civitas Menapiorum*. While this area had become more densely populated in the second century, it was still characterized by peasant agriculture and extensive cattle-raising. So Ganuenta may well have been merely a trading post or a small military outpost.

The *civitas* belonged to the province of Gallia Belgica, but the coastline formed a single military zone with that of Germania Inferior, north of the Scheldt estuary. The area saw intensive military action in the AD 170s due to the incursion of the Chauci, and may have continued to be unruly until the Severan emperors. There was a seaside fort at Walcheren-Roompot, a location only a few kilometres from Domburg and Colijnsplaat. The military camps at Aardenburg (45 km from Ganuenta/Colijnsplaat) and Oudenburg (75 km) provided inland support.⁹⁹

As a trading post, Ganuenta was important mainly for connecting the Rhine area and the *civitates* of the Tungri (via the Meuse river basin) and the Nervii and Menapii (via the Scheldt river basin) to the North Sea. Goods could here be transferred from river barges to sea-going vessels for transport to Britain and northern France and vice versa.¹⁰⁰ Whether it was the only such port cannot be known, but considering the size of the trade network documented at Ganuenta, it must have been an important one.

The Nehalennia altars cannot be dated more closely than AD 150–250, but the predominance of dedicants with the *tria nomina* (rather than *duo nomina*),¹⁰¹ the variety of *gentilicia*, the presence of significant numbers of non-Romans (see below) and the virtual absence of the name Aurelius¹⁰² suggests that the majority of the monuments date to the second century. Seven dedicants bear the name Iulius, which implies that their families had enjoyed Roman citizenship since before AD 43.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ De Clercq 2009: 379–92; tiles with military inscriptions were washed up at De Roompot and a seventeenth-century map refers to a ‘Roman castle’; cf. De Clercq 2009: 392; Dhaeze 2009: 1234–5.

¹⁰⁰ Besuijen and Siemons 2012: 140; cf. the relief of a river-boat on Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 8.

¹⁰¹ Peregrines could adopt Roman names of course, but few would take the full *tria nomina* when (by the later second century) the *duo nomina* had become customary; the comparison with Iunian Latins made by Llewelyn (1992: 150–1) is irrelevant, since this status would only exist for freedmen of Roman citizens.

¹⁰² Only one: C. Aurelius Verus (Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 11 = A 37), but the *praenomen* indicates that he did not assume this name after receiving citizenship via the *Constitutio Antoniniana*; *CIL* XIII, 8164a shows that he was a freedman (*C(ai) l(ibertus)*)

¹⁰³ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: B 8 (T. Iulius Tacitus); A 59 (Sex. Iulius Vitalis); A 52 (C. Iulius Primitivus); A 4 (Q. Iulius Frontinus); A 5 (C. Iulius Aprilis); A 49 (C. Iulius Ianuarius); A 26 (C. Iulius Florentinus); Iulius is the most common name, followed by Tertinius (four persons); there are three Sentii, but two of these are named in the same inscription; no other name occurs more than twice.

On the altars are documented 200 persons, the names of 133 of whom are at least partially preserved. The geographic reach of the Ganuenta merchants is impressive.¹⁰⁴ Most came from nearby Germania Inferior or Belgica: one from the *municipium Batavorum* (capital Noviomagus (Nijmegen)),¹⁰⁵ four to eight from Cologne;¹⁰⁶ four were Treveri,¹⁰⁷ up to seventeen may have been Tungri,¹⁰⁸ but there were also one from the Veliocasses (capital Rotomagus (Rouen)),¹⁰⁹ one from the Sequani (capital Vesontio (Besançon)),¹¹⁰ one from Durnomagus (Dormagen)¹¹¹ and one from the Rauraci (capital Augusta Rauricorum (Augst)).¹¹² Some specify where they did business. Four present themselves as *negotiatores Britanniciani*.¹¹³ Another identifies himself as a *negotiator Cantianus et Geserecanus*, active on the Channel route from Boulogne-sur-Mer to Dover.¹¹⁴ Perhaps we should add also L. Solimarius Secundinus, a citizen from Trier, who died at Burdigala (Bordeaux) around the middle of the second century AD and is recorded there as *negotiator Britannicianus*.¹¹⁵ One merchant from Trier exported salt from Ganuenta to Cologne.¹¹⁶

The social status of the dedicants varied. One was *decurio* of the Batavi,¹¹⁷ another was *sevir Augustalis* of the Rauraci;¹¹⁸ five were certainly Roman citizens;¹¹⁹ 94 others have Roman-type names (either the full *tria nomina* or the *duo nomina*), suggesting that they came from *civitates* with Latin or full Roman status; at least 20, however, had non-Roman names out of 119 (17 per cent) whose names are preserved well enough to ascertain name status. Only two mention freedman status,¹²⁰ but presumably there were more freedmen among them. In one case we may see a promotion from peregrine status to Roman (or Latin) status, viz. for Placidus, son of

¹⁰⁴ See Stuart and Bogaers 2001: 32–3. ¹⁰⁵ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: B 63 = B 74 = C 6 = C 17.

¹⁰⁶ Two are certain: Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 26 and A 49; for the others see Stuart and Bogaers 2001: 32–3; one is a citizen from Trier doing business in Cologne (C. Exgingius Agricola A 49).

¹⁰⁷ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 1; B 44; B 45.

¹⁰⁸ This figure is uncertain, since it is based solely on the type of stone used for a number of altars coming from quarries near Namur in the *Civitas Tungrorum*; Stuart and Bogaers 2001: 45–8.

¹⁰⁹ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 6. ¹¹⁰ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 57.

¹¹¹ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: B 30; a soldier *sesquiplicarius* who served in the *Ala Noricorum*, stationed in Durnomagus (Dormagen).

¹¹² Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 41.

¹¹³ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 3; A 6 (recorded also in Eburacum: *RIB* 3, 3195); A 11 = A 37; B 10.

¹¹⁴ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 9. ¹¹⁵ *CIL* XIII, 634.

¹¹⁶ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 1: civ<i=E>s Trever / negotiator / salarius / c(oloniae) C(laudiae) A(rae) A(grippinensium).

¹¹⁷ Q. Phoebius Hilarus, Stuart and Bogaers 2001: B 37; B 63.

¹¹⁸ [-] Marcellus, Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 41.

¹¹⁹ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 5 (a veteran); A 26; A 49 (citizens of Cologne); B 37; B 63 (the *decurio* of the Batavi mentioned above); B 30 (a soldier *sesquiplicarius*).

¹²⁰ *CIL* XIII, 8787; Stuart and Bogaers 2001: B 10.

Viducius, from the Veliocasses, who is mentioned as L. Viducius [Viducius] Placidus in Eburacum.¹²¹

Fourteen specify that they were *negotiatores*; four others thank the Goddess for having preserved their trade wares (*ob merces conservatas*).¹²² One was a barge skipper (*nauta*) from the Sequani, where the powerful guild of *nautae ararici*, the barge skippers on the Saône, were active. Presumably he traded along the Saône, Moselle and Rhine route.¹²³ One inscription is dedicated by a ship captain (*actor navis*), who also mentions the ship's owner (*dominus navis*).¹²⁴ One was an agent (*agens rem adiutor*).¹²⁵ One is named Mercatorius Amabilis. He set up an altar 'for his ships' (*pro navibus*).¹²⁶ Nearly all the altars were erected in fulfilment of vows. Seven inscriptions specify this was 'for safekeeping the merchandise'¹²⁷ and one for a prosperous venture (*ob meliores actus*).¹²⁸ Other dedicants had a military background. One was a *sesquiplicarius* from the *Ala Noricorum* (stationed at Dormagen near Cologne in the second century).¹²⁹ One was a *beneficiarius consularis*,¹³⁰ another a veteran *beneficiarius consularis*.¹³¹ How or whether these military men were related to the merchant community (perhaps as financiers or customers) is not clear.

The Nehalennia altars show a sense of shared identity. Some of them invoke their identity as *negotiatores Britannici*. Von Petrikovits interpreted this as signifying a professional *collegium*.¹³² Nothing in the inscriptions, however, suggests collective action by a formal association. The different background and social status of the traders make it unlikely that they would have established a single formal association. Each was connected to different domestic trade networks. The absence of clustering may be inferred also from the absence of clustering in *gentilicia*. Of the 84 *gentilicia* attested, only two occur four times or more: Tertinia (five times) and Iulia (seven times).

The mercantile community at Ganuenta was no doubt structured in some way, but there is no indication that it was organized as a formal voluntary association. The sanctuary and cult for Nehalennia provided opportunities for collective action by the resident merchant community.

¹²¹ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 6; *RIB* 3, 3195; or are they father and son?

¹²² Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 42 (name lost); A 62 (name lost); B 3 (C. Crescentius Florus); B 37; B 63 (Q. Phoebius Hilarus).

¹²³ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 57 (Vegisonius Martinus).

¹²⁴ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: B 38 (Bosiconius Quartus, *actor navis* for Florius Severus).

¹²⁵ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 29 (M. Cupitius Victor). ¹²⁶ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: B 2; B 4.

¹²⁷ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 3; A 9; A 42; A 62; B 10; B 37. ¹²⁸ *CIL* XIII, 8782.

¹²⁹ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: B 30 (Sumeronius Vitalis).

¹³⁰ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 7 (Agilius Secundus).

¹³¹ Stuart and Bogaers 2001: A 5 (Iulius Aprilis). ¹³² Petrikovits 1985: 326.

It may also have represented the interests of merchants and their agents. Neither service, however, appears to have been formalized and the temple certainly did not exercise control over the merchant community.

The Ganuenta trading network differed geographically from the trading zone covered by the shippers and merchants based at or having a foothold in Lyon. The core of the Lugdunum-based network covers the Rhône valley and northern Alps. It extends northwards to the *civitates* of the Viromandui (Saint-Quentin), the Vangiones (Worms) and the Treveri (Trier), and westwards to the mouths of the Loire (*portus Namnetum*) and the *civitas* of the Veneti. The Ganuenta network stretches southwards into the area covered by the Lugdunese network to Vesontio (Besançon) in the *civitas* of the Sequani and Augusta Rauricorum at the Rhine. Presumably both zones were connected also through the Seine river. However, the main connecting node was Trier on the Moselle. It clearly manifests itself as a first-order trading centre, whose mercantile élites were well established in both Lugdunum and Ganuenta and elsewhere in the German and Gallic provinces. If we extend the Ganuenta zone to Bordeaux, where the Treveran *negotiator Britannicianus*, L. Solimarius Secundinus, was active, the overlap increases via the Loire shippers, who are attested both in Lyon and in Nantes (*portus Namnetum*).¹³³

A handful of transporter and merchant collectives are recorded in Germania Inferior, but they are not particularly prominent. In Forum Hadriani (Voorburg), capital of the Cananefates, c. 60 km north of Ganuenta, there was a *collegium peregrinorum*, which no doubt consisted mainly of resident merchants and/or their agents.¹³⁴ A group of ‘Tungrian citizens and barge skippers residing in Factio’ (Vechten, c. 105 km from Ganuenta) dedicated an altar to the Goddess Viradectis, but nothing suggests that this group was organized as a formal guild.¹³⁵ The Lyon-based trading zone, on the other hand, is characterized by numerous, formal and prestigious barge skipper and merchant guilds, such as the *Nautae Ararici et Rhodanici* (on Saône and Rhône), the *Nautae Mosallici* (Moselle), the *Nautae Aruranci et Aramici* (on the Aar and Aramus(?)), the *Nautae Atricae et Ovidis* (on the Ardèche and Ouvèze), the *Nautae Druentici* (the Durance) and many more.

This contrast between zones is too great to be caused (only) by source bias. It shows different institutional set-ups in both regions. The Ganuenta traders did not rely much on private formal associations, while those

¹³³ CIL XIII, 1709; 3105; 3114; although in Lyon only via a patron, who was *allectus arcae Galliarum*; cf. Panciera 2006.

¹³⁴ CIL XIII, 8808. ¹³⁵ CIL XIII, 8815.

operating from Lyon and other centres in the river basins of Lugdunese and Narbonese Gaul and the western Alps did. The cause of this very different institutional set-up is unknown, but the massive presence of the Rhine armies – with whom the Ganuenta merchants clearly had close links – and therefore of Roman public authorities may have been (partly) responsible.

4 General Conclusions

The three case studies discussed in this chapter show how communities of long-distance traders in the Roman world differed in the degrees of control that individual traders were willing to delegate to collective institutions and offices. Strong formal associations (guilds) existed on Delos and in Puteoli, but were not the dominant type of organization in either location. Cultural preferences played a part among Phoenician groups, who created formal institutions as early as the fourth century BC. Phoenicians were among the first to create formal associations at the free port of Delos. Their guilds were still active in the later second century AD at Puteoli. Baslez suggested that foreign merchants on Delos chose to establish more formal and permanent associations to attract more powerful patrons.¹³⁶ Yet that does not explain why so few national or ethnic groups chose this option, or why we do not find similar guild structures among the Ganuenta traders. Except for the ‘Alexandrian warehousemen’, foreign merchant guilds do not appear to have been local branches of home guilds. The dossier of the Tyrian *stationarii* suggests that Phoenician cities actively encouraged their merchants to establish *stationes* abroad and retained some measure of moral authority over them. Most mercantile communities with distinct cultural identities, however, only established religious institutions that structured the community informally. Religious beliefs, ceremonies and events gave these groups social cohesion, which stimulated the exchange of information and made social sanctions possible.

Greek foreign businessmen on Delos, however, put confidence in the public authorities of their host town. In Puteoli, Roman law was the dominant institutional framework for transactions and it appears to have been relatively efficient by pre-industrial standards. The cult for Nehalennia and its temple attracted merchants from very diverse geographical backgrounds. Although the temple and the ceremonies and social

¹³⁶ Baslez 2013: 235.

events surrounding it no doubt stimulated general feelings of common identities and interests, the variety of backgrounds precludes the existence of a single strong merchant guild of ‘Nehalennia Worshipers’. We have no indication either that specific groups among the Ganuenta traders had formed their own guilds. By and large, Roman long-distance trade relied on relatively efficient open-access institutions and open markets. Of course, informal communities based on shared cultural identities and geographical origins stimulated relations of trust. Social networks among merchants no doubt favoured links between agents who shared cultural beliefs and national identities, but there was little need to formalize these into hierarchical associations and delegate control to chosen or appointed officers.

This chapter, however, has also shown glimpses of another side to this story. Strong and prestigious guilds of long-distance traders did exist. In some towns (like Ostia) or regions (like the great river valleys of the Gallic provinces and the cross-Alpine routes), they clearly did dominate trade. The reasons for this must be sought in local, regional and provincial conditions. We cannot generalize about the existence or absence of formal guilds on the basis of local or regional cases.

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15 | Polysemy, Epigraphic Habit and Social Legibility of Maritime Shippers

Navicularii, Naukleroï, Naucleri, Nauculari, Nauclari

PASCAL ARNAUD

The Latin words *navicularii* and *nauculari* and the Greek *ναύκληροι* or *naucleri* provide us with an interesting case study of epigraphic evidence. It is very illustrative of the opportunities that this evidence offers, as well as its limits of inference, and the amount of work still necessary for a sound understanding of its meaning. The corpus of known texts raises several issues. The first one is the small number of epigraphic occurrences of these words. Almost 90 individuals and more than 60 mentions of groups may be considered to be a significant corpus (Table 15.1). It is quite a small number, however, if compared to the some 600 inscriptions mentioning *negotiantes*, *negotiatores* and *πραγματευόμενοι*, or the 45 inscriptions mentioning *naukleroï* on the island of Delos alone in the pre-Imperial period. Occurrences of maritime shippers remain surprisingly rare given the large number of ports in the Empire and the time span of

c. 500 years under consideration. Notwithstanding the presence of a number of major coastal ports, the epigraphy of the Roman Near East has provided a very large number of citations relating to occupations,¹ but has only produced two *naukleroï*, one at Askalon,² the other at Aradus³ in a late inscription, although three Levantine *naukleroï* are recorded in other geographical areas and ports. The reasons for such an epigraphic silence are worth exploring.

The second issue is the meaning of those words. This has been a matter of long debate. Some thought that they referred to different legal classes of performers⁴ or that *navicularius* was a legal status.⁵ De Salvo argued convincingly that this could not be the case, and that all of these words

¹ Rey-Coquais 2002. ² SEG 51, 2016 = AE 2001, 1969.

³ Schmidts 2010. The date is likely to be later than that assumed by Schmidts, since the use of the formula *οὗτος ὁ τόπος* is typical of the Christian period. However, the absence of a Christian symbol argues against a very late period, and a date in the fourth century is therefore more likely than the third century.

⁴ De Robertis 1937; Rougé 1966: 239–55. ⁵ Sirks 1991. ⁶ De Salvo 1989; 1992.

Table 15.1 *Maritime shippers and their associations by place and region of discovery.*

	Place of discovery	Place of origin of the shipper/ group	Nature	Title	Reference
1	Panticapaeum	Tyana	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>CIRB</i> 732
2	Chersonesos	Sinope	Honours to outsider	ναύκληρος	<i>IosPE</i> I ² 364
3	Chersonesos	Tyras	Honours to outsider	ναύκληρος	<i>IosPE</i> I ² 365
4	Chersonesos	?	Honours to outsider	ναύκληρος	<i>IosPE</i> I ² 366
5	Tomis	Tomis	College	ὁ οἶκος τῶν ἐν Τόμει ναυκλήρων	<i>IScM</i> II 60
6	Tomis	Tomis	College	ὁ οἶκος τῶν ναυκλήρων	<i>IScM</i> II 132
7–8	Tomis	Hermione	Funerary	Daughter and wife of ναύκληροι	<i>IScM</i> II 375 = <i>SEG</i> 24, 1081; cf. 27.404 = <i>SEG</i> 39.680
9	Tomis		Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>IScM</i> II 291 = Broekaert 2013 no. 440
10	Tomis		Funerary	wife of ναύκληρος	<i>IScM</i> II 186
11	Ainos (Thrace)	Ainos?	Funerary?	ναύκληρος, θε<ε>ραπευτῆς Ἄσκληπιοῦ	Dumont-Homolle 437,103 = E. Miller, <i>RA</i> 1873.2, 84–94 = Broekaert 2013, no. 385
12	Ainos (Thrace)	?	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>I.Aeg. Thrace</i> E489 = Broekaert 2013, no. 386
13	Sinope	Sinope?	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>IK Sinope</i> 169 <i>BCH</i> 44 (1920): 354,a
14	Amastris	Amastris	College	ὁ οἶκος τῶν ναυκλήρων / ναύκληροι	<i>BCH</i> 25.1901.36,184
15	Cius (Bithynia)	Tyre	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>IK Kios</i> 71
16–17	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 29, 1346
18	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 32:1256
19	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος father and son	<i>SEG</i> 32:1257
20	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	Funerary	βουλευτῆς καὶ ναύκληρος	<i>TAM</i> IV.1 304
21	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>TAM</i> IV.1 297
22	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>TAM</i> IV.1 197

23	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	TAM IV.1, 195
24	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	TAM IV.1, 127
25	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	TAM IV. 1, 110
26	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	College	οἶκος τῶν ναυκλήρων	TAM IV. 1, 22
27	Cyzicus	Hermione, settled at Seleucia-on- the Calycadnus	Funerary	ναύκληρος	IK 18 Kyzikos 184 – IMT 1912
28	Cos	?	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>Iscr. di Cos (Fun.)</i> EF 650
29	Syros	?	Votive	ναύκληρος	IG XII, 5 712,14
30	Syros	?	Votive	ναύκληρος	IG XII, 5 712,47
31	Chio	Chio	Honorary/group	οἱ ναύκληροι κ[αὶ οἱ] ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἐργ[ασταί]	<i>Chios</i> 173
32	Thasos	?	Votive	ναύκληρος	IG XII, 8 581
33	Thasos	Mytilene	Votive	ναύκληρος, προναύκληρος κυβερνήτης	IG XII, 8 585
34	Thasos	Troas?	Votive	ναύκληρος	IG XII, 8 586
35	Smyrna	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>ISmyrna</i> 224
36	Ephesos	Ephesos	List of <i>neopoioi</i>	ναύκληρος,	<i>IEph</i> 946
37	Ephesos	Ephesos	List of <i>neopoioi</i>	ναύκληρος, βουλευτής	<i>IEph</i> 946
38	Ephesos	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>IEph</i> 2255E
39	Ephesos	?	Group	ναύκ]ληροι	<i>IEph</i> 1984A
40	Ephesos	Ephesos	House of the group	οἱ ἐ]ν Ἐφέσῳ ναυκλ[ήροι]	<i>IEph</i> 542
41–44	Teichioussa (Ionia)	Teichioussa	Funerary	Ναύκληροι (4 brothers)	<i>Teichioussa</i> 16
45	Lindos	Lindos (Rhodes)	Honorary	ναυκλαρεῦντες	SEG 14:511 = <i>Lindos</i> II 384b
46	Phoinix (Caria, Rhod. Per.)	Phoinix	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>IK Rhod. Peraia</i> 142
47	Phycus (Rhod. Per.)	Phycus (Rhod. Per.)	Honorary	ναυκλαρεῦντες	<i>Rhodian Peraia</i> 31 = <i>IK Rhod. Peraia</i> 514
49	Phycus (Rhod. Per.)	Phycus (Rhod. Per.)	Honorary	ναυκλαρεῦντες	<i>Rhodian Peraia</i> 121 = <i>IK Rhod. Peraia</i> 509

(continued)

Table 15.1 (*continued*)

	Place of discovery	Place of origin of the shipper/ group	Nature	Title	Reference
50	Physcus (Rhod. Per.)	Physcus (Rhod. Per.)	Honorary	ναυκλαρεῦντες	<i>Rhodian Peraia</i> 103 = <i>IK Rhod. Peraia</i> 510
51	Caunus		Decree	ναύκληρος	<i>IKaunos</i> 10; 35
52	Olympus (Lycia)	Olympus and Chalcedon	Funerary	ναύκληρος	Adak and Atvur 1997
53	Demetrias (Thessal.)	Cyzicus	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>IG IX</i> , 2 118
54	Pyrasos (port of Thebai Phthiotides)	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 55:613
55	Aidepsos (Euboia)	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>IG XII</i> , 9 1240
56	Athens	Hermione	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>IG II</i> ² 8498
57	Gytheion	Nicomedia, settled at Cyzicus	Funerary (at the expense of Gytheion)	ναύκληρος	<i>IG V</i> , 1 1190
58	Brigetio	Pons Aeni	Funerary	naucler(us) port[u]s / [Pon(tis)] (A)eni	<i>AE</i> 1999, 1246 = <i>AE</i> 2000, 1197 = Broekaert 2013, no. 388
59	Viminacium	?	Dedication to Mithras	nauclerus	<i>CIL III</i> , 13804 = <i>AE</i> 1894, 104 = Broekaert 2013, no. 438
60	Salonae	Berytus	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>Forsch. in Salona</i> 3 12a = Broekaert no. 389
61	Salonae	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 33: 490 = Broekaert 2013, no. 425
62	Issa (Vis) in front of Salonae	Byzantium	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 31:603
63	Emona	Aquileia?	Funerary, college	[– col]l[e]gi(i) navicular(iorum)	<i>CIL III</i> , 10771 = Broekaert 2013, no. 398
64	Aquileia	Aquileia	Honorary	colleg fabr centonar / den-drophor navicular	<i>CIL V</i> , *40 = <i>AE</i> 1994, 668

