

C. Granius Maturus was accorded by decree of the senate 'gratuitum decurionatum et statuam ob munificentiam'.¹

The normal strength of local councils was 100 members,² and such was probably the original Ostian establishment. An inscription, however, of the second half of the second century implies that there were then 110 members.³ L. Fabius Sp. f. Eutyclus left to the town a capital sum of 12,500 denarii, the annual interest on which at 5 per cent. was to be divided between the councillors, and the clerks and lictors of the town service. When the share of clerks and lictors had been deducted there remained 550 denarii available for the councillors who were to receive each 5 denarii. It seems unlikely that such an odd number as 110 had been laid down in the town statute. More probably the legal number had been exceeded, perhaps with special sanction from the central government.⁴

Magistrates and council were assisted in their work by a small establishment of clerks and attendants, divided into panels, *decuriae*. What is probably a full list is given in the career of Cn. Sentius Felix, a wealthy shipper who became duovir, probably in the late first century. He was 'patronus decuriae scribar(um) cerarior(um) et librarior(um) et lictor(um) et viator(um) item praeconum'.⁵ Of these the most important were the *scribae cerarii*, the principal secretaries, who were responsible for keeping public records and accounts. The *scribae librarii* were inferior in grade and carried out the duties of junior clerks. The *lictors* were the official attendants of the duovirs and were present at public religious ceremonies; L. Antonius Epitynchanus is described as 'lictor dec(uriae) curiatiae quae sacris publicis apparet'.⁶ The *viatores* were messengers in the service of the magistrates, who delivered their instructions and could be used to summon men to court. The *praecones* were the town criers.

Some light is thrown on the numbers and relative status of these grades in the charter of the Caesarian colony of Urso in Spain.⁷ Each duovir at Urso was entitled to two lictors (at an annual salary of 600 sesterces), two *scribae* (at 1,200 s.), two *viatores* (at 400 s.), one *librarius* (at 300 s.), one *praeco* (at 300 s.). It is implied that appointment was annual and not permanent. That the numbers at Ostia were not

¹ 362.

² W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung*, 229.

³ 14 (a funerary inscription repeating the terms of an honorary inscription, 353).

⁴ Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* x. 112. 1 (written to Trajan from Bithynia): 'ii, quos indulgentia tua quibusdam civitatibus super legitimum numerum adicere permisit'.

⁵ 59.

⁶ 296.

⁷ *Lex Ursonensis*, 62.

much larger is suggested by the already mentioned benefaction of L. Fabius Eutyches, who had himself been *lictor*, *cerarius*, and *librarius*. The councillors, numbering 110, were to receive each year 550 denarii, the *cerarii* 37½, the *lictors* 25, and the *librarii* 12½.¹

These minor officials were recruited from freedmen and free-born citizens of humble class. Only one is known to have later held a magistracy,² but three became presidents of the builders' guild.³ They were proud of their association with the government and on occasion gave expression to their public loyalty. A commemorative tablet in part survives which was probably dedicated to the *genius* of the *decuriones*; it was set up by 'lictors, viator(es), et honore usi',⁴ the last-named perhaps being former *lictors* and *viatores* who combined with those in office for the year. The same formula is found in the record of a restoration in the area of the temple of Bellona;⁵ the original inscription records that the temple was built at the expense of the *lictors* and public slaves.⁶ In the guild house of the *hastiferi*, closely associated with the cult of Bellona, was found a dedication to the *numen* of the imperial house by a *scriba cerarius*.⁷ Near by, probably also coming from the same building, was found a dedication by the same man to the *genius* of the town councillors and to the son of the emperor Antoninus Pius.⁸

In the building and restoration of the temple of Bellona the *lictors* were associated with the public slaves and freedmen. These were needed to maintain public services and they were organized in a guild. Cn. Sentius Felix is 'patronus libertor(um) et servor(um) publicor(um)';⁹ and a guild roll of this *familia publica* survives, including eighty-one slaves and freedmen.¹⁰ As a reward for good service the public slave received his freedom and took the town's name. A. Ostiensis Asclepiades, who presented a figure of Mars to the guild,¹¹ had probably himself received his freedom in this way. P. Ostiensis, *coloniae libertus Acutus*, declares his status explicitly.¹²

In the structure of government the popular assembly was the least important element. Rome in her expansion had learnt to distrust extreme democracy. The pattern of government which she imposed was based

¹ 353, 14.

² S 4641: '[A. Egri] lio Paterno | —[aedi]lli lictor(i) curi | [atio flamini divi] Vesp(asiani) sacr(is) Volk(ani) f(aciundis).'

³ 296, 353, 15.

⁶ Ibid. 26.

⁹ 515.

¹² NS 1938, 63 n., 234.

⁴ Bloch, 3.

⁷ Ibid. 28.

¹⁰ 255.

⁵ AE 1948, 27.

⁸ Ibid. 30.

¹¹ 32.

on oligarchic principles. But oligarchies of the Roman pattern were broadly based and did not in theory provide for the domination of a small minority. Power was centred by statute not in the magistrates but in the council, and ultimate control rested in theory with the people by virtue of their control of elections to office; for even where councillors were recruited by co-option, magistrates after their first public office normally entered the council. The importance of the popular vote in elections is nowhere better illustrated than in the painted notices on Pompeian walls in which farmers, traders, religious associations, neighbours, friends, press the claims of rival candidates.¹ This active concern of the people in who should govern them lasted at Pompeii until the town was destroyed in A.D. 79. By that time it is probable that the people had ceased to take part in elections at Ostia.

An inscription of the Augustan period suggests that the people then elected their magistrates. C. Cartilius Poplicola was elected and re-elected to the duovirate 'iudicio colonorum', by the verdict of the colonists; P. Lucilius Gamala was elected 'in comitis', but it is uncertain to which post he was so elected.² Three inscriptions from the end of the first century A.D., or the beginning of the second, suggest that elections had by then been transferred to the senate. M. Acilius Priscus owes his quaestorship or possibly his duovirate to the votes of the decurions;³ Cn. Sergius Priscus is described on his tombstone as 'ex d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) aedili adlecto', appointed by decree of the council;⁴ L. Calpurnius Saturus is similarly 'd(ecurionum) decreto aedili allecto'.⁵ At Rome elections had been taken from the people at the beginning of Tiberius' principate; Ostia, always closely influenced by the capital, probably followed her example soon afterwards.⁶ An exception to the general rule is the popular election of P. Lucilius Gamala to a financial commission in the late second century: 'idem curator pecuniae publicae exigendae et attribuendae in comitis factus cellam patri Tiberino restituit'.⁷ But this was an extraordinary appointment.

¹ ILS 6398-438.

² 18-9: 'Ilvir(o) censoriae pot(estatis) quinquennal(is) in comitis facto curatori pecuniae publicae exigendae. . . .' See below, p. 501.

³ 7: 'quaest(or) aer(ari) suffra[gio de]curion(um) Ilvir.'

⁴ 412.

⁵ 415.

⁶ The evidence for the transfer of elections from popular assemblies in colonies and municipalities is insufficient to provide general conclusions. The Flavian charter of Spanish Malaca provides for election by the people (*Lex. Mal.* 51-58), but it does not follow that this was the practice throughout Italy in the Flavian period.

⁷ 29.

When elections had been taken from the people it is doubtful whether they maintained an active interest in local politics. Popular assemblies can still be called, but the matters referred to them are not controversial. A formal meeting lies behind a dedication to Septimius Severus 'decreto colonorum';¹ similarly when Gallienus was honoured as 'protector of the Roman Empire and author of the security of all' by the whole citizen body at the end of ten years of his rule, a formal ceremony is implied: 'universi cives Ostienses decennii voti compotes.'² Other references to the people in inscriptions are more ambiguous. When a statue was put up to a famous pantomime by popular demand, 'postulante populo ob eximiam eius peritiam', it is uncertain whether a formal resolution was passed.³ So too when a public endowment was commemorated 'decurionum decreto colonorum consensu'⁴ the language need imply no more than an understanding by the council of the people's will.

The constitution that had been developed by the end of the Julio-Claudian period underwent little formal change before the third century. In the period of prosperity the only apparent innovations are the introduction of two new offices, those of the *quaestor alimentorum* and of the *curator operum publicorum et aquarum*.⁵ The *quaestor alimentorum*, so defined to distinguish him from the existing town treasurer, the *quaestor aerarii*, is found in many other towns of Italy and is to be connected with the imperial alimentary system introduced by Trajan and continued by his successors.⁶ By this system the imperial government lent money to Italian farmers on the security of their land, and the interest, charged at a low rate, was paid to the local authorities, who used it for the maintenance of poor children. The *quaestor alimentorum* seems to have been appointed to control this special fund, and any private benefactions made for a similar purpose. Only two holders of the post are known in Ostia and both are at the beginning of their careers.⁷ It is doubtful whether the fund and the post were continued into the lean years that followed prosperity.

¹ S 5330.

² S 5334.

³ 474.

⁴ S 4450.

⁵ The office of 'XXvir H.A.H.S.P.' is also recorded on an inscription (? second century A.D.), 340. I do not understand the form of the inscription, nor the meaning of the letters. No parallel is known.

⁶ Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*², 212-16; *quaestores aliment.*, Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.* i. 407. Attribution of the scheme to Trajan rather than Nerva, Mason Hammond, *MAAR* 21 (1953) 147-53.

⁷ 298, S 4664.

The *curator operum publicorum* was responsible for the supervision of public buildings. C. Nasennius Marcellus, who was duovir for the third time in 111, is the first known holder of the office,¹ and only two others are recorded, the last in the third century.² It was a senior post, held by Marcellus after the duovirate, and was a permanent rather than annual appointment. The rapid growth of the town in the late first and early second centuries must have imposed an increasing strain on the small executive; the creation of a special responsibility for public buildings was a logical corollary to the rebuilding of the town.

Later in the second century a further new office was created. The Antonine Gamala was *tabularum et librorum curator primus*.³ No other holder of the post is known and its function is obscure. The title is not found elsewhere; it may denote the control of public records. New public priesthoods were also added to those already established in the early Empire. The *sodales Arulenses* were probably instituted towards the end of the second century;⁴ they were chosen, like the junior priests of Vulcan, from young men at the beginning of their public career; of similar status were the *sodales Herculani*, first found at this time.⁵ More important was the *sacerdos geni coloniae*, who ranked in dignity with the *flamen Romae et Augusti*.⁶ This priesthood was instituted, it seems, in the Severan period.

The building history of Ostia suggests a decline in prosperity in the second half of the second century. This may be reflected in the increased importance of the quaestorship. The normal position of the treasury quaestorship in a public career is between the aedileship and the duovirate; when the office is held after the duovirate we can infer that the duties carried greater responsibility and prestige. The first example known is the most striking. On the base of a statue set up towards the middle of the century P. Aufidius Fortis is described as '[d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) decu]rioni adlecto, IIviro, [quaesto]ri aerari Ostiensium III':⁷ in a later dedication he is '[II]vir, q(uaestor) aer(ari) Ost(iensium) V'.⁸ Fortis was appointed to the quaestorship after the duovirate and held the office five times. The natural explanation is that public finances are

¹ 9.

² 172 with p. 481 (dated 184), 373 (after the death of Septimius Severus).

³ 28-9.

⁴ p. 340.

⁵ This priesthood is recorded in only two inscriptions, Bloch, 49 and 54. Neither is earlier than late second century, p. 79.

⁶ 373, S 4452 with Bloch, 29, S 5340, Bloch, 49. Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia*, 35.

⁷ 10.

⁸ S 4621.

strained and need expert attention. The same emphasis on finance later in the century is seen in the holding of the quaestorship after the duovirate by P. Lucilius Gamala and by M. Iunius Faustus.¹ A fragmentary inscription, probably from the early third century, also records the holding of the quaestorship by the same man more than once.²

Until after the middle of the third century the form of the constitution seems to remain substantially unchanged. There are still *IIviri quinquennales censoria potestate* in 251 and they are sufficiently important to be recorded on a statue base for dating purposes.³ In the late third and fourth centuries we lose all trace of local magistrates. The direction of affairs is taken over by the central authority and the names of duovirs no longer appear on public monuments.

In the administrative system of the late Empire Ostia and Portus occupy a special position. The supervision of Italy rested in the north with the *vicarius Italiae*, in the centre and south with the *vicarius urbis*, both responsible to the *praefecti praetorio*. Under them *correctores* controlled the various districts. No sign of these officers survives at Ostia or Portus until the fifth century; their place is taken by the *praefectus annonae* who, from the middle of the fourth century at least, was subordinate to the *praefectus urbi*.⁴ The *praefectus annonae* is *curator rei publicae Ostiensium* and his name is recorded on new buildings and restorations;⁵ even the dedication of statues is undertaken on his initiative and in his name.⁶ His headquarters may have been in the *praetorium* which was built in Aurelian's Forum by the sea coast.⁷ Flavius Domitianus, commemorated by the council as 'praefecto annonae, curator honorificentissimo' is probably the first of the series known to us.⁸ Not much later is Hostilius Antipater, who, in the late third or early fourth century, set up a new altar before the temple of Hercules.⁹ *

Curatores had been appointed to other Italian towns much earlier;

¹ 2, 4142.

² Bloch, 54, a knight '[praef. divi] Pert(inacis) q(uaestori) aerar(ii) l[_____]'.

³ 352.

⁴ RE, *praefectus annonae*, 1270-4 (W. Ensslin).

⁵ e.g. 134, 135, 157, S 4410.

⁶ 131, S 4716.

⁷ SHA, *Aurel.* 45. 2: 'forum nominis sui in Ostiensi ad mare fundare coepit, in quo postea praetorium publicum constitutum est.'

⁸ S 5342. A possible earlier example in the fragmentary S 4558, but context and restoration are very uncertain.

⁹ AE 1948, 126. Before the death of Constantine, because Antipater is a knight and under Constantine the *praefectus annonae* had senatorial status. After the mid-third century, because his inscription reuses the base of a statue set up to P. Flavius Priscus (Bloch, 29).

their main function had been financial supervision. But in the late first and early second centuries, when the institution was freely used, Ostia was enjoying her greatest prosperity and could continue to manage her own affairs. The decline of the third century had drained prosperity and undermined independence. A late fourth-century inscription on the base of an equestrian statue in the Forum records that 'the council and people of Ostia decreed and set up this statue to Manilius Rusticus . . . *praefectus annonae*, curator and patron of the most noble colony of Ostia, in recognition of his honour and services to the community, in order that the town should gain distinction from the record of his office'.¹ The language is in the spirit of the times, but it is a poor spirit.

Our main evidence for the position of local authorities in the late Empire derives from the Theodosian Code; the picture is extremely gloomy. Membership of a town council, which had once been highly honoured, has now become an intolerable burden. A continuous stream of regulations shows the anxiety of the imperial government and the unpopularity of the position. Increasing restrictions are imposed: the *curiales* must not evade their duties by trying to climb into the senatorial order; they may not hope for release by joining the legions.

The main reason for the government's anxiety was economic. The local councils were held responsible for meeting the government's requirements of men for the levy, horses for the public service, and supplies. The government stated its requirements from a town; it was the responsibility of the local council to see that they were collected. Some of these requirements were intermittent only, others were a standing commitment. From the middle Republic through the early Empire the towns of Italy had been freed from regular contributions to the central authority; in Diocletian's reorganization of the imperial economy Italy was no longer exempt and had to contribute in kind. What Ostia was required to contribute we do not know; she could perhaps best have supplied timber, pork, and salt.