65	Aquileia	Corinth	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>I.Aquileia</i> 711= <i>SEG</i> 43.641 = Broekaert 2013, no. 395
66	Aquileia	?	Funerary?	Duplarius nauclerus	<i>CIL</i> V, 1606
67	Ravenna	Nicomedia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>CIL</i> XI, 22* = <i>IG</i> XIV, 337*
68	Pisaurum	Pisaurum	Honorary	colleg(ium) navicular (iorum)	<i>CIL</i> XI, 6369 = <i>EAOR</i> 2, 10 = Pisaurum 80 = <i>Questori</i> 321 = <i>AE</i> 1982, 266
69	Pisaurum	Pisaurum	Honorary	coll(egium) navic (ulariorum)	<i>CIL</i> XI, 6362 = <i>D</i> 7364 = <i>Pisaurum</i> 73 = <i>Questori</i> 324
70	Pisaurum	Pisaurum	Honorary	collegium navic(ulariorum)	<i>CIL</i> XI, 6378 = <i>Pisaurum</i> 89
71	Aternum (Pescara)	Salonae	Funerary	nauclero qui erat in colleg (io) / Serapis Salon(itano)	<i>CIL</i> IX, 3337 = Broekaert 2013, no. 394
72	Brentesion	Laodiceia (Syria?)	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 48:1260bis,4 = Broekaert 2013, no. 424
73	Leuca		Dedication to IOM	Nauc[lerus ? -arius ?]	<i>AE</i> 1979, 186
74	Syracuse	Lycia	Funerary (late)	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 15.590[1] = Broekaert 2013, no. 421
75	Syracuse	? *	Funerary (late)	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 15.590 = <i>SEG</i> 18.395 = Broekaert 249, no. 441
76	Syracuse	Leptis Magna	Funerary (late)	ναύκληρος	<i>BCH</i> 107 (1983) 609, XVII
77	Messina	Lycia	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>IG</i> XIV, 404 = <i>I.Messina</i> 88,29 = Broekaert 2013 no. 412
78	Olbia (Sardinia)	Cyprus	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 38.978 = <i>SEG</i> 52.940,6
79	Puteoli	?	Honorary, group	[-] navicul[arii -]	<i>NSA</i> 1927-325 = <i>AE</i> 1928, 120
80	Puteoli	Corycus	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>IG</i> XIV, 854 = Broekaert 2013 no. 426
81	Puteoli	Corycus	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>IG</i> XIV, 841a. = = Broekaert 2013 no. 416
82	Baiae		Funerary (late)	ναύκληρος Συμμάχων τῶν λαμπροτάτων	<i>IG</i> XIV, 879
83	Ostia		Monumental	nauclari[(group)	<i>AE</i> 1987, 180 = <i>AE</i> 1994, 328
84	Ostia	Ostia	Funerary	navicul(arius)] lyntra[rius	<i>AE</i> 1974, 123a = Broekaert 2013, no. 437
85	Ostia	Ostia	Honorary, college	codica]ri navicula[ri]	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 106 = <i>CIL</i> VI, 1022 (p 3071, 4317, 4340) = <i>CIL</i> VI, 31228

(continued)

Table 15.1 (*continued*)

	Place of discovery	Place of origin of the shipper/ group	Nature	Title	Reference
86	Ostia	Ostia	Honorary, college	codicarii navicularii et quinque (ue) corp(orum) navigantes	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 170 = <i>CIL</i> VI, 1624 (p 3811, 4721) = <i>IPOstie</i> -B, 00338 = <i>D</i> 1433
87	Ostia	Ostia	Honorary, college	codicari nav[iculari]	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 185 (p 481) = <i>CIL</i> VI, 1639 (p 3163, 3811, 4724)
88	Ostia	Ostia	Honorary, college	codicari nabiculari infernates	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 131 = <i>D</i> 687
89	Ostia	Ostia	Honorary, college	navicularius V corpor(orum) lenunculariorum Ost(iensium)	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 352 = <i>D</i> 6149
90	Ostia	Ostia	Honorary, college	defensori V corporum lenuncularior(um) Ostiens(ium) universi navigarii corpor(um) quinque	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4144 = <i>D</i> 6173
91	Ostia	Ostia	Honorary, group (Augustean)	Ostienses naviculari{e}i	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 3603 = <i>InscrIt</i> 4-1, 119 = <i>D</i> 6171 = <i>ELOstia</i> p. 93
92	Ostia	Ostia	Honorary, group (Augustean)	naviculari{e}i Ostienses	<i>NSA</i> 1953-269 = <i>ELOstia</i> p. 92 = <i>AE</i> 1955, 178
93	Ostia	Ostia	Funerary	[curator?] corp(or)is navicular[ar(iorum)]	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4648 = <i>Questori</i> 15 = <i>AE</i> 1928, 132
94	Ostia	Ostia	Funerary	curator navicularior(um) maris Hadriat(ici) / idem quinquennalis	<i>AE</i> 1987, 191
95	Ostia	Ostia	Funerary	quinquennalis cur[ator] corpor[is] navicular[ar(iorum)] maris Hadriat(ici)	<i>AE</i> 1988, 178 = <i>AE</i> 1996, 284

96	Ostia	Ostia	College	Genio / corporis / naviculariorum / [maris] Had[r]iatici	<i>AE</i> 1987, 192 = Broekaert 2013, no. 410
97	Ostia	Ostia	College	gratis adlect(o) / inter navicular(ios) maris Hadriatici	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 409 = <i>IPOstie</i> -B, 339 = <i>D</i> 6146 = Broekaert 2013 no. 406
98	Ostia	Africa	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Navicularii Africani	<i>NSc</i> 1953, 285, n. 44
99	Ostia	Ostia?	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Naviculariorum / lignariorum	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 278 (p. 614) = <i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 3
100	Ostia	Tarracina?	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Navicularii	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 4-9
101	Ostia	Misua	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Navicularii	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 10
102	Ostia	Muslubium?	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Naviculari	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 11
103	Ostia	H(ippone)] Diarry(to)	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Naviculari	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 12-13
104	Ostia	?	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Navicular(i) et negotian(tes)	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 15
105	Ostia	?	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Naviculari et negotiantes	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 16
106	Ostia	Gummi	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Naviculari	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 17
107	Ostia	Carthage	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Navicu<l=I>(arii)	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 18
108	Ostia	Turris (Libisonis)	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Navic(ulari)	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 19
109	Ostia	Karalis (Sard.)	Group, Piazzale delle corporazioni	Navicul(ari) et negotiantes	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 21-2

(continued)

Table 15.1 (*continued*)

	Place of discovery	Place of origin of the shipper/ group	Nature	Title	Reference
110	Ostia	Syllectum	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	[navic]ulari	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 23
111	Ostia	Curubi	Group, Piazzale delle Corporazioni	Naviculari(i)	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549, 34–6
112	Portus	Alexandria?	Votive	ναύκληρος	<i>I.Porto</i> 20 = Broekaert 2013, no. 435
113	Rome	Alexandria	Funerary	ναύκληρος πλοίου	<i>IGUR</i> II, 393 = Broekaert 2013, no. 387
114	Rome	Rome	Honorary	corpus naviculariorum	<i>CIL</i> VI, 1740 (p. 855, 3173, 4748)
115	Rome	Ostia	College	item naviculario cur(ator) / corporis maris Hadriatici	<i>CIL</i> VI, 9682 (p. 3895) = <i>D</i> 7277 = Broekaert 2013, no. 404
116	Arilica (L. of Garda)	Arilica	Funerary	colleciatus in collegio naviculariorum Arelicensium	<i>CIL</i> V, 4015 = <i>D</i> 6711 = Broekaert 2013, no. 403
117	Fossa Mariana (terr. of Arelate?)	Cor[-]	Votive (to the Genius of the [nego]tiantes [suba]ediani)	[<i>nau</i>]cler(us) cor[-]	Courrier 2015
118	Berytus (but origin likely at Arelate)	Arelate	Letter of the praef. annonae, college	naviculariis [mar]inis Arelatensibus quinque [co]rporum	<i>CIL</i> III, 14165,8 (p. 2328,78) = <i>D</i> 6987 = <i>AE</i> 1899, 161 = Virlouvet 2004.
119	Arelate	Arelate	Honorary, college	navic(ularii) marin(i) Arel(atenses) / corp(orum) quinq(ue)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 672 (p. 817) = <i>D</i> 1432 = <i>ZPE</i> 63–173 = <i>AE</i> 1981, 400 = <i>AE</i> 1984, 631 = <i>AE</i> 1986, 479 = <i>AE</i> 1987, 753 = <i>Nauta</i> 36
120	Arelate	Arelate	Honorary, college	naviculari(i) marin(i) Arel(atenses)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 692 = <i>Nauta</i> 37
121	Arelate	Arelate	Funerary	[ap]paritor navicular(-) station[-]	<i>CIL</i> XII, 718 = <i>Nauta</i> 32
122	Arelate	Arelate	Funerary	navicular(ius) Arel(atensis)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 704 = <i>Nauta</i> 31 = Broekaert 2013, no. 405

123	Ernaginum	Arelate	Funerary	navicular(ius) mar(inus) Arel(atensis) curat(or) eiusd(em) corp(oris)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 982 (p. 820) = <i>D</i> 6986 = <i>Nauta</i> 51 = Broekaert 2013, no. 396
124	Arelate	Arelate	Funerary	navicularius [marinus]	<i>ILGN</i> 116 = <i>Nauta</i> 35 = Broekaert 2013 no. 390
124	Lugdunum (Lyon)	Puteoli	Funerary	naviclaro marino	<i>CIL</i> XIII, 1942 = <i>D</i> 7029 = <i>Nauta</i> 6 = <i>ZPE</i> 56–261 = Broekaert 2013, no. 392
125	Nemausus	?	Honorary, group (seats at the amphitheatre)	nav(iculariorum?)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 3318e = <i>EAOR</i> 5, 45e = <i>Nauta</i> 50c
126	Narbo	Narbo (?)	Funerary	na]uclarius(?)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4701 = Broekaert 2013, no. 439
127	Narbo	Narbo (?)	Funerary	naucularius	<i>CIL</i> XII, 5972 = Broekaert 2013, no. 407
128	Narbo	Narbo (?)	Funerary	naucularius	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4493 = Broekaert 2013, no. 397
129	Narbo	Narbo (?)	Funerary	naucularius	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4495 = Broekaert 2013, no. 408
130	Narbo	Narbo	Funerary	navicul(arius) mar(inus) / C (oloniae) I(uliae) P(ater- nae) C(laudiae) N(arbo- nis) M(artii)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4398 = <i>D</i> 6971 = <i>Nauta</i> 43 = Broekaert 2013, no. 399
132	Narbo	Narbo	Honorary (honours granted to the n.)	navic(ularius) c(oloniae) I (uliae) P(aternae) C(lau- diae) N(arbonis) M(artii) /	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4406 = <i>Nauta</i> 49 = Broekaert 2013, no. 402
133	Narbo	Forum Iulii	Funerary	For(o) / Iuliensis / navicu- larius /	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4494 = <i>Nauta</i> 45 = Broekaert 2013, no. 409
134	Narbo	?	Funerary	[–] nav[ic]ul[ario]	<i>ILGN</i> 575 = <i>AE</i> 1905, 8 = <i>Nauta</i> 48 = Broekaert 2013, no. 436
135	Hispalis (Baetica)	Ostia	Part of administrative title of Roman offi- cial of the <i>annona</i>	adiu/tor (. . .) praef(ecti) annon(ae) / ad oleum Afrum et Hispanum recen/sendum item sola- mina transfe/renda item vecturas navicula/riis exsolvendas	<i>CIL</i> II, 1180 = <i>D</i> 1403 = <i>CILA</i> 2–1, 23 = <i>IDRE</i> 1, 179 = <i>CERom.</i> 18, 759 = <i>AE</i> 1965, 237 = <i>AE</i> 1971, 171 = <i>AE</i> 1991, 993.

(continued)

Table 15.1 (*continued*)

	Place of discovery	Place of origin of the shipper/ group	Nature	Title	Reference
136	Lucentum (Tarrac.)	Nicomedia? (very uncertain)	Ex voto?	ναύκληρος and crew	SEG 33, 835 = AE 1990, 639 = Broekaert 2013, no. 410
137	Lucentum	?	Shipwreck. Mark of property on cooking pot 5th c. AD or later	Ναυκλ[ήρου]	Torres-Costa 2017
138	Iuliobriga (Cantabria)	Iuliobriga (Cantabria)	Honorary, college	navic(ulari) qui Cantabr(ia) negot(iantur) / ad port(um) Iuliobrig(ensium)	CIL II, *242 = ERCantab *2
139	Sidon	Sidon	Votive (palaeochristian basilica)	Ναυκλήροι	Rey-Coquais 2002, 255 n. 99
140	Arados	Arados	Funerary (late)	ναύκληρος	Schmidts 2010
141	Askalon	Alexandria? Askalon?	Funerary	nauleri de / oeco poreuticor(um)	SEG 51, 2016 = AE 2001, 1969
142	Alexandria	Alexandria	Votive	ναύκληρος	IGRR 1.1062 = SB 5.8781
143	Alexandria	Heracleum/Tonis	Funerary	ναύκληρος	SB 1.2050
144	Petemout/Kerameia (Thebaid, Egypt)	Red Sea/Indian Ocean	Votive	ναύκληροι κα[i] [ἐμπο]ροι Ἐρυθραϊκαί	SEG 8, 703
145	Coptos	Red Sea/Indian Ocean	Honorary	Ἄδριανοὶ Παλμυρηνοὶ Ναυκλήροι Ἐρυθραικοὶ	Portes du désert 103
146	Coptos	Red Sea/Indian Ocean	Honorary	Ἄδριανοὶ Παλμυρηνοὶ Ναυκλήροι Ἐρυθραικοὶ	Portes du désert 103[1]
147	Paneion, El Kanais (Egypt)	Red Sea or Nile	Graffitto	ναύκληρος Ἰοάν[νο]υ [καί] Κλαυδίας	Paneion d'el-Kanaïs 57
148	Rusicade	Corycos	Funerary	ναύκληρος	ILAlg. II.1.75 = De Salvo 2006, 776 = De Salvo 1992, 463 = Broekaert 2013, 249 no. 442

149	Ruscade	Aegaeus	Funerary	ναύκληρος	<i>ILAlg.</i> II.1. 74 = De Salvo 2006. 776 = De Salvo 1992, 463 = Broekaert, 2013, 249, no. 441
150	Thabraca	?	Funerary (late)	Navicularius (proper name?)	<i>ILTun</i> 1705 = Broekaert 2013, 243, no. 418
151	Hadrumetum	?	Funerary (late)	navicularius	<i>ILTun</i> 186 = <i>AE</i> 1912, 170 = <i>ILAfr.</i> 60 = Broekaert 2013, 243, no. 420
152	Africa	Africa	List of taxes	naviculariorum nomine	Saumagne 1949
153	Neapolis	Neapolis	Honorary	ex t(-) et nav(iculario ?) ex mun(erario)	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 969 (p. 928, 1282) = <i>ILPBardo</i> 393 = <i>ILTun</i> 801 = Broekaert 2013, no. 394
154	Neapolis	Neapolis	Honorary	[)]r(-) et nav(icularius ?)	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 970 = <i>CIL</i> VIII, 12449= Broekaert 2013, no 400
Rejected inscriptions					
/	Aquileia		F (Byzantine 571–585)	naulerus	<i>CIL</i> V, 1606
/	Aquileia		F (Byzantine 571–585)	naulerus	<i>CIL</i> V, 1598
	Jdita (Brochoi? terr. of Berytus)	?	Dedication to Iuno	<i>JE Navi(-ularii)</i> actually reads <i>EN Aurel[i]</i>	<i>AE</i> 1910, 107
	Tabraka		F	<i>Navicularius</i> (proper name)	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 970 = <i>CIL</i> VIII, 12449
	Arelate (Arles)		F	<i>Q(uintus) Navicula/rius Victori/nus</i> (proper name)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 853 = <i>Nauta</i> 79

* The latest reading is Ϡ Θεόκτιστος ναύκλη|ρος Λύκιος κολλυ(βιστή)ς Ἄ|δων(ος or -ιδος) ἀδ[ελ]φ[οί] Ϡ . It may well give the names of three brothers, Λύκιος is probably Lucius, the name of one of the brothers, who was a changer.

characterized maritime shippers,⁶ and her conclusions are accepted by most recent scholars.⁷ The risk of De Salvo's reductionist position is that some confusion may arise between terms that are not always perfect synonyms. This is the case, for example, when she talks of maritime traders when inscriptions mention *naukleroi*, or considers that the mention of a Lycian *naukleros* is sufficient proof of the existence of a Lycian guild of *naukleroi*.⁸ She also refers to the *navicularii* of Africa and Sardinia in cases where inscriptions actually mention *domini navium*, thereby using a rare technical word to characterize ship-owners. This is not a secondary issue since *domini navium*, or ship-owners *stricto sensu*, did not enjoy *immunitas*,⁹ although those who had made shipping their main occupation and source of income (*negotium*), or who were members of a *collegium* granted *immunitas*, did benefit from it.¹⁰ Moreover, she did not demonstrate any difference in the epigraphic use of these terms, either chronologically or geographically. Is this a sustainable view? A re-examination of the epigraphic material is therefore necessary, bearing in mind that polysemy through time and space may be a key conceit and that, beyond the meaning of words *stricto sensu*, the modern scholar has to understand the codes that governed the use of the terms in different contexts. The postulate that all these words are absolute synonyms is not only reductive, but also quite possibly misleading. In terms of the meaning of these words, total confusion reigns. Some scholars consider that *navicularius* means 'rich trader',¹¹ while others understand it as 'ship-owner',¹² 'shipper',¹³ 'shipmaster'¹⁴ or 'ship-owner putting his ship(s) at the service of *annona*'.¹⁵ *Nauclerus* is usually translated as 'ship-owner'¹⁶ and *naukleros* as 'maritime entrepreneur' (*imprenditore marittimo*).¹⁷

What does epigraphy tell us about these people and does it provide us with reliable evidence for the sociology of the performers of maritime transportation? Are these words absolute synonyms or do they have different connotations that can vary according to the contexts in which they appear? How far may these connotations be explained by an individual

⁷ Broekaert 2013: 216–22; Courrier 2015. ⁸ De Salvo 2006.

⁹ Digest 27.1.17.6 = Callistrate (*libro quarto de cognitionibus*): Domini navium non videntur haberi inter privilegia, ut a tutelis vacent, idque divus Traianus rescripsit.

¹⁰ Digest 50.6.6.7. Hoc circa vacationes dicendum est, ut, si ante quis ad munera municipalia vocatus sit, quam negotiari inciperet, vel antequam in collegium adsumeretur quod immunitatem pariat, vel antequam septuagenarius fieret. Vel antequam publice profiteretur, vel antequam liberos susciperet, compellatur ad honorem gerendum.

¹¹ Kleijwegt 1993. ¹² Millar 1983. ¹³ Broekaert 2013. ¹⁴ *Sel. Pap.* 2. 423.

¹⁵ Rey-Coquais 1993. See also Chapter 12 of this volume.

¹⁶ 'Handelsschiffsbesitzer': Borhy 2012: 44; 'Schiffseigner': Adak and Atvur 1997.

¹⁷ 'Imprenditore marittimo': De Salvo 2006: 775.

choosing to display his role as a *navicularius*? To what extent may epigraphic evidence allow us to improve our understanding of the sociology and legibility of maritime shippers?

1 The Polysemy of These Words in Written Sources

There is evidence that clearly illustrates the polysemic properties of the words used to characterize maritime shippers. The Classical Greek period¹⁸ had seen a binary opposition and complementarity of two kind of professions on board merchant ships: the merchant (*emporos*), who bought, embarked and sold the ship's cargo or parts of it, and the commanding ship-owner (*naukleros*), who transported this cargo from one place to another, and for this received a *naulon* from the *emporos*. But as early as 327/326 BC, the date of the writing of Demosthenes' Speech 34 (*Against Phormio*),¹⁹ Lampis, who was called the *naukleros* of a ship, was a slave at the service of a certain Dio. By now, the word *naukleros* characterized no longer the ship-owner, but also the person appointed by him to be his representative on board and manage the ship. Roman law identifies this representative as the *magister navis* and defines him as the person who was in charge of the care of the whole ship and as one who signed chartering contracts on behalf of those who had charged him with that responsibility.²⁰ He was not one of the *nautae*, who were on board a ship with the mission of *navis navigandae*, and, unlike a captain, was not a sailor. His duties were therefore very similar to those of the modern 'supercargo'. In Ptolemaic Egypt, it appears from papyri that the word *naukleros* applied no longer to the ship-owner, now called *κύριος τοῦ πλοίου*,²¹ but to the one who managed a ship on behalf of its owner.²² The Latin binomial *dominus navis / magister navis* had a Ptolemaic ancestor: *kyrios tou ploiou / naukleros*.

Later papyri show that the meaning of the word under the Roman Empire was very variable and sometimes confusing. Along the Nile, use of the word *naukleros* in private documents like charter-parties²³ seems to preserve its traditional meaning: that is, the person who operates the ship and is able to sign contracts. *Kybernetes* is the person who commands it.²⁴

¹⁸ Reed 2003: 12–13. ¹⁹ MacDowell 2009: 279.

²⁰ Digest 14.1.1 = Ulpian 28 *ad ed.* 1: *Magistrum navis accipere debemus, cui totius navis cura mandata est.*

²¹ BGU X, 1932, Herakleopolis (150–100 BC). ²² Hauben 1971; 1978; 1983.

²³ Cf. *P.Laur.* 1.6, dated to AD 98–103. ²⁴ *P.Oxy.Hels.* 37, AD 176.

In AD 136, in an account of taxes in kind, *naukleroi* clearly means those individuals who operated the ships.²⁵ But in public documents involving the transport of public grain, the term *kybernetes* is the only word used until the mid-second century AD.

In maritime contexts, the word *naukleros* means the one who operates the ship, as in AD 149,²⁶ when two brothers from Askalon call themselves ‘*naukleroi* of their *akatos*’; the *naukleros* is the operating ship-owner in *PBingen* 77,²⁷ a register of ships entering an unknown port of the Nile Delta – probably Alexandria – issued by an unknown authority in the third quarter of the second century AD, which is likely to have been a port authority.

In at least two documents, *naukleroi* are likely to have been *munerarii* appointed to the transportation of material for public building who probably did not own boats themselves. In the first one, from Hibeh, dated to AD 139, four people ‘and the *naukleroi* who are with them’ – probably intermediaries acting on behalf of the *naukleroi* – sign a charter-party for the transportation of sand for the building of a new theatre, on the *paktôn* of a man who is also its *kybernetes*. Here, *naukleroi* seem to have been the bearers of the compulsory *munus* for conveying sand to the worksite of the theatre, as in a private document dated to 27 February AD 155, in which the commander of a boat is called *kybernetes* as usual, but contracted to a charter-party with two people ‘declared (or registered) as *naukleroi* in the Arsinoite’ for the transportation of 22 trunks of shittah-wood.²⁸

Other documents strongly suggest that in Egypt the notion of *naukleros* meant a declared status, if linked not to a *munus* then at least to the service of the state. In AD 178, the *nauklerion* of Oxyrhynchos consisted of eight boats and as many owners,²⁹ called *kybernetai*, which were apparently under requisition for transportation of public grain. In AD 247, the *naukleria* at Oxyrhynchos was apparently a *munus*.³⁰

It seems, therefore, that on the Nile the words *naukleros* and *kybernetes* in public documents involving the transport of grain had significantly different meanings. It also seems that this situation changed at some time during the second century AD. The *cheirismos* later known as ‘the *cheir-*

²⁵ *PSI* 7.792: [] η εν []λο[] του κυάμου ἐγένετο πλήν ὀλί[γ -ca.-?]⁵ γομ[]ν [..] πλοίων οὐκέτι παραγενομένων [-ca.-?]⁶ ἀπογομησάντων τῶν ναυκλήρων [-ca.-?].

²⁶ *SB* 14.11850 = *SB* 6.9571, Theadelphia. ²⁷ Heilporn 2000.

²⁸ *P.Col.* 2.1: τῶν β προεστῶτων ναυκλ(ήρων) Ἀρσινοῦ[τρῶ]. ²⁹ *P.Koeln* 5.229.

³⁰ *P.Oxy.* 12.1418: [-ca.-? τῆς πληρω]θείσης ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ναυκληρίας καὶ ὧν ἄλλω[ν].

ismos of Neapolis' – most likely the administration under the authority of the procurator of Neapolis rather than a guild³¹ – was named 'the *cheirismos* of the *kybernetai*' in AD 118.³² One of these *kybernetai*, appointed as priest of *cheirismos* by the procurator, owned ships with a total capacity of burden of 84,000 *artabae*, which was equal to 378,000 Italic *modii*,³³ a figure that is the equivalent to almost seven times the total of 55,000 *modii* that was needed to enjoy the privileges granted to the *navicularii* in the second century AD. We have no idea when the name changed. A document dated to AD 139 is too mutilated to allow any meaningful reconstruction.³⁴ In AD 154, the owner of at least three ships with a total capacity of burden of 7,500 *artabae*, sent by the procurator of Neapolis to charge a load of grain at Kerke and bring it to the '*cheirismos* of Neapolis', is called *kybernetes*. During the Severan period, no further *kybernetes* are known in the *cheirismos*.³⁵ All available evidence from that period shows that *naukleroï* mentioned as part of this *cheirismos* were operating fleets whose individual and overall capacity of burden was above the tonnage needed in order to enjoy the privileges granted to *navicularii* at the service of the *annona*, likely by the reign of Trajan.³⁶ This technical meaning seems to last until the late fourth century AD.³⁷ The status was not life-long, but did bring some dignity to its bearer, since one receipt characterizes the father of a certain Protas

³¹ The nature of this *cheirismos* of Neapolis is under discussion. Cf. Rossi 2015. It has long been considered, following Rostovtzeff, that it was a guild of shippers (*kybernetai* and *naukleroï*). It is more likely to have been an office or service, for it is the point of delivery of royal grain in several papyri, especially those mentioning Posidonius-Triadelphus (SB 14.11272; P.Oxy. 10.1259, both dated to late January or February AD 211). Both explicitly mention the procurator of Neapolis (as does the later BGU I, 8, dated AD 248).

³² P.Giss. 1.11 = Chr. Wilck. 444 = Sel. Pap. 2.423 = P.Giss.Apoll. 31: τοῦ χειρισμοῦ τῶν κυβερνῶν[ητ(ῶν)].

³³ For the ratio between the *artaba* and the Italic *modius*, see Duncan-Jones 1976.

³⁴ SB 22.15717.

³⁵ SB 14.11272; P.Oxy. 10.1259, both dated to late January or February AD 211; BGU I, 8, dated to AD 248.

³⁶ Digest 50.5.3 = Scaevola (*III regularum*): His, qui naves marinas fabricaverunt et ad annonam populi Romani praefuerint non minores quinquaginta milium modiorum aut plures singulas non minores decem milium modiorum, donec hae naves navigant aut aliae in earum locum, muneris publici vacatio praestatur ob navem. 'The exemption to public *munera* is granted on account of their ship to those who have built sea-going ships of at least 55,000 *modii* or several of at least 10,000 *modii* and placed the ship at the service of the *annona Populi Romani*, provided that these ships actually sail or that other ones do in lieu.'

³⁷ SB 14.11615, AD 365–73.

as *epiplous* (probably the *magister navis*) of a ship and ex-*naukleros* of the *cheirismos*.³⁸

One document, dated to AD 317,³⁹ called the person operating a public boat (probably rented by him) a *naukleros*, and made a distinction between him, another *naukleros*, who was not on board, and his *kybernetes*, who was also his brother and acted on behalf of the *naukleros*. Thus, *naukleros* probably meant the person who operated the boat, not the one who owned it. Generally during the fourth century AD on the Nile, the commander is again called *kybernetes*⁴⁰ and the person commanding the boat he operated *nauklerokybernetes* in the Hermopolite nome.⁴¹ Use of the phrase ‘*nauklerokybernetes* of his own boat’ suggests that ownership was not necessarily associated with this word.⁴² But at the same time, in public documents *naukleroï* are the people in charge of conveying grain to Alexandria.⁴³

In Roman Imperial papyri, the word *naukleros* clearly did not normally mean ‘ship-owner’, but rather a ship-operator, making money from his operations and liabilities for this service. The exact meaning actually varies not only through time but also in the documentary contexts where it is used. In addition to the previous meaning, it may also characterize the holders of the compulsory office of transportation, who generally had nothing to do with owning or operating boats. It also seems to characterize a status attached to owners of high-tonnage ships placed at the service of the state for the transportation of public grain between the mid-second and the mid-third centuries AD. This would explain why the eight members of the *nauklerion* of Oxyrhynchos and other individuals holding this compulsory *naukleria* – a *leitourgeia/munus* – all of whom owned a single small ship, are called *kybernetai*. In the later Roman Empire, when the *munus navicularae*⁴⁴ transformed the status of *navicularius* into a personal status attached not only to people but also to estates, the title ναυκλή[ρο]υ θαλατῆτος ναυκληρίου probably applied to those people involved in the *munus navicularae*,⁴⁵ a connection that usually followed the estate to which it was attached.⁴⁶

³⁸ SB 22.15717 139 Tebtunis: εἰς Πρωτῶν Ἡρώδου ἐπιπλωίου γενομένου | [ναυκ]λ[ήρου] χειρισμοῦ Νέας |¹⁰ [Πόλεως πυροῦ].

³⁹ *P.VindobWorp* 8,r, Hermoupolis Magna. ⁴⁰ Gonis 2003.

⁴¹ *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 14 (AD 343); *Stud.Pal.* 2 p. 34 (AD 343); *P.Harr.* 1.94 (AD 326–75); *P.Muench.* 3.1.99 = *Chr.Wilck.* 434 (AD 390).

⁴² SB 14.11548 (AD 343–4): ναυκληροκυβερνήτην [πλ]οῖου ἰδιωτικοῦ; *P.Flor.* 1.75 = *Chr.Wilck.* 433 (AD 380), l. 8: ναυκληροκυβερνήτου πλ(οῖου) ἰδίου.

⁴³ *P.Mich.* 20 812, Oxyrhynchos or Pelusion, AD 373. ⁴⁴ Gaudemet 1980.

⁴⁵ *P.Oxy.* 1.87, Oxyrhynchos, AD 342.

⁴⁶ *CTh.* 13.6.6 (372, 17 Apr.); *CTh.* 13.6.8 = *CJ* 11.3.3 (399, 16 Feb.); *Augustine Letters* 335.4.5 (*PL* 30, col. 1572).

The papyrological evidence we have reviewed thus far is sufficient to show the complexity and variability of the meaning of the word in Roman Egypt. When Ulpian, who was also a *praefectus praetorio*, following Labeo who wrote under Augustus, faces matters of liability relating to shipment, he uses the word *navicularius* to characterize the person who was liable for the safe transportation of goods on a specific ship, under the terms of a contract.⁴⁷ The *navicularius* is then the one who operates the ship, either personally or through his representatives. But when special privileges were granted to the *navicularii*, the question quickly arose as to who could enjoy these privileges. Answers varied through time and required a great number of explanations by various emperors, in order to prevent individuals from escaping their civic duties by virtue of the exemptions granted to the *navicularii*. This became a matter of sustained debate that led to various, and sometime contradictory, arbitrations. The origin of the issue may have been that some of the *corpora naviculariorum* and their members at first enjoyed exemptions without further qualification, until Trajan stated that ship-owning was not a sufficient requirement to enjoy exemption.⁴⁸ Accordingly, the *navicularii*, in the sense of those shippers enjoying exemption, were not ordinary ship-owners: other requirements were needed. Hadrian confirmed this statement, especially regarding the owners of old ships bought for little money in order to get the exemption from compulsory offices. He stated that this privilege should be granted to individuals who had invested a major part of his *patrimonium* in order to build ships that were put at the service of the *annona*, and those who also derived most of their revenues from their activities as a maritime shipper.⁴⁹

Although available evidence states that these ships were *naves marinae*,⁵⁰ the parallel with the contemporary situation on the Nile is striking. A Greek rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus not only shows that in the emperors' mind *navkleros* and *navicularii* were synonyms, it also determines that belonging to a *corpus naviculariorum* did not mean owning ships, and that the membership of such a *corpus* was not a sufficient condition to enjoy

⁴⁷ Digest 19.2.13.1 = Ulpian (32 *ad ed.*): Si navicularius onus Minturnas vehendum conduxerit et, cum flumen Minturnense navis ea subire non posset, in aliam navem merces transtulerit eaque navis in Ostio fluminis perierit, tenetur primus navicularius? Labeo, si culpa caret, non teneri ait: ceterum si vel invito domino fecit vel quo non debuit tempore aut si minus idoneae navi, tunc ex locato agendum.

⁴⁸ Digest 27.1.17.6 = Callistrate (*libro quarto de cognitionibus*): Domini navium non videntur haberi inter privilegia, ut a tutelis vacent, idque divus Traianus rescripsit.

⁴⁹ Digest 50.6.6.5 = Callistrate (*libro primo de cognitionibus*): Divus Hadrianus rescripsit immunitatem navium maritimarum dumtaxat habere, qui annonae urbis serviunt.

⁵⁰ Digest 50.5.3 = Scaevola *III Regularum*, quoted above, [note 37](#).

the exemption granted to *navicularii*. Under these emperors, being a *navicularius* in the fullest sense – from the point of view of exemptions – applied to a limited number of registered individuals. This status was granted for five years and continued for as long as the service of *annona* lasted.⁵¹ The process of clarification took more than half a century and was never fully integrated into actual practice. In their tug of war for privileges, the *corpora* and their members, ship-owners and the emperors had chosen to give the words *navicularius* and *naukleros* different, conflicting meanings. Pertinax, followed by Severus,⁵² eventually considered that belonging to one of the *corpora naviculariorum* that had been granted the exemption provided the holder with the privileges granted to the *navicularii*. This suggests that some *corpora naviculariorum* had first been granted these privileges before Trajan, but that the subsequent emperors had tried to limit the impact of this decision on the civic life of cities. These exemptions, similar to those granted to veterans, were mainly a municipal affair. As for other matters regarding municipal life, the issue of Imperial rescripts did not mean that emperors wanted to reform the whole system, so much as facing specific issues that arose in particular cities. The way these rescripts often repeat the terms of previous ones seems to indicate that they did not follow the current custom and that, as long as there was no major pressure on the turnover of offices in a particular city, members of a *corpus naviculariorum* would enjoy exemption without further discussion. It was also in the city's interest to have good supplies and to be in a good relationship with its own shippers.

⁵¹ Digest 27.1.17.6.8 = Callistrate (*libro quarto de cognitionibus*) and Digest 50.6.6.6 = Callistrate (*libro primo de cognitionibus*): Licet in corpore naviculariorum quis sit, navem tamen vel naves non habeat nec omnia ei congruant, quae principalibus constitutionibus cauta sunt, non poterit privilegio naviculariis indulto uti. Idque et divi fratres rescripserunt in haec verba: Ἦσαν καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐπὶ προφάσει τῶν ναυκλήρων καὶ τὸν σῆτον καὶ ἔλαιον ἐμπορευομένων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ ὄντων ἀτελῶν ἀξιούντεςωτὸς λειτουργίας διαδιδράσκειν, μήτε ἐπιπλέοντες μήτε τὸ πλεόν μέρος τῆς οὐσίας ἐν ταῖς ναυκληρίαις καὶ ταῖς ἐμπορείαις ἔχοντες. ἀφαιρεθῆτω τῶν τοιούτων ἡ ἀτέλεια' [*id est: erant etiam alii quidam sub ea specie, quod navicularii quique frumentum oleumque ad annonam populi Romani advehunt immunes sunt, munera effugere volebant, cum neque naviculariam facerent neque maiorem partem rei familiaris in re navicularia et negotiatione collocassent: horum immunitas tollatur.*].

Negotiatores, qui annonam urbis adiuvant, item navicularii, qui annonae urbis seruiunt, immunitatem a muneribus publicis consequuntur, quamdiu in eiusmodi actu sunt; Digest 50.4.5 = Scaevola (*libro primo regularum*): Navicularii et mercatores olearii, qui magnam partem patrimonii ei rei contulerunt, intra quinquennium muneris publici vacationem habent.

⁵² Pertinax: Digest 50.6.6 = Callistrate (*libro primo de cognitionibus*): Eos, qui in corporibus allecti sunt, quae immunitatem praebent naviculariorum, si honorem decurionatus adgnoverint, compellendos subire publica munera accipi: idque etiam confirmatum videtur rescripto divi Pertinacis; Severus: Digest 50.6.6.7 = Callistrate (*libro primo de cognitionibus*): antequam in collegium adsumeretur quod immunitatem pariat.

As is so often the case, the later Roman Empire stands apart. In late Imperial edicts, the *navicularius* is not necessarily a person who sails on board, but rather the ship-owner who placed his ships at the service of the *annona*, under the command of a *magister navis*. For that reason, the latter is questioned only when the whole crew has perished in the wreckage. The late Empire was also the period when the *munus naviculare* made the condition of being a *navicularius* hereditary.⁵³

These qualifications and official changes that followed them may have been puzzling to many practitioners of maritime transportation. Three inscriptions from Ostia may well echo clarifications made under Hadrian and Antoninus. The first one, which is dated to AD 140 or 141,⁵⁴ was composed by the *domini navium Carthaginiensium*. A second inscription, dated to AD 173,⁵⁵ was written by the *domini navium Afrarum / univrsarum* (a secondary hand later added the term *item Sardorum*). This may well have been the result of local custom (both inscriptions were written by African ship-owners), but it seems obvious that the writers intended to distinguish themselves from *navicularii*, a term that was now granted to some of the *domini navium*, and not just to them. *Domini navium* have not been recorded on inscriptions from anywhere else in the Roman Empire.⁵⁶ The same preoccupation may explain why an inscription from Ostia, long ascribed to the year AD 147 and now dated to AD 217⁵⁷ – the year when Caracalla died and Macrinus was made emperor for a couple of months – uses the otherwise unknown word *navigiarius*. In this inscription, the *navigiarii V corporum* take the place of the usual *navicularii V corporum*, while the *codicarii* of the *corpus splendissimum codicar(ium)* mentioned in this inscription are usually named *codicarii navicularii* in most inscriptions, as was the case earlier in 166,⁵⁸ or later under the reign of Constantine.⁵⁹ In AD 247, an inscription still makes the distinction

⁵³ *CTh.* 13.5.12 (369, 14 May).

⁵⁴ *CIL* XIV, 99 (p. 613) = *EE* 9, p. 334 = *IPOstie-B*, 316 = *D* 339: Imp(eratori) Caesari / divi Hadriani fil(io) / divi Traiani Parthic(i) nepoti / divi Nervae pronep(oti) / T(ito) Aelio Hadriano / Antonino Aug(usto) Pio / pont(ifici) max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) IIII / co(n)s(uli) III p(atri) p(atriciae) / domini navium Carthagi(n)ensium ex Africa.

⁵⁵ *CIL* XIV, 4142 = *D* 6140 = *Questori* 13. ⁵⁶ See [Chapter 9](#) in this volume.

⁵⁷ *CIL* XIV, 4144 = *D* 6173: C(aio) Veturio C(ai) f(ilio) Testio / Amando / «eq(uiti) R(omani) patron» o et / defensori V corporum / lenuncularior(um) Ostiens(ium) / universi **navigiarii**(!) corpor(um) / quinque ob insignem eius / in d[efend]endis se et in tuendis / eximiam diligentiam dignissimo / [a]tque abstinentissimo viro / ob merita eius / [patron]o corporis splendissimi codicar(ium) / l(ocus) d(at)us d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ublice). For the re-examination of the text and date, see [Tran 2014](#).

⁵⁸ *CIL* XIV, 106 = *CIL* VI, 1022 (p. 3071, 4317, 4340) = *CIL* VI, 31228.

⁵⁹ *CIL* XIV, 170 = *CIL* VI, 01624 (p. 3811, 4721) = *IPOstie-B*, 00338 = *D* 1433 = *Tyche* 2010, 89 (AD 247); *CIL* XIV, 131 = *D* 687 (Constantine).

between the *navicularii codicarii* and the *quinq(ue) corp(orum) navigantes*. Use of this word was probably a way of avoiding use of the term *navicularius*. People like the *lyntrarii*, who operated river-boats on the Tiber, were called *navicularii* on an inscription that is imprecisely dated, but is probably from the second century AD.⁶⁰ *Lenuncularii* were considered as *navicularii* again in AD 251.⁶¹ The decisions of Pertinax and Septimius Severus may explain the change of *navicularii* into *navigarii* or *navigantes*, when it appeared that the *lenuncularii* of the Tiber were not *navicularii* in the fullest sense, for their *corpus* did not enjoy – at least until some time between 247 and 251 – the privileges granted to the *corpora naviculariorum*. Anyway, it seems clear that there were periods when there was some wariness about using the word *navicularius*, the precise meaning of which would have changed through time, and in terms of geographical space as well. At the time when the *domini navium* at Ostia had ceased considering themselves to be *navicularii*, *PBingen 77* from Egypt calls any person operating a ship *naukleros*. There are thus good reasons to wonder what it was that people who refer to themselves as a *navicularius* or a *naukleros* in an inscription actually meant.

To sum up, none of these words had a stable and strict legal sense. Moreover, the context and the inter-textual reading of a particular statement or record could change the meaning of a word. In the context of literary tradition, the Greek couplet *naukleros /emporos* survived for a long time, even in the work of Latin writers: after Cicero,⁶² Tacitus introduces the terms *navicularii* and *mercatores* in the context of mentioning the victims of Cilician raiders under the reign of Claudius,⁶³ while a Greek rescript of the *divi fratres* refers to the same centuries-old couplet *naukleros /emporos*.⁶⁴

When the privileges granted to the *navicularii* started characterizing the municipal élites subject to the *munus naviculare*, then the word once again had a new technical sense, the meaning of which is made clear in some later Roman papyri. But does that mean that previous uses of the word disappeared, especially in the sphere of funerary epigraphy? This seems unlikely, and illustrates the polysemy of a single term. The examples discussed above illustrate how difficult it is to understand documents that are even as apparently self-evident as those which mention *navicularii* and *naukleroi*,

⁶⁰ AE 1974, 123a (Ostia Antica): *navic[ul(arius)] lyntra[r]ius*.

⁶¹ CIL XIV, 352 = D 6149 = SIRIS 536 = CECapitol 329 = RICIS 2, 503/1115 = *Epigraphica* 2016, 58, Ostia (AD 251: *naviculario V corpor(orum)/lenunculariorum Ost(iensium)*).

⁶² 2Verr. 2.137; 5.149; 5.153; *Pro Lege Manilia* 11. ⁶³ Ann. 12.55.

⁶⁴ Digest 50.6.6.6 = Callistrate (*libro primo de cognitionibus*).

and the extent to which it is necessary to combine evidence from epigraphy with that from jurisprudence and papyri.

2 Semantic Field and Rules: *Navicularius*, *Naucularius*, *Naucularius*

To some extent, the customary use of these words suggests that at least some of them had specialized, if not entirely different, meanings.

2.1 *Navicularius*

Only one inscription ‘technically’ refers to *navicularii* as the people who were paid fees or wages for the maritime shipping of goods.⁶⁵ It is a late inscription displayed in the province of Africa under the reign of Valentinian I.⁶⁶ The word *navicularius* actually applies to non-maritime shippers too, like those on Lake Garda, and this explains why some are called *navicularii marini*.⁶⁷

Most of the epigraphic evidence that mentions *navicularii* relates to groups of people, whose level of formal organization is sometimes unclear. Our principal source of information comes from Ostia. The *navicularie Ostienses* are known only in the age of Augustus.⁶⁸ The word *navicularius* is part of the title of the *corpus naviculariorum maris Hadriatici*.⁶⁹ The *codicarii* are recorded as *codicarii* until AD 217,⁷⁰ but as *navicularii codicarii* in AD 247–8 and subsequently.⁷¹ During the second century AD, the word *navicularius* was not part of the official name of the *corpus*

⁶⁵ *CIL* VIII, 1127 (p. 2459) = *CIL* VIII, 1158 = *CIL* VIII, 10530 = *CIL* VIII, 12552 = *CIL* VIII, 14280 = *CIL* VIII, 24608a = *CIL* VIII, 24609b = *CIL* VIII, 24610 = *CIL* VIII, 24611 = *CIL* VIII, 24612 = *CIL* VIII, 24613 = *ILTun* 894 = *ILTun* 895 = *ILTun* 896 = *ILTun* 894 = *IL Afr* 370 = *AE* 1950, 55 (= *IL Afr* 81 = *AE* 1914, 33, as for fragments from Kairouan).

⁶⁶ Saumagne 1949.

⁶⁷ Garda: *CIL* V, 4015 = *D* 6711 = Broekaert 2013, no. 403. *Navicularii marini* are known at Arles and Narbo Martius (see Tables 5 and 6), and probably at Puteoli (*CIL* XIII, 1942 = *D* 7029 = *Nauta* 6 = *ZPE* 56–261 = Broekaert 2013, no. 392).

⁶⁸ *CIL* XIV, 3603 = *InscrIt* 4–1, 119 = *D* 6171 = *ELOstia* p. 93; *NSA* 1953–269 = *ELOstia* p. 92 = *MEFR* 2002–799 = *AE* 1955, 178.

⁶⁹ *AE* 1959, 149 = *AE* 1987, 191; *AE* 1987, 192; *AE* 1988, 178 = *AE* 1996, 284; *CIL* VI, 9682 (p. 3895) = *D* 7277; *CIL* XIV, 409 = *IPOstie-B*, 339 = *D* 6146 = *EAOR* 4, 39 = *Epigrafia* 2, p. 553 = *CBI* 859 = *Questori* 4.

⁷⁰ *CIL* XIV, 309 (p. 614) = *EE* 9, p. 335 = *D* 6163 (second century); *CIL* XIV, 4144 = *D* 6173 (AD 217).

⁷¹ *CIL* XIV, 170 = *CIL* VI, 1624 (p. 3811, 4721) = *IPOstie-B*, 338 = *D* 1433 (AD 247–8); *CIL* XIV, 131 = *D* 687 (reign of Constantine I); *CIL* XIV, 185 and p. 481 (third century).

lenunculariorum tabulariorum auxiliariorum Ostiensium; in AD 217 they styled themselves *navigariii*⁷² and as *quinq(ue) corp(orum) navigantes* in AD 247–8;⁷³ however, in the year AD 251, a man is styled *navicularius V corpor(orum) / lenunculariorum Ost(iensium)*.⁷⁴ It seems that slightly before the mid-third century AD, the *codicarii* and the *lenuncularii* at Ostia started enjoying the privileges granted to *navicularii*.

At the Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia,⁷⁵ approximately thirteen *stationes* mention *navicularii* in association with either their specialization or their city of origin. Two of the inscriptions from the *stationes* of the Piazzale raise serious issues of reading or interpretation. For *statio* 34 all scholars have accepted so far the expansion ‘*Naviculari(i) Curbitani d(e) s(uo) // s(tatio) n(egotiatorum) f(rumentariorum) c(oloniae) C(urbitanae)*’, although sometimes with doubts but without discussion.⁷⁶ According to this interpretation of the inscriptions, this *statio* would be that of Curubi, a port city on the eastern side of Cape Bon in Tunisia. It is possible to argue against this interpretation that the full name of Curubi is given in other inscriptions as *colonia Iulia Curubi*,⁷⁷ not as *colonia Curbitana*, and that this *statio* is situated totally apart from other African *stationes* within the Piazzale. But there is so far no satisfactory alternative to this reading.

The text of the inscription in *statio* 4 is too mutilated to provide a consensual reading. Some read *n[avic]u(larii) [f]arric(i)*,⁷⁸ which is accepted by most scholars without discussion, while the Claus/Slaby database prefers *n[avic]u(larii) [T]arric(inenses)*. In fact, even the reading *n[avic]u(larius)* is highly debatable. Lanciani’s facsimile⁷⁹ of the inscription does not fit with that of Wickert in *CIL* XIV, 4549.4, or with the image that is published by Beccati.⁸⁰ The abbreviation *Navicu(larius)* has no parallel, the *N* is doubtful and the sequence [*Navic*] is too large with respect to the size of the lacuna. I therefore think it reasonable not to take this document into account until further examination of the original hopefully clarifies possible interpretations of its meaning.

The only certain specialized group of *navicularii* is the *navicularii lignarii* (*statio* 3), who conveyed raw timber. Most of the groups of *navicularii* who are represented at the Piazzale were named after a particular city. The discovery of a marble plaque bearing the title *Navicularii Africani*

⁷² *CIL* XIV, 4144 = D 6173.

⁷³ *CIL* XIV, 170 = *CIL* VI, 1624 (pp. 3811, 4721) = *IPOstie-B*, 338 = D 1433 (AD 247–8).

⁷⁴ *CIL* XIV, 352 = D 6149. ⁷⁵ *CIL* XIV, 4549. ⁷⁶ Noy 2000: 162.

⁷⁷ *CIL* VIII, 980 (p. 1282) = *ILTun* 838 = D 6817 (p. 188); *CIL* VIII, 12452 = *CIL* VIII, 24100.

⁷⁸ Michon 1913: 240, n. 2; Beccati 1961: 67, no. 86; Noy 2000: 162–3; Rohde 2009: 36.