The plight of the *curiales* in the late Empire is in sharp contrast with the powers and privileges of the senatorial order, particularly the great landowners. These were the *potentiores*, who could give protection or increase oppression. They were exempt from the *munera* of the local authorities, and it may well have been difficult to exact from them their due share of the town's obligations. In Ostia they formed a conspicuous minority.

¹ S 4455.

Throughout the fourth century the name of the *praefectus annonae* appears on all restorations of public monuments at Ostia and Portus; he was responsible for both centres. Early in the fifth century there may have been a change; for in the reign of Honorius and Theodosius (408–23) a public building, possibly the Curia, was restored at Ostia under the authority of a *vicarius urbis*.¹ At Portus the *praefectus annonae* still officiated; probably he was required to concentrate on the harbours themselves, while Ostia was merged in the general pattern of Italian organization, a formal confirmation that, unlike Portus, she was no longer of serious importance to Rome.

¹ S 4720: 'salvis (dominis nostris) Hon[orio et Theodos]io invict[is] | principibus Fl(avius) N[icius Theodu]lus v(ir) c(larissimus) | vicarius urb[is] aeternae ? curia]m su[mptu] | [p]rinci[p]alium [coloniae Ostiensis] | totam renov[avit].'

IO

THE GOVERNING CLASS

THE character of a constitution depends not only on its forms but on the distribution of power, and the nature of the men who wield it. The inscriptions on which the history of the constitution is based are sufficiently detailed and numerous to invite a social analysis. They show that from the late Republic to the end of the Roman period the social pattern of the governing class underwent considerable changes. Four periods may be broadly distinguished.

The first period covers the transition from Republic to Empire and ends with the Civil War of 69, a period of steady but unspectacular growth in Ostia. It is marked by the concentration of power in a comparatively narrow aristocracy. The second period begins with the Flavian emperors and continues through the great rebuilding of Ostia in the first half of the second century; its main feature is the rise of a wealthy middle class, the wider distribution of office, and the infiltration of freedman stock into government. In the third period, which runs from the late second century to the middle of the third, the social tendencies of the previous period are further developed: old families die out and descendants of freedmen increasingly replace them in the council and in office. Prosperity is followed by growing economic strain. The last period extends to the end of the Roman period. It sees the collapse of the middle class, and a widening gulf between rich and poor. But the rich are no longer the directing force of government; the control of Ostia has passed to an imperial official. These periods correspond to general trends in the history of Rome, but any such divisions are to a certain extent arbitrary. Their primary justification is the historian's convenience; social changes in particular are gradual processes.

The building of an intelligible picture from a long series of individual inscriptions involves two main difficulties, that of dating the documents and of interpreting them. The *Fasti* are arranged chronologically and from them we know the names of a large number of chief magistrates and the dates when they held office; but where careers and other

honorary inscriptions are not directly or indirectly dated, the only criterion available is the character of the script, and this criterion is frail. The series of dated inscriptions in Ostia is large enough to encourage hope that fairly reliable canons may eventually be fixed, but in the present stage of the study it is easy to make bad mistakes. In general it seems possible to distinguish pre-Flavian work from that which follows, and most inscriptions of the third century and later are considerably inferior to the workmanship of the second century, but it is still difficult to discriminate between the first and second halves of the second century, and the misdating of an important career can distort conclusions. Dating by script can at best be only approximate and should be used as a last resort.¹

In a social analysis one of the main problems of interpretation concerns the tribe; for where a man's origin is not explicitly stated, his tribal affiliation is the surest indication of his family's origin, and in more than fifty Ostian inscriptions, many of them of important men, the tribe is recorded. Until the latter part of the nineteenth century it was assumed that Ostia was enrolled in the urban tribe Palatina, for that tribe clearly dominated the Ostian inscriptions then known. From this conclusion it was further inferred that Ostia was founded before the rustic tribes were instituted, an inference which seemed to confirm the tradition of a regal foundation. But by the time that Kubitschek published in 1889 his examination of the origin and distribution of the Roman tribes it was already clear that the rustic tribe Voturia was specially associated with Ostia.²

Voturia is the least widely distributed of all the Roman tribes. In Italy only Bergomum and Placentia are known to have been assigned to it; in the provinces it is not found. The fact that at Ostia it is the commonest tribe after Palatina cannot be coincidence. Kubitschek concluded that Ostia had two tribes, but he found no explanation for the anomaly. Dessau, studying the distribution more carefully while preparing the Ostian volume of the Corpus, noted that the members of Voturia included local magistrates, and suggested that the distinction between the two tribes was probably one of status.³ He was clearly right. Puteoli follows the same pattern: there too Palatina is widespread, but Falerna not uncommon.

¹ Appendix X, p. 554.

² J. W. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim descriptum*, 26.

³ *CIL* xiv, p. 4.

The families enrolled in Voturia include some that played a long and distinguished part in Ostian life, others that are known to have been established in Ostia at least as early as Augustus. By contrast no man who is known to be of pure descent from a family resident in Ostia in the early Empire has as his tribe Palatina: indeed almost all the inscriptions recording this tribe can be shown to be of the second century or later. Normally the tribe denotes freedman origin. On what precise basis freedmen were allocated to this tribe we do not know. Sometimes at Ostia as elsewhere the patron's tribe was handed on to the descendants of his freedmen. Thus Cn. Sergius Cn. f. Vot(uria) Priscus,¹ the son of a freedman, presumably got his tribe from the Ostian family to which his father had been attached as a slave; but this was not an invariable rule. A. Egrilius Pal(atina) Hedoniacus and A. Egrilius A. f. Pal(atina) Magnus² derive their name from one of the oldest Ostian families known to us; they are both probably of freedman descent but do not inherit from the Egrilii their Ostian tribe Voturia.

Provisionally we assume that Voturia provides evidence for the Ostian origin of a family, though the individual concerned may not necessarily be of free descent. Palatina will probably signify servile blood in the family, though not necessarily recent; it will not, however, be decisive evidence for rejecting an Ostian family origin. The A. Egrilii, two of whom, as we have seen, are registered in Palatina, we know from other evidence to be Ostian; similarly L. Calpurnius L. f. Pal. Chius Felicissimus, the son of the rich freedman L. Calpurnius Chius,³ may be connected with an Ostian family represented in an inscription by L. Calpurnius L. f. Vot(uria) Saturus,⁴ himself possibly of freedman origin; though it is equally possible, since the name is common, that the L. Calpurnius from whom Chius received his freedom had once lived elsewhere. We are on firmer ground with tribes other than Voturia and Palatina. They invariably imply an origin outside Ostia.

THE ARISTOCRACY OF THE EARLY EMPIRE

The most striking feature of the early Empire is the strong hold on the duovirate of certain families and the persistent re-election of outstanding men. C. Cartilius Poplicola was elected no less than eight times,

¹ 412.

² 949, S 4899.

³ 16.

⁴ 415; he is associated in this funerary inscription with a freedman's descendants.

including three years with censorial authority;¹ Postumus Plotius,² probably of the late Republic and a P. Lucilius Gamala,³ probably of the Julio-Claudian period, hold office four times and no less than nine others are known to have held the duovirate at least twice. Two families during this period overshadow all others in the *Fasti*. An A. Egrilius Rufus is duovir in A.D. 6, 34, 36;⁴ the P. Lucilii Gamalae provided duovirs for at least three generations. There is probably a family connexion between Q. Vitellius, duovir in 47 and 45 B.C., and A. Vitellius, duovir in 46 B.C.;⁵ Q. Fabius Longus, duovir for the third time in A.D. 37, is probably of the same family as C. Fabius Agrippa, duovir in the early Empire.⁶ C. Naevius [—], duovir in A.D. 33, similarly may be connected with M. Naevius Optatus, duovir of 31 and *pontifex Volcani*.

As Wilson has pointed out, the cognomina of the duovirs of this first period have a respectable Roman ring:⁷ Africanus, Agrippa, Bassus, Carbo, Dexter, Flaccus, Gemellus, Gratus, Longus, Montanus, Optatus, Pollio, Poplicola, Proculus, Rufus, Severus, Veiento. It is true that the cognomen alone is not valid evidence of origin, for we should never guess by their names that C. Silius Nerva and Cn. Sergius Priscus were the sons of freedmen;⁸ but it was more common for men to retain their slave names when freed. If the descendants of freedmen were rising to the duovirate in significant numbers before the end of the Julio-Claudian period we should expect to find some trace of servile names among the cognomina.

It is probable that Ostia in this period was ruled by a comparatively limited aristocracy of free descent and that it was more difficult then than later for the new man to reach the highest office. Some of the families that held the key to office were of Ostian origin, and two of these produced senators. M. Acilius, duovir of 48 B.C., is probably related to,

¹ p. 476.

² S 4710: 'Postumus Plotius M. f. quarto | A. Genucius A. f. iter. duoviri | locum dederunt compiti aedificandi. | C. Cartilius C. f. Poplicol(a) duovir VII | cens. III compitum transtulit.' Poplicola probably died in the early Augustan period (p. 475).

³ 3.

⁴ The name could also be restored in the *Fasti* for A.D. 15, '[A. Egril]ius Rufus'; 16, '[A. Egril]ius Rufus'; 17, '[A. Egrilius] Rufus maior'; but no mark of iteration, normally recorded in the *Fasti*, is added, and Rufus is not an uncommon cognomen. See Degrassi, 214.

⁵ Their relationship is made more probable by the name of a freedman on an Augustan tomb, Q. Vitellius, Q. A. Q. l. (NS 1938, 68 n. 29). This suggests that Q. Vitellius, duovir in 45 B.C., may be related to rather than identical with the duovir of 47 B.C.

⁶ 8.

⁷ Wilson, BSR 13 (1935) 45.

⁸ 415, 412.

if not identical with, M. Acilius Caninus, Roman quaestor before 28 B.C. to whom the business men of the area by the temple of Saturn, the Roman treasury, set up a statue at Ostia.¹ From the same family, towards the end of the first century A.D., came M. Acilius Priscus, who had an equestrian military career;² his adopted son is enrolled in the Ostian tribe Voturia.³ The other senatorial family recognized by its tribe Voturia as Ostian is that of the T. Sextii who provided in T. Sextius Africanus a duovir at Ostia in A.D. 36 and a Roman consul in A.D. 59.⁴ The Egrilii also were Ostian: the name is extremely rare outside Ostia and more common than any other in the town. A new inscription has confirmed what was already virtually certain, that this family also belonged to Voturia.⁵ The only other duovirs during this period whose tribe is known, C. Fabius Agrippa and C. Tuccius, were also registered in the Ostian tribe Voturia.⁶ But there are already two important families at least in the governing class of Ostia in the early Empire who were probably not by origin Ostian.

The family whose elder sons took the name of P. Lucilius Gamala held office in Ostia for more than 200 years, but in not one of their many inscriptions is their tribe recorded; their cognomen, however, is distinctive and very rare. Since Mommsen published his reconsidered views on the two longest inscriptions of this family, the derivation of Gamala from the little town of Gamala in north Galilee has been accepted by all scholars who have made a special study of the family. A Roman Publius Lucilius acquired in the course of war or trade a slave from Gamala; the slave was named after his town of origin, and when he was given freedom he and his descendants clung tenaciously to the name. As Tenney Frank pointed out, it is unlikely that a slave from such an inconspicuous inland town came to Rome before Roman armies penetrated the region. The first Gamala, he suggested, came to Rome in the wake of Pompey's victorious army which, after crushing Mithradates, campaigned from Syria through Judaea.⁷

If this explanation of the name was correct we should have to modify our general impression of the Ostian governing class of the early Empire.

¹ 153. p. 507.

² 7.

³ M. Acilius A. f. Vot. Priscus Egrilius Plarianus, 155, S 4442-4, Bloch, 24-26. For the relationship, p. 503.

⁴ For the tribe of the Sextii, *AE* 1914, 141.

⁵ 6.

⁶ 8, 426. C. Aq(uilius), probably a duovir of the early Principate (Bloch, 66) may be of the same family as L. Aquillius L. f. Vot. (unpublished).

⁷ Tenney Frank, *Class. Journ.* 49 (1934) 481.

For even if our attribution of the Gamala of the lost inscription to the principate of Augustus is incorrect, the family is well established in the Julio-Claudian period, providing duovirs in A.D. 19 and 33. Moreover, the climate could not have been unfavourable if the family made no attempt to conceal its eastern servile origin by a change of cognomen. There is, however, a more convincing explanation of the name. In one of his letters to Atticus Cicero mentions a Gamala whose father's cognomen or nickname was Ligus.¹ With this clue to guide us we can draw a natural inference from an inscription outside Ostia which records the rare name Gamala. A funerary stone with the name of C. Turselius Gamala is published with the inscriptions of Beneventum: it was found at Macchia, in the district where the Ligures Baebiani were settled by Rome in the early second century B.C.² The name Gamala may derive from Liguria or a neighbouring district.³ How early the family came to Ostia we cannot tell, but its prominence under Augustus, and the honours that it continued to receive for two centuries suggest that its Ostian roots go well back into the Republic.

C. Cartilius Poplicola is the other outstanding public figure of this period whose family tribe is not recorded in surviving inscriptions. The name C. Cartilius is rare, and is perhaps of Etruscan origin.⁴ It is found at Chiusi and it may be from that district that the family originally came.

To the leading families that can be securely dated to the pre-Flavian period three others may be tentatively added. The Fasti record the restoration in A.D. 94 of a 'crypta Terentiana'; the name must record a benefactor of the Julio-Claudian period or earlier. L. Terentius Tertius is the first holder of the name whose duovirate is known, in A.D. 92, but the dedication by a Terentia of a well-head in the area of an Augustan temple of Bona Dea confirms the earlier prominence of the family.⁵ We have evidence also of early Volusii,⁶ who may be linked with a name in the Fasti of A.D. 91: 'in f(undo) Volusiano arb[os ful]mine icta.'

¹ Cic. *Ad Att.* xii. 23. 3: 'de Gamala dubium non mihi erat. unde etiam tam felix Ligus pater?' The passage is very naked.

² *CIL* ix. 1491 with p. 125.

³ The only other Gamala known to me is included in a fragmentary list of names from Etruscan Vettona, *CIL* xi. 5199.

⁴ Schulze, *Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, 145.

⁵ Unpublished.

⁶ An Augustan C. Volusius, *NS* 1938, 58 n. 19; L. Volusius, *ibid.* 73 n. 44; C. Volusius Flaccus, duovir II in A.D. 18 (*Fasti*).

More interesting and hazardous is speculation concerning the Rusticelii. In the imperial period a ferry service is named after this family, *traiectus Rusticelius*;¹ and a family estate, *praedia Rusticeliana*, is recorded in the Severan period as belonging to the emperor.² No duovir of the name is known from surviving records, but it seems clear that the family was once important in Ostia. It may be associated with the Rusticelii of the tribe Scantia, whose late republican tomb was discovered at the end of the seventeenth century under Monte Testaccio.³ It is reasonable to infer from the siting of the tomb in the trading quarter of Rome outside the Porta Trigemina that the Roman Rusticelii were engaged in trade; the Ostian Rusticelii may have been a branch of the family with similar interests.