⁷⁹ Lanciani 1881: 117, no. 40. ⁸⁰ Beccati 1961: 67, no. 86.

between the *stationes* 8 and 10⁸¹ indicates that the *navicularii* of the province of Africa were located in the same area. This is confirmed by the location of other identified groups. The only exception is the presence of the *navicularii* of two Sardinian city ports, Turrus Libisonis and Karalis between Carthage and Sullectum/Sallakta.⁸² This is no surprise. The Sardinian and African *domini navium* appear together in another inscription, quoted above, which exhibits some connection between them. The list of certain city-based groups of *navicularii* reads as follows:

Naviculari Misuenses, from Missua (Sidi Daoud) *statio* 10
Naviculari Mu{s}lu[uit]a[ni?], perhaps from Muslubium (Sidi Rehane, East Saldae/Bejaia), in Mauritania Caesarensis, *statio* 11⁸³
Navicular[i H(ippone)] Diarry(to) [-] / [splendidi]sim(a) c[olonia ?], from Hippo Diarrhytus (Bizerte), *statio* 12
Naviculari Gummitani, from Gummi (Mahdia), *statio* 17
Navicu<l=I>(arii) Karthag(inienses), from Carthage, *statio* 18
Navic(ulari) Turritan(i), from Turrus Libisonis (Porto Torres, Sardinia), *statio* 19
Navicul(ari) et negotiantes / Karalitani, from Caralis (Cagliari, Sardinia), *statio* 21
[navic]ulari Syllecti[ni], from Syllectum (Salakhta, Africa), *statio* 23
Naviculari(i) Curbitani d(e) s(uo) / s(tatio) n(egotiatorum) f(rumentariorum) c(oloniae) C(urbitanae)?, perhaps from Curubi (Korba/Qurba, Africa), *statio* 34

Some *navicularii* do not state the city from which they originated, as in the case of *stationes* 15 (*Navicular(i) et negotian(tes) de suo*) and 16 (*Naviculari et negotiantes de suo*), where unspecified *navicularii* were grouped together with *negotiantes*.

There is no other epigraphic occurrence of the groups of *navicularii* that appear at the Piazzale delle Corporazioni outside this site; furthermore, the major *corpora* of *navicularii* of Ostia are totally absent from the complex, probably because they had their own buildings elsewhere in the city and because, as Tran rightly pointed out,⁸⁴ the function of the Piazzale did not relate to the life of the *collegia* but to business activity.

⁸¹ NSc 1953, 285, n. 44. ⁸² CIL XIV, 4549.19 and 21.

⁸³ This restoration of the text has circulated since the publication of CIL, but is very doubtful, for the text reads *Muliu[-]a[-]*. Musulium is a place in Mauretania and would not appear among the *navicularii Africani*. Moreover, it is only mentioned in itineraries (IA 18.1; TP 1.5) and is not known as a city.

⁸⁴ Tran 2006: 248.

Outside Ostia, only a small number of cities have left traces of *corpora naviculariorum* (Table 15.2). These are Puteoli,⁸⁵ Pisaurum, Aquileia and Arelica in Italy, Narbo and Arelate in Gallia Narbonensis, and Iuliobriga on the Cantabrian shores of the Atlantic, in Hispania Tarraconensis.⁸⁶ The alleged presence of a *collegium naviculariorum* in an inscription from Douarnenez, in Brittany, is actually a misreading.⁸⁷

Individuals who characterize themselves as *navicularii* are rather rare. Even in cities where the guilds of *navicularii* are amongst the most conspicuous, as at Pisaurum, there is often no evidence for such individuals. They mainly occur at Narbo and Arelate. At these two cities, use of the word *navicularius* seems to underline membership of the *collegium* rather than a permanent occupation. At late first- or early second-century AD Narbo, for example, the word *navicularius* when applied to individuals is always associated with the abridged name of the city, as with CIPCNM, which abbreviates *navicularius c(oloniae) I(uliae) P(aternae) C(laudiae) N(arbonis) M(artii)*.⁸⁸ There is a similar case involving the name of the city of Forum Iulii in an inscription of the first century AD.⁸⁹ As far as we know, the epigraphic custom did not make the word *navicularius* an expression of the membership of the local *corpus* until the late first or early second century, while *naucularius*, which is perhaps characteristic of an earlier period, referred to an

⁸⁵ CIL XIII, 1942 = D 7029 (Lyon/Lugdunum): (...) Puteolis / *navic(u)lariorum marino* (...); NSA-1927-325 = AE 1928, 120 (Puteoli): *Divo [-] / navicul[arii -] / qui ad ur[bem -] / et copia[m-]*. CIL IV, 10520, a graffito from Herculaneum, is not to be taken into consideration. The most recent reading of the original with picture is [-]AS[-] *conclave Puteolis [-]LE consitont Herculaneses nauculae* and no longer mentions *navicularii*. See Varone 2012: 486.

⁸⁶ CIL II, *242 = ERCantab, n°2. This lost inscription, often considered as a modern forgery, is actually genuine (Cisneros Cunchillos 1998).

⁸⁷ Broekart (2008, following Merlat 1952) reads *P(atronus) C(ollegii) N(aviculariorum)* on an inscription found at Douarnenez. The full inscription (CILTG 338 = *Nauta* 73 = AE 1952, 22 = AE 1953, 112 = AE 1999, 1070) actually reads as follows: *N(umini) Aug(ustorum) Neptuno Hippius / C(aius) Varenius Volt(inia) / Varus c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) IIII(quartum) / posuit*. It has nothing to do with *navicularii*.

⁸⁸ CIL XII, 4398 = D 6971 = *Nauta* 43: D(is) M(anibus) / Tib(eri) Iuni Eudoxi / *navic(arii) mar(ini) / c(oloniae) I(uliae) P(aternae) C(laudiae) N(arbonis) M(artii) / Ti(berius) Iun(ius) Fadianus / IIIIvir Aug(ustalis) / c(oloniae) I(uliae) P(aternae) C(laudiae) N(arbonis) M(artii) et / cond(uctor) ferrar(iarum) / ripae dextrae / fratri piiss(imo)*. Cf. also CIL XII, 4406 = *Nauta* 49: Dec(reto) IIIIvir(or)um / Augustal(ium) / P(ublio) Olitio / Apollonio / IIIIvir(o) Aug(ustali) et / *navic(ulario) c(oloniae) I(uliae) P(aternae) C(laudiae) N(arbonis) M(artii) / obmerita et liberali/tates eius qui / honore decreti / usus impendium / remisit et / statuum de suo / posuit*.

⁸⁹ CIL XII, 4494 = *Nauta* 45: Viv(it) / C(aius) Valerius / Gemellus For(o) / Iuliensis / *navicularius / sibi et Iuliae / M(arci) f(iliae) Quintae / uxori / in f(ronte) p(edes) q(uo)quoversus* XV. The early date is indicated by the word *Viv(it)* at the beginning of the text.

Table 15.2 *Associations of maritime shippers.*

Place of origin of association	Place of discovery	Title	Reference
Ostia?	Ostia	naulari[<i>AE</i> 1987, 180 = <i>AE</i> 1994, 328
Ostia	Ostia	navicul(arius)] lyntra[rius	<i>AE</i> 1974, 123a = Broekaert 2013, no. 437
Ostia	Ostia	codica]ri navicula[ri]	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 106 = <i>CIL</i> VI, 1022 (p 3071, 4317, 4340) = <i>CIL</i> VI, 31228
Ostia	Ostia	codicarii navicularii et quinq(ue) corp(orum) navigantes	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 170 = <i>CIL</i> VI, 1624 (p 3811, 4721) = <i>IPOstie</i> -B, 00338 = <i>D</i> 1433
Ostia	Ostia	codicari nav[iculari]	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 185 (p 481) = <i>CIL</i> VI, 1639 (p 3163, 3811, 4724)
Ostia	Ostia	codicari nabiculari infernates	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 131 = <i>D</i> 687
Ostia	Ostia	navicularius V corpor(orum) lenunculariorum Ost(iensium)	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 352 = <i>D</i> 6149
Ostia	Ostia	defensori V corporum lenuncularior(um) Ostiens(ium) universi navigarii corpor(um) quinque	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4144 = <i>D</i> 6173
Ostia	Ostia	Ostienses naviculari{e}i	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 3603 = <i>InscrIt</i> -4-1, 119 = <i>D</i> 6171 = <i>ELOstia</i> p 93
Ostia	Ostia	naviculari{e}i Ostienses	<i>NSA</i> -1953-269 = <i>ELOstia</i> p. 92 = <i>AE</i> 1955, 178
Ostia	Ostia	[curator?] corp(or)is navicul[ar(iorum)	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4648 = <i>Questori</i> 15 = <i>AE</i> 1928, 132
Ostia	Ostia	curator navicularior(um) maris Hadriat(ici) / idem quinquennalis	<i>AE</i> 1987, 191
Ostia	Ostia	q(uin)[q(uennalis) cu]r(ator) corp[or]is navicu[lar] (iorum) maris Hadriat(ici)]	<i>AE</i> 1988, 178 = <i>AE</i> 1996, 284
Ostia	Ostia	Genio / corporis / naviculariorum / [maris] Had[r]iatici	<i>AE</i> 1987, 192 = Broekaert 2013 nr 410
Ostia	Rome	item naviculario cur(ator)is / corporis maris Hadriatici	<i>CIL</i> VI, 9682 (p. 3895) = <i>D</i> 7277 = Broekaert 2013 nr 404
Ostia	Ostia	gratis adlect(o) / inter navicular(ios) maris Hadriatici	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 409 = <i>IPOstie</i> -B, 339 = <i>D</i> 6146 = Broekaert 2013 nr 406
Arelate	Berytus (but origin likely at Arelate)	naviculariis [mar]inis Arelatensibus quinque [co]rporum	<i>CIL</i> III, 14165,8 (p. 2328,78) = <i>D</i> 6987 = <i>AE</i> 1899, 161 = Virlovet 2004.

(continued)

Table 15.2 (*continued*)

Place of origin of association	Place of discovery	Title	Reference
Arelate	Arelate	navic(ularii) marin(i) Arel(atenses) / corp(or)um quinq(ue)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 672 (p 817) = <i>D</i> 1432 = <i>ZPE</i> -63–173 = <i>AE</i> 1981, 400 = <i>AE</i> 1984, 631 = <i>AE</i> 1986, 479 = <i>AE</i> 1987, 753 = <i>Nauta</i> 36
Arelate	Arelate	naviculari(i) marin(i) Arel(atenses)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 692 = <i>Nauta</i> 37
Arelate	Arelate	[ap]paritor navicular(-) station[-]	<i>CIL</i> XII, 718 = <i>Nauta</i> 32
Arelate	Arelate	navicular(ius) Arel(atensis)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 704 = <i>Nauta</i> 31 = Broekaert 2013 nr 405
Arelate	Ernaginum	navicular(ius) mar(inus) Arel(atensis) curat(or) eiusd (em) corp(or)is	<i>CIL</i> XII, 982 (p. 820) = <i>D</i> 6986 = <i>Nauta</i> 51 = Broekaert 2013 nr 396
Arelate	Arelate	navicularius [marinus]	<i>ILGN</i> 116 = <i>Nauta</i> 35 = Broekaert 2013 nr 390
Phycus (Rhod. Per.)	Phycus (Rhod. Per.)	ναυκλαρεῦντες	<i>Rhodian Peraia</i> 31 = <i>IK Rhod. Peraia</i> 514
Phycus (Rhod. Per.)	Phycus (Rhod. Per.)	ναυκλαρεῦντες	<i>Rhodian Peraia</i> 121 = <i>IK Rhod. Peraia</i> 509
Phycus (Rhod. Per.)	Phycus (Rhod. Per.)	ναυκλαρεῦντες	<i>Rhodian Peraia</i> 103 = <i>IK Rhod. Peraia</i> 510
Pisaurum	Pisaurum	colleg(ium) navicular(iorum)	<i>CIL</i> XI, 6369 = <i>EAOR</i> 2, 10 = Pisaurum 80 = <i>Questori</i> 321 = <i>AE</i> 1982, 266
Pisaurum	Pisaurum	coll(egium) navic(ulariorum)	<i>CIL</i> XI, 6362 = <i>D</i> 7364 = <i>Pisaurum</i> 73 = <i>Questori</i> 324
Pisaurum	Pisaurum	collegium navic(ulariorum)	<i>CIL</i> XI, 6378 = <i>Pisaurum</i> 89
Aquileia?	Emona	[- col]l[e]gi(i) navicular(iorum)	<i>CIL</i> III, 10771 = Broekaert 2013 nr 398
Aquileia	Aquileia	colleg fabr centonar / dendrophor navicular	<i>CIL</i> V, *40 = <i>AE</i> 1994, 668
Narbo	Narbo	navicul(arius) mar(inus) / C(oloniae) I(uliae) P(aternae) C(laudiae) N(arbonis) M(artii)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4398 = <i>D</i> 6971 = <i>Nauta</i> 43 = Broekaert 2013 nr 399
Narbo	Narbo	navic(ularius) c(oloniae) I(uliae) P(aternae) C(laudiae) N(arbonis) M(artii) /	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4406 = <i>Nauta</i> 49 = Broekaert 2013 nr 402
Tomis	Tomis	ὁ οἶκος τῶν ἐν Τόμει ναυκλήρων	<i>IScM</i> II 60
Tomis	Tomis	ὁ οἶκος τῶν ναυκλήρων	<i>IScM</i> II 132
Ephesos	Ephesos	οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ναυκλ[ήροι]	<i>IEph</i> 542

Ephesos	Ephesos	ναύκ]ληροι	<i>IEph</i> 1984A
Puteoli	Lugdunum (Lyon)	naviculario marino	<i>CIL</i> XIII, 1942 = <i>D</i> 7029 = <i>Nauta</i> 6 = <i>ZPE</i> -56-261 = Broekaert 2013 nr 392
Puteoli?	Puteoli	[-] navicul[arii -]	<i>NSA</i> -1927-325 = <i>AE</i> 1928, 120
Alexandria? Askalon?	Askalon	naucleri de / oeco poreuticor(um)	<i>SEG</i> -51, 2016 = <i>AE</i> 2001, 1969
Amastris	Amastris	ὁ οἶκος τῶν ναυκλήρων / ναύκληροι	<i>BCH</i> 25.1901.36,184
Arilica	Arilica (L. of Garda)	colleciatus in collegio naviculariorum Arelicensium	<i>CIL</i> V, 4015 = <i>D</i> 6711 = Broekaert 2013 nr 403
Chio	Chio	οἱ ναύκληροι κ[αὶ οἱ] ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἐργ[ασταί]	<i>Chios</i> 173
Iuliobriga (Cantabria)	Iuliobriga (Cantabria)	navic(ulari) qui Cantabr(ia) negot(iantur) / ad port(um) Iuliobrig(ensium)	<i>CIL</i> II, *242 = <i>ERCantab</i> *2
Lindos (Rhodes)	Lindos	ναυκλαρεῦντες	<i>SEG</i> 14:511 = <i>Lindos</i> II 384b
Nicomedia	Nicomedia	οἶκος τῶν ναυκλήρων	<i>TAM</i> IV, 1 22
Pons Aeni	Brigetio	naucl(er)us port[u]s / [Pon(tis)] (A)eni	<i>AE</i> 1999, 1246 = <i>AE</i> 2000, 1197 = Broekaert 2013, 388
Rome	Rome	corpus naviculariorum	<i>CIL</i> VI, 1740 (p. 855, 3173, 4748)
Salonae	Aternum (Pescara)	nauclero qui erat in colleg(io) / Serapis Salon(itano)	<i>CIL</i> IX, 3337 = Broekaert 2013 nr 394
?	Nemausus	nav(iculariorum?)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 3318e = <i>EAOR</i> 5, 45e = <i>Nauta</i> 50c
Africa	Ostia	Navicularii Africani	<i>NSc</i> 1953, 285, n. 44
Ostia?	Ostia	Naviculariorum / lignariorum	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 278 (p 614) = <i>CIL</i> 14, 4549,3
Tarracina?	Ostia	Navicularii	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549,4-9
Misua	Ostia	Navicularii	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549,10
Muslubium?	Ostia	Naviculari	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549,11
H(ippone)] Diarry(to)	Ostia	Naviculari	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549,12-13
?	Ostia	Navicular(i) et negotian(tes)	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549,15
?	Ostia	Naviculari et negotiantes	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549,16
Gummi	Ostia	Naviculari	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549,17
Carthage	Ostia	Navicu<I>(arii)	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4549,18

(continued)

Table 15.2 (*continued*)

Place of origin of association	Place of discovery	Title	Reference
Turris (Libisonis)	Ostia	Navic(ulari)	<i>CIL XIV, 4549,19</i>
Karalis (Sard.)	Ostia	Navicul(ari) et negotiantes	<i>CIL XIV, 4549,21–22</i>
Syllectum	Ostia	[navic]ulari	<i>CIL XIV, 4549, 23</i>
Curubi	Ostia	Naviculari(i)	<i>CIL XIV, 4549, 34–36</i>
Red Sea/Indian Ocean	Petemout/ Kerameia (Thebaid, Egypt)	ναύκληροι κα[i] [ἔμπο]ροι Ἐρυθραῖκοι	<i>SEG 8: 703</i>
Palmyra, sailing the Red Sea/ Indian Ocean	Coptos	Ἄδριανοὶ Παλμυρηνοὶ Ναυκλήροι Ἐρυθραικοὶ	<i>Portes du désert 103</i>
Palmyra, sailing the Red Sea/ Indian Ocean	Coptos	Ἄδριανοὶ Παλμυρηνοὶ Ναυκλήροι Ἐρυθραικοὶ	<i>Portes du désert 103[1]</i>

occupation.⁹⁰ This situation fits well with the increasing legibility of *corpora* in social life and the epigraphic habit during the second century AD. This is also the period when the *navicularii* recorded on inscriptions also tend to be *seviri*.

The same situation occurs at Arelate (Arles), where the full name of the *corpus* varied through time, with reference to *navicularii Arelatenses*, to *navicularii marini Arelatenses* and, in the late second to early third centuries, to *naviculariorum marinorum Arelatensium corpora quinque*.⁹¹ In one case, an individual who styles himself as *navicularius marinus Arelatensis* later introduces himself as *curator eiusdem corporis*,⁹² making it clear that his membership of the *corpus* was implied. At Ostia, all individuals recorded as *navicularii* are officials or *adlecti* of a *corpus*, and most of them are *seviri* (Table 15.3). At Arelate and Narbo, every *navicularius* is a *sevir*, or in one case the brother of a *sevir*. The only exception is the early inscription mentioning a *navicularius* of Forum Iulii, which may follow other codes of epigraphic practice. At Lugdunum (Lyon), similarly, the title of *sevir* is echoed by that of *navic(u)larius*, when a freedman styles himself *sevir* at Lugdunum and *navic(u)larius marinus* at Puteoli.⁹³ At Emona, a *sevir* had been a member of a *collegium naviculariorum* whose name is the same as that of the nearby Aquileia.⁹⁴

In all of these occurrences, membership of the *corpus* was probably implied. The *vacatio honorum et munerum*, or exemption of offices granted to the members of *navicularii*, was probably the reason why those *navicularii* that appear in inscriptions are generally *seviri* as well: as *navicularii*, they could refuse the *sevirate*. Accepting the honour was a manifestation of affection towards the city. But this is not the only reason. It seems that the membership of a college was *per se* a source of prestige for some freedmen. A votive inscription to Hercules made at Tibur by the freedman M(arcus)

⁹⁰ Bonsangue 2002: 221 n. 94. Apparently, for that implicit reason she excludes the two *navicularii* of Narbonne from her list of maritime shippers. Most of the evidence collected in this chapter is actually later than the first century, contrary to what is suggested by the chapter title.

⁹¹ *CIL* III, 14165.8 (p. 2328.78) = *D* 6987 = Freis 124 = *Nauta* 71 = *AE* 1899, 161 = *AE* 1900, 201 = *AE* 1998, 876 (found at Beirut, even though the likely origin of this bronze plaque is Arles, cf. Virlovet 2004). For the dating, Christol 1982: 10–11 and Rey-Coquais 1993.

⁹² *CIL* XII, 982 (p. 820) = *D* 6986 = *Nauta* 51 (found at Saint-Gabriel/Ernaginum): [D(is)] M(anibus) // M(arci) Frontoni Eupori / IIIIIvir(i) Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Iulia(e) / Aug(ustae) Aquis Sextis navicular(ii) / mar(itimi) Arel(atensis) curat(or)is eiusd(em) corp(or)is / patrono (!) nautar(um) Druen/ticorum et utric(u)larior(um) / corp(or)ati Ernaginens(i)um / Iulia Nice uxor / coniugi carissimo.

⁹³ *CIL* XIII, 1942 = *D* 7029, cf. note 68. *Navic(u)larius* is unique. Broekaert (2013: 227, no. 390) gives the same form *navic(u)larius* for the inscription *ILGN* 116 = *Nauta* 35 from Arles, but the form in *ILGN* and Schmidts 2011 is *navicularius*.

⁹⁴ *CIL* III, 10771 = Broekaert 2013: no. 398.

Table 15.3 *List of naukleroι, naucleri, navicularii and nauclarii by place of origin.*

Name and status ^a	Origo	Location of inscription	Nature ^b	Date		
[–Sa]binianus [–] C	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	F	?	ναύκληρος	<i>TAM</i> IV.1 297
Apphus, son of Apphus son of Menander P	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>TAM</i> IV.1 110
Asklepiodotes and his son Eutyches F?	Nicomedia	Ephesos	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>IEph.</i> 2255E
Cornutus, son of Phoebianus P	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 29, 1346
Diocles son of Chrestos P	Nicomedia, settled at Cyzicus	Gytheion	F HO	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>IG</i> V, 1 1190
Diogenes son of Diogenes P	Nicomedia	Smyrna	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>ISmyrna</i> 224
Diogenianus P?	Nicomedia	Aidepsos (Euboia)	F	52	πρότερον ναυκληρῶν	<i>IG</i> XII, 9 1240
Hermaphilus adoptive son of Chrestion and son of Menecrates P	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>TAM</i> IV.1 127
Hieron son of Asklepiades P	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>TAM</i> IV.1 195
Hieron son of Pollion P	Nicomedia	Pyrasos (port of Thebai Phtiotides)	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 55, 613
Iustus son of Stration	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>TAM</i> IV.1 197
Loteius son of Loteius and his son Olympiodorus P	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος father and son	<i>SEG</i> 32, 1257
Romulus P	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 32, 1256

Rufus P	Nicomedia	Salonae	F	58	ναύκληρος	SEG 33, 490 = Broekaert 2013, no. 425
Telesphorus P	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	F	Before 212	βουλευτής καὶ ναύκληρος	TAM IV.1 304
Timocrates son of Theomnestes P	Nicomedia	Ravenna	F	Second century, before 212	ναύκληρος	I.Ravenna = CIL XI 22* = IG XIV, 337*
[son of –]ious P	Alexandria?	Portus	V		ναύκληρος	I.Porto 20 = Broekaert 2013 no. 435
G. Aelius Aurelius Antonius CA	Alexandria	Alexandria	V	194	ναύκληρος	IGRR 1.1062= SB 5.8781
M. Aurelius Asclas / Zenon CA	Alexandria	Rome	F	After 212	ναύκληρος πλοίου	IGUR II, 393 = Broekaert 2013, no. 387
C. Comisius Memor F	Alexandria or Askalon	Askalon	F		nauclerus de oeco poreuticor(um)	SEG 51, 2016 = AE 2001, 1969
Argylos P	Hermione	Athens	F	53	ναύκληρος	IG II ² 8498
Epaphroditus P?	Hermione, settled at Seleucia on the Calycadnus	Cyzicus	F	24	ναύκληρος	IK 18 Kyzikos 184 = IMT 1912
? Father of Epiphaneia P	Hermione	Tomis?	F	7–8	ναύκληρος	IScM II, 375 = SEG 24, 1081; cf. 27, 404 = SEG 39, 680
Silius son of Pompeius P	Corycus	Puteoli	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	IG XIV, 854 = Broekaert 2013, no. 426
Eneipeus son of Sacerdos P	Corycus	Puteoli	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	IG XIV, 841a. = Broekaert 2013, no. 416
[–]	Corycos	Rusicade	F	?	ναύκληρος	ILAlg II.1. 75 = De Salvo 2006: 776 = De Salvo 1992: 463 = Broekaert 2013, no. 442

(continued)

Table 15.3 (*continued*)

Name and status	Origo	Location of inscription	Nature	Date		
Husband of Epiphaneia P	Tomis?	Tomis	F	Early third century	ναύκληρος	<i>IScM</i> II, 375 = <i>SEG</i> 24, 1081; cf. 27, 404 = <i>SEG</i> 39, 680
Philokles, son of Chrestos P	Tomis	Tomis	V	Before 212	Member of house of the ναύκληροι	<i>IScM</i> II, 132
Theocritus son of Theocritus, married to Rufina, daughter of Iason P	Tomis	Tomis	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>IScM</i> II, 186
[–] Alcmeonius P	Ephesos	Ephesos	List of <i>neopoioi</i>	After 59	ναύκληρος,	<i>Ieph</i> 946
[us] Cornelia (tribu) Celer C	Ephesos	Ephesos	List of <i>neopoioi</i>	After 59	ναύκληρος, βουλευτής	<i>Ieph</i> 946
Gaius Caius Eutygianus F	Sinope	Chersonesos	HO	138–61	ναύκληρος	<i>IosPE</i> I ² 364
Iulius Callinicus C	Sinope?	Sinope	F	Late second to early third century	ναύκληρος	<i>IK Sinope</i> 169 <i>BCH</i> 44 (1920): 354a
Phillus, son of Phileros P	Teichioussa	Teichioussa (Ionia)	F	38–41	Ναύκληροι (4 brothers)	<i>Teichioussa</i> 16
Phileros, son of Phileros P	Teichioussa	Teichioussa (Ionia)	F	38–41	Ναύκληροι (4 brothers)	<i>Teichioussa</i> 16
Hermius, son of Phileros P	Teichioussa	Teichioussa (Ionia)	F	38–41	Ναύκληροι (4 brothers)	<i>Teichioussa</i> 16
Posidonius, son of Phileros P	Teichioussa	Teichioussa (Ionia)	F	38–41	Ναύκληροι (4 brothers)	<i>Teichioussa</i> 16
Diophantos son of Herakos P	Tyras	Chersonesos	HO	Second century	ναύκληρος	<i>IosPE</i> I ² 365

Tertius son of Rufus P [-]us	Tyana Byzantium	Panticapaeum Issa (Vis) in front of Salona	F F	Before 212 Undated	ναύκληρος ναύκληρος	<i>CIRB</i> 732 <i>SEG</i> 31, 603
Aurelius CA?	Ainos?	Ainos (Thrace)	F ?	150–250	ναύκληρος, θε>ραπευτής Ἄσκληπιοῦ	Dumont-Homolle 437,103 = E. Miller, <i>RA</i> 1873.2, 84–94
Aurelius [-]	Ainos?	Ainos (Thrace)	F ?	After 212	ναύκληρος	<i>I.Aeg. Thrace</i> E489 = Broekaert 2013, no. 386
T. Flavius Euporus F?	Corinth	Aquileia	F	Second century	ναύκληρος πλοίου Ἄφροδείτης	<i>I.Aquileia</i> 711= <i>SEG</i> 43, 641 = Broekaert 2013, no. 395
Euthyches of Mytilene F or P	Mytilene	Thasos	V	Undated	ναύκληρος, προναύκληρος κυβερνήτης	<i>IG XII</i> , 8 585
[-]tus	Troas	Thasos	V	Undated	ναύκληρος	<i>IG XII</i> , 8 586
Perigenes son of Perigenes	Cyzicus	Demetrias (Thessal.)	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>IG IX</i> , 2 118
Aelius Zosimus C	Phoinix	Phoinix (Caria, Rhod. Per.)	F	Late second to third century	ναύκληρος	<i>IK Rhod. Peraia</i> 142
M. Aurelius Euporistus CA	Olympus and Chalcedon	Olympus (Lycia)	F	After 212	ναύκληρος	Adak and Atvur 1997
M. Aurelius Primus CA	Berytus	Salonae	F	After 212	ναύκληρος	<i>Forsch. in Salona</i> 3 12a = Broekaert 2013, no. 389
Sillis son of Neon P	Tyre	Cius (Bithynia)	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>IK Kios</i> 71
Pharion son of Theodorus P	Laodiceia	Brentesion	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 48, 1260bis, 4 = Broekaert 2013. no. 424 (continued)

Table 15.3 (*continued*)

Name and status	Origo	Location of inscription	Nature	Date		
Androbius	Lycia	Messina	F	Third century	ναύκληρος	<i>IG XIV</i> , 404 = <i>I.Messina</i> 88, 29 = Broekaert 2013, no. 412
Zoilus B	Cyprus	Olbia (Sardinia)	F	First century?	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 38, 978 = <i>SEG</i> 52, 940,6 = Broekaert 21013, 249, no. 433
Heracleon son of Heracleides	Heracleum/Tonis	Alexandria	F	Before 212	ναύκληρος	<i>SB</i> 1, 2050
Severus son of Moschion	Red Sea or Nile	Paneion, El Kanais (Egypt)	Graffitto	Third century	ναύκληρος Ἰοάν[νο]υ [καί] Ἰλαυδίας	<i>Paneion d'el-Kanais</i> 57
[–]	Aegaeus (Cilicia)	Rusicade	F	Undated	ναύκληρος	<i>ILAlg</i> II.1. 74 = De Salvo 2006: 776 = De Salvo 1992: 463 = Broekaert 2013, 249, no. 441
[–]	Lycia	Syracuse	F (late)	Fourth century	ναύκληρος	<i>SEG</i> 15, 590[1]
Ithallas	Lepcis Magna	Syracuse	F (late)	Fourth to fifth century	ναύκληρος	<i>BCH</i> 107 (1983) 609, XVII
Helpidius F		Baiae	F (late)	Fourth to fifth century	ναύκληρος Συμμάχων τῶν λαμπροτάτων	<i>IG XIV</i> , 879
Aurelius Aristogiton / Italikodromos CA	Arados	Arados	F (late)	Fourth century	ναύκληρος	Schmidts 2010
Aelia Isidora Aelia Olympias	Red Sea/Indian Ocean	Petemout/Kerameia (Thebaid, Egypt)	V	138	ναύκληροι κα[ί] [ἔμπο]ροι Ἐρυθραϊκαί	<i>SEG</i> 8, 703

Volusius [Syn]trophus	Attaleia (Pamphylia)? Nagidos (Cilicia)? Ioulis (island Keos)?	Lucentum (Alicante)	V	Late second to third century	ναύκληρος	SEG 33, 835 = AE 1990, 639 = Broekaert 2013, no. 410
Carpion P? [-]	?	Cos Tomis	F F		ναύκληρος ναύκληρος	<i>Iscr. di Cos (Fun.)</i> EF 650 <i>IscM</i> II 291 = Broekaert 2013, no. 440
[-son of-]mosus P	?	Syros	V		ναύκληρος	<i>IG</i> XII, 5 712,47
Athenobius P?	?	Syros	V		ναύκληρος	<i>IG</i> XII, 5 712,14
Satyros son of Herakos P	?	Chersonesos	HO	Second century	ναύκληρος	<i>IosPE</i> I ² 366
Trophimus F or S Theoctistus	? ? ^c	Thasos Syracuse	V F	Fourth cen- tury or later	ναύκληρος ναύκληρος	<i>IG</i> XII, 8 581 <i>SEG</i> 15, 590 = <i>SEG</i> 18, 395 = Broekaert 2013, 249, no. 441
L. Cassius Hermodorus, married to Ulpia can- dida F	Salonae	Aternum (Pescara)	F	Second to early third century	Nauclerus qui erat in colleg (io) Serapis Salon(itano)	<i>CIL</i> IX, 3337
Terentius [-]us Thras [-]	? Cor[-]	Aquileia Fossae Marianae (Arelate)	F? H	After 200	Duplarius nauclerus [nau]cler(us) Cor(?)	<i>CIL</i> V, 1606 Courrier 2015
Aurelius Martialis CA	Pons Aeni	Brigetio	F		Naucler(us) port[u]s [Pon (tis)] (A)eni	AE 1999, 1246 = AE 2000, 1197 = Broekaert 2103, no. 388

(continued)

Table 15.3 (*continued*)

Name and status	Origo	Location of inscription	Nature	Date
[–]	?	Viminacium	V	Naclerus <i>CIL</i> III, 13804 = <i>AE</i> 1894, 104
D. Fabius D(ecimi) filius Pal(atina) / Florus Veratius, C	Ostia	Ostia	H	navicularius V corpor(or)um lenunculariorum Ost(iensium) <i>CIL</i> XIV, 352 = <i>D</i> 6149
[–]	Ostia	Ostia	F	navicul(arius)] lyntra[rius <i>AE</i> 1974, 123a = Broekaert 2013, no. 437
L. Scribonius Ianuarius F	Ostia	Rome	F	item naviculario cur(atori) / corporis maris Hadriatici <i>CIL</i> VI, 9682 (p. 3895) = <i>D</i> 7277 = Broekaert 2013, no. 404
A(ulus) Caedicius Successus F	Ostia	Ostia	F	sevir Aug(ustalis) idem quinquenn(alis) / curator navicularior(um) maris Hadriat(ici) / idem quinquennalis <i>AE</i> 1959, 149 = <i>AE</i> 1987, 191
Cn. Sentius Cn(aei) fil(ius) / Cn(aei) n(epos) Ter(etina) Felix C	Ostia	Ostia	F	gratis adlect(o) / inter navicular(ios) maris Hadriatici <i>CIL</i> XIV, 409 = <i>IPostie</i> -B, 339 = <i>D</i> 6146 = Broekaert 2013, no. 406
Q. Aqu[ilius Di]o[nysius] /	Ostia	Ostia	F	sevir Aug(ustalis) idem q(uin)[q(uennalis) cu]r(ator) corpor[is] navicu[lar]ar(iorum) maris Hadriat(ici)] <i>AE</i> 1988, 178 = <i>AE</i> 1996, 284
L. Secundius Eleutherus F	Arelate	Arelate	F	navicular(ius) Arel(atensis) <i>CIL</i> XII, 704 = <i>Nauta</i> 31 = Broekaert 2013, no. 405

	Arelate	Ernaginum	F		navicular(ius) mar(inus) Arel(atensis) curat(or) eiusd(em) corp(or)s	<i>CIL</i> XII, 982 (p. 820) = <i>D</i> 6986 = <i>Nauta</i> 51 = Broekaert 2013, no. 396
M(arcus) Aurelius Vo[-]	Arelate	Arelate	F	Late second to third century	navicularius [marinus]	<i>ILGN</i> 116 = <i>Nauta</i> 35 = Broekaert 2013, no. 390
[-] F	Narbo?	Narbo	F		[-] nav[ic]ul[ario]	<i>ILGN</i> 575 = <i>AE</i> 1905, 8 = <i>Nauta</i> 48 = Broekaert 2013, no. 436
Tib. Iunus Eudoxus F	Narbo	Narbo	F		navicul(arius) mar(inus) / C(oloniae) I(uliae) P (aternalae)	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4398 = <i>D</i> 6971 = <i>Nauta</i> 43 = Broekaert 2013, no. 399
P. Olitius Apollonius F	Narbo	Narbo	H	Second century	C(laudiae) N(arbonis) M (artii) navic(ularius) c(oloniae) I (uliae) P(aternalae) C(lau- diae) N(arbonis) M (artii) /	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4406 = <i>Nauta</i> 49 = Broekaert 2013, no. 402
C(aius) Valerius Gemellus F?	Forum Iulii	Narbo	F	First century	For(o) / Iuliensis / navicu- larius /	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4494 = <i>Nauta</i> 45 = Broekaert 2013, no. 409
G. Petronius C(ai) f(ilius) Pob(lilia) Marcellinus	Arilica	Arilica (L. of Garda)	F		colleciatus in collegio naviculariorum Arelicensium	<i>CIL</i> V, 4015 = <i>D</i> 6711 = Broekaert 2013, no. 403
Q. Capitoni Probatus senior F	Puteoli	Lugdunum (Lyon)	F		naviclario marino	<i>CIL</i> XIII, 1942 = <i>D</i> 7029 = <i>Nauta</i> 6 = <i>ZPE</i> 56-261 = Broekaert 2013, no. 392

(continued)

Table 15.3 (*continued*)

Name and status	Origo	Location of inscription	Nature	Date		
Coelius Titianus	Neapolis (Nabeul)		H	400–1	ex t(-) et nav(iculario ?) ex mun(erario)	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 969 (p. 928, 1282) = <i>ILPBardo</i> 393 = <i>ILTun</i> 801 = Broekaert 2013, no. 394
Marius Rusticus	Neapolis (Nabeul)		H	401–2	[)]r(-) et nav(icularius ?)	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 970 = <i>CIL</i> VIII, 12449 = Broekaert 2013, no. 400
Istricatus	?	Hadrumetum	F	Fourth century	navicularius	<i>ILTun</i> 186 = <i>AE</i> 1912, 170 = <i>IL Afr.</i> 60 = Broekaert 2013, 243, no. 420
[–]	Narbo (?)	Narbo	F		na]uclarius(?) [<i>CIL</i> XII, 4701 = Broekaert 2013, no. 439
L. Squeilanius, L(uci) l(iber- tus) Faustus F	Narbo (?)	Narbo	F	First century	naucularius	<i>CIL</i> XII, 5972 = Broekaert 2013, no. 407
L(ucius) Gaienina Masclus F	Narbo (?)	Narbo	F		nauclarius	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4493 = Broekaert 2013, no. 397
D. Uleius D(ecimi) l(ibertus) Auctus F	Narbo (?)	Narbo	F		nauclarius	<i>CIL</i> XII, 4495 = Broekaert 2013, no. 408

^a C = Roman citizen; CA = citizen after the Constitutio Antoniniana; F = Freedman; P = Peregrine; S = Slave.

^b F = Funerary; H = Honorary; HO = Honours to outsider; V = Votive.

^c The last reading is Ϝ Θεόκτιστος ναύκλη-|ρος Λύκιος κολλυ(βιστή)ς Ἄ-|δον(ος) {Α|δόν(ιδος)} ἀδ[ελ]φ[οί] Ϝ . It gives the names of three brothers; Λύκιος is Lucius, the name of one of the brothers, who was a changer.

Caerellius Iazemis lists in decreasing order various memberships of colleges and honours granted to him by these colleges, as if they were elements of a cursus: thrice *quinquennalis* of the *pistores*, *perpetuus codicarius* and *mercator frumentarius*.⁹⁵ At Arilica, on Lake Garda, the word applies again to a prominent member of the *collegium*.⁹⁶

At Nemausus, seats seem to have been reserved in the amphitheatre for *navicularii*, who were again clearly members of a *corpus* and enjoyed public recognition.⁹⁷ Seats were also reserved for other guilds: 25 seats were assigned to the *nautae Atricae et Ovidis*, and another 40 to the *nautae Rhodanici et Ararici*,⁹⁸ whose central office was in Lyon.⁹⁹ Both groups were guilds. As far as we can know, therefore, from the second and third centuries AD until the later Roman Empire, the main semantic field of the word *navicularius* is the *collegium* and its membership.

By contrast, the word *navicularius* does not occur in the epigraphy of the province of Africa before the later Roman Empire. This regional group of occurrences stands clearly apart from the rest of our evidence, and belongs to a period when shippers and their heirs were increasingly tied to the *corpora naviculariorum*¹⁰⁰ and when the *munus naviculare* tended to make the word *navicularius* a statement of personal status. The creation of Constantinople in AD 330, and the existence of two capitals of the Empire as a consequence, made the African *navicularii* more essential than ever for the supply of food and timber¹⁰¹ to Rome. The large number of letters sent by emperors to either the governors of Africa or the *navicularii Africae* between AD 380 and 412,¹⁰² as well as the special privileges granted to them,¹⁰³ is clearly illustrative of this. The later *navicularii Hispaniarum*, who are mentioned several times by the Digest for a short period, mainly under the reign of Constantine I,¹⁰⁴ have so far left no epigraphic trace.

⁹⁵ CIL XIV, 4234 = EE 9, p. 471 = *InscrIt* 4–1, 45 = D 3417 = *TermeDiocleziano* 1, p. 490 = *TermeDiocleziano* 2, p. 140 = AE 1998, 404.

⁹⁶ CIL V, 4015 = D 6711 = RSH 252. ⁹⁷ CIL XII, 3318e = EAOR 5, 45e = *Nauta* 50c1.

⁹⁸ CIL XII, 3316 (p. 837) = EAOR 5, 43 = D 5656 = *Nauta* 50a.

⁹⁹ Cf. esp. CIL XIII, 1918 = *Nauta* 22 = AE 2012, 955 and CIL XIII, 2002 = D 7032 = *Nauta* 24. CTh.13.5.6 (334, 7 Sept.).

¹⁰¹ CIL VIII, 24609 = AE 1893, 56 = AE 1968, 559b = AE 1980, 903; CTh. 13.5.10 (364, 8 Mar.).

¹⁰² CTh. 13.5.10 (364, 8 Mar.); 13.6.4 (367, 28 Apr.); 13.5.12 (369, 14 May); 13.5.14.3 (371, 11 Feb.); 13.6.6 (372, 7 Apr.); 13.9.1 = CJ 11.6.2 (372, 5 Jun.); CTh. 13.9.2 (372–5); CTh. 13.6.7pr.-1 = CJ 11.3.2 (375, 3 Aug.); CTh. 13.9.3pr. = CJ 11.6.3 (380, 6 Feb.); CTh. 13.5.21 (392, 15 Feb.); CTh. 13.5.24 (395, 26 May); CTh. 13.5.36 pr. (412, 17 Mar.).

¹⁰³ CTh. 13.5.10 (364, 8 Mar.); 13.5.14.3: *privilegia africana* (371, 11 Feb.).

¹⁰⁴ Cañizar Palacios 2009.

With the exception of the inscription of Valentinian I mentioned above,¹⁰⁵ all occurrences of the term pose difficult problems in their reading and interpretation. Two votive dedications from Neapolis (modern Nabeul) use the same abbreviations and pose the same problems. The first one¹⁰⁶ is dated to AD 400–1, after Gaina's death¹⁰⁷ and was made by a certain Coelius Titianus who styles himself *ex t(ransvectuario) et nav(iculario) ex mun(erario)*, according to the interpretation of abbreviations by modern editors. In the second, dated to AD 401–2,¹⁰⁸ Marius Rusticus would be *[t]r(ansvectuarius) et nav(icularius)*. The word *transvectuarius* or *transvectuarius* is a debatable fantasy of modern editors and finds no parallel elsewhere in Latin epigraphy, juridical terminology or Latin literature. However, the lost word was familiar enough to the people of Neapolis to be abridged to one letter only. This enigmatic function of *t(-)* in the first inscription is not necessarily the same as that of *[-]r(-)* in the second one. If so, they would be abridged in two different ways in inscriptions. In addition to this, it is not absolutely certain that *nav(-)* means *nav(icularius)*, albeit the word necessarily derives from *navis* or *naus*. If the word is indeed *nav(icularius)*, as it was used in Gaul a couple of centuries earlier, *navicularius* would be being treated here as an honorific title in a list of honorific positions. The expression *ex naviculario* in this particular context, where it precedes *ex munerario*, may indicate that the *munus naviculare* was meant by the word *navicularius*.

The other two inscriptions mentioning *navicularii*, both on tombstones bearing Christian symbols, are rather enigmatic. The first one, from Thabraca,¹⁰⁹ starts with the expression *Felix in pace*, which is so common in Africa that there are serious reasons to doubt that Felix was the name of the deceased.¹¹⁰ Rather than thinking that this had been left anonymous, it seems reasonable to consider that in this case *Navicularius* was a proper name,¹¹¹ and *ab oriis* (for *horreis*?) *cernis* a place of origin. When people were attached to *horrea*, they would write *ex horreis*¹¹² or *de horreis*.¹¹³ *Ab*

¹⁰⁵ Saumagne 1949. ¹⁰⁶ *CIL* VIII, 969 (p. 928, 1282) = *ILPBardo* 393 = *ILTun* 801.

¹⁰⁷ Lepelley 1981: 152; Ben Abdallah 1986: 393. ¹⁰⁸ *CIL* VIII, 970 = *CIL* VIII, 12449.

¹⁰⁹ *ILTun* 1705 = Broekaert 2013: 243, no. 418: Felix in pa/ce vix(it) an(nos) <L=I>XXV / navicularius / ab oriis(?) cernis(?).

¹¹⁰ Broekaert 2013: 243.

¹¹¹ *CIL* XII, 853 = *Nauta* 79 (Arles/Arelate): Q(uintus) Navicula/rius Victori/nus.

¹¹² *CIL* VI, 3971 (p. 3850) = *D* 1625 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 4226 (p. 3414, 3850) = *D* 1620 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 4226a (Rome); *CIL* VI, 37796 = *ZPE* 119–249 = *ZPE* 124–218 = *AE* 1909, 93 (Rome); *ILGR* 231 = *AE* 1946, 230 (Amphipolis).

¹¹³ *CIL* VI, 682 (p. 836, 3006, 3757) = *CIL* VI, 30813 = *D* 1623 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 9801 (p. 3470, 3895) = *D* 7500 = *MNR* 1, 2: 33 = *TermeDiocleziano*-2, p. 137 = *TermeDiocleziano* 1, p. 478 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 9972 (p. 3896) = *D* 7571 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 9973 (p. 3471, 3896) = *D* 7573 = *CSIR-GB* 3–4, 20 = *Sinn* 277 = *Schiavi* 130 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 10026 (p. 3471, 3896) (Rome); *CIL* VI, 33906 (p. 3896) =

indicates a geographical origin, rather than an affiliation. The second one is difficult to read.¹¹⁴ The name itself has no parallel, and only the word *navicularius* and the age of the deceased are intelligible.

2.2 *Naucularius* and *naucularius*

Most editors have considered *naucularius* to be a misspelling of *navicularius* and for that reason have corrected it to *nau(i)c(u)larius*. Others have argued instead that *naucularius* was a Latinized form of ναύκληρος.¹¹⁵ Ernout rightly considered that *naucularius* and *navicularius* were entirely different words.¹¹⁶ Speaking of misspelling or wrongly writing and correcting, the form is misleading too, for the form is too recurrent to be just a mistake.

The contracted form *naucularius* seems instead to reproduce what would be the phonetic pronunciation of the word *navicularius*. The evolution of *-cularius* to *-clarius* is the same as the one followed by *vascularius*, the elegant form used by the jurisconsults and by thirteen inscriptions instead of the vulgar form *vasclarius*.¹¹⁷ In the same fashion, the word *navicula*, from whence *navicularius* derives, is fossilized in the artificial language of Latin literature, but has no occurrence in epigraphy. Its contracted forms, however, are present in Latin epigraphy. *Naucla* is the only form that one finds in the fourth-century archive of the *mensores* of the Îlot de l'Amirauté at Carthage.¹¹⁸ The word *naucula* appears on a graffito from the House of

D 7584 = *TermeDiocleziano*-2, p. 133 = *TermeDiocleziano*-1, p. 484 = *AE* 1898, 145; *CIL* XIV, 3958 = *D* 7572 (mentana / Nomentum).

¹¹⁴ *ILTun* 186 = *AE* 1912, 170 = *IL Afr.* 60; Broekaert 2013: 243, no. 420: Istrikatus(!) navicu/larius Mim() Bioni / Fanuas vicxsit(!) an/nos XXXV me(n)sses(!) III. Alternative readings are *ISTRICATUS*, l. 1, *DIONI* at the end of l. 2, *FANVVS* and *KANVAS* at the beginning of l. 3.

¹¹⁵ Ernout and Meillet 1960: 431; Peña 2000. ¹¹⁶ Ernout and Meillet 1960: 431.

¹¹⁷ *CIL* II.14, 36 and p. 983 = *CIL* II, 3749 (Valentia, Tarraconensis); *CIL* V, 3428 = *D* 7702 (Verona).

¹¹⁸ *AE* 1912, 63: Pos(t) cons(ulat)um / Modesto(!) et Arinthei / III Nonas Mar(tias) Felix mensor olei fori / Karthag(inis) s[u]s[ce]pim[u]s p[e]r naucla / reposti Cap[ro]res[es -] centenaria / [d]ucenta decem et [-]S OCT[-]E tulit / TA[-]arius molir ad [//] Nonas Mar[t(ias) Fel]c[is].
AE 1912, 61 = *AE* 1998: Pos(t) cons(ulat)um / Mod[esti et Arinthei] / XIII [Kal(endas) Mart(ias)] Felix mens[or] / olei [fori Kar]thag(iniensis) sus[ce]pimus / per nauclam Felicis X [eri(?)] C(a)pro/re(n)ses centenaria levia ducenta / et octo et reprob(a) t[re]decim / con(ditorium?) Z(eugitanum?) // XV Kal(endas) Martias n(avicula) Felicis / f(ili?) Xeri(?) f(ero?) CCVIII r(eprobo) XIII.

AE 1912, 62 = *AE* 1998, 1551: Pos(t) cons(ulat)um / Modesto(!) et Arinthei / XIII K(a)l(endas) Mart(ias) Felix mensor olei fori / Karthag(iniensis) suscepimus per naucla(m) / cilindri Caprore(n)ses centenaria / levia ducenta XML[1]C et m(ensore?) ol(e)i(?) / Petro reprob(ata) octo / con(ditorium?) Z(eugitanum?).

AE 1912, 64 = *AE* 1998, 1550: Pos(t) cons(ulat)um / Mod[esto et Arinthei] / pri[di]e Nonas Feb(ruarias) / [-] / [-] / [-]TIMIT / [//] III Nonas Feb(ruarias) n(avicula) / Januari f(ero?) CCXV r(eprobo) V.

the Painted Papyrus at Herculaneum.¹¹⁹ The epenthesis of the –u is the same as for *Hercule/Hercle* and is characteristic of spoken language. The word *navicularius* would thus be a solemn but entirely artificial and outdated form of writing, which applied only to the official names of *corpora* and to Imperial edicts or rescripts.