It would be interesting to know the occupations of this early local aristocracy. Some of its members at least must have had considerable wealth to incur the expense of repeated duovirates. For, though there is no explicit evidence from Ostia itself, we may assume by analogy with other towns that the duovir was required by statute to contribute substantially to the public expenditure of his year of office; and public opinion expected more than the law required. The large atrium houses of the late Republic and early Empire near the centre of the town also indicate wealth; their individual owners cannot be identified, but it is reasonable to associate them with the ruling class of the day. There is, however, little evidence to show the sources from which this wealth came.

C. Fabius Agrippa was descended from a family of soldiers; both his father and grandfather had been senior centurions.⁴ The inscription on the public tomb of C. Cartilius Poplicola records that he was elected to the duovirate in absence as well as when he was present at the elections.⁵ The frieze above the inscription depicts scenes of fighting; Poplicola may have been a military man. It is legitimate to infer that the family of P. Lucilius Gamala had no associations with trade, for in the long series of their inscriptions no honours from the trading guilds are included, nor are the descendants of their freedmen found in the rolls of the guilds. For the rest we lack even such indirect evidence.

Wilson has suggested that the comparatively small ring of ruling families of the pre-Flavian period represents a landed aristocracy in contrast to the growing domination of traders from the Flavian period

¹ S 4553-6.

² S 4570.

³ CIL vi. 11534-5.

⁴ 8.

⁵ p. 476.

onwards.¹ On general grounds this view does not carry conviction. Had there been a substantial group of wealthy landowners at Ostia we should expect to find more of them entering the Roman senate; nor was Ostian land well suited to large estates.² Some private fortunes, now as later, may have been based on the ownership of property in the town, which increased in value as Ostia developed, but the main source of wealth in Ostia must always have been trade. The distinction between the first and later periods is probably more of birth and origin than of occupation.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

At Rome the Flavian period marked a decisive stage in the transformation of the Roman governing class. Caesar and Augustus had widened the basis of recruitment to the Roman senate by introducing new blood from the towns of Italy. Augustus' policy was continued by his successors, and extended to include on a small scale the western provinces. But in the senatorial debates recorded by Tacitus the descendants of old republican senatorial families still play a leading part during the period. By the death of Nero persecution had severely thinned their ranks. Vespasian, humble in origin, and severely practical in his approach to problems of government, used the censorship to recruit men of ability wherever he found them. Tacitus implies, perhaps exaggerating, that the new senators formed a sufficiently important nucleus to modify the living standards of the city.³ Against this Roman background the Ostian evidence falls into an intelligible pattern. The holders of the duovirate from the Flavian period to the death of Antoninus Pius seem to form a much less homogeneous group than those of the first period. It is easier for new men to reach the highest office, but some of the old-established families retain their local leadership.

The most spectacular feature of this period was the rise of the Egrilii. In the first century A.D. they had played a leading part in Ostia's government. An A. Egrilius Rufus was duovir in A.D. 6; he, or perhaps his son, was appointed *pontifex Volcani* in 30. When he died holding the office of censorial duovir in 36 his son succeeded to the duoviral duties for the remainder of the year, as *praefectus*. In the next generation another A. Egrilius Rufus rose through the aedileship and quaestorship to the duovirate and held the important priesthood of Rome and Augustus.⁴

¹ Wilson, *BSR* 13 (1935) 45 f. ² pp. 262-5. ³ Tac. *Ann.* iii. 55. 4. ⁴ 6.

It was probably this A. Egrilius Rufus, of the late Julio-Claudian or Flavian period who, by a judicious marriage, laid the foundations of the family's rise to imperial distinction. His wife Plaria Vera seems to have been indirectly connected with the Acilii Glabrones, who had provided Rome with consuls since the early second century B.C.¹ Her influence is seen in the change of the cognomen of the Egrilii from Rufus to Plarianus, in her appointment in Ostia as *flaminica divae Augustae*, and in the inscriptions set up in her honour.² She was commemorated as 'mother of A. Egrilius Plarianus, the father, consul, patron of the colony'.³ This was her eldest son, who was one of the prefects of the public treasury before becoming consul at the end of the first or beginning of the second century. He was called 'father' to distinguish him from his son, who followed him in a senatorial career, was appointed to the military treasury, and became consul in 128.^{4*} Both father and son kept alive their association with Ostia. Father and son became patrons of the colony; the son was appointed *pontifex Volcani*. What other honours they held in the town we do not know.

Of another senatorial member of the family we know much more, and his associations with Ostia seem to be closer. M. Acilius A.f. Vot(uria) Priscus Egrilius Plarianus combines the names of two old-established Ostian families, the M. Acilii and the A. Egrilii. He is almost certainly the adopted son of M. Acilius Priscus, who in the Flavian period held three military equestrian posts without proceeding further in the imperial administrative service. Instead he had a varied and distinguished local career, crowned by the two highest priesthoods in the colony; he was both *flamen Romae et Augusti* and *pontifex Volcani*.⁵

The Egrilius whom M. Acilius Priscus adopted saw service in many parts of the empire. His military tribunate took him to Moesia; he

¹ For the relationships of the Egrilii I have, with minor modifications, followed Bloch, *NS* 1953, 254. The evidence is summarized in Appendix V, p. 502.

² 399, *S* 5346, and perhaps 156 (Bloch, art. cit. 262).

³ 399: 'Plariae Q. f. Verae, flaminicae | divae Aug(ustae), matri A. Egrili Plarian patris p(atroni) c(oloniae) cos.'

⁴ *S* 4445: 'A. Egrilius Plarianus praef. aerari militaris p(atronus) c(oloniae) pontif. Volk[ani].'

⁵ 7. His local career as recorded is anomalous: 'd(ecurionum) d(ecreto) d(ecurio) adle[ctus], quaest(or) aer(ari) suffra[gi]o de]curionum, Ilvir aedil(is) II [quinq]uennal(is) pr[ae]f[ect]us II, [prae]f[ectus] colleg(i) fabr' . . . *aedilis quinquennalis* is not an Ostian title, and the aedileship, always a junior office, seems out of place. Probably a cutter's error for *aedil*. *Ilvir* II. . . He was twice duovir, once with censorial authority, and twice he was *praefectus*, probably representing a member of the imperial family who had accepted the title.

served on the governor's staff in Sicily and Asia, himself governed Narbonese Gaul, and then commanded a legion on the Rhine.¹ He was appointed to the military treasury before 105 and, like his contemporaries Pliny the younger and L. Catilius Severus,² proceeded later to the public treasury to which he was appointed in 106.^{3*} From the *Fasti* we know that he became *pontifex Volcani* in 105 and, almost certainly, censorial duovir in the following year. He had already been elected a patron of the colony. A commemorative tablet set up in his honour by public authority pays tribute to his loyalty, his respect for religion, and his generosity: 'pio ac religiosissim(o) . . . [mun]ificentissimo.'⁴ His loyalty is shown by the Ostian offices he held; his respect for religion is reflected in his priesthood of Vulcan; and, as Bloch suggests, it may be significant that the temple of Vulcan was restored in 112, during his tenure of office. His generosity is attested by a handsome inscription on an epistyle which records the dedication of a head of gold within a shield in silver.⁵ Two further inscriptions record his loyalty to his emperors. In 106 he set up a commemorative tablet in honour of Trajan, perhaps on the occasion of his appointment to the public treasury.⁶ In 118 he paid a similar tribute to Hadrian and in this he was joined by his son.⁷ When ugly rumours were circulating concerning the succession such action was not without purpose or value.

The relationship of this adopted son of M. Acilius Priscus to the Egrilii whom we have already considered is still a matter for conjecture rather than demonstration. The most economic hypothesis, suggested by Adams and accepted by Bloch, is that he is the younger son of Plaria Vera, Quintus, brother of A. Egrilius Plarianus. It is equally probable that his son is to be identified with Q. Egrilius who was consul in 143 or 144 and governor of Africa in 158/9.⁸ The praenomen Quintus derives from the father of Plaria Vera.

In two generations the Egrilii had provided at least three consuls. Even more striking is their accumulation of treasury posts. The elder A. Egrilius Plarianus was *praefectus aerarii Saturni*, his elder son *praefectus aerarii militaris*; the younger held both posts. This is no coincidence. It is almost certainly a tribute to the business capacity inherited from a family which had grown rich on the profits of trade.⁹ That the Egrilii

¹ S 4442, 4444.

² ILS 2927, 1041; and, a little later, ILS 8973.

³ Bloch, 25.

⁴ Bloch, 24.

⁵ 72.

⁶ Bloch, 25.

⁷ Bloch, 26.

⁸ PIR², E 49 (Groag).

⁹ It is interesting to find three Egrilii of freedman stock among the few bankers recorded, S 4644, Bloch, 53 (referring also to a third, unpublished, inscription).

derived their main wealth from trade cannot be proved, but it is strongly suggested by the wide distribution of the name in the trade guilds. Most of these men were freedmen, or of freedman stock. It is easier to understand the prevalence of the name in trade if the original patrons had trading interests.

Another Ostian family rose to the consulship in this period. C. Fabius Agrippinus, consul of 148, is almost certainly descended from C. Fabius Agrippa, of the Ostian tribe Voturia, whose career in the Julio-Claudian period or slightly later is preserved.¹ He was praetor in the cult of Vulcan, aedile and duovir, and his inscription records his free descent for four generations. The cognomen of his father and grandfather was Longus; Q. Fabius Longus, duovir in 31 and 37, *praefectus* in 36, probably comes from the same family; C. Fabius, colleague of C. Cartilius Poplicola,² may be a direct ancestor. C. Fabius Agrippinus, who brought the consulship to the family, is not known to have held office in Ostia, but two inscriptions show that he maintained his association with the town. The first was set up in his honour when, before his consulship, he held a praetorian post in a province.³ The second is a public tribute by council and people to his daughter; she had left a capital endowment to provide for the maintenance of 100 Ostian girls and the celebration of annual games.⁴

In contrast no descendants of T. Sextius Africanus, the Ostian consul of A.D. 59, are recorded in any surviving inscription from Ostia after the Julio-Claudian period. This family remained prominent throughout the second century;⁵ had it retained its links with Ostia some trace of one at least of its members should have survived. It had probably left the town.

The Lucilii Gamalae who held so many duovirates in the early Empire, unlike the Egrilii, did not rise above local government. They remained in Ostia through the second century and continued the family tradition of public service to the town. The member of the family of whom we know most, lived out his career into the reign of Marcus Aurelius. What part the two previous generations had played in public life is obscure. The name is not preserved in any surviving fragments of the Fasti though the record is particularly full for the reign of Trajan, nor does any statue base or commemorative tablet survive to record

¹ 8.

² 4134.

³ Bloch, 28.

⁴ S 4450 (= 350). The benefactress might be the consul's wife rather than daughter.

⁵ T. Sextii are *consules ordinarii* in 112 (Africanus), 154 (Lateranus), 197 (Lateranus).

the career of a member of the family in this period. What little evidence is available is controversial.

The only member of the family known in the first half of the century was adopted into another family. Cn. Sentius Lucilius Gamala Clodianus commemorates two fathers, Cn. Sentius Felix¹ and Publius Lucilius Gamala.² Dessau considered that Cn. Sentius Felix was his natural father, and that he had been adopted by P. Lucilius Gamala.³ The order of names is not in itself decisive, for Roman practice varied, but the contemporary Ostian parallel of M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus favours Mommsen's view that he was by birth a P. Lucilius Gamala.⁴ This also is the natural inference to be drawn from a comparison of the two stones set up to commemorate his two fathers. The memorial to P. Lucilius Gamala, now in the Florence Archaeological Museum, is a short inscription in mean letters on a small undecorated funerary altar; the memorial to Cn. Sentius Felix, in the Uffizi Gallery, is an elaborate inscription excellently cut on a funerary altar richly decorated. The inscription is framed at the sides by fluted pilasters with elaborate capitals and, above, by a carefully carved scroll of acanthus with leaping lions.⁵ Cn. Sentius Felix is honoured as 'a most indulgent father'. The conclusion seems inevitable that Cn. Sentius Felix had adopted P. Lucilius Gamala, and we may guess the reason. Cn. Sentius Felix was not an Ostian by birth. His tribe was Teretina and his family came, almost certainly, from Atina.⁶ Though his inscription proclaims his free descent for three generations his cognomen Felix is at best ambiguous and he may be descended from a freedman of the family of Cn. Sentius Saturninus, the prominent Augustan marshal. But his rise at Ostia in the Flavian period or slightly later was rapid. He was co-opted by the council with the status of an aedile, was in the same year appointed quaestor of the treasury and designated duovir for the following year, an unprecedented honour, as his inscription emphasizes. Perhaps his adoption of a member of one of the leading Ostian families was a deliberate attempt to win local support in his new home. His other claim to office was his wealth and his business associations. He became a patron of many Ostian traders' guilds and was himself a shipper.

¹ 5.

² 377.

³ Dessau, on 409.

⁴ Mommsen, *EE* iii, p. 324.

⁵ For the type of funerary altar, not uncommon in the Flavian period and early second century, J. C. M. Toynbee and J. Ward Perkins, 'Peopled Scrolls: a Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art', *BSR* 18 (1950) 16.

⁶ *CIL* vi. 2722: 'Cn. Sentius Cn. f. Ter(etina) Saturninus Atine spec. coh. VIII pr.'

A Cn. Sentius Clodianus is recorded in the Fasti as duovir in 102, and is listed with Cn. Sentius Felix among the patrons of a guild in an inscription set up shortly before 135.¹ It is a reasonable economy to identify these names with the adopted son of Cn. Sentius Felix. It is possible that the Gamala adopted by Cn. Sentius Felix was an only son. It is more probable that, like the Q. Egrilius Plarianus adopted by M. Acilius Priscus, he had an elder brother. Perhaps some traces of the main branch of the family survive. The inscription set up on the temple of Bellona records the allocation of the site by the duovirs of the year: 'A. Livius Proculus P. Lucilius Gamala f(ilius) Ilvir(i) praef(ecti) Caesar(is)'.² It is tempting to identify this Gamala with the late second-century holder of the name who was praefectus 'L(uci) Caesar(is) Aug(usti) f(ili)'.³ This Caesar has been identified with Commodus, but the brickwork of the temple of Bellona and the style of the inscription seem to be earlier than Commodus.⁴ It is possible that the Caesar in question was L. Aelius whom Hadrian adopted at the end of 136. Gamala is described as 'f(ilius)' to distinguish him from his father. It is tempting to believe, though the guess has no firm foundation, that the father's name should be restored in the Fasti of 126. In that year the emperor Hadrian held the title of duovir for a second time. His colleague whose name is lost was a patron of the colony, who may also not have been available for the routine duties of office. These were delegated to two *praefecti*, the first of whom is described as 'pater'. It may have been the senior P. Lucilius Gamala, elder brother of Cn. Sentius Lucilius Gamala Clodianus. It would be singularly appropriate for members of the imperial family to be represented in office by the same Ostian family in two generations.

In very few other duovirs of this period can continuity be seen with the past. L. Naevius Proculus, duovir in 95, and P. Naevius Severus, duovir in 110, may derive from the same family as M. Naevius Optatus and C. Naevius (—), who had held the office respectively in 31 and 33. P. Turranius Aemilianus, duovir in 145, is styled 'fil(ius)' in the Fasti; probably his father had also held the office. He may be from the same family as M. Turranius, colleague of the Augustan Gamala.⁵ The family name may also be in part preserved in the Fasti of A.D. 14, [—Tur]ranius

¹ S 5374.