Naularii occur only once at Ostia in an inscription that is unfortunately too mutilated to allow any satisfying reconstruction of its text, and whose exact nature remains obscure.¹²⁰ However, the preserved parts of the text do not allow the name of any of the *corpora naviculariorum* known in the same city to be recognized. Rather, it seems that an informal group of shippers was involved in setting up that dedication.

There are four other occurrences of *naularii* from Narbo. Of one of these, this word only survives on the inscription.¹²¹ The other three inscriptions are all funerary texts.¹²² None of the *naulari* whose name occurs in these documents is styled as a *sevir* or even as the relative of a *sevir*. They are of lower status and two of them explicitly style themselves as *liberti*. As I have already stated, at Narbo the word *navicularius* relates to the local *corpus* and to its members, all of whom belong to the freedmen sector of society, but never style themselves as such. *Naularius* also appears at Hispalis in an inscription displayed by the *scapharii* in honour of a man who had been an assistant (*adiutor*) of the *praefect* of the *annona* and is said to have been in charge of paying the wages of the *naularii* who shipped olive oil from Baetica to Rome under the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹²³ It is noteworthy that in the description of the office held by that man, the word *naularius*, and not *navicularius*, is used. Accordingly,

¹¹⁹ *CIL* IV, 10520. Revised reading from the original (<http://ancientgraffiti.org/Graffiti/graffito/AGP-EDR140147>) is: [-]AS[-] conclave Puteolis | [-]LE consitont (= consistunt) Herculaneses (= Herculenses) nauculae . . .

¹²⁰ *ZPE* 68–153 = *AE* 1987, 180 = *AE* 1994, 328: [-] / duoviro nauclari[i] / [publ]ice restituerun[t] / [--].

¹²¹ *CIL* XII, 04701 = *Nauta* 83: [-na]uclarius(?) [-].

¹²² *CIL* XII, 4495 = Broekaert 2013: 239, no. 408: D(ecimo) Uleio D(ecimo) I(iberto) Aucto / nauclario / [(obitae) L(uciae) Clarae ux{s}ori; *CIL* XII, 5972 = Broekaert 2013: 239, no. 407: L(ucio) Squeillanio L(uci) I(iberto) / Fausto nauclario / et Flaviae M(arci) I(ibertae) / Venustae uxori / arbitrato / Venustae uxoris / meae. *CIL* XII, 4493 = Broekaert 2013: 232–3, no. 397: Viv<u=O>nt / L(ucius) Gaenina / Masclus / nauclarius / sibi et suis / in f(ronte) p(edes) XV. The latter is undoubtedly dated to the first century AD. The other two may well be dated to the first century as well, given their laconism.

¹²³ *CIL* II, 1180 = *D* 1403 = *CILA* 2–1, 23 = *IDRE* 1, 179 = *AE* 1965, 237 = *AE* 1971, 171 = *AE* 1991, 993. The office is described as follows: adiutor Ulpii Saturnini praefecti Annonae ad oleum Afrum et Hispanum recensendum item solamina transferenda item vecturas nauclariis exsolvendae.

the word was referring to the individual's occupation, rather than his membership of a *collegium* or *corpus*.

3 Ναύκληρος, ναύκλαρος, *Nauclerus*

3.1 *Ναύκληρος, ναύκλαρος*

There has been no Greek transliteration for the latin *navicularius*. Only one word existed in Greek to characterize the person who had authority on one or several ships. This was ναύκληρος and its dialectal variant ναύκλαρος. It had had a long history throughout the Classical and Hellenistic period, and levels of inter-textuality may explain a certain degree of polysemy.

The main elements of the complex semantic field of the word ναύκληρος are: the highest grade on board a merchant ship, without consideration of ownership; ship-owning; shipping enterprise; membership of a guild.

These elements can appear separately or combine together in various ways. The *naukleros* was by semantic tradition the person who operated (and generally owned) the ship. In Classical and Hellenistic times, *naukleroi* usually formed a pair altogether with *emporoi*, and both were considered as groups. *Emporoi* were usually mentioned for the first time in the late second century BC,¹²⁴ when the order of the group first reverses. In the Imperial period, occurrences of this association, translated in Latin as *navicularii et negotiantes*, became the exception. In its Latin form it occurs at the Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia;¹²⁵ in its Greek form it appears once in Egypt, where it characterizes two *matronae* who are styled as ναύκληροι κα[ί] [ἔμπο]ροι Ἐρυθραϊκαί, or 'shippers and businesswomen of the Red Sea'.¹²⁶ This is the only occurrence of this association applied to individuals, and as far as I know the only occurrence of this association in a Greek Imperial inscription. We have seen that the semantic layer of ownership had not been fundamental in either papyri or everyday language since the times of Demosthenes. In an Imperial rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus,¹²⁷ the words ἐπὶ προφάσει τῶν ναυκληρῶν καὶ τὸν σῖτον καὶ ἔλαιον ἐμπορευομένων εἰς τὴν ἀγώραν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ ὄντων ἀτελῶν, 'arguing that the shippers and merchants who convey corn and oil

¹²⁴ *ID* 1526 (Delos), dated shortly after 127 BC, where these are Romans, while all other Delian inscriptions even later use the traditional order; *IG* II² 1012 (Athens).

¹²⁵ *CIL* XIV, 4549, 15: *Navicular(i) et negotian(tes) de suo*; *CIL* XIV, 4549, 16: *Naviculari et negotiantes de suo*; *CIL* XIV, 4549, 21: *Navicul(ari) et negotiantes / Karalitani*.

¹²⁶ *SEG* 8, 703 = *SB* 5.7539 = *AE* 1930.53 (Medamud).

¹²⁷ Callistratus (*libro primo de cognitionibus*) = *Digest* 50.6.6.6.

for the supply of the Roman People enjoy exemption’, express an opposition between two categories of individuals involved in the supply of grain and oil to Rome: *navicularii* and merchants. The Greek term *naukleros* is used there as the Greek translation of the term *navicularius* in its more general sense: ‘the one who operates a ship’. Those who were at the service of an *annona* and enjoyed exemption were but part of the former. In his commentary of this rescript, Callistratus clearly interprets ναυκληροί in a slightly different sense, as members of the *corpora naviculariorum*.

In fact, part of the evidence relates to associations of *naukleroi*. The *naukleroi* of Ephesos had an association and a house or room whose status is unknown.¹²⁸ This association was probably a *corpus naviculariorum*. The clue for this is that two of the *neopoioi* who appear in a list from Ephesos are styled as *naukleroi*. Occupations that do not usually occur in those lists at Ephesos are the physicians (*iatroi*) and the *naukleroi*. The former are explicitly styled as *immunes (aliturgetoi)*, and the latter are just styled as *naukleroi*. The reason is that both normally enjoyed the exemption of *munera*, but nevertheless had accepted holding of this compulsory office. Accordingly, the *naukleroi* of Ephesos were probably one of the *corpora naviculariorum* that had been granted the *vacatio munerum*, but neither the association at Ephesos nor other guilds of maritime shippers bear the name of *synergasia*, even though *synergasia* is the normal designation of guilds in Asia Minor.

Οἶμοι or ‘houses’ are the most documented form of organizational unit for *naukleroi* in epigraphy from the Flavian period onwards. There is evidence for such ‘houses’ at Tomis¹²⁹ on the European shores of the Black Sea, in AD 139–61, and at Amastris on its Asiatic shores during the second or third century AD.¹³⁰ A similar ‘house of the *naukleroi*’ was built under Vespasian together with a dynastic temple at Nicomedia.¹³¹ Some have thought that this kind of organization was typical of the Pontic area in Roman Imperial times¹³² and was a local archaism. This view is now challenged by a bilingual funerary inscription from Askalon, probably of

¹²⁸ *IEph* 542, cf. Chapter 9 of this volume: [τ]ῶ[ν] ἐ[ν] Ἐφέσῳ ναυκλ[ήρων].

¹²⁹ *IScM* II, 60 and 132. ¹³⁰ *BCH* 25 (1901) 36, 184.

¹³¹ *TAM* IV.1 22, dated to AD 70–1. A similar association has sometimes been recognized in *TAM* IV.1 33, also from Nicomedia, and erroneously assigned to AD 69–70 (Bounegru 2006a: 1560 n. 21). The name of the honoured magistrate, P. Aelius Timotheus, clearly indicates a post-Hadrianic date. Robert and Robert 1974: 295, no. 572.6 proposed the restoration [οἱ ἐν τῶν] πρεσβυτέρων οἶκ[ω]ν [τῶν ναυκλήρων] – — Π. Αἴλιον Τιμόθεον and saw in this a reference to the existence of an older house of the *naukleroi*. The inscription is definitely too mutilated to provide any reliable reconstruction of the text.

¹³² Bounegru 2006b: 1560; Bounegru 2007.

the late second to early third century AD, of which only the Latin text survives. It names a *naulerus* (which obviously transliterates the Greek ναύκληρος) who belonged to a similar ‘house’ of the *poreutici*.¹³³ This *oecus poreuticorum*, of which Caius Comisius Memor was a member, is supposed to have been the local guild of Askalon.¹³⁴ The name of the deceased, as well as the bilingual nature of the text in a Greek-speaking city of the Near East, clearly indicates that this *naulerus* had his origin in the Latin West.¹³⁵ The other two occurrences of *poreutici* both date to the late second century AD and refer to the ships of the grain fleet of Alexandria.¹³⁶ Bearing in mind that Askalon was situated along the main sea-route between Alexandria and Rome,¹³⁷ one may really wonder whether the ‘house’ mentioned in this text was actually at Askalon, or rather at Alexandria.

Associations with a named ‘house’ first appeared in the late second century BC in Athens,¹³⁸ but it is unfortunately unclear whether this characterized a weaker structure than the *synodoi* or is just another name for the same reality. Such houses are however very rare before the Roman Imperial period and, as far as we know, no ‘house’ of *naukleroi* is known before then. It is noteworthy that late Hellenistic *synodoi* would put together both *naukleroi* and *emporoi*,¹³⁹ while, as far as we know, the associations that developed during the first century AD (if the building of the ‘house’ at Nicomedia has a paradigmatic value) only involve *naukleroi*. The ‘houses’ of *naukleroi*, therefore, seem to follow the model of the *corpora naviculariorum* and can be considered as typical of the social organization of shippers in the Golden Age of the Roman Empire. This does not mean that they were, formally speaking, *corpora*, a name whose Greek translation still is unclear. Aside from the ‘houses of shippers’, other *oikoi* would be based upon the origins of their members rather than upon a profession, as in the case of the *oikoi* of Alexandrines known in the second to third centuries AD at Tomis, along the shores of the Black Sea,¹⁴⁰ and in Thrace at modern Terpni, whose ancient name is unknown, on the lower Strymon river, 34 km northwest of ancient Amphipolis.¹⁴¹ These are very unlikely to have been *corpora*.

¹³³ IP 3, 2342 = SEG 51, 2016 = AE 2001, 1969: Memoriae / C(ai) Comisi Memo/ris naucleri de / oeco poreuticor(um) //. Of the Greek text, only part of the name of the deceased survives.

¹³⁴ Eck and Zissu 2001. ¹³⁵ Eck and Zissu 2001: 85–8.

¹³⁶ IGR I, 5, 1062 = Kayser 84 = SB 5.8781, found at Alexandria and dated AD 194; I.Porto 2 = IG XIV, 918, found at Portus and dated from the reign of Commodus.

¹³⁷ Arnaud 2005: 27. ¹³⁸ Vélissaropoulos 1980: 104–6.

¹³⁹ IG II² 1012 (Athens, 112/111 BC). ¹⁴⁰ IScM II 153, dated to AD 160.

¹⁴¹ Samsaris, Bas-Strymon 19 = SEG 1, 284, found at Terpni/Paleokastro dated second to third centuries AD.

Together with these explicit mentions of legal associations, a couple of inscriptions may well indicate that at least some of the individuals who are styled as ναύκληροι were members of a guild. This is the case when an indication of ethnic origin follows the word ναύκληρος, instead of the name of the person. The individual who composed the text on the inscription then characterized the deceased as ‘Such and such, who was a *naukleros* of such city’, rather than ‘Such and such, who had his legal *origo* in such city, a *naukleros*’. At Puteoli two funerary inscriptions in honour of two *naukleroi* from Corycus, the Cilician port for the export of crocus *par excellence*, use the two forms Κωρυκιώτης ναύκληρος¹⁴² and ναύκληρον Κωρυκιώτην.¹⁴³ While five *naukleroi* from Nicomedia state that they are from Nicomedia before adding the qualification that they are *naukleroi*, epitaphs from Ephesos, Nicomedia and Gytheion, in Peloponnese, all mention people who are styled as ναύκληρος Νεικομηδεύς.

In the epitaph of Diocles, son of Chrestos, the words ναύκληρος Νεικομηδεύς ἐν Κυζικῷ κατοικῶν, ‘*naukleros* of Nicomedia, settled at Cyzicus’,¹⁴⁴ are unclear. It seems that he was registered as a *naukleros* at Nicomedia; but ‘being settled’ in a port city may indicate various situations, such as having his *domicilium* there, being occasionally but sustainably settled at its *emporion*¹⁴⁵ or just renting a room or office in this city.¹⁴⁶ These various situations had an impact on the definition of the competent jurisdiction.¹⁴⁷ When one was registered as a *naukleros* in a city and settled in another one, these facts had to be provided to the public in order to make this definition possible. The words ‘*naukleros* of Nicomedia, settled at Cyzicus’ were therefore part of the professional identity of the deceased. Although ‘settled’ at Cyzicus, he was a *naukleros* of Nicomedia, not of Cyzicus, a city that had its own association of *naukleroi*; in fact, a ναύκληρος Κυζικηνός is mentioned on another inscription¹⁴⁸ with the same order of words, which suggests that a guild of *naukleroi* existed at Cyzicus too, and that the deceased was one of its members. In the same way, an inscription for the new emperor Septimius Severus and for the safe sailing of the grain fleet of Alexandria is dedicated by a certain ‘Gaius Aelius Aurelius Antonius, of Alexandria, and, as he is styled, *naukleros*’, suggesting some form of registration in a list.¹⁴⁹ When a ‘*naukleros*

¹⁴² IG XIV, 854. ¹⁴³ IG XIV, 841. ¹⁴⁴ IG V, 1 1190.

¹⁴⁵ IK Prusias ad Hypium 29 (Bythinia, third century), l. 10: οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὸ ἐνπόριο[ν].

¹⁴⁶ Ulpian (60 *ad ed.* = Digest 5.1.19.2): At si quo constitit, non dico iure domicilii, sed tabernulam pergulam horreum armarium officinam conduxit ibique distraxit egit: defendere se eo loci debet.

¹⁴⁷ Arnaud 2016: 126–7. ¹⁴⁸ IG IX, 2 1183, Demetrias (Thessaly).

¹⁴⁹ IGRR 1.1062 = SB 5.8781 = Kayser 84: Ἀλεξαν[δρε]ίου Γαίου Αἰλίου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει, [ναυ]κλήρου.

of Nicomedia' who died and was buried at Nicomedia styled himself ναύκληρος Νεικομηδεύς,¹⁵⁰ then no confusion was possible, and it is likely that it was the intention to stress the deceased's membership of the *naukleroi* of Nicomedia that motivated the formula.

The composite image of the average *naukleros* that can be drawn from epigraphic evidence is summarized in Table 15.3. This average 'epigraphic' *naukleros* is above all someone who sailed, usually far away from home, and someone who would often live a life on board with his wife and children.¹⁵¹ A vast majority of them died and were buried far away from home, and those who died at home often mention their maritime travels, sailing specialisms or skill.¹⁵² The onomastic formula shows that most of the evidence is older than Caracalla's edict, and belongs to the late first, second and early third centuries AD. It also shows that the average person styled as *naukleros* in inscriptions was freeborn and peregrine. The reason for displaying their quality of *naukleroi* in funerary inscriptions would essentially be their pride at being entrepreneurs and, in addition to this, skilled sailors. Several inscriptions insist on this skill.

Although some were 'settled' in cities, most of these people, largely absent from their cities, could be considered a special group amongst other citizens. At Lindos and at Physcus in the Rhodian Peraia, several honorary inscriptions dated to the first and second centuries AD do follow the same formal model and identify three classes of people involved in the dedication of honorary inscriptions: those who lived in the main town (τοὶ κατοικεῦντες ἐν . . .), those who lived in its territory, called 'farmers' (τοὶ γεωργεῦντες), and those who were being *naukleroi* (τοὶ ναυκλαρεῦντες).¹⁵³ It is noteworthy that dedications made by 'those being *naukleroi*', always together with the other two groups, made far fewer dedications than the other two groups. Only one group is rarer than the *naukleroi*: the outsiders settled in those cities. Because they were essentially absent, in a way they stood apart from, or rather at the margins of, civic life, and this is probably

¹⁵⁰ SEG 29, 1346.

¹⁵¹ See especially *IScM* II, 375 (Tomis) = SEG 24 = SEG 27, 404 = SEG 39, 680 = Broekaert 2013, nos. 413 and 419 = Slabotsky 1977, where the wife and daughter of *naukleroi* write that they had sailed the whole sea and knew almost every land. Broekaert (2013, nos. 413 and 419) misunderstood the words Ἀθηναίσις and Ἑρμιονέος. These are not anthroponyms, but adjectives indicating the places of origin of mother and father: Athens and Hermione. See also *I.Aeg. Thrace* E489 = Broekaert 2013, no. 386 (Ainos) and *IEph* 542.

¹⁵² Adak and Atvur 1997 (Olympus); Schmidts 2010 (Aradus); *BCH* 44.1920.354a (Sinope); *IScM* II, 375 (Tomis), *IG* XII, 9 1240 (Aidepsos); *IG* XII, 8 586 = SEG 14, 568 (Thasos); *Teichioussa* 16 (Teichioussa).

¹⁵³ SEG 14, 511 = *Lindos* II 384b; *Rhodian Peraia* 31 = *IK Rhod. Peraia* 514; *Rhodian Peraia* 103 = *IK Rhod. Peraia* 510; *Rhodian Peraia* 121 = *IK Rhod. Peraia* 509.

the reason why they apparently often enjoyed a legal exemption from various offices. Only four *naukleroι* are recorded as members of the *boule* or *munerarii*.¹⁵⁴ None had held any magistracy.

On some inscriptions, for the most part votive texts in the form of graffiti made at sacred places devoted to the salvation of those who were sailing, the rank on board is implied with or without consideration of who operated or owned the ship. The *naukleros* had the highest rank on board, followed by the *kybernetes*, or helmsman. One individual is recorded as saying that while he was once a *naukleros*, he has ended up as only a *kybernetes* in the realm of Hades.¹⁵⁵ In votive inscriptions, the commander could be mentioned as part of the identity of the ship, as one of the levers upon whom the gods could rely, or as the one who could pray to the gods in the name of all people on board for whom he was responsible. Votive inscriptions written on a voyage are more interested in the role of the *naukleros* as the commander of a particular ship. When a ship is mentioned on the inscription, the *naukleros* usually seems to be its commander. Whether he is the operator or at the orders of the operator does not matter: he is part of the vow for a safe journey. Two votive inscriptions from Thasos for the happy sailing (*euploia*) of a ship are of particular interest. One (*IG XII, 8 581*) gives the name of the ship, *Herakles*, its homeport, Thessalonica, and its owners' names; in other words it gives the full legal identity of the ship as it appears in *PBingen 77*. Here the ship is co-owned by two individuals, of whom one is on board. He appears amongst the first rank of people for whom divine protection was sought, and both his name and occupation – *archikerdemporos* – are stated. Then came several lost names, followed by that of the *naukleros*, in this case a freedman at the orders of the ship-owner, and eventually those sailing with them for purposes of profit. Another votive inscription from the same site mentions the whole hierarchy relating to a ship called *Artemis*, whose *naukleros*, *pro-naukleros* and *kybernetes* are named in decreasing hierarchical order.¹⁵⁶ The word *pro-naukleros* is extremely rare. A *scholion* of Homer's *Odyssey* (8.163) clearly makes the *pro-naukleros* a supercargo in charge of the cargo on board. Since only the ship is mentioned in this dedication, and since its crew is named only as part of its identity, it is impossible to know whether the *pro-naukleros* was the *magister navis* and

¹⁵⁴ *Boule*: *TAM IV.1 304* (Nicomedia); *IEph 946* (Ephesos); *uperetes damosios*: *IK Rhod. Peraia 142* (Phoenix, Caria).

¹⁵⁵ *IG XII, 9 1240*.

¹⁵⁶ *IG XII, 8 585*: εὔπλοιά σοι, Ἄρτεμι, | ναυκλήρου Εὐτύχου | Μυτιληναίου, προναυκλή|ρου Τυχικοῦ, κυβερνή|⁵ του Ἰουκούνδου.

the *naukleros* a non-sailing ship-owner, or whether these people were all part of the crew and involved in sailing. The port of registration of the ship is not given, but the *origo* of the *naukleros* – Mytilene – is, while the origin of the other people is not mentioned. I suspect that here the *naukleros* is the ship-owner and that the *pro-naukleros* was his representative and the actual commander of the ship. It is again a *naukleros*, most probably from Ioulis in the island of Keos Nagidos in Cilicia (or maybe Attaleia), a certain Volusius [Syn]trophus, who together with and in the name of his crew (με|[τὰ τοῦ πληρ]ώματος), dedicates at Lucentum (Alicante) in southern Tarraconensis an inscription that was most likely an *ex voto* after the ship had shifted away from its route (πλα|[νητῶν]?).¹⁵⁷ At the sanctuary of the Paneion, on the route between Berenike on the Red Sea and Edfu, a *naukleros* styles himself as *naukleros* of Ioannes and Claudia.¹⁵⁸ It is quite rare for an individual to point out that he or she was an employee or dependant. The votive context may explain the mention of the patrons.

Only three people have commemorated their command of a particular ship in funerary inscriptions. It is impossible to determine whether they operated this ship or were employees of whoever it was that operated it. But to these people, having power on that ship was enough for them to be proud. In one inscription of the later Roman period, a *naukleros* says he was a dependant or an employee of the mighty senatorial family of the Symmachi, who played an outstanding role in the Roman Senate of the fourth and fifth centuries AD.¹⁵⁹ Here, the prestige of the family is shared

¹⁵⁷ SEG 33, 835 = *RIAlicantinos* 1 (1970) 7–18 = *RFIC* 112 (1984) 63–6 = *SEG* 54, 985: [. Ο] ὑλόσιος [Σύν]τροφος | []δεύς ναύκληρος με|[τὰ τοῦ πληρ]ώματος καὶ πλα|[νητῶν(?) . . .] ΝΩ|||ΚΟ[. . .] |⁵ [— — — — —]. The picture of the inscription (Llobregat 1988) shows that, at line 2, the inscription reads [-]λεύς or [-]δεύς, preceded by what seems to be the upper part of a Υ. The lacuna is three to four letters wide (including this possible Υ) if the *praenomen* is omitted, which is likely in the period suggested by the palaeography (third century AD). Then the beginning of line 2 would read [++]υδεύς or [++]υλεύς. [Νικομη]δεύς is usually proposed, but is definitely too long for the available space on the inscription. The ethnonym that would fit best with these criteria would be [Ιο]υλεύς, from Ἴουλις in the island of Keos. If the Υ is just an illusion, then [Ναγι]δεύς and [Αττα]λεύς are the only known ethnic names that fit with the size of the lacuna. [Ναγι]δεύς enters better than [Αττα]λεύς. Nagidos in Cilicia and Attaleia in Pamphylia bring us to a small area in southern Asia Minor.

¹⁵⁸ *Paneion d'el-Kanaïs* 57.

¹⁵⁹ *IG* XIV, 879, Baiae: Ἐλπίδιος ναύκληρος Συμμάχων τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐνθ-⁵άδε κίται. Marcus Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus was consul for 330; his son Lucius Aurelius Avianus Symmachus was consul-elect for 377 when he died in 376; Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, the latter's son, was consul for 391; he had two children, a daughter who married Flavius Nicomachus and Quintus Fabius Memmius Symmachus, who was praetor in 401, and whose son, Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, was consul for 446. The latter's son, Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, son of the previous one, was consul for the year 485, not to speak of other members of the family like Aurelius Anicius Symmachus, *proconsul Africae* in 415 and

by one of its dependants who enjoyed the trust of the family in a difficult job.