² 4. Pl. xxxviii

³ 2.

⁴ pp. 346 f.

⁵ I³⁰.

Pollio, and in the cognomen of M. Maecilius who paid for the building of the Julio-Claudian temple to Bona Dea, M. Maecilius [T]urr[anianus].¹ The cognomina of the duovir of 112—[L]ongus Grattianus Caninianus—suggest connexions with the Fabii and Acilii. Longus and Grattus are among the ancestors of C. Fabius Agrippa; Caninianus recalls M. Acilius Caninus.

Many more of the early families seem to have left the town, died out, or lost their place in the governing class. The Vitellii who held office in 47, 46, and 45 B.C. do not reappear in the Fasti and only one later Vitellius is known, a freedman.² P. Paetinius Dexter, who was duovir for the second time and *pontifex Volcani* when he died in A.D. 30, was presumably living at Ostia, but no trace of any office-holder among his descendants is found. Even the family of C. Cartilius Poplicola, who was eight times duovir, and certainly had children, is not known to have produced any magistrates during this period, though the name is still found in the second century. *

Of the family names among the duovirs of the second period that are not known in office earlier, some seem to have been long established in Ostia. C. Nasennius Marcellus who is duovir for the third time in 111, a census year, and is patron of the colony, is probably of the same family as C. Nasennius Proculus who is known to be registered in the Ostian tribe Voturia.³ He is probably not the first of his family to hold the duovirate; and he certainly was not the last. A. Livius Priscus, duovir in 105, seems from his name to be of free birth; the family is attested in the early principate at Ostia.⁴ A. Livius Proculus, colleague of P. Lucilius Gamala when the temple of Bellona was built, is presumably from the same family.⁵ The family name of [L.] Plinius Nigrinus, duovir in 147, is also found on a funerary stone of the early Empire.⁶

Business interests are well attested in the ruling class during this period and in several cases they are associated with non-Ostian tribes. The spectacular public career of Cn. Sentius Felix, whose family probably came from Atina, has already been mentioned. He was a member

¹ *AE* 1946, 221.

² L. Vitellius Calycand[er], *S* 4563, 1, col. ii. 7. Q. Vitellius Q.A.Q.l. (*NS* 1938, p. 68 n. 29) is probably a freedman of the magistrates of 47–45 B.C.

³ *S* 5035. Career of Marcellus, 9.

⁴ 581, an A. Livius on the same inscription as a freedman of Antonia, mother of the emperor Claudius; 358, M. Livius M.f. Vot(uria) Rogatus and Iustus, early Principate.

⁵ *AE* 1948, 26.

⁶ *S* 5062: L. Plinius Euhodus, freedman. The letters seem to be not later than Augustus.

of the guild of shippers trading in the Adriatic and his wealth was probably mainly derived from wine.¹ P. Aufidius Fortis, who was duovir later in the second century, was president of the corn measurers and patron of the corn merchants; he was also councillor at Hippo Regius, an important centre of the corn trade in Africa.² Since his tribe is Quirina, the most widely distributed tribe in Africa, it might be inferred that he was a native of Hippo Regius who had come to settle in Ostia.³ The order of the inscription makes it more probable that his membership of the council of Hippo Regius was conferred on him in view of his business associations with the town. The family origin may be African, but earlier Aufidii are known at Ostia.⁴ It is probably because of his influence outside Ostia, particularly perhaps with the *praefectus annonae*, that he is made patron of the town; his holding of the quaestorship no less than five times after the duovirate is a tribute to his business experience. The approximate date of P. Aufidius Fortis is given by the Fasti, for he is recorded, as patron of the town, to have dedicated in A.D. 146 silver statues of Honour and Victory and to have celebrated games for three days to commemorate these dedications. His son followed him in the duovirate.⁵

C. Granius Maturus, who also became duovir, has probably a similar background.⁶ His tribe is Quirina and, like P. Aufidius Fortis, he is concerned with the corn trade. He is patron of the corn measurers and of the curators of sea and river ships. His business interests probably explain his setting up a statue to Q. Petronius Honoratus, who had been promoted from the prefecture of the corn supply to the governorship of Egypt in 147.⁷ Q. Plotius Romanus also belongs to the tribe Quirina. He may have died before he reached the duovirate, but he had become aedile and *flamen Romae et Augusti* when he was honoured with a public statue in 141.⁸ There is, however, no evidence of his occupation.

The prosperity that followed the building of the imperial harbours led to the wider representation in office of families that were not of Ostian origin. It is clear also, from a study of names and from more

¹ 57-9; wine trade, p. 295.

² 10, S 4621.

³ Wilson, BSR 13 (1935) 67.

⁴ L. Aufidius from a tomb not later than Augustus, NS 1938, p. 48.

⁵ S 4622: 'P. Aufidio P. fil. Quir(ina) Forti, Aufidi Fortis p(atroni) c(oloniae) fil(io), Ilvir., q., aedil., flam. divi Titi.'

⁶ 362, 363 (with S, p. 615), 364, S 4458, 4651, 4715; possibly also Bloch, 62. There are earlier Granii at Ostia, 707, 360, 361, 1094; but no earlier C. Granius is recorded.

⁷ For the date, A. Stein, *Präfecten von Ägypten*, 79.

⁸ 400, 401.

direct evidence, that there was by now a substantial admixture of servile blood in the ruling class. The cognomina in the Fasti of the period are less homogeneous than those of their predecessors. Celsus, Cinna, Clemens, Justus, Marcellus, Nigrinus, Priscus, Proculus, Severus continue the pattern of the early Empire. Such names as Aemilianus, Commanus, Manlianus, Pompilianus, Valerianus reflect the fashion of the age in perpetuating a mother's name, as the Egrilii kept alive the memory of the marriage of A. Egrilius Rufus to Plaria Vera when the family cognomen was changed from Rufus to Plarianus. But Augustalis, Euphemianus, and Orestes suggest descent from freedmen. These names are known from the Fasti.¹ To them may be added M. Aemilius Hilarianus, whose tomb outside the Porta Romana should probably be dated to the first half of the second century.² The suspicions aroused by his cognomen are strengthened by the name of his wife, Clodia Helpis.

C. Julius Proculus, duovir in 108, has been identified with the suffect consul of 109, but such a distinguished man would probably have accepted the honour only in a censorial year, and he seems to be the junior duovir.³ More probably he is a local man, descended from an imperial freedman of the early Empire. Ti. Claudius (—), duovir in 115, probably has a similar origin, and the cognomen of M. Antistius Flavianus, duovir in 127, derives from a Flavian freedman.

These inferences from names are supported by more direct evidence. C. Silius C.f. Vot(uria) Nerva, who rose to the duovirate not later than the early years of the second century, is the son of the freedman C. Silius Felix and his son after him also held the office.⁴ The family to which Felix owed his freedom was Ostian and that may have helped to secure his son's election. Such local loyalties may also help to explain the most surprising appointment of this period known to us. The Fasti for 105 record the appointment of the praetorian M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus as *pontifex Volcani* in succession to P. Ostiensis Macedo,

¹ Augustalis (108), Euphemianus (109), Orestes (85).

² 332: 'M. Aemilius Hilarianus dec. flam. aedilis IIvir.' The tomb described, *Ann. Inst.* 29 (1857) 291 f.; Paschetto, 445 f. The approximate date is suggested by the character of the brickwork and the form of the tomb, which provides only for cremation. In the second half of the century some provision would probably have been made for burial (p. 464).

³ Identified with the consul by Calza, NS 1932, 189, followed by Groag: I agree with Degraffi, 229.

⁴ 415. C. Silius Felix, father of Nerva, was an *Augustalis*, and the *Augustales* were superseded by *seviri Augustales* not later than Trajan's reign (p. 218–20).

who had died.¹ Macedo owed his name to the town and must be descended, though perhaps remotely, from a public slave; however respectable his cognomen may appear, his contemporaries can have had no doubt as to the significance of his family name. Yet to become *pontifex Volcani* he should first have held the normal magistracies, for the pontificate was the most honoured post in Ostia and reserved for outstanding men. That a man of freedman descent should be followed in office by one of the most distinguished Ostians of the day, who represented two of the oldest Ostian families, is a striking commentary on the times.

If this study could be profitably extended to Ostian councillors who did not rise to the duovirate, we should probably be able to trace a much wider infusion of freedman stock at this lower level of government, but we do not even know the names of any such councillors from the Julio-Claudian period, and the number known from the late first and early second century is too small to justify generalization. The few, however, that can be dated before the death of Antoninus Pius, are either certainly or probably descended from freedmen. Cn. Sergius Cn.f. Vot(uria) Priscus became councillor and aedile but not duovir;² his father Cn. Sergius Anthus was an *Augustalis*, freedman priest in the imperial cult; but the family he served was registered in the Ostian tribe. L. Calpurnius L.f. Vot(uria) Saturus, aedile, probably has a similar background, for he is associated in a funerary inscription with the son and grandson of a freedman.³ P. Celerius P.f. Pal(atina) Amandus was admitted to the council under the legal age.⁴ His tribe, his cognomen, his mother's name (Scantia Spurii f. Lanthanusa) suggest servile blood in the background; a new unpublished inscription recording the same career confirms that his father was a freedman, P. Celerius P. libertus Chryseros. The family must have been wealthy, for the public funeral that was given to Amandus is more likely to have been a tribute to his parents' generosity than to his own services. On his tombstone are the tools of his trade; he was brought up to be a shipbuilder.

The chief magistrates of the period are of much more diversified origins than their predecessors. Old Ostian families are still represented; with them are business men attracted to Ostia by the rapid growth of trade at the imperial harbours, and descendants of freedmen. The

¹ The appointment of Macedo may be recorded in a further fragment of the *Fasti*, G. Barbieri, *Studi Romani*, i (1953) 369.

² 412.

³ 415.

⁴ 321.

exclusiveness of the early Empire has disappeared. Re-election to the duovirate, which was a marked feature of the earlier period, is now much rarer. Only one man is known to have held the duovirate as many as three times and, apart from the emperor Hadrian, only two others are known to have held it twice.¹ There are still very large gaps in the *Fasti*, but more entries are preserved for the second period than for the first: the general contrast is not likely to be seriously modified by new discoveries. And it may be significant that C. Nasennius Marcellus, who was three times duovir, is from an Ostian family. Such men as Cn. Sentius Felix did not hold office more than once: we suspect that they were too busy making money.

The number of town patrons known to us from this period reflects the increased importance and prosperity of Ostia. From the pre-Flavian period only one patron is recorded in surviving inscriptions. 'Glabrio, patronus coloniae' set up a statue to *salus Caesaris Augusti* outside the Porta Romana, perhaps commemorating an imperial visit.² He is a Manius Acilius Glabrio of the Augustan or Julio-Claudian period, member of a family which retained its consular distinction from the early second century B.C. to the late Empire and was associated with Ostia over a long period. From the following period no less than ten are known. A. Egrilius Plarianus, his brother, and his son were Ostians rising in the senatorial service.³ C. Nasennius Marcellus, also an Ostian, had held four military equestrian posts.⁴ P. Aufidius Fortis had trading connexions with Africa.⁵ The names of two other patrons living in Ostia are known from the *Fasti* of 146, A. Egrilius Agricola and D. Nonius Pompilianus, who shared the censorial duovirate in that year. Agricola is presumably related to the senatorial Egrilii; Pompilianus is probably the son of the duovir of 110. It is likely that both men had made their mark outside Ostia, perhaps in equestrian careers.

More influential in imperial circles was L. Volusius Maecianus, distinguished lawyer and administrator, and teacher of Marcus Aurelius. Maecianus, after brief military service in Britain, had held a series of posts in the palace secretariat under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and had then been appointed successively *praefectus annonae* and governor of Egypt.⁶ In 152 he was a patron of the guild of *lenuncularii tabularii*.⁷

¹ C. Nasennius Marcellus III (in 111), C. Valerius Iustus II (in 111), [—]vos II (in 84); probably also M. Acilius Priscus (p. 175 n. 5).

² S 4324. For the date, p. 508.

³ p. 503 f.

⁴ 9.

⁵ p. 203.

⁶ Bloch, 33.

⁷ 250. Maecianus heads the list of equestrian patrons of the guild.

In 160-1, while he was governor of Egypt, two commemorative tablets were set up at Ostia in his honour as patron of the colony.¹ A further inscription was set up in Ostia when, after his governorship of Egypt, he was given praetorian status by Marcus Aurelius and designated consul.² Maecianus' association with Ostia may derive from his official duties in connexion with the corn supply,³ but it seems likely that he became a guild patron before that appointment. It is not impossible that his family came from Ostia.⁴

The connexion with Ostia of the patron Q. Asinius Q. (filius) Trom(entina) Marcellus, consul probably at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, is unknown. He is commemorated in two Ostian inscriptions, by the council and by the *iuv[enes de]curion(um)*;⁵ his name also recurs on an undated fragment of the Fasti, but the context is lost.⁶ There is an elusive hint of a later connexion of the family with Ostia. A Q. Asinius Marcellus owned brickfields, which supplied Rome and Ostia under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Among the overseers of his production units was C. Nunnidius Fortunatus, whose name appears on brickstamps from 123 to 141.⁷ This uncommon name recurs in an Isola Sacra tomb, and the date would fit.⁸ Though several bricks with his stamp have been found in Ostian buildings, they cannot have been produced at Ostia for bricks with the same stamp are found in Roman buildings and Ostian bricks would not have been carried to Rome. There is no other trace of Nunnidii at Ostia; Fortunatus may have retired there owing to his patron's association with the town. Another inscription from Portus records a Q. Asinius in the early second century.⁹ His cognomen is lost and much else; what little survives suggests

¹ S 5347, 5348. For the date of his governorship of Egypt, Stein, *op. cit.* 90.

² Bloch, 33. This inscription was set up by a relative or freedman.

³ Stein, *loc. cit.*, followed by Bloch, thinks that he was already *praefectus annonae* in 152; but this would imply an unusually long tenure of the corn prefecture, and the office would probably have been recorded on the guild roll.

⁴ For earlier Volusii in Ostia, including a C. Volusius, duovir in A.D. 18, see p. 194 with n. 6; but the name is particularly widespread in Italy. There were also Maecii at Ostia.

⁵ S 4447, 4448. Groag (*PIR*², A 1234) suggests a Julio-Claudian date on the ground that a patrician would not be *Xvir stlitibus iudicandis* in or after the Flavian period. The evidence is inadequate to justify such a rule; the lettering of the inscription cannot, I think, be earlier than Flavian. I identify with *PIR*², A 1235; cf. Degrassi, *Fasti Consolari*, p. 29.

⁶ *Fasti*, frag. xxxv, p. 210, before 115 (Degrassi, 239). —m. Q. Asini Mar[celli—]. Wickert (S 4542) suggests 'in locum Q.A.M.—pontifex Volkani creatus est'. But see p. 514.

⁷ *CIL* xv. 846-50, 860-1.

⁸ Thylander, A 74.

⁹ 622.

that he was a freedman. Perhaps the senatorial Asinii had a villa in the neighbourhood. P. Clodius Pulcher, who was responsible for the rebuilding of the Porta Romana at the end of the Flavian period or slightly later, is not, so far as we know, an Ostian and should therefore be a patron; but he is an embarrassment to the prosopographers and we know nothing of him.¹ *

The funerary inscription of another patron of the late first or early second century in large part survives, but his name is lost.² He was an Ostian who had held at least one equestrian military post and had become a *procurator Augusti*.³ He was married to Egrilia Pulchra, who was almost certainly related to the senatorial Egrilii of the period.

THE ECLIPSE OF THE OLD FAMILIES

When we pass from the prosperity period to the second half of the second century the evidence at our disposal is inadequate. For the first two periods the Fasti provide a central structure of names and important chronological controls. The last dated surviving fragment of the Fasti gives part of the record for 154; after that date we have to rely on a much smaller range of inscriptions, many of them undated. Few traces of the leading families of the early Empire remain.

The only career recorded in full is that of the last known P. Lucilius Gamala, who died during or soon after the reign of Marcus Aurelius. His inscription is closely modelled on that of his Augustan ancestor and his career is in the family tradition. He is aedile and praetor in the cult of Vulcan, admitted to the council while still a boy, *praefectus* for an imperial prince, quaestor, *pontifex Volcani*, the first *curator tabularum et librorum*.⁴ His public benefactions include the restoration of temples, public baths, and a *navale*. He spent more than the law required on all the public games he celebrated, and gave a gladiatorial display. But it is significant that, whereas the Augustan Gamala had built new temples, his work is confined to restoration.

¹ Of the inscription from the Porta Romana only small fragments survive, S 4707. The fourth line begins 'P. Cl[odius] P[u]lche[r] co[n]su[l]'. The fifth, and probably last, line begins 'p[ortam vetus]tate [c]orrupta[m]'. The natural inference is that P. Clodius Pulcher restored the gate. Degraffi, *Fasti Consolari*, p. 119, suggests, as possible alternatives to consul, *consularis filius* or *nepos*. No descendant of Cicero's enemy is known during this period. For the date of the restoration of the gate, p. 67.

² Unpublished. The date is inferred from the lettering and the layout. A.D. 50-130 are the approximate limits.

³ His Ostian origin is shown by the fact that he makes provision in his tomb for his *maiores*.

⁴ 2.

The family of C. Nasennius Marcellus, duovir for the third time in 111, also remains prominent. A C. Nasennius Marcellus, probably his grandson, is duovir in 166,¹ *curator perpetuus operum publicorum* in 184,² patron of the colony by 189;³ he seems to have followed closely in his grandfather's footsteps. Either he, or more probably his son, became *pontifex Volcani*.⁴

The only evidence concerning the Egrilii during this period is controversial. Members of the family, together perhaps with a Fabius Agrippinus, head the list of patrons in a Severan roll of a guild which is probably to be identified with the *dendrophori*. It has been held that M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus and other distinguished members of the family were retained in the list of patrons long after their death, but it is more reasonable to regard the names as those of living men.⁵ If that is the case the Egrilii retained their associations with Ostia, but, unless and until new inscriptions are found, we shall not know the last stages of their Ostian history.

The other surviving names of men who rose to high office in this period have no known associations with leading families of the past. C. Antius Crescens Calpurnianus, who is attested as *pontifex Volcani* in 194 and 203,⁶ rose to the consulship, but there is no evidence that his family had old roots in Ostia. M. Lollius Paulinus, colleague of C. Nasennius Marcellus in the duovirate in 166,⁷ is probably to be identified with M. Lollius M.f. Paulinus who commemorated his friend C. Granus Maturus, duovir towards the middle of the century,⁸ but the name does not occur in surviving fragments of the *Fasti*. M. Iunius M.f. Pal(atina) Faustus, who was duovir shortly before 173, seems from his tribe and cognomen to be of freedman stock; a corn merchant, he was honoured with a statue by the African and Sardinian shipowners.⁹ We may suspect that Q. Lollius Rufus Chrysidianus who held office in the late second or early third century had a similar background;¹⁰ his colleague, M. Aemilius Vitalis Crepereianus, has a first cognomen that usually denotes servile blood; but his second cognomen recalls the family that probably produced a duovir as early as A.D. 6.¹¹ The cognomen of C. Aemilius, who probably held his duovirate during this period, is lost, but his tribe is Palatina.¹²

¹ 4148.

² 172 with p. 481.

³ 460.

⁴ 47; see p. 510.

⁵ 281; see p. 504.

⁶ 325, 324.

⁷ 4148.

⁸ 363.

⁹ 4142.

¹⁰ 47.

¹¹ L. Cre[pereius], *Fasti*, A.D. 6.

¹² Bloch, 49.

P. Licinius Herodes, who held no less than four public priesthoods and was successively aedile, quaestor, and duovir, probably in the early third century, belongs to the tribe Palatina, and his statue was set up by the freedmen *seviri Augustales*.¹ The father of Q. Veturius Firmius Felix, duovir in 251, a censorial year, had also been associated with the *seviri Augustales*, and the cognomen of his colleague, L. Florus Euprepes, suggests a similar background.² P. Flavius Priscus, who was duovir towards the middle of the century, was a man of distinction in his day. He rose to the second grade of imperial procurators and was made patron of the colony, but his tribe is Palatina.³ He was followed by his son-in-law M. Aurelius Hermogenes, who similarly became a procurator and patron of the colony.⁴ Only one *pontifex Volcani* is known from this period, Iulius Faustinus;⁵ we know nothing of him.

From the little evidence that survives it seems likely that the tendencies operating in the prosperity period developed further in the period that followed, and that the representation of servile blood in the duovirate increased. It certainly permeated the council. More councillors are known from this period than from the last, and they present a consistent character. They are wealthy, as we should expect, and in most cases it can be shown that their wealth derives from trade, and that they are descended from freedmen.

M. Licinius Privatus is probably typical of his time.⁶ Born a slave, he started his free career as a clerk in the town service, and became, shortly before the end of the second century, president of the builders' guild. His public generosity brought him the honorary rank of councillor and paved the way for his sons to a public career, from which he was himself debarred. The inscription on the base of his statue set up by his guild records that his sons became councillors, his grandsons councillors and Roman knights. The funerary inscription of T. Antistius Agathangelus follows the same pattern.⁷ His cognomen suggests a servile origin; he provided in his tomb for himself, for T. Antistius Favor, his son, Roman knight and councillor, and for T. Antistius Favor Proculeianus,

¹ 11. The date is inferred from his priesthood, *flam(en) divi Severi*.

² 352, 432.

³ 12, the base of his statue dedicated in 249. Another statue base, Bloch, 29. Priscus himself dedicated a statue at Ostia to Salonina, wife of the emperor Gallienus, S 5335.

⁴ S 5340.

⁵ 352, dated 251.

⁶ 15. Privatus was president of the builders' guild in their 29th *lustrum*, towards the end of the second century (pp. 330 f.). His name probably appears in their guild roll of 198, S 4569 (dec. xvi. 1).

⁷ 294.

his grandson, also a Roman knight and councillor. His son was patron of the *lenuncularii pleromarii* in 200.¹

L. Fabius Sp(urii) f. Eutyches followed closely the career of M. Licinius Privatus. At first employed as lictor and then clerk in the town service he too rose to the presidency of the builders and could launch his son on a public career. In this case adoption may have improved the prospect, for his son's full names are C. Domitius L.fil. Pal(atina) Fabius Hermogenes. He became councillor, *flamen divi Hadriani*, and died in the course of his aedileship. He was given a public funeral and an equestrian statue was set up in his honour in the Forum by decree of the council.² P. Cornelius Architectianus also probably owed his position in the council to money acquired in the building trade. His father Thallus was president of the guild and his grandfather's cognomen Architectus, from which his own was derived, suggests the same occupation.³ It is doubtful from the names whether the family had been free for many generations. Sextus Carminius Parthenopius, Roman knight and decurion, was himself a president of the builders. His cognomen also is suspect, and his wife, Carminia Briseis, is presumably either a freedwoman or descended from a freedman of the family.⁴ Two other decurions known from this period are also registered in the tribe Palatina, P. Nonius Livius Anterotianus⁵ and D. Iunius Bubalus;⁶ both were Roman knights.

SENATORIAL RESIDENTS IN THE LATE EMPIRE

In the late Empire we learn much less from inscriptions of Ostia's aristocracy. No records survive of local careers; we do not even know the names of any magistrates. Restorations of public buildings that in the second century would have been undertaken by local magistrates or ex-magistrates are now initiated by the *praefectus annonae*. The complete absence of surviving inscriptions recording public benefactions by local men is a sign that central control has dried up the springs of

¹ 252.

² 353, 14. A date near the end of the second century is inferred from the lettering.

³ 5. The father was president of the builders in their 27th *lustrum*, late second century (p. 331).

⁴ 314. The tomb (*Ann. Inst.* 29 (1857) 298) is designed for burial alone; the brickwork is probably early third century.

⁵ 390. Anterotianus was knighted by Marcus Aurelius.

⁶ Bloch, 56 = S 4625. Bloch considers the lettering to be in or near the Severan period; it might be a little earlier.

public-spirited generosity. But the independent houses of the late Empire show that there were still wealthy residents in the town. How many of the owners of these houses were still actively concerned with the management of Ostian affairs we do not know; but the fragmentary evidence suggests that Roman senators, who had no long-standing associations with Ostia, dominated the social climate.

An inscription commemorates the celebration of a *taurobolium* by a certain 'Volusianus v(ir) c(larissimus) ex prae(fe)c(t)is'. He is probably to be identified with C. Caeionius Rufus Volusianus Lampadius, praetorian prefect in 355, urban prefect in 365/6.¹ It is tempting to recognize his Ostian residence in the House of the Dioscuri. This is the largest and most handsome of the late houses in Ostia, the only one yet excavated which has a private suite of baths.² It takes its name from a mosaic depicting Castor and Pollux and this would be a singularly appropriate subject for Volusianus who, as urban prefect, would have celebrated the annual festival of the Dioscuri at Ostia.³ A large coloured mosaic in the same house, depicting Venus and Nereids, has a motto which is particularly common in Africa;⁴ this too would be appropriate, for the family had landed property in Africa.⁵

Another important family which had close associations with Africa is also found at Ostia in the late Empire. The Anicii share with the Acilii, who also have associations with Ostia, the distinction of maintaining their wealth and position by political tact and judicious marriages throughout the hazards of imperial persecution. They came originally from Praeneste;⁶ Cicero mentions their African business connexions,⁷ and African interests remained the mainstay of the family's wealth. In the late Empire they were one of the wealthiest families in Rome. Anicius Auchenius Bassus, in the late fourth or early fifth century, declared at Ostia the devotion of his family to God and the saints.⁸ The name of Anicia Italica with her husband Valerius Faltonius, perhaps

¹ Bloch, 34. The identification was first proposed by H. Fuhrmann, *Epigraphica*, 3 (1941) 103-9.

² Becatti, *Casa Ostiense del tardo impero*, 14.

³ For the Ostian festival, p. 344.

⁴ 'plura faciatis meliora dedicetis.' Widespread, with minor variants, in Africa, *CIL* viii. 8510, 22774; *AE* 1931, 52; *AE* 1938, 130.

⁵ *CIL* viii. 25990 (= *ILS* 6035). The family may have had an African origin, B. H. Warmington, *The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest* (Cambridge, 1954) 39.

⁶ *RE*, Anicius (Klebs).

⁷ Cic. *Ad fam.* xii. 21: 'C. Anicius . . . negotiorum suorum causa legatus est in Africam legatione libera.'

⁸ 1875.

of the early fifth century, is found on an Ostian water-pipe, showing that she owned property in the town.¹

When Augustine stayed at Ostia in 387 with his mother Monica before returning to Africa, he could move in congenial society. His own record of the short stay in his *Confessions* suggests that he was staying with friends and had other acquaintances in Ostia.² These were probably senatorials with African connexions. They included the Anicii; an Italica is among his correspondents,³ and it was Anicius Bassus who set up his mother's epitaph.⁴ He is likely to have known the Caecionii from their African connexions.⁵ Augustine also writes to Pamachius, who dedicated a house of pilgrimage at Portus;⁶ he too had African possessions.⁷

Symmachus owned a villa overlooking the Tiber and commanding a large estate in Ostian territory.⁸ In one of his letters he adds another name to the list of Ostia's senatorial connexions. In 398 he attended the wedding at Ostia of the younger son of Sallustius,⁹ who had been urban prefect and was one of the chief literary figures of the day.

The residence in Ostia of this senatorial aristocracy saved the town from more rapid decay. They lived handsomely and the shopkeepers at least must have been grateful to them. But Ostia was in no sense their real home, nor the main focus of their loyalty. They were no adequate substitute for the office-holders of the first and second centuries whose efficiency and public generosity had made Ostia great.

¹ Barbieri, 'Fistole inedite', *NS* 1953, 170 n. 32: 'Valeri Faltoni Adelfi v(iri) c(larissimi) et Aniciae Italicae.'

² That Augustine was not staying at an inn is clear from his account, *Confess.* ix. 12. 31: 'cohibito ergo a fletu illo puero psalterium arripuit Euodius et cantare coepit psalmum. cui respondebamus omnis domus . . .'. Other Ostian friends are suggested by ix. 11. 28: 'audivi etiam postea quod iam cum Ostiae essemus, cum quibusdam amicis meis materna fiducia conloquebatur (Monica)'.

³ Augustine, *Epp.* 92, 99.

⁴ De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.* ii. 252.

⁵ Augustine corresponds with a Volusianus, *Epp.* 132, 135, 137 (cf. 136, 138); he is probably the grandson of Lampadius, Seeck, *Symmachus*, clxxix. See p. 474 n. 1.

⁶ Augustine, *Ep.* 58. For Pamachius' *xenodochium*, p. 403.

⁷ Augustine, *Ep.* 58. 1: 'colonos tuos Afros.'

⁸ p. 264.

⁹ Symmachus (Seeck), *Ep.* vi. 35 (A.D. 398), with p. clvi: 'haec de nuptiis Ostiensibus, ad quas nos viri inlustris Sallustii filius iunior evocavit, contulimus in paginam.'

II

THE PEOPLE

FROM the Flavian period onwards there was an increasing infiltration of new-comers and of men of freedman stock into the council and public office. These tendencies are much more widely reflected in the population as a whole. The prosperity brought by the imperial harbours attracted men from other towns of Italy and from all parts of the Mediterranean world. If our evidence were fuller we should find men from the western provinces settled in Ostia in the late Republic, but their number was probably small. It was not until the harbours were built that easterners were attracted. Their early associations with Italy had been mainly through Puteoli, but, as the trade of Puteoli passed to the new harbours, they came in increasing numbers to Ostia. The rapid increase in population, however, which led to the concentration on apartment blocks in the second century, was due much less to such independent new-comers than to an increase in the number of slaves and consequently of freedmen and their descendants.

FREE IMMIGRANTS

Of all the provinces Africa, rich in corn, had the closest associations with Ostia. The Piazzale delle Corporazioni is dominated by traders from African towns,¹ who presumably had their representatives in Ostia to manage their business. One such representative is explicitly recorded: L. Caecilius Aprilis is *curator* of Carthaginian ships and he comes from Carthage, for he is registered in Arnensis, the Carthaginian tribe.² The origin of P. Caesellius Felix is given on his tombstone: he is a citizen of Sullecthum,³ an African town whose traders have premises in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni.⁴ L. Caecilius Aemilianus, a veteran of the praetorian guard, had been a decurion and duovir of African Aelia Ulizibbira, established by Hadrian.⁵ He found it more attractive

¹ p. 283.