3.2 *Nauclerus*

The Latin word *nauclerus*, which is a mere transliteration of the Greek *naukleros*, raises the same problems as the Greek word. In a bilingual inscription at Askalon, it just transliterates the Greek word of the original.¹⁶⁰ The spatial diffusion of this word is very limited before the Byzantine period, which accounts for most of its occurrences. It is mainly found around the Adriatic at Salona, Aquileia, Pescara (where it actually refers to Salona) and maybe Leuca,¹⁶¹ and in the Danubian area at Viminacium and Brigetio (Table 15.3). It especially characterizes a member of the college of Sarapis at Salona whose tomb (or rather cenotaph) was found at Pescara.¹⁶² The wife of the deceased balances her own origin at Salona with her husband's membership of the college of Salona – *nauclerus qui erat in colleg(io) Serapis Salon(itano)*. The way in which the college is named echoes the names of a *synodos* at Athens in 112/111 BC,¹⁶³ οἱ ναυκλήροι καὶ ἐμπόροι οἱ τῶν φέροντες τὴν σύνοδον τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ξενίου, 'the naukleroi and Emporoi who contribute to the *collegium* (*synodos*) of Zeus Xenios'. It seems to be inspired by late Hellenistic or Republican models.

At Aquileia, where the name of the local guild was *collegium naviculariorum*,¹⁶⁴ individuals are all styled *naucleri*. Two of the inscriptions often quoted¹⁶⁵ are to be found on the mosaic pavements of the Byzantine basilica of S. Eufemia at nearby Grado Gorizia.¹⁶⁶ They are dated to AD 579 and clearly lie beyond the chronological scope of this chapter. The name of a certain *Terentius* | *duplarius* | *nauclerus* appears on a stone inscription from Aquileia.¹⁶⁷ This *nauclerus* has been interpreted as acting

praefectus urbis in 419, and Flavius Symmachus was consul in the year 522 (Jones, Martindale and Morris 1992: 1044–7).

¹⁶⁰ SEG 51, 2016 = AE 2001, 1969.

¹⁶¹ AE 1979, 186: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Batio / M(arcus) Lartidius [-]bus [-] / Nauc[lerus -] / RIA[-] / AB[-] / [-]F[-]. The word may be developed to read *Nauc[lar]arius* as well.

¹⁶² CIL 9, 3337 = CLE 1265 = SIRIS 677 = RICIS 2, 615/401 = RICIS-S 2, p. 295 = RICIS 3, 615/401 = CLERegio IV, 44. The words *per / freta per maria tra/iectus saepe per und(as) / qui non debuerat / obitus remanere / in a(e)tern(o)* suggest that the deceased was lost at sea. He probably had his origin at Pescara (Bugarski-Mesdjian 2005: 304–5).

¹⁶³ IG II² 1012.

¹⁶⁴ CIL V, *40 = AE 1994, 668 (Aquileia) and, probably, CIL III, 10771, found at Emona.

¹⁶⁵ De Salvo 1992: 434, n. 251; Bounegru 2000:123; Broekaert 2013: 244–5, nos. 422 and 427.

¹⁶⁶ CIL V, 1598 = ILCV 567 and ILCV 568 = *InscrAqu.* III, 3353.

¹⁶⁷ CIL V, 1606 = *InscrIt* 9–1, 8569 = *InscrAqu.* I, 712.

on behalf of the naval station at Aquileia, which had ceased to function in the late Julio-Claudian period.¹⁶⁸ Terentius would have served in the navy under the Julio-Claudian emperors. It is now well established that the grade of *duplicarius* or *duplarius* was introduced under Severus or Caracalla and usually characterizes the army rather than the navy.¹⁶⁹ Unless *duplarius* refers to some civilian context,¹⁷⁰ we are likely to be in the presence of a soldier or veteran who invested in shipping during the third century AD. It is clear that, as with *naucularius* and *naucularius* at Narbonne, the term *nauclerus* is used here as the common name of the occupation.

Aquileia was the westernmost certain occurrence of the word *nauclerus* until the recent publication of an inscription found in the ancient port of Fossae Marianaë, at the mouth of the Rhône.¹⁷¹ The text reads [- nau]cler cor[-]; according to Courier, who first published the text, this should be interpreted as a [nau]clerus cor[poratus] from Arelate (Arles). It would be very strange that a member of one of the *V Corpora naviculariorum* of Arelate who insisted on his membership – cor[poratus] – would style himself a *nauclerus* and not a *navicularius*. A better explanation would be that cor[-] would not be developed as cor[poratus], but as the name of the port city where the man would be a *nauclerus*, preferably a Greek city. His fragmentary name [us] Thras[-] may be a Greek name (though one may not exclude the servile *cognomen* of a freedman, like Thrasea or Thrasyllus). Cor[inth(ius)], Cor[inth(iensis)] or Cor[inth(o)] would be an interesting option. Cor[cyraeus] or Cor[cyrae], or Cor[ycius], Cor[tyneus] (var. of Gortyneus) are other possibilities. This *nauclerus*, who was offering a statue to the *genius* of the local *negotiantes subaediani*, would have just transliterated the Greek name of his profession into Latin, and avoided use of the legal designation of the *navicularii* of Arelate.

4 Conclusion

Most of the evidence under examination in this chapter takes place between the late first and mid third centuries AD, in other words during the period when the epigraphic habit reached its peak and had developed its own customary rules. Replaced into their epigraphic contexts, the words

¹⁶⁸ Panciera 1978; Reddé 2001. ¹⁶⁹ Speidel 2014.

¹⁷⁰ See AE 1996, 416 (Puteoli), where M. Claudius Trypho is *Augustalis duplicarius negotiator vascularius argentarius*. *Duplicarius* certainly does not take place in a military context here. The way these words relate to one another is unclear.

¹⁷¹ Courier 2015.

displayed in public are more specialized than one would expect, and are not fully equivalent or synonymic. The main difference is that shippers recorded in the West were all freedmen, while the Eastern *naukleroï* were normally *ingenui*. The reasons they decided to record that they were shippers vary with local situations and codes of social legibility.

The *navicularii* of the West were normally *seviri Augustales* or close relatives of *seviri Augustales*, and thus belonged to the municipal *honorati*.¹⁷² They were keen to celebrate both their social success and their civic integration, and would have stressed their membership of the *corpora naviculariorum* as a mark of dignity comparable to the *honor* of the sevirate.¹⁷³ They may have also decided to stress the fact that, despite the *immunitas* they could obtain from belonging to the *corpus*,¹⁷⁴ they had nevertheless accepted the honour of the sevirate, as a proof of their affection for the city, while, akin to the decurions, they could refuse to hold the office, at least until Pertinax.¹⁷⁵ None of these *seviri* mentions that he was a freedman in an attempt to give more legibility to the status of *honorati*. Because the word *navicularius* referred mainly to their membership of the *corpus*, it is unfortunately impossible to determine their actual level of involvement in maritime shipping at the moment of their death, as it is difficult to make clear their level of economic and professional autonomy with respect to their *patroni*, which may well have been higher than is often thought to be the case.¹⁷⁶ In the same areas, the *naucularii* and *naucularii* were of lesser social relevance and legibility, but they nevertheless took some pride in displaying what seems to have been their actual occupation, without consideration of their affiliation to any formal association.

In a manner similar to the Western *naucularii*, the oriental *naukleroï* apparently found less pride in their belonging to an association than in being entrepreneurs who owned their ships, commanded them at sea and had managed to make a comfortable life for themselves, although they were normally members of the plebs, as were most people who mention their occupation on inscriptions.¹⁷⁷ A very small number among them accessed the *honores*, and none of them ever held a magistracy. *Naukleroï* in the sense of ‘ship-masters’ are generally recorded only in votive inscriptions. In this case, the mention of their rank in the hierarchy on board the ship, as part of the ship’s identity, was necessary to get the full protection of the ship from the gods.

But the most striking element of this *corpus* is the geographical distribution of the inscriptions. One would expect that their findspots would mirror

¹⁷² Mouritsen 2011: 251–60. ¹⁷³ Christol 2003. ¹⁷⁴ Digest 50.5.3; 50.6.6.6; 50.6.6.13.

¹⁷⁵ Digest 50.6.6.13. ¹⁷⁶ Christol 1971; 1982. ¹⁷⁷ Tran 2007: 122–3; 2015.

the activity of ports and port hierarchies, in which case Ostia, Puteoli, Alexandria, Carthage and perhaps Ephesos, Arles or Narbo would be ranked in first place. In fact some of these ports actually emerge only from the lists of recorded *corpora* and *collegia* (Tables 5–7), while others, like Carthage, are entirely absent. If one turns to individuals, the results are even more surprising. Ostia provides almost nothing, and Puteoli only two names of *naukleroi*, both from Corycos. Alexandria provides two names, while African and Levantine ports are totally or almost absent from our lists until the later Roman Empire. On the other hand, Nicomedia, with sixteen certain *naukleroi* present in the whole Mediterranean, and one mention of the house of the *naukleroi*, stands above all other ports, followed only, far behind, by Narbo and Arelate, with four to five occurrences each; then come Corycus, the Cilician port of reference for the export of saffron, Hermione and Ephesos, and Aquileia, with three occurrences each, followed by Salona, Tomis and Sinope. Almost all these places have provided evidence for the existence of known *corpora*, *collegia* or houses of shippers.

Was Nicomedia so prominent as a port to justify this overwhelming presence? Some scholars think that it was.¹⁷⁸ Although most of the ports that occur several times in our catalogue were important ones, with the possible exception of Hermione, the intrinsic importance of these ports is unlikely to be the correct explanation for this state of affairs – or at least, not the only one. Although one may imagine that there was some kind of a tradition in training *naukleroi* in some places, the main reason for such disparities, and for the misleading hierarchies that they might suggest, is likely to be sought and found in the local codes that framed the display of writing and self-celebration. A comparison between Table 15.1 and Tables 15.2 and 15.3 shows that individuals recorded as shippers either came from places where it was customary to record shippers, or were buried at places where it was customary to do so. In these places, being a maritime shipper enjoyed more collective recognition than in others. These places may well have been those where the presence of shippers was needed, as was the case in the cities of the Black Sea or Gytheion that awarded public honours to foreign shippers. There are also those where the structure of ownership of merchant ships provided the entrepreneur with some legibility. When owning ships was just part of a diversified capital for the wealthiest ship-owners, and but one of several sources of income, then this legibility would disappear. A rescript of Hadrian made a clear difference between *negotium* consisting in having ships as the principal source of income, and people buying ships as one out of several other sources of income, mainly

¹⁷⁸ Bounegru 2006b.

revenues of the capital, that characterized *otium*.¹⁷⁹ But these are matters of reflection that I shall pursue elsewhere.

The *naukleroï* recorded on inscriptions are misleading for those who might try to reconstruct social, civic and economic patterns of shipping and port hierarchies on this evidence alone. Those ports where it was customary to record *naukleroï* seem to belong to the upper category of medium-sized ports – that is, places where entrepreneurs belonging to the middle to higher plebs were at the heart of the shipping structure – while in larger ports, shipping would be mainly at the hands of investors who would place their capital in various economic sectors and had a higher social and economic status.

It is difficult to evaluate the diversity of the activities of those people who styled themselves maritime shippers in various ways, and indeed it would require a special chapter to do so. There are several clues for this, especially operating a ship and being a merchant. *PBingen 77*¹⁸⁰ shows that almost half of the ships entering one Egyptian port were loaded by their operator, who also acted as a merchant. A number of clues indicate that the greater the wealth of the operator, the more diversified was his activity, for reasons of security as well as in an attempt to reduce transactional costs. At the lower end of the hierarchy, smaller-scale entrepreneurs would buy a cargo in order to avoid the cost of sailing an empty ship. One may also assume that the more people insisted on being maritime shippers (*naukleroï*, *nauleri*, *naulari*), the more they specialized in shipping. *Navicularii*, instead, would have had a broader range of activities. Vocabulary is thus a possible key to understanding the variety of shipping patterns that frame Roman maritime trade and port networks.

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¹⁷⁹ Callistratus (*libro quarto de cognitionibus*) = Digest 27.1.17.6.8: *Negotiatio pro incremento facultatum exercenda est. Alioquin si quis maiore pecuniae suae parte negotiationem exercebit, rursus locuples factus in eadem quantitate negotiationis perseveraverit, tenebitur muneribus, sicuti locupletes, qui modica pecunia comparatis navibus muneribus se publicis subtrahere temptant: idque ita observandum epistula divi Hadriani scripta est.*

¹⁸⁰ Heilporn 2000.

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1 Epigraphy and the Universe of Ports

The excellent conference on which this volume has been based, ‘Roman Port Societies through the Evidence of Inscriptions’, made all of the participants reflect afresh on many fundamental questions about how this medium illustrates the surprisingly elusive issue of what kinds of societies were characteristic of Roman harbour settlements.¹ These concluding remarks are intended to address some of these. Two very basic questions about the medium stood out: how – and how far – do surviving inscriptions actually reflect ancient social history in the first place; and (in particular) does the level of diversity in the epigraphic record mirror actual variety across time and space in the Roman world?² Roman ports make rather good laboratory specimens for such enquiries. The papers at the conference, in accordance with the aims of the *Portuslimen* project, addressed a good spread of ports, all, except Delos and Ephesos, from the western basin of the Mediterranean, principally Aquileia, Arelate, Hispalis, Lugdunum, Narbo, Narona, Ostia/Portus and Puteoli.

Sea ports (if we think of them trans-historically) are apt to exhibit pronounced, complex and characteristic patterns of division of labour, according to the interlocking specializations required by the life of the sea, the functions of the harbour itself, the economic (and other) vocations of the whole port settlement in its regional context, and the requirements of political and social control of all these. At the same time, such patterns are often articulated – in equally distinctive ways – by such social phenomena as horizontal demographic mobility, age, gender and community. While all these phenomena could in principle be studied in any settlement where

¹ I am most grateful to Simon Key and Pascal Arnaud for the invitation to comment on an extremely interesting set of papers and join in a lively and productive discussion. This concluding reflection aims to reproduce something of the reactions of the moment to the themes raised by the speakers at the conference.

² Whether representative or not, port inscriptions do display considerable variety, and (as so often in social and economic history) the necessary challenge is to produce constructive general descriptions and explanations.

documentary evidence is available, they often appear with particular clarity in the rapidly changing life of ports, with the intensity of experience which derives from precarious economic activity and the risks of sea-borne travel. These effects are strengthened in the port settlements of the ancient Mediterranean by the long-standing cultural practice of isolating them in theory or practice, so that their social volatility, economic opportunity and cultural diversity could be regulated and controlled.³ The comparison of better-documented ports in more recent pre-modern societies, and the relatively abundant dossier on the social segregation or other control of maritime activity in antiquity, then, suggest that the epigraphy of Roman ports should offer at least some features as distinctive as what the rather different evidence reveals of the social behaviours of settlements of other periods and regions.

This is not altogether the case. During these discussions, for instance, expecting ‘cosmopolitanism’, Sabine Panzram (Chapter 10) found herself questioning how distinctive in this respect Iberian ports were. Hélène Rougier (Chapter 6) was challenged by the variety of the ‘spécificités portuaires’, and Dorothea Rohde (Chapter 5) likewise found diversity rather than pattern in the epigraphic evidence for associations, while Koenraad Verboven (Chapter 14) evoked the extreme suppleness of ancient traders’ networks. By contrast with these studies, Catherine Virlouvet and Nicolas Tran (Chapters 7 and 4, respectively) did feel that the evidence for port storage and for harbour-specific water-borne activities was susceptible of comparison across many different sites. But they too were arguing in the face of an admitted heterogeneity of the evidence, in both its preservation and what it appears to show. For Michel Christol (Chapter 11), the incommensurabilities offered an opportunity to discern change through time. Marc Mayer (Chapter 12) had evidence which fitted the picture historians might generally expect, upward social mobility linked to engagement in commerce; but he was principally concerned with the single (albeit very remarkable) case of Dalmatian Narona. It was the epigraphy of the regulatory frameworks of the local city and the over-arching Imperial system, as investigated by Pascal Arnaud and Jean-Jacques Aubert (Chapters 15 and 9, respectively), which gave a more solid comparability from port to port and region to region.

Beyond the arbitrariness of survival, what inscriptions primarily illustrate is each locality’s epigraphic habit. It is above all as a medium for communication that epigraphy on stone and bronze is peculiar and

³ This phenomenon gave its name to Horden and Purcell 2000; see also Purcell 2004.

particular. While we can hazard guesses as to who is communicating, and what they say, it is always impossible to say how representative it is, and the likely answer is always ‘not very’. Epigraphy sheds light mainly on parts of the epigraphy-producing sections of society, and those were highly circumscribed. Pascal Arnaud, accordingly, discussed the tantalizing inscription of an Ephesian benefactor who paid for the re-whitening of the surfaces on which the bankers wrote. Uniquely, this text attests to a quite different variety of – economically crucial – public writing, and one no doubt of great significance precisely to ports, to which we have almost no access at all.⁴ The principal phenomenon which we *can* study thanks to epigraphy is the dynamic by which writing on stone or bronze came to further purposes perceived by those who paid for their information to be represented in this way. The set of such dynamics is the ‘epigraphic habit’ of a place at a specific time.⁵ Through inscriptions, then, in Roman ports, we are looking first at the inscription-generating parts of their life, and if there is an epigraphic ‘paradigm of Roman port society’, in Arnaud’s phrase, this milieu is where to seek it. Luckily these matters, as these chapters have demonstrated, though only a part of the full social and cultural framework of the port, are also very interesting in themselves, and the evidence for them is often relatively abundant.

Epigraphic habit was a powerful cultural, intellectual and social fact; and the variable habits of different communities are thus themselves a striking object of scrutiny. But it is always essential to allow fully for all the parts of ancient behaviour which did not produce epigraphy and are not illuminated by it (though sometimes they may have shaped it in ways we cannot see). So it is no good lamenting the lack of epigraphic evidence for ships’ crews (apart from some sections of the Roman public fleet), and still less deducing from it negative conclusions about the existence of such crews.⁶ The argument from silence is always worthless in epigraphy. The very high proportion of funerary inscriptions in each local dossier, and the relatively low proportion of those which have significant qualitative biographical information, are structural inhibitors of this exercise. The inscriptions of Tarraco or Aquileia or Puteoli no doubt name scores of individuals whose lives played an integral part in a history of ports, but we shall never know

⁴ *Ieph* 3065, cf. [Chapter 13](#) in this volume. ⁵ Sears, Keegan and Laurence 2013.

⁶ The epigraphy of mariners is something of a problem. Only one group of ordinary seafarers features in inscriptions, and they are actually rather difficult to deal with, the *classici* of the Roman military marine. Their inscriptions, from Misenum or Ravenna or bases of the frontier fleets, provide a glimpse of a rather specialized subset of seafarers. There is nothing like them to inform us about any other category of mariner.

which they are! Epigraphy reveals an interesting part of social reality – but there are many parts of that reality where it cannot reach at all. It is frustrating that many aspects of the world of the sea and the port lie in that hidden zone – but that too, given the nature of ancient epigraphy, is a fact which matters and with which we can work. The epigraphic continuum has its own overall character.

From all this it follows that only some of the trans-historical features of port societies which I listed briefly above will be represented in Roman epigraphic evidence, and that – to repeat this crucial point – about others we can conclude nothing (especially not from silence). Wrong expectations can lead to real difficulty. It is all too easy to start with what we think was going on in a port, and then to turn to the epigraphic record to see whether it illustrates it. It is an important fact that this strategy is apt to disappoint. The chapters in this volume show how vividly inscriptions can document ports, but the relationship between evidence and reality is never simple, and one of my aims in this brief concluding chapter is to explore some of the interpretative matrices which it is desirable to keep in mind as we approach these always strange texts.⁷

Ports can be imagined from the sea or the land. Seafarers see the port as secure landfall, refuge and protection against the trials and trauma of the sea, a necessary exit from a given maritime space; but it is not, of course, a random destination. The purpose of the journey is to enact a communication, one of a series, sometimes a very large series or set, of such conjunctions. For those who organize or deploy the resources of a terrestrial region, however, the port is a means of increasing the ‘valency’ of their neighbourhood, a part of the process of joining up which combats distance and scale and integrates political and politico-economic goods which are realizable far from the harbourside. The maritime function catalyses interactions and functions for people who neither go to sea nor deal directly with materials that have been moved by sea.

Joining places and peoples together was a sign of confident power and beneficent success. The geographer Strabo is eloquent on the subject of how Roman rule has achieved this in the Iberian Peninsula, for instance (2.5.26, ‘joining together the things that had never been joined up’). Ports were a useful venue in which to celebrate, stage and commemorate this form of connectivity, and their public epigraphy played a role in this. That

⁷ These are wide-ranging issues and I can only evoke them impressionistically here. But over-familiarity with ‘ordinary’ or ‘uninformative’ inscriptions can be avoided through the discipline of making a positive attempt to see each text, however apparently unsurprising, in its material configuration as a peculiar survival of a vanished social reality.

is obviously true of monuments such as the Patara *stadiasmos* (which helpfully reminds us that ports look to the land too, and to their networks of terrestrial communications), but the collected epigraphy of port functions, including dedications to the deities who protected seafaring and the inscriptions of associations and individuals connected with the sea, served to underline the point.⁸

Whether illuminated by epigraphic evidence or not, ports must thus be seen as parts of complex social, economic and administrative systems, and these systems all have histories: narratives of inception, change and possible eclipse. Reflecting (with Michel Christol) on how the frameworks changed helps us see the regional diversity of ports and port epigraphies as a consequence of different systemic vocations rather than contingently various localities. If Narona and Hispalis exhibit different epigraphies, and if we are right in seeing different social realities behind these, the explanation is not just the irreducible variety of places, but the kinds of economic geographies represented by the regions of Dalmatia and Baetica – and the parts of the maritime world with which these particular river-mouth gateways interacted. Ports only make sense in larger geographies. They also change each other reciprocally and as parts of reciprocal or catenated groupings. Adding a new port changes the orientations and behaviours of the others. The typical port constantly changes its orientations and dynamics. Even where ports display notable continuity of settlement, culture or management, the patterns of communication do not exhibit the same immutability.

What did it do to the universe of ports, then, that it had Rome – itself a port – and its other harbour settlements in it: a world capital and its gateways, themselves by no means static in their economic and social needs and functions? The question has several ramifications, most obviously concerning the weave of economic and fiscal redistribution of resources across the Imperial hegemony. Such a *milieu* is one in which innovation, on the scale represented by the harbour interventions of the early Roman Empire, changed the whole in a specially marked manner, which reached far beyond the precise sites of the more expensive, spectacular and successful interventions. The discussions of this volume, like those of the conference, circle round the central problems of understanding Portus and Ostia, to which the discussion repeatedly returned; and that may have been more than an accident of our location in Rome and of the specific importance of Rome's harbours to the *Portuslimen* project. It remains open how

⁸ For Patara, see conveniently Jones 2001.

and how far the institutions of the centre and their recording acted as norms or models for wider practice.

One well-known feature of Roman epigraphy which it is easy to take for granted is the interactiveness of communities, local social orders and regionally specific cognitive practices, a continuous dialectic which ensured that the uses of the epigraphic medium, while quantitatively variable, remain readily comparable all over the Roman world, even crossing over with ease between Latin and Greek. While we know from many other sources, but especially from archaeology, how different the vocations of different ports were, one of the most important of epigraphy's functions was its capacity to obscure differences, and offer images of regularity and conformity, keeping up with general Imperial practice. Although differentiation, when it turns up, is always very important, we should remember that claims of belonging, and of uniformity with a general culture to which many aspired, were always much more so.

The social and political need for the authentication, memorialization, publicity, certification and legitimation which epigraphy offered came into being in different places at different moments for different reasons, and when those reasons ceased to hold, epigraphy dwindled. The beginning and the end, the crescendoes and wanings, of epigraphic practice are among its most interesting features. Change through time, a less prominent theme in these chapters, remains an essential consideration. The history of Roman ports, it is important to recall, is much longer than the periods with a more abundant epigraphic habit. Thus, the social worlds of the fourth-century BC river-harbour of Ostia, the emporium of mid-Republican Rome (see especially Livy 35.10.12 and 41.27.8) or the ports of Istria in the age when Cassiodorus wrote his memorable account of the prosperity of the upper Adriatic (XII.22 and 24, of AD 537) are illuminated by epigraphy not at all.⁹

2 All Roman Epigraphy Is Public Epigraphy

It is misleading to distinguish a private realm of Roman epigraphy too strongly from a public one. Just as the *domus* was a building block of the *civitas*, and the *pater familias* had a civic role as its head, so all the people recorded in inscriptions thereby advertise their position in a social framework.