² S 4626.

³ 477.

⁴ S 4549²³.

⁵ Bloch, *Epigraphica*, 1 (1939) 37.

to come to Ostia and engage in the wine import trade: 'corporatus in templo fori vinari importatorum negotiantium'. Valerius Veturius, who died at Portus, came from a farming background: he is described as 'civis Afer colonicus'.¹ The tribe Quirina, most widely spread of the tribes in Africa, is more common in Ostia than any other non-Ostian tribe.

From Hither Spain with his wife came the freedman trader L. Numisius Agathemeris;² M. Aemilius M.f. Malacitanus probably owes his cognomen to Malaca in Spanish Baetica.³ M. Caesius Maximus was born at Aeminium in Lusitania.⁴ Maecius Melo came from the district of Vienna in Narbonese Gaul: a record of his death at Ostia was set up in his native town.⁵ L. Antonius Epitynchanus, who became president of the Ostian builders, was a *sevir Augustalis* at Aquae Sextiae in the same province.⁶ P. Claudius Abascantus, who became prominent in the cult of Magna Mater, was a freedman of the three Gauls; he had been a slave of the provincial council, meeting outside Lugdunum, but left Gaul to settle permanently in Ostia.⁷ In the harbour cemetery on Isola Sacra we find C. Annaeus, who came from the land of the Pictones in Aquitania,⁸ and Samus Samifilus,⁹ whose name suggests that he too came from Gaul.

The Greek east is also widely represented. T. Flavius Apollonius¹⁰ and Aphrodisius, son of Arpocraton¹¹ came from Alexandria; Asclepiades, son of Simon, from Cnidus;¹² Socrates, son of Astomachus, from Tralles.¹³ Syrian Seleucia¹⁴ and Miletus¹⁵ are also recorded in Greek inscriptions. A guild roll of the shipbuilders of Ostia includes the names of eight free foreigners;¹⁶ they all, to judge by their names, seem to be easterners. The inscription on a sarcophagus illustrating the shoemaker's trade is in Greek.¹⁷ Most of these easterners were concerned with trade, but not all. T. Aelius Samius Isocrates, citizen of Nicomedia and Ephesus, who died at Ostia, was a sophist;¹⁸ another sophist and

¹ 481.² 397: 'sevir Augustali, negotiatori ex Hispania citeriore.'³ S 4778.⁴ S 4822.⁵ CIL xii. 2211.⁶ 296.⁷ 327. 'P. Cl(audius) trium Galliar(um) lib(ertus) Abascantus'; cf. 328, 326 with S p. 615. He came first to Ostia as a slave (328), presumably on some mission for the Gallic Council.⁸ Thylander, A 13: 'C. Annaei Attici Pict(onis) ex Aquitanica.'⁹ Thylander, A 170.¹⁰ 478.¹¹ 479.¹² 475.¹³ 480.¹⁴ IG xiv. 934.¹⁵ IG xiv. 938.¹⁶ Bloch, 43 (I a 33; I b 10, 21, 22, 28; II a 15, 24, 28).¹⁷ NS 1877, 314.¹⁸ AE 1947, 162.

rhetorician has his praises sung on his tombstone in elegant Greek hexameters.¹ Another Greek inscription records a doctor: 'Master of all wisdom here I lie, not dead. Say not that good men die.'²

The proportion of independent easterners was probably larger by the harbours than in Ostia town. The annual arrival of the Egyptian corn fleet brought ships' captains and crews from Alexandria; Egyptian resident agents probably watched their interests. This connexion attracted other settlers from Egypt. Two Egyptians are included in the shipbuilders' guild roll³ and by the Severan period a Serapeum had been built and was attracting handsome benefactions. The citizens of Gaza resident at Portus set up a statue in honour of the emperor Gordian.⁴ A Syrian trader made a dedication to Jupiter of Heliopolis on behalf of the emperors M. Aurelius and Commodus.⁵ Cemetery inscriptions record a man from Phrygia,⁶ a Rhodian,⁷ and a worker in marble from Nicomedia.⁸

Other provincials came to Ostia to serve with the small detachment of the fleet; Thracians, an Egyptian, a Pannonian, Sardinian, Corsican are recorded on tombstones.⁹ They merged in the mixed community and sometimes married local women and settled in Ostia after their discharge.

Roman citizens from other parts of Italy less frequently record their origin. Ravenna,¹⁰ Praeneste,¹¹ and Vercellae¹² are attested; in far more instances we can only guess from the names that the families are not Ostian, but probably Italian. Veterans from the praetorian and urban cohorts are recorded in the cemeteries;¹³ most of them were probably of Italian origin. The epitaph of a young soldier at Interamna recalls the marriage and settlement at Ostia of a man from Umbria. 'Umbria was my father's home, Ostia my mother's; there the Tiber flows glassy green, here the Nar flows white.'¹⁴

¹ IG xiv. 935.

² IG xiv. 942.

³ 256¹⁴⁸ and 185.

⁴ IG xiv. 926.

⁵ 24. The dedicator is known as a Syrian from inscriptions in Rome, Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia*, 77.

⁶ IG xiv. 933.

⁷ Thylander, A 27.

⁸ Calza, *Necropoli*, 279 (λευκοῦργος).

⁹ 234-42, S 4496.

¹⁰ 1170.

¹¹ Becatti, *Casa tarde*, 54 n. 19.

¹² 230.

¹³ 217, 221, S 4491.

¹⁴ CIL xi. 4188: 'De genitore mihi domus Umbria, de genetrice | Ostia, Tybris ibi vitreus, Nar hic fluit albus.' I infer from the comparison of the Tiber with the Nar that the young man had probably been born and brought up in Ostia.

FREEDMEN

From these varied sources the population of Ostia increased, but a much more important element in the town's development was the liberality with which slaves were granted freedom. The freedman is at the very centre of Ostian society. He is indispensable to the town's trade and to the trading guilds; his descendants take an increasing part in local government. A mere glance at the inscriptions of Ostia will show how large a proportion of the population was provided by the freedmen, especially in the second century, and how widespread were their activities.

The most important factor in their rise to prominence was the institution of their special priesthood for the imperial cult. We first hear of such *Augustales* at Nepete in southern Etruria in 12 B.C., the year when Augustus became *pontifex maximus*.¹ It is probable that Ostia, owing to its close dependence on Rome and on the emperor, was one of the first towns of Italy to follow the precedent, though only one inscription survives before the death of Augustus; it commemorates Drusus, son of Tiberius, before he held the quaestorship in A.D. 11.² The priesthood of the *Augustales* was confined to freedmen; it focused their loyalty in the emperor and the imperial house and at the same time gave them an official standing in the town. Of their early organization we know nothing; we may guess that they were annually appointed, and perhaps were six in number, forming a small aristocracy within the large class of freedmen.³ But at some time in the late first (or early second) century the institution was remodelled and developed an elaborate organization, resembling a trade guild much more than an exclusive priesthood.

The most obvious sign of the reorganization is a change in title from *Augustales* to *seviri Augustales*; more important is the new hierarchy of officers. The earlier *Augustales* had no grades within their ranks: *Augustalis* is the sole title found in inscriptions. In the inscriptions of individual *seviri Augustales* the title of *quinquennalis* and *curator* are common. But the new organization is more elaborate than the inscriptions of individuals might suggest. From the numerous fragments of registers that have survived from the late second and early third centuries we can see that there are four grades of dignity.⁴

¹ ILS 89.² S 5322.³ von Premerstein, s.v. *Augustales*, *Diz. Epigr.* 824 ff. esp. 826.⁴ See Note E, p. 473.

The *electi*, who seem by their position in the registers to have ranked highest in honour, were elected every two years, but could hold the position longer, and their number varies. There are three in 196 and 198, one in 210, 216, 239, and none in 208, 228, 234, 242: it seems that this position brought honour, and perhaps expense, rather than responsibilities. The *quinquennales*, who are probably the active presidents, come next on the lists. They form a board of four and are also elected for two years. Below them in standing are men described as *q.q.d.d.* In most Ostian inscriptions the last two letters stand for 'decurionum decreto', but if that were the meaning here we should expect the individual *sevir* in recording his career to refer, as decurions and aediles do, to his election by the council, an added dignity; it is more likely that Dessau was right in preferring 'd(ono) d(ato)':¹ these *quinquennales* have paid for the privilege. The title must have been easily obtained because the majority of *seviri* known to us are described as *sevir Augustalis idem quinquennalis*. The *seviri* also had treasurers whose names were drawn up on separate registers.² They were elected to office for a year, but could be reappointed, and A. Granius Atticus was treasurer for life.³ Though most freedmen will have had good business heads, it seems doubtful whether special financial ability was required, for the annual number of appointments varies and the board is usually large: there are eight in 193, five in 201, and four in 239. At the end of each year's list was added 'ob h(anc) c(uram) HSX': they paid 10,000 sesterces for the honour of the title and this may have been their main duty to the treasury. But the post was the normal stepping-stone to higher office.⁴

The registers that disclose this elaborate hierarchy come from the late second and early third centuries, but the main elements at least of the organization were introduced much earlier. The decisive change can be approximately dated.⁵ L. Aquillius Modestus, who is described simply as *Augustalis*, was president of the builders' guild in Nero's principate:⁶ the first undisputed reference to the new *seviri Augustales* is in an inscription commemorating a man who was honoured by the

¹ Dessau, quoted by Wickert (S, p. 693), followed by Wilson, BSR 14 (1938) 155.

² S 4560, Bloch, 40.

³ 360. 'curator perpetuus'. Another, whose name is lost, was treasurer for five years, S 4641: '[se]viro Augustali idem q.q. [curato]ri eorum annis continuis v.'

⁴ Cf. 316: 'L. Carullius Epaphroditus . . . post curam quinquennalitatem optul(erunt) qui egit continuis IIII.'

⁵ Wickert, S, p. 611.

⁶ 299; for the date, p. 331.

emperor Trajan;¹ but another inscription has been convincingly restored as a dedication to Nerva by the *seviri*.² Another argument, considerably more controversial, suggests a late Flavian date for the reform of the institution.

The majority of the fragments of the registers of the *seviri* were found in or near a building on the north side of the Decumanus, immediately west of the Forum and opposite the Basilica.³ The building is comparatively small, but was handsomely decorated. Fronting on the Decumanus was a portico of six columns. Behind was a temple-like cella (11.7 × 11.7 metres) whose walls and pavement were lined with marble. At the back of this room was a long high podium, in the side walls large niches, on the right side against the wall between the niches three statue bases. This building is admirably suited to the needs of the freedmen. The niches would have contained imperial statues; the podium was necessary for cult purposes and is found in the chapel of the *vigiles* and in the room converted into a chapel in the headquarters of the builders' guild. The fragments of the registers might have been brought from elsewhere for a late reconstruction, but it is more reasonable to believe that they were found where they originally belonged.

There is, however, a serious objection to this identification. Calza somewhat reluctantly concluded that this was the Curia, the meeting-place of the council,⁴ and subsequent excavation has tended to strengthen his judgement. For the Curia is one of the most important public buildings of a town and has its natural place in or near the central Forum. That is where it is found at Rome, at Pompeii, at Timgad, and at other sites; but at Ostia excavation has now extended in all directions round the Forum and no other building has been found near the centre of the town, nor anywhere else, which can readily be identified as a council chamber.⁵ It is true that there is no certain reference to a Curia in surviving inscriptions,⁶ and we learn that on one occasion at least the council met in the temple of Rome and Augustus,⁷ but it is inconceiv-

¹ S 4486a.

² S 4341, restored by Wickert: '[imp. Nervae Cae]sar[i] Aug. pontif. | [max. trib. po]test, p.p. c[o]s. ii [seviri] Augustale[s].'

³ Calza, NS 1923, 185.

⁴ Ibid. 186.

⁵ A building at the south-east corner of the Forum, which in its present ruined state is featureless, is perhaps not to be ruled out.

⁶ Possibly S 4720, but the restoration '[curia]m' is most uncertain.

⁷ 353: 'in aede Romae et Augusti placu[it] ordini decurionum', perhaps because the man honoured was *flamen divi Hadriani*.

able that the main governing body of the town had no official headquarters.

In spite of the force of this objection, the so-called Curia of Ostia is singularly unfitted to the needs of a council. It is small for a body of at least 100 members; originally it had no attached rooms on the ground floor or upper floor such as were needed for the keeping of records and the work of the small civil service. Nor is there any sign of the triple benches that are a distinctive feature of all Curiae of the Roman pattern. On the other hand, the building is admirably adapted, as has been seen, to the needs of the freedmen, and the inscriptions associated with the building point the same way. We may tentatively conclude that this is the headquarters of the *seviri Augustales*. The width and texture of its bricks and a brickstamp found in the ruins indicate a Domitianic date for the building.¹ The evidence of inscriptions and construction converge to show that the freedmen received their new organization at approximately the same time as the rebuilding of Ostia on a new scale at a higher level was beginning. *

From the start the *seviri* had their own presidents and treasurers;² but the full elaboration that we meet at the end of the second century may be a later development. It is probably significant that only one *electus*, of the third century, is known from inscriptions other than the registers,³ whereas the title *quinquennalis* is very widespread and *curator* not uncommon. Probably *electi* represent a later refinement, as may the increase in the number of *quinquennales*.⁴

That the *seviri* formed a wealthy corporation is clear, not only from the contributions to their chest recorded in the registers and in other inscriptions, but also from the premises that they occupied in the latter half of the second century.⁵ This building, on the south side of the eastern Decumanus, resembles the builders' guild-house and the barracks of the *vigiles* in plan. It is constructed round a central courtyard, surrounded by a portico carried on brick piers. A series of rooms open off

¹ p. 66.

² A. Granius Atticus may be one of the first, 360: 'dis manibus A. Grani Attici seviri Augustali (*sic*) adlectus inter primos quinquennalis curator perpetus (*sic*).' Wickert (S, p. 611), following von Premierstein (*Diz. Epigr.* i. 851), refers 'adlectus inter primos' to his enrolment when the *seviri Augustales* were first established. I prefer Dessau's interpretation (*ILS* 6160): 'adlectus inter primos quinquennalis', implying that Atticus was one of the first presidents.

³ 461, dated 239.

⁴ As suggested by Wilson, *BSR* 14 (1938) 154-6.

⁵ G. Calza, *NS* 1941, 196.

the portico on the ground floor, and steps at the angles lead to upper floors. The building is attributed to the *seviri Augustales*, not from the direct evidence of a building inscription, but from the character of the sculptures that were found; they included portrait statues of a *sevir* and of an emperor in the formal dress of the *pontifex maximus*.¹ The most striking features of the building are the refinement of its decoration, the elaborate pattern of its mosaics, the plentiful use of marble on its walls, and its wealth of sculpture. But no registers of members and officers were found in or near this building. It is probable that the building by the Forum remained the official headquarters of the *seviri*, which was used for their official cult. The premises on the Decumanus were intended primarily to increase the social amenities of membership.

The change from a limited priesthood to a large and wealthy guild with its own officers and headquarters is of considerable importance in the rise of the freedman class at Ostia. It not only provided for former slaves the colourful satisfaction of a regular *cursus honorum* in their own organization, but made them members of one of the wealthiest, and therefore most influential, corporations in the town. It seems likely that membership of the *seviri* considerably improved the prospects of a freedman's advance in business and trade; it is clear at any rate that many of them rose quickly to prominence in the trade guilds. From them came presidents of the builders,² the shipbuilders,³ the wine importers,⁴ and there were in fact few trade guilds which did not have at some time freedmen among their officers.

Like the trade guilds, which they closely resemble in structure, the *seviri Augustales* attracted benefactions and honoured benefactors. Among them was P. Horatius Chryseros, to whom they set up a statue in 182 in recognition of his contribution of 50,000 sesterces to their chest.⁵ Of this sum, 10,000 s. was to cover the appointment as *curator* of Sex. Horatius Chryserotianus, presumably son or nephew. The interest on the remainder was to keep alive his memory. Each year on his birthday his statue was to be decorated; 100 s. was to be given to the slaves who maintained the sevirs' headquarters, *familia Augustalium*; the balance was to be divided among those present. If these instructions were not carried out the endowment, with its attached conditions, was to be given to the town. Satisfied with the honour, Chryseros paid for

¹ R. Calza, NS 1941, 216.

² 296, 297, 15, 418, S 4656, 4668.

³ 372.

⁴ 318.

⁵ 367.

the statue himself, a gesture that may have been anticipated. But the most interesting feature of the episode is the distribution that accompanied the dedication of the statue. Five denarii a head were given to the town councillors as well as to his fellow *sevirs*. Their inclusion might ensure that the terms of the endowment were respected; it confirms the standing of the *seviri Augustales*. This is further illustrated by their initiative, backed by popular demand, in publicly commemorating a famous eastern dancer.¹ In another fragmentary inscription they are associated in a very uncertain context with the town council.²

The most important official function open to freedmen was the maintenance of the imperial cult; but freedmen also administered the local cults of the wards (*vici*) into which Ostia, like Rome, was divided. Each ward had its own small shrine, at a crossroads or in some open space, where prayers were offered by and for the local community. The *magistri vici* who presided over these ceremonies were, as at Rome, freedmen. An inscription records the transference with due formality of one of these shrines in the late first century B.C.³ A Julio-Claudian marble altar can still be seen in the Piazza dei Lari, depicting Hercules with Fauns and Lares. It was dedicated to the Lares of the district and was set up by the *magistri*.⁴

The freedman's main preoccupation was trade and business, but he had social ambitions also. He could not himself enter the council nor hold office, but he could hope to pave the way for his sons and descendants. In the first century this may have been more difficult, but by the second century money was a powerful persuader, and a judicious display of public generosity was perhaps as useful as the patronage of prominent men. Marcus Licinius Privatus bought his way to public recognition by a gift of 50,000 sesterces to the town chest; he was given a seat of honour in the theatre and, later, the honorary rank of councillor. His statue was set up by the builders' guild, of which he was president, in recognition of his affection and loyal services, and the site was authorized by the council.⁵ It was in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, where he was in good company, close to town patrons and important imperial officials. Two Ostian freedmen were members of the *seviri*

¹ S 4624.

² S 4558; possibly also S 4619.

³ S 4710.

⁴ NS 1916, 145; M. F. Squarciapino, *Arch. Class.* 4 (1952) 204. S 4298: 'mag(istri) d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendam) c(uraverunt) Laribus vicin(alibus) sacr(am) aram marmoream.' For vicin(alibus) cf. AE 1944, 56.

⁵ 15.

Augustales at Tusculum as well as at Ostia.¹ They may be rich business men following the fashion of the Roman nobility and enjoying summer villas in the hills.

In literature we hear most of the freedman from the satirist, and the picture is not attractive. Juvenal's scathing outbursts against the hungry Greekling, ruthlessly depriving the free citizen of his livelihood, represent, in an exaggerated form, one side of the picture: the cemeteries of Ostia help to give a more balanced view. One does not expect to find realistic character sketches on tombstones and it is possible that the son of A. Egrilius Gelasinus, who, when he died at eighteen, is described as '*fili dulcissimi, piissimi, sanctissimi, amantissimi, incomparabilis adfectus erga parentes*',² was a very ordinary young man, but certain inferences can reasonably be drawn.

It is clear that normally relations between patron and freedman were friendly and close. It was common practice for patrons to provide in their family tomb for their freedmen and freedwomen as well as for their own family. It was not unusual for a freedman or group of freedmen to provide for the patron's cremation or burial.³ Marriages between a man and one of his former slaves were common. Grattius Centaurus commemorates his freedwoman Eutychia as '*coiunx merentissima*';⁴ Prastinia Quinta lived for eighteen years with her patron C. Prastinas Nereus, and, when he died, set up his tombstone '*coniugi et patrono optimo*'.⁵ It was very much less common for a freedman to marry into the family, as Q. Quintilius Zoticus, who married the daughter of his patron.⁶

Only rarely do we hear of strained relations. D. Otacilius Felix built his tomb for himself, Otacilia Hilara his fellow freedwoman, and Luria Musa his wife. With these he names two of his own former slaves who have been informally freed and adds '*ceteris libertis libertabusque meis omnibus posterisque eorum praeter quos testamento meo praeteriero*'.⁷ He is presumably not satisfied with the loyalty of his remaining freedmen and slaves, and is considering exclusions in his will. Scribonia Attice, in providing for her freedmen and freedwomen, expressly excludes two of them, Panaratus and Prosdocia.⁸ C. Voltidius Felicissimus was more forthright: '*excepto Hilario liberto meo abominando*

¹ 372, 421.

³ e.g. 396, 518, 630.

⁵ 1506.

⁷ 1437, cf. 382.

² 936.

⁴ 983.

⁶ 1526.

⁸ Thylander, A 222.

ne in hoc monimentum aditum habeat';¹ Hilarus had apparently kicked over the traces.

The bond between patron and freedman was often more than sentimental. An owner of an apartment block with shops along its frontage would find it convenient when he had tested his own slaves to free those whom he could trust to manage his shops for him;² the freedman with his family would live over the shop and the main profits would go to the patron. Iunia Libertas left her house property with shops to her freedmen and freedwomen;³ they may already have been managing the shops while she was still alive. Freedmen who started working as slaves for their masters in his trade were probably helped by him to rise in it when they were freed. P. Aufidius Fortis, who was prominent in the town government in the middle of the second century, was by trade a corn merchant and president of the corn merchants' guild.⁴ P. Aufidius Faustianus and P. Aufidius Epictetus also held office later in the guild;⁵ they were probably his freedmen. Wilson has remarked that in several of the guild rolls certain family names are particularly common, and rarely found elsewhere;⁶ the natural explanation is that freedmen were following their patron's trade.

SLAVES

The wider distribution of freedmen presupposes a steady influx of slaves, at least through the second century; we should like to know how they came to Ostia. The origins of freedmen are not recorded in the cemeteries and the only clue to guide us is the name which the slave normally retained as his cognomen when he was freed. Certain names are unmistakably Egyptian: Ammonius, Ammonianus, Hammonilla, Sarapammon; Serapion, Serapio, Serapia sound Egyptian, but the cult of Serapis was too widespread to make this a certain inference. Other names are distinctively Semitic: Achiba, Malchio, Malchus, Sabda. Ethnic names are also likely to give a fair indication of origin; we find Antiochus, Armenus, Atticus, Bithynia, Byzantia, Chius, Corinthius,

¹ Unpublished.

² Cf. Gaius, *Inst.* i. 19: 'iusta . . . causa manumissionis est si quis . . . servum procuratoris habendi gratia, aut ancillam matrimonii causa apud consilium manumittat.'

³ Calza, *Epigraphica*, I (1939) 160.

⁴ IO, p. 203.

⁵ I61 records their office. S 4621 is the base of a statue set up to Fortis their patron by four freedmen, including Faustianus and Epictetus. The same freedmen set up commemorative tablets to Fortis' son, S 4622.

⁶ Wilson, *BSR* 13 (1935) 65; cf. Bloch, *NS* 1953, 284.

Ephesia, Gaza, Miletus, Pergamis, Syrus. Of western ethnics only Hiberus and Baetica are known. But the great majority of freedman names are not distinctive. They are common Greek and Latin names such as Chryseros, Elpis, Agatha, Fortis, and, most common of all, Felix.

Since slave names could be arbitrarily conferred by the slave dealer or owner, a Greek name is not necessarily evidence for a Greek origin,¹ but the fact that Greek names are much more common than Latin among the freedmen of Ostia is probably not misleading. As we have seen, eastern ethnics are much commoner than western. We should also expect Ostia to reflect the Roman pattern, and it is the flooding of the Tiber by the Orontes, and the prevalence of the Greek-speaking element that most impresses Roman writers.

The means by which these slaves were acquired can only be guessed. In the late Republic and under Augustus, wars had flooded the market with prisoners; but when slave employment was at its height in Ostia, during the first half of the second century, the Roman world was enjoying comparative peace. How did the slaves who were bought in such provinces as Asia, Achaea, and Syria come into the market? Brigandage was now restricted and discredited. The sale of children was practised, but apparently on a limited scale; Philostratus, in reporting that the Phrygians 'even sold their children as slaves', implies that they were exceptional.² There remain two other sources. The exposure of children was still widespread, particularly in the east,³ and many of the exposed found their way into the slave market. There may also have been a trade in the breeding of slaves for sale. In the satire of Petronius the rich freedman Trimalchio receives a progress report on his properties: 'July 26. On the estate at Cumae, owned by Trimalchio, there were born 30 boys, 40 girls; there were carried to the granary from the threshing floor five hundred thousand modii of wheat; five hundred oxen were broken in.'⁴ The numbers may be exaggerated, but the context is apt. Slaves were marketable produce; it paid to breed them.

¹ A good survey of the evidence, Thylander, *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine* (Lund, 1952) 134-85.

² Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* viii. 7. 12. There may have been cases of voluntary slavery; cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 57: 'quare ergo servisti?' 'quia ipse me dedi in servitatem et malui civis Romanus esse quam tributarius'.

³ Pliny, *Epp.* x. 65 and 66.

⁴ Petronius, *Sat.* 53. Cf. 76. 6, where slaves are included among Trimalchio's exports: 'oncravi rursus vinum, lardum, fabam, sepladium, mancipia'.

Slave households in Ostia were probably not large. No definite figures are recorded, but there are certain indirect pointers. A man's freedmen often held together in a quasi-family relationship, and lists of their names are found in the cemeteries. There are rarely more than six names in a list and never more than twelve. Nor are most living-quarters large enough to accommodate many slaves. In the early second century most of the traders and business men of Ostia were living in apartments of five to twelve rooms; slaves were no doubt crowded together at night, but it is unlikely that the largest quarters known to us had room for more than twenty slaves.

But, though few men owned large numbers, slave ownership was very widespread. One of the most striking features in the Ostian cemeteries is the large number of former slaves who themselves acquire slaves and make provision in their tombs for freedmen and freedwomen. Even in the cemetery of Isola Sacra, which is confined to people of the middle and lower classes, who were primarily concerned with the services of the imperial harbours, the formula '*libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum*' recurs on a large proportion of the tombs.

A late republican lead tablet lists a number of female slaves who are described as *ornatrices*, lady's maids.¹ Their owners probably belong to the town's aristocracy and in such households slave services may have been specialized and extensive. But the main demand for slaves in Ostia was for cheap labour, to work for their masters in shops, at the docks, in warehouses and in river boats, as manual labourers, clerks, and accountants.

In addition to the slaves in private ownership, slaves were also owned by public bodies. The town had its own *familia publica* of public slaves, who had their own guild organization and could expect their freedom in return for good service.² We have seen how one of their descendants, L. Ostiensis Macedo, actually became *pontifex Volcani* in the Flavian period. The *seviri Augustales* also had their *familia*,³ and some at least of the guilds corporately owned slaves.⁴

There was also a substantial number of imperial slaves at Ostia. Some were required to maintain the premises at Ostia and Portus which were reserved for imperial visits; others worked under imperial freedmen in the service of the Annona and in handling cargoes required for the imperial household in Rome. Imperial freedmen are recorded as *tabularii*, *dispensatores*, *tabellarii*; slaves worked under them. From these

¹ S 5306, probably a *tabula defixionis*.

² 255.

³ 367.

⁴ p. 318.

imperial slaves and freedmen comes the strikingly wide distribution of the imperial names in Ostia's population: Tiberii Claudii, Titi Flavii, Marci Ulpii, Marci Aelii, Marci Aurelii.

The imperial slaves formed the aristocracy of the slave world in Ostia, and sometimes they seem to act with the independence of free men. Euphrosynus and Herclianus, 'ser(vi) C(aesaris) n(ostri)', are granted by Flavius Rufinus the use of the right half of a divided tomb, with fourteen cinerary urns and three places for burial.¹ Similarly Hermes, 'Caesaris nostri verna tabellarius', imperial messenger, has the left part of a divided tomb with fourteen urns and a place for burial.² Trophimus, 'Caes(aris) n(ostri) ser(vus)' and Claudia Tyche provide for themselves, their two daughters, and their freedmen and freedwomen, having bought the site from Valeria Trophime.³ Similarly Euhodus, 'Caesar(is) n(ostri) ser(vus)', and Vennona Apphis provide for themselves and their freedmen and freedwomen.⁴ Freedmen and slaves of the emperor Claudius share a large tomb outside the Porta Laurentina.⁵ Olympus, slave of the imperial princess Matidia the younger, commemorates his Urbica, with whom he had lived one year, eight months, twenty-two days, three hours when she died, aged fourteen years.⁶ Another imperial slave, Chryseros, married a free woman, Valeria Thetis, daughter of M. Valerius Italicus.⁷

A special place in the household was held by the *verna*, the slave born in the household, either from the union of two slaves or from the master's temporary union with a favourite. *Vernae* are commonly commemorated in family tombs with a warmth indistinguishable from that shown for free children; such epithets as 'dulcissimus', 'bene merens' frequently recur. Even when they die young they have sometimes received the names of their patrons as if they were free. The *verna* of Cornelia Charis is already called Cornelia Myrsine, though she is only five at death;⁸ similarly Modia Justa, who died when she was fourteen, already has her patron's family name.⁹ The little *verna* Melior, an infant prodigy, who lived only thirteen years, had clearly been given every encouragement to develop his natural abilities: 'his memory and knowledge were such that he outdid the records of all from olden times to the day of his end; and what he knew needed a whole volume rather than an epitaph to record, for such notes of his art as he left behind were

¹ 1636.

⁴ Thylander, A 96.

⁷ 1727.

² Thylander, A 256.

⁵ 482-9.

⁸ 886.

³ Thylander, A 251.

⁶ Thylander, A 261.

⁹ 1369.

made by none before him and he could only be rivalled if cruel fate had not envied the world for him.'¹

The slave born in the household belonged to the patron, but he was normally brought up by his slave parents and often remained with them when they were freed. L. Calpurnius Chius provides a good example. On the inscription in his tomb he provides for himself and his wife, Calpurnia Ampliata, with whom he lived thirty-one years. Four children are listed: 'Calpurnia L.f. Chia vern(a), Calpurnius L.f. Ampliata vern(a), et L. Calpurnius L.f. Felix vern(a), L. Calpurnius L.f. Pal. Chius Felicissimus.'² His wife Calpurnia had been a fellow slave and their three eldest children were born in slavery; the fourth was born after Chius had won his freedom. The naming of his two eldest children after their slave parents shows the regard in which Chius was held by his patron. His subsequent career suggests that he could have given valuable service; after he had been freed he became president of the *seviri Augustales*, treasurer and president of the corn measurers, and treasurer of the *codicarii*.