⁹ For the river-harbour, and confirmation of its date, Goiran *et al.* 2014.

Memorialization is a key facet of the epigraphic habit. Both the funerary and the dedicatory record speak of permanence and the durability of meaning. In doing so, both kinds of text used, and served as, a kind of institutionalization. The family relations and other details displayed in the inscription, the fragments or excerpts of social complexity, are given a new status by selection and committal – at some expense – to a permanent medium of record. Inscriptions, then, do not simply testify to social reality, they enact it, taking parts of the dense tangle of normal interactions and celebrating them, reifying them at the same time. There is naturally no way of calibrating just how important this practice was within the whole ecology of Roman society, but that these pieces of information were selected for institutionalizing of this kind suggests that they were already perceived as of some importance, an asserted value which was at least not diminished by being the one shared by so many of this set of monuments. At the same time, we must recognize that being inscribed in the common formulary of each place and time legitimated the information as part of an official world and subordinated it to a *public* order. Port epigraphy is usually therefore the epigraphy of a larger organization, and that is almost always a city with its own legal or institutional identity.¹⁰ There were agglomerations of dwellings and other buildings which did not have such identities, and no doubt some had port functions, but they largely lack an epigraphic record.

The particular form of record or memorialization represented by ancient epigraphy, then, concerned the inscribing of the details chosen by those who paid for the monument (always a significant outlay, we must remember) within a fundamentally public domain, which is what gave meaning to the act.¹¹ Roman inscriptions are not subversive. Forms of public writing, such as graffiti, which can seem counter-cultural, in fact operated well within the range of humour or criticism licensed by social and political norms.

The fabric of citizen community is therefore the first way in which Roman epigraphy was essentially public – if we find Latin inscriptions in ports, they attest the bid by their dedicators to be inserted into the larger Roman collectivity. The second way is that ports were essential to the wars which the Roman people undertook. Those wars, in turn, were a crucial part of the economic life of the Mediterranean. The provision of fleets is

¹⁰ Cf. Arnaud (Chapter 15) again for this point; and compare what is said below about private estates as a partial exception.

¹¹ Taco Terpstra (Chapter 8) spoke of epigraphy as representing a public-private hybrid, but that may be to overstate the importance of the 'private'.

obvious; less so is the role of ports in military commissariat and communications. Booty too was channelled through ports, and so was the somewhat less aggressively acquired tribute and other fiscal exaction which succeeded it from conquered peoples. Romans had reasons to see economic prosperity and military success as closely linked, and the port as a locus of both. It was natural, then, that it should be on a sales tax that new initiatives to fund the army might be based (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.78). Ports remained symbolic places of *profectio* and *reditus* – of formal departure on an expedition and highly visible return – as well as points of acquisition of the exotic goods which continued to symbolize Roman power. Here, then, was a further reason why ports mattered to the body politic. Of all this there is relatively little trace in the epigraphic record; but it underpins the first ‘public’ aspect of Roman port towns, in that it was through properly established communities that Rome usually sought to mobilize resources and to provide infrastructure for continuing military, political and fiscal ascendancy.

It follows from this, thirdly, that those who took leading roles in the economic life of Roman ports occupied positions which were at once in a sense public, as well as fulfilling personal or familial objectives. This is an aspect which can be illustrated from epigraphy. Aulus Herennuleius Cestus describes himself rather proudly as a wine trader of the depot of Septem Caesares at Rome, and as a merchant in every kind of wares from overseas. He does not sound like a sea-borne trader (his tomb-monument certainly was at Reate), but, rather, one who frequented the entrepôts where sea-borne goods arrived, and then distributed them to consumers across the Italian Peninsula.¹² *Vinarius* and *mercator*, Cestus is careful to add that he was a *lictor*, attendant on the public officials of the old Roman state system. The economic roles are paralleled with the minor public office. Epigraphy located all the facts it recorded in comparable, interacting registers. Scholarship has at last nuanced the older, cruder binaries, such as public roles and economic activity. Interest has now shifted to the overlap categories where the domains of economic life and public life met one another and each inflected the other. Whether we are dealing with *apparitores*, like Cestus, or municipal magistrates, official *collegia* and *corporata*, claims to statuses such as *eques* or various kinds of soldier, or engagement with state concerns such as taxation – all these are conspicuous in Roman ports. These overlap zones are numerous and extensive. The chasm which we

¹² *CIL* IX, 4680 (*ILS* 7484): negotiator vinarius a septem Caesaribus idem mercator omnis generis mercium transmarinarum licitor.

used to perceive between economic activity and claims to higher social status now appears to be a stylized aspect of the self-presentation of some senators, attempting to ring-fence the topmost social prestige against an ambiguity which was otherwise completely normal. In Roman ports, epigraphy conspicuously displays the interactive juxtaposition of such roles.

Herennuleius Cestus evokes a larger dossier of links with public and civic officials. If Ostia was already in the age of Cicero a responsibility for a quaestor which could be described as ‘negotiosa et molesta [provincia]’ (Cicero *pro Murena* 8.18), it was because engagement with traders and the disputes which arose from exchange could not be avoided. But it was also because these litigious and quarrelsome individuals were engaged in business of essential importance to the Roman polity and its leaders. Public officials were not made available in the Roman world to suit the convenience of people of no direct concern to Roman rulers. This is the point to return to that essential aspect of the port as entrepôt, a place where, as had always been true of the Hellenic *emporion* too, the dangerous aspects of communications, profit, mobility, opportunity and the *mores* of other peoples needed to be supervised.¹³

The fourth public aspect of epigraphy is that for much of the period to which surviving inscriptions relate, we need to consider the emperor and his epigraphic shadow. An older public social order and a new one were alike guaranteed by the emperor. Ports in cities had, as we have seen, their own epigraphic flavour. But the port geography of the Roman world included ports which were developed on private land. Starting where the portfolios of the richest magnates of the Republic left off, the emperors changed everything. The result is well displayed by the problem of the constitution of Portus before its appearance, almost certainly for the first time, as an independent *civitas Flavia Constantiniana Portuensis*, soon after 312.¹⁴ The texture (and the relatively small quantity) of its epigraphy is a real contrast with Ostia. Imperial structures dominate: there is a cult of Liber Pater, but he is surnamed for the emperor, ‘Commodianus’; an association dedicating to the same god is called the ‘Trajanensian band’; Serapis was worshipped, but explicitly in connection with the reception at Portus of the grain fleet from Alexandria.¹⁵ When the port was on an Imperial estate, as is the case at Centumcellae and probably Portus in its first two and a half centuries, Imperial control is even more emphatically

¹³ Bresson and Rouillard 1993; Moatti and Kaiser 2007.

¹⁴ *CIL* XIV, 4449 (of AD 337–41) attests its *ordo* and *populus*.

¹⁵ Commodianus, *CIL* XIV, 30; the *speira Traianesion*, *IG* XIV, 925; Serapis and Alexandria, *IG* XIV, 916–17, with Keay and Millett 2005: 311.

present: ‘Portus Augusti’, the emperor’s harbour, should be understood emphatically and, literally, proprietorially.¹⁶ The role of the emperor as a landowner intersected with several frequently displayed ideological strands in the early Principate. Among these was the wish to be seen as the beneficent provider of *trophe*, nourishment, maintenance, food supply, the wherewithal for survival on the part of Rome’s subjects. In this respect, too, what we think of as ‘the economy’ was public.¹⁷

Alongside the practical presence of the emperor and the institutions of the Imperial office, a place should be acknowledged for the symbolic and charismatic role of the emperor as the guarantor of order and continuity in the face of danger and disruption, natural or human. That was expressed in several ways, but amongst the more important epigraphically is the allusion to the emperor as god.

Obedience and loyalty, rewarded with honour and status in a reciprocity guaranteed by state force in the interests of coercion and order – that is in the end what epigraphy aimed to show of how ports functioned in the Roman Empire. But finally, there is another even wider aspect of adherence to a public ideal, to which I turn next. Most aspects of what we think of as Roman culture were also essentially public, and expressing them was a public act, a statement of belonging, and recognizable, accountable belonging too. Buying epigraphic commemoration celebrated conformity, and it is the pursuit of conformity that inscriptions document best. They are a less sure guide, it need scarcely be said, to how deep and how complete the conformity which they claimed actually went.

3 Institutions Seeking to Display Conformity

The first of the three case studies in public uniformity reflected through local epigraphy is the slave and freedman *milieu*. The *classification sociale* which H el ene Rougier discussed is central to the functions of ancient epigraphy, and epigraphy served to make the taxonomy visible and comparable everywhere.¹⁸ The conspicuous self-presentation of the unfree and the formerly unfree is a central aspect of economic relations in the Roman

¹⁶ Maiuro 2012.

¹⁷ Thus Tran, this volume (Chapter 4). Catherine Virlovet’s *entrep ots*, discussed in Chapter 7, are a microcosm of an Imperial system within the larger spectrum of Roman communications and exchange. Imperial slaves and freedmen, like the staff of many a lesser proprietor, are the personnel of this system within a system.

¹⁸ An issue mentioned by Rougier (Chapter 6).

Empire – it matters not just that they are there, but that they promoted and paid for the *milieu* which enables us to see them.

The epigraphy of Roman ports is distinctive in its reflection of a particular *milieu* of slavery. Among the individuals who fulfilled roles connected with ports in the inscriptions which we have been dealing with, many were slaves or ex-slaves. This is the essentially epigraphic continuum which Georges Fabre studied in his great, but now sadly rather neglected, book *Libertus*.¹⁹ Slave–free relations are therefore a key element in the discussions of the system that we have been describing, and amongst the social configurations of my opening remarks, alongside the social phenomena which are easier to compare with ports of other periods, we have to include the consequences of the particular modalities of how slaves and ex-slaves contributed to economic life, which formed the subject of Fabre’s book.²⁰ This *milieu* is at once larger and smaller than the subject of this volume. On the one hand, as a structure it is clearly characteristic of many economic centres only tangentially connected with the sea. On the other, its presence in the epigraphic record is a quite tightly bounded phenomenon, beginning in the second century BC and disappearing towards the end of the second century of our era. Whether its invisibility before and after means that the behaviours in question did not exist is, of course, a subject of vigorous debate.

This, indeed, is this social group that was, famously, at the core of Roman business transactions by land and sea. So, both in the recruitment of certain categories of maritime traveller and in the maintenance of business confidence, the social and legal obligations of the former slave had a very significant part to play. This bond was a much stronger one, based as it was on the Roman law of persons, than anything which came merely under the heading of employment, on whatever form of contract. The *Tabulae Sulpiciorum* are our most vivid demonstration of the chains of authority between multiple tiers of former slaves.²¹ Confidence in transactions could be based on such relationships in a given locality; but the ties also had the merit of being usefully extendable across huge gaps of land and sea and long-delayed communications and consultations. But why are slaves and freedmen so visible in epigraphy? With Roman satirists, ancient historians used to foreground the vanity of the upwardly mobile, the swagger of the *parvenu*. Yet the slave and the former slave were intrinsically outsiders. Their presence in any community spoke of arrival from far away.

¹⁹ Fabre 1981; see now Mouritsen 2011.

²⁰ Within port epigraphy, there is of course a special place for the *Augustales*, with Laird 2015 on ‘legal outsiders’.

²¹ Camodeca 1999.

They stood for the ambiguity of all communication, between deracination and social promotion. Their position was essentially precarious. Their role needed 'licensing', their functions and places in society needed explanation and defence. Epigraphy displayed their claims to belong.

A second – and related – area in which ports exhibit their responsiveness to messages and pressures originating in the political and hegemonial centre is associative behaviour. *Collegia* and *corporata* have a special place in the epigraphy of Roman ports, from the member lists of Republican Minturnae to the rich and nuanced record of the associations of Antonine Ostia. Such bodies are of course widespread in Greek and Roman communities and by no means distinctive to ports, though port *collegia* naturally address maritime functions.²² This subject has attracted considerable attention, since associations in port and market centres (and especially medieval and early modern guilds) have been seen as richly relevant to the debate about the role of institutions in the late medieval and early modern economies. Appropriately, then, it has received a good deal of attention in the years of the ascendancy of New Institutional Economics, and (more recently) of the beginnings of caution about the limitations of this enticing new approach.²³ The advantages of using an economic or occupational link to build an organization giving the poorer members of society (many of whom were slaves or ex-slaves, in need of displaying their credentials, in the manner I have just mentioned) a social address and some safety nets against risk in urban contingencies have been seen as significant since the pioneering work of Flambard.²⁴ Neighbourhood, religious practice and origin all offered similar excuses for association, and all of these had special significance in port cities.²⁵

The associative phenomenon served many purposes, and it can hardly be doubted that it sometimes operated to the economic advantage of those who participated. But it was also about control. Roman state authorities, such as the Ostian quaestor, saw the restriction and limitation of behaviours which might turn out to be threateningly para-political as their role, not the management of a social phenomenon which could enhance and lubricate the beneficial effects of exchange and transaction.²⁶ Any such

²² The function of *collegia* in Roman communities deserves comparison with the *conventus civium Romanorum* and other communities of Roman citizens in foreign locations, which are typical of the Republic, but continue into the second and even third centuries AD. Narona is an especially rewarding case of such a community.

²³ Grafe and Gelderblom 2010; sceptically Ogilvie 2011; 2014.

²⁴ Flambard 1981; more recently van Nijf 1997; 2002.

²⁵ For the case of religion, see now Amiri 2016.

²⁶ The younger Pliny's concerns about associations in his province of Bithynia are a classic illustration: *Ep.* 10.116–17.

effect was quite incidental. The richness of the associative life of the port community, as expressed by the abundance of its epigraphy, is therefore correlated with the eagerness of those who joined the *corpora* to display their access to a system which did them credit, gave them public honour and justified an existence which was intrinsically vulnerable to challenge. It is hard to use such evidence as a proxy for the sophistication or success of these associations' economic activities.²⁷

The third group of ways in which epigraphy bound the users or inhabitants of ports into a landscape which was inevitably both public and uniform may be called 'cultural'. No doubt there was a mundane, ordinary, workaday, unremarkable end of the spectrum of possible representations of port activities, but the purely functional shaded quickly into something more glamorous. Sea-coasts lent themselves to images of *amoenitas*.²⁸ Ports were an ingredient in the landscapes preferred by proprietors who could afford to select their views. Within the port, the very visible and constantly repeated acts of sale (especially auctions) were part of the spectacle. As gateways to outside, even exotic, worlds, as bases for naval prowess of the long past, as stages for the excitement of risk and profit, ports could lend themselves to a complex bid for status on the part of the dedicator of an inscription. The religion of exchange and of seafaring played an even better established role in the cultural self-expression of ports, celebrating their connectedness generally and by reference to particular destinations. Port architecture, and especially the display of technical virtuosity, appealed to benefactors on the largest scale, such as Herod the Great at Caesarea, or Antonia Tryphaina and her intervention in the harbour works at Cyzicus in the Sea of Marmara under Tiberius (*IGRR* IV, 147). The connectivity made visible at ports was, of course, precarious, as the offerings of seafarers in all their temples made clear. The danger of the sea was never forgotten and added to the excitement of the technological wonders by which some control over the hostile elements could be claimed. The harbour thus became a place of sea spectacle, as in Pliny's famous anecdote (*NH* 9.5.14–15) of Claudius and the Beast of Portus.

Even aspects of the life of ports which seem routine or negative to us could, in this spirit, be coloured positively. The embellishment by the fishermen of Ephesos of the office of those who taxed their business is a famous case. Institutions, even burdensome ones, expressed linkage with the élite official *milieus* of Empire-wide order. In this context, a special mention is merited by the extraordinary epigraphic attestation of the *lex*

²⁷ Thus also Steuernagel, this volume (Chapter 3). ²⁸ Boersma 1985; Purcell 1996; 1998.

Rhodia, which is commented on by Jean-Jacques Aubert.²⁹ Mastery of the technical sophistications of the resonant legal tradition should be compared with the other virtuositities and expertise required by sea communications. Skill in seafaring, in ship-building, in harbour architecture, in construction and machinery, all were conducive to a spectacle of which the port's users could be proud, and both fiscality and – as this very unexpected monument demonstrates – the cultural intricacies of the law belong alongside them in this display.³⁰

4 The Epigraphy of the Roman Economy?

The inscriptions of the ports of the Roman Empire then reveal distinctive facets of the Roman social and political order, and of Roman Imperial display, much more readily than they provide evidence for a truly economic history.³¹ This conference made a number of constructive steps towards calling into question two *fables convenues* about ancient ports.

The first concerns the image of the merchant in the port. Much of the epigraphy of Roman ports is directly public in its flavour and orientation. Where does that leave the epigraphy of the individuals who were most concerned in harbour activities, and the question of what such inscriptions tell us about the social and economic roles of individuals in Roman cities? It is important to recognize that this is indeed a question, and that the actual and perceived contributions of distinct individuals is precisely a variable, and not a trans-historical category. It is not the case that 'traders' or 'merchants', as self-representing protagonists in economic life or as the higher-profile players to whom society generally attributes a determinative role in that area, are essentially similar and comparable across different cultural and historical contexts. This is worth asserting clearly, as it has not always been accepted by historians. Pascal Arnaud appositely distinguished between *attività* and *mestiere* in discussions at the Conference. Doing the same thing does not mean that those who do it are defined by so doing. And the nature of the occupation depends on other aspects of historical context too.³² Foregrounding 'merchants' is also only one way of doing the history of trade, just as the history of war does not have to be a study of generals.

²⁹ Chapter 9 in this volume.

³⁰ Such an association is visible, for instance, in the titlature of the *consularis molium fari at<que> purgaturae*, 'ex-consul responsible for piers, lighthouse and dredging' at Portus.

³¹ The point is made in this volume by Verboven (Chapter 14) amongst others.

³² See also Verboven in this volume (Chapter 14).

Narratives of personal enrichment and of the formation and dissolution of networks of trust and reciprocity do not exclude more systematic generalization about the whole framework of exchange. Such an emphasis on the individual might be summed up as ‘the adventurer mirage’, and its ideological correlates are only too apparent. Roman epigraphy, like literature of the Imperial period, exhibits some relatively flamboyant traders, but their self-presentation is not best understood through subordinating them to comparative medieval or early modern stereotypes.³³

Another hybrid product of occasional evidence and inherited prejudice is the ‘businessman’. The prosopographical orientation of epigraphy, ultimately the product of the individualism of funerary commemoration, has encouraged a quest for a certain type of economic agent, in pursuit of a certain kind of historical explanation. Here, as in the case of associations, medieval ‘false friends’ have much to answer for. A generation ago, general works such as Jean Favier’s *De l’or et des épices. Naissance de l’homme d’affaires au Moyen Âge* (1987) were still proposing the rise to social acceptability of the large-scale merchant as the key to the transformation of the later medieval economy. By the time Favier’s book was translated into English (1998), the *homme d’affaires* in the subtitle was no longer thought appropriate, and it became ‘the rise of commerce’. Institutions and systems were in the ascendant instead (which of course is by no means to exclude the role of self-promotion and charismatic display on the part of individuals in the pursuit of credibility and trust). The study of institutions is undoubtedly important, and their effect on transaction costs is not without its interest; but they engage with many other social formations too.

Studies of the older kind see the harbour town as a place where the narratives of self-motivating, self-propelling, independent economic agents, all bent on social self-improvement, all behaving as economic adventurers or businessmen, happen to coincide, creating a cosmopolitan melting pot as they do.³⁴ Out of this random juxtaposition, groups with pre-existing common backgrounds or ethnicities are too often imagined simply to combine out of self-interest to assist each other. However, neither the independent adventurer-merchant of such narratives, nor ethnicity or community membership of this ready-made, pre-existing kind, should be accepted uncritically. And this is the second substantial gain in understanding which may be derived from the chapters in this volume.

³³ Jones (1978) has good parallels for exaggerated bids for ethical respectability by traders.

³⁴ On ‘cosmopolitan ports’, Driessen 2005.

Outsiders, in the ancient view, needed to be controlled and institutionalized. Their presence reflected the elaboration of those specific connections between places which arose out of military, political, fiscal and diplomatic negotiation. Whole outsider groups were shaped, and developed their identity, through being authorized and approved as a presence in a particular set of harbours. Being Berytian drew on the possibility of the Poseidoniasts' licensed position at Delos and elsewhere. Being Tyrian was changed by the right which Tyrians had, an ancient freedom, to worship Tyre's gods at Puteoli – the apparently 'ethnic' cult demonstrates the official presence of the Tyrians, legitimating their activities.³⁵ It was part of Gaza's place in the world that the city was dedicated to its city-protecting deity at Portus.³⁶ Being Syrian was constructed, in part, by the rights and self-fashioning of 'Syrians' in hundreds of cities across the high and later Roman Empire.³⁷ We should not essentialize their pre-existing identities or economic and social vocations. This is not the epigraphy of casual, opportunistic contacts in a world of open trade. Trade followed channels built socially and institutionally, as much the result of human expertise and planning as lighthouses or canals; and the community affiliations on show where these channels ran were not a given, but part of the organization of people and resources in which ports specialized.³⁸ The most distinctive epigraphy of the port was thus that of the entitled, licensed and controlled outsider: the traveller, the official and the merchant, the freedman and the slave.

People and things did not circulate casually, at random, spontaneously, according to the dispositions of nature, even within regions, and certainly not at long distances. Their movements were subsequent to, and subordinated to, communicating human systems. Ports, like other high-valency communication centres, were central to those systems, and Roman epigraphy reveals something of the relationships institutionalized, regulated and displayed there. Establishing a new harbour or a new relationship between ports was like opening a region with a new road or building a new bridge.³⁹ The study of the establishment and subsequent history of the relationships,

³⁵ The Tyrians at Puteoli are now, strikingly, revealed as having had a stake in the institutions and formally subdivided space of the city, as well as a place in its economic and religious life: *AE* 2006, 314 attests for the first time the existence of the *pagus Tyrianus*, the District of the Tyrians.

³⁶ *IG* XIV, 926, of AD 23–44.

³⁷ Andrade (2013) makes a powerful argument about Syrian identity, broadly along these lines.

³⁸ Both Arnaud and Verboven made points of this kind in the conference discussions.

³⁹ As a parallel, we might cite the moment at which the great bridge at Alcántara opened the eleven *civitates* of Lusitania which paid for it to the centres of southern Iberia in a radically new way: *ILS* 287 and 287a.

political, social and economic, which linked sequences of ports is a significant challenge for future research.

It is appropriate to conclude this discussion (and therefore the volume) with an eloquent (and famous) uncertainty, since what flummoxes us can be as important for understanding as what we have succeeded in working out in detail. The problem is the old one of the interpretation of the architectural complex at Ostia which we know as the Piazzale delle Corporazioni. The link of these buildings to the port functions of the Tiber mouth is unmistakable, and that link is essentially epigraphic: the speaking images of the mosaic pavements address the viewer also, at least in some cases, through labels which identify Mediterranean ports and some of those who travelled between them and Ostia. And yet the language of the architecture fatally complicates the interpretation. This is a *porticus post scaenam*, part of the complex of the biggest and best of Ostia's spectacle buildings, the Theatre. It is a place of *amoenitas*. And the temple in the centre of the peristyle proclaims a religious function, which we heard about at this conference when it was proposed (far from unreasonably) that this might be connected with the worship of the emperor.⁴⁰ We have, however, absolutely no idea of what happened there. Is this what a *stoa trapezitorum*, like the one at Ephesus which Arnaud presents, looked like? Are we looking, then, at the architecture and semiotics of *financing* sea-borne trade? Is it the result of a benefaction, and from whom? Is it a structure of public authority, that of the emperor, or the *res publica p. R.*, or of the *colonia* of Ostia? What our confusion demonstrates is how interconnected the domains of economic, financial, fiscal, social, institutional and political life, and all the layers of status, were in the Roman port. That alone is a conclusion worth having.

Here, finally, we might revert to the questions of representativeness of the epigraphic record with which my discussion opened. If port epigraphic habits were connected with specific patterns in the regulation of the outsider, why did they begin when they did, and when and why did they come to an end? On the one hand, their onset seems to be quite satisfactorily linked with the beginning in the Roman *milieu* of the 'economy of freedman agency' – with a legal and social institution, in other words. At the other end of the story, by the same token, if we associate these practices with a set of *milieux* of institutional contact between regions, cities, governmental agencies and élites, then it is the waning of those *milieux* in the third and fourth centuries, rather than a decline in economic activity, which should be associated with the end of the epigraphy of the Roman harbour.

⁴⁰ Thus Terpstra 2014.

The rhythms of the contribution of ports to the actualities of economic growth or decline are far harder to see, and very likely to be substantially different.

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