Slaves born in the household, who were not needed by the owner, could be profitably sold. L. Naebius Chrysogonus makes provision in his tomb for himself, his wife, his two sons, grandsons, freedmen, and freedwomen.³ His sons' names are M. Aurelius Augg. lib. Vitalis and M. Aurelius Augg. lib. Peculiaris. The natural inference is that his sons were born before he was freed and that they were transferred, presumably by sale, to the imperial service in Ostia.⁴

A large number of inscriptions affectionately record *alumni* and *alumnae*—adopted children.⁵ A few of these are slaves,⁶ probably foundlings. The majority have the names of freedmen or citizens. Normally they have the same names as their adoptive father⁷ or mother⁸ and may be slaves who have received their freedom very early, or children born free who have changed their names on changing homes. Some *alumni* have different family names, showing clearly that they were freedmen or citizens before adoption.⁹ C. Modestius Theseus is the *alumnus* of

¹ 472.

² 16, following Henzen, *Ann. Inst.* 23 (1851) 166; cf. Thylander, *Étude*, 150. Dessau (*CIL* xiv. 309) infers that the three children described as *vernae* were born after their parents were freed but still living in their patron's house.

³ 1386.

⁴ Sales of slaves may also explain cases where brothers and sisters have different family names, 585, 991, 1548.

⁵ *Diz. Epigr.* i. 437–40.

⁶ 222, 1006, 2055.

⁷ e.g. 219, 530, 543, S 5084.

⁸ e.g. 772, 1606. Cf. *Dig.* 40. 2. 14: 'alumnos magis mulieribus conveniens est manumittere.'

⁹ 327, 60, S 5084.

P. Claudius Abascantus, who received his freedom from the Council of Gaul at Lugdunum.¹ While he was still a slave at Ostia he set up the tombstone of Modestia Epigone, *anima dulcissima*.² We assume that he had lived with Modestia and adopted her son. A. Egrilius Epitynchanus is commemorated on his tombstone both by his adoptive father and by his natural parents.³

WOMEN

There is little to be learnt from the inscriptions concerning the position of women in Ostia that we should not otherwise guess. We find them owning slaves and house property; there are two women among the owners of workshops for making lead pipes.⁴ They build tombs and sell sites to others. They are commemorated in the most affectionate terms as wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters, and there is no trace in the cemetery inscriptions that girls received less affection than boys. The public funerals accorded to two women reflect a general respect for their importance in family life. Voltidia Moschis received this honour as a tribute to her husband,⁵ Sergia Prisca as a tribute to her son.⁶

One benefaction is specially reserved for girls. A lady, whose name is largely lost, left in her will a capital sum to provide from the annual interest for the upbringing of a hundred girls.⁷ The benefactress was probably the daughter of Fabius Agrippinus, the Ostian consul of 148; and she was following the precedent set by Antoninus Pius, who instituted 'puellae alimentariae Faustinae' in honour of his wife Faustina when she died.⁸

In a harbour town we should expect to find prostitutes plying a brisk trade, and premises designed for their exploitation. It is one of the surprises of the excavations that there is extremely little evidence of this side of life in the ruins. No building, clearly designed as a brothel, such as is found at Pompeii, has been identified, and sexual professions on the walls are remarkably rare; but it would be naïve to infer that Ostia had higher moral standards than other towns of the day, or that visiting ships' crews behaved differently from ships' crews elsewhere.

Women had no place in the trade guilds, and the *severi Augustales*

¹ 327.² 328.³ 932.⁴ Barbieri, 'Fistole inedite', *NS* 1953, 172, 174 (nn. 38, 39).⁵ Bloch, 71: 'hanc decuriones in honorem Q. Vergili Mariani viri eius funere publico efferri censuerunt.'⁶ 413, voted by the duovirs and decurions, together with a statue. Her husband paid for the funeral.⁷ *S* 4450.⁸ SHA, *Pius*, 8. 1.

were confined to men; but they took a prominent part in the religious life of the town, particularly in the cults of Cybele and Isis, and they had their own special cult of Bona Dea, celebrated in at least two temples.

THE SOCIAL PATTERN

Free-born citizen, freedman, and slave had their separate legal status, but social distinctions were often blurred. A *verna* brought up in a rich household probably had as much affection and more material comfort than the son of a free citizen living in a crowded tenement. A rich freedman who became president of the builders' guild was as acceptable in society as a poor man who could trace his free descent from the Republic. A weakening of class barriers is to be expected in a trading city and it is clear that, in the second century at least, trading interests dominated Ostia. Trade was the natural outlet for ambition and dominated the social atmosphere. Veterans retired to Ostia, but they came to do business. There was little temptation to leave the town for the army. It is significant that in the long list of legionaries who record their towns of origin no Ostian is included. No Ostian members of the praetorian guard are known until the second half of the second century¹ and the decline in Ostian prosperity may account in part for their enrolment then: at approximately the same time they figure prominently in the lists of urban cohorts,² and perhaps for the same reason. But it would be a mistake to think of Ostia as a town where life was oppressed by hard work, and men thought of nothing but the profits of trade. The large number of sets of public baths show that hard work was balanced by recreation in plenty; and Ostia had her *bons viveurs*. C. Domitius Primus in his epitaph made no attempt to disguise his standards: 'I have lived on Lucrine oysters and many a time drunk Falernian. Women and wine and bathing have grown old with me through the years.'³

But trade was the dominant interest and this is clearly reflected in the scratchings on house walls which bring us closer than the formal language of funerary inscriptions to the daily life of the lower classes.⁴ In striking contrast with Pompeii there are no Virgilian tags, and no literary quotations. There are a few obscenities, less than we should

¹ *CIL* vi. 2375-84.

² *CIL* vi. 3884.

³ 914.

⁴ Graffiti, *S* 5289-302. A larger number remain unpublished from the 1938-42 excavations.

expect. A careful drawing of Trajan's column, signed by the artist, reminds us how spectacular this monument must have seemed to contemporaries.¹ Rough drawings of gladiators confirm the popularity of the amphitheatre.² But far more common are series of numbers, rough accounts, records of debts and dates. One of the rare Greek graffiti, in the Insula of the Charioteers, invokes Hermes the just to bring the writer profit.³ Most striking of all is the number of ships scratched on the walls, from large merchantmen to small rowing-boats. Some of these sketches are crudely drawn, but many of the merchantmen are drawn in considerable detail, showing close familiarity with the technicalities of the rigging.⁴

PRIVATE LIFE

While inscriptions enable us to reconstruct the broad pattern of the organization of trade, they tell us much less of the private lives of Ostian men and women. We should like to know the average age of marriage, the size of families, the stability of marriage, the expectation of life, the incidence and severity of disease. The inscriptions from the cemeteries furnish a little evidence on some of these points, but it is tantalizingly fragmentary.

In some 600 cases the age at death is recorded, often with the count of hours, as well as of years, months, and days.⁵ But the proportion from the total number is very small; the figures do not provide a fair statistical sample. The fact that males who die before the age of 5 account for 23 per cent. of the male figures recorded, and those who die between 5 and 10 for a further 19 per cent. is not fair evidence for the rate of infant mortality since the age of very young children is more likely to be recorded than of those who died in middle age and later. Comparison with the figures for females, however, is legitimate: 19 per cent. of those whose age is known died before they were 5; 15 per cent. between 5 and 10. It would seem that the death-rate was higher among boys than girls. The relation is reversed between the ages of 20 and 30

¹ In the House of the Muses (iii. 9. 22).

² *MA* 26 (1920) 370.

³ Ἐπιτὴ δίκαιε, κέρδος εἰσ[. . .] δίδου. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 672: 'te (Mercurium) quicumque suos profitetur vendere merces, | ture dato, tribuas ut sibi lucra, roget'. *

⁴ *MA*. 26, 369. Good unpublished examples in the House of the Muses and in the Horrea Epagathiana (from the Garden Houses); p. 295, fig. 25.

⁵ The statistics that follow are confined to the two Ostian volumes of the *Corpus*. The material available will be considerably more extensive when all the inscriptions discovered since are published.

(males 18 per cent.; females 25 per cent.), an indication perhaps of the strain of childbirth. The oldest man recorded was 95 when he died; eleven others are recorded to have lived beyond 60: the oldest known woman died at 85, and four others are recorded to have lived beyond 60. The sample, however, is too small to justify conclusions concerning the relative longevity of the sexes.

In the recorded figures the proportion of deaths under the age of 30 is very high, 82 per cent. for males, 86 per cent. for females. This conforms with better evidence from more representative statistics that the expectation of life in the Roman world was very much shorter than in modern western societies,¹ but the Ostian sample is too small to stress the figures. Evidence from a very different quarter presents a less gloomy picture. There were 125 members of the guild of *lenuncularii tabularii* in 152,² presumably adults of varying ages. The guild roll of 192³ shows that forty years later 11 of them were still alive. Of the 258 members of 192 some 120 were still members when the guild roll of 213 was drawn up.⁴

The age of marriage is very rarely recorded, but three of the few instances known show girls marrying before fifteen.⁵ Such early marriages, not uncommon in the Roman world, could turn out very well. Egrilia Storge married when she was fourteen: 'she lived forty-eight years, five months, twenty-six days: three children and three grandchildren survived her'. Her inscription was set up by her husband, who had lived with her for thirty-four years 'without scandal and without quarrel'.⁶ This is not the only record of a long marriage that has survived. A. Livius Restitutus, who also had three children, was married to Livia Helpis for fifty-eight years;⁷ and L. Antonius Peculiaris described his wife, who lived with him for fifty years, as 'uxor rarissima'.⁸ The adjectives *incomparabilis* and *bene merens*, which frequently recur, mean less than figures; seventeen marriages are recorded to have lasted more than twenty years. Prima Florentia was less fortunate. At the age of sixteen and a half she was thrown into the Tiber by her husband.⁹

It is not unreasonable to believe from the records of the cemeteries

¹ A. R. Burn, 'Hic breve vivitur', *Past and Present* (1953), n. 4, 2-31; R. Étienne, 'Démographie et Épigraphe', *Atti del III^o Congresso internazionale di Epigrafia greca e latina* (1959) 415-24. ² 250. ³ 251. ⁴ Bloch, 42.

⁵ 963, 1854, Thylander, A 261.

⁶ 963.

⁷ 1262.

⁸ 297.

⁹ Thylander, A 210: 'Primae Florentiae filiae carissimae . . . qui ab Orfeu maritu in Tiberi decepta est.'

that family loyalties were generally strong. When the elder Faustina died the Ostian council set up a tablet to commemorate the outstanding harmony of her marriage with Antoninus Pius and prescribed that all maidens in Ostia, when they married, should, with their husbands, offer prayers at a public altar.¹ They were probably following the lead of the Roman senate, but it need not have been an empty ceremony.

Sons and daughters are often included on tombstones with their parents. This is our only evidence for estimating the average size of family, and, since family lists normally include only those who were still living when the tomb was built, such statistics, taking no account of infant mortality, will tend to underestimate the number of children born. It is, however, significant that we have no trace of any family with more than five children, and that only four are known to have had more than three.² Small families, with one or two children only, were probably the general rule among the free population.

One death is explicitly referred to 'dira pestis',³ but, apart from this, we learn nothing of the extent and nature of disease. We can assume that a harbour town attracting shipping from all quarters was particularly vulnerable to epidemics, but there is no evidence in the literary sources that the town was considered unhealthy and Strabo's account of the coastal district implies that it was not.⁴ Malaria probably did not become the main enemy of life until the sea had receded and the land had fallen into neglect. Medical services were also probably better in the Roman period than in the Middle Ages. Galen reports that the doctors of Ostia and Portus kept him in touch with their most unusual cases;⁵ they must have been familiar with Roman standards. A terracotta relief attached to an Isola Sacra tomb shows a doctor at work carrying out a surgical operation on a patient's leg;⁶ it is a good advertisement of his skill. Other doctors are recorded in inscriptions.⁷ In the tomb of one of them was found a bust of Hippocrates,⁸ father

¹ S 5326: 'utique in ara virgines quae in colonia Ostiensi nubent item mariti earum supplicent.'

² Five children, S 5132; four, 380, 425, 436, possibly Bloch, 50.

³ 632.

⁴ Strabo, 231, who explicitly cites Ardea, and not Ostia, as unhealthy.

⁵ Galen (Kuhn) xviii. 348.

⁶ Calza, *Necropoli*, 248-51; P. Capparoni, *Due importanti raffigurazioni a soggetto medico* (Ist. naz. medico farmacologico 'Serenio', 1930, pp. 8).

⁷ 468, 471, Thylander, A 158, *IG* xiv. 942. An Ostian doctor serving with the army on the Rhine, *CIL* xiii. 6621.

⁸ Becatti, *Rend. Pont.* 21 (1945-6) 123; identification disputed by P. Mingazzini, *Rend. Pont.* 25-26 (1949-51) 33.

of medicine; the furnishing of the tomb suggests a man of standing and substance.¹

Bad housing conditions usually accompany and largely account for a short expectation of life. So far as we can see, Ostian housing conditions compare favourably with those of any other society before the middle of the nineteenth century. Admittedly the density of population cannot be satisfactorily estimated, but we can at least be certain that the builders understood the importance of effective sanitation. A study of the houses throws further doubt on the reliability of the statistical evidence for the average span of life.

¹ Calza, *Necropoli*, 373-6. For the relationships in the tomb, Bloch, *AJA* 48 (1944) 217. See also Addenda.

I 2

THE HOUSES

DURING the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, accounts of the Roman house were dominated by the excavations at Pompeii. These had revealed a standard house plan which admirably fitted the detailed description of Vitruvius and many more casual references in other authors. The mainspring of this plan was the atrium, a rectangular hall round which, on all four sides, were grouped the living-rooms of the house. This hall was roofed except at its centre, where it remained open to the sky. Through this opening in the roof, the *compluvium*, was collected the rain-water in a basin below, the *impluvium*; and through this opening escaped the smoke when a fire was lit. The atrium was not only the physical centre of the house; it was also the main source of light for its rooms. The house looks inward rather than outward and where windows are found on the street frontages of houses they are usually small and irregular.

Extra accommodation can be provided in such a house by adding attics over the ground-floor rooms, approached by inner staircases. But the height of the house is limited to the maximum height of the atrium, and upper floors tend to be irregular and cramped. The natural form of expansion is horizontal rather than vertical; and so to the atrium was often later added a peristyle, a garden surrounded by colonnade or portico around which a second series of rooms could be built. Such expansion was wasteful of space and in the later stages of Pompeii's life, when the pressure of population was being increasingly felt, more attention was paid to upper rooms and to balconies, which provided an extension of living space over the streets.¹ To provide more homogeneous upper floors internal balconies were sometimes built on brick piers at the corners of the *impluvium*. But these were improvisations to which the height of the atrium set a limit. Only by radically changing the character of the building and by abolishing the atrium could the maximum use be made of the building space available.

It is true that not all Pompeian houses conform to a stereotyped plan.

¹ A. Maiuri, *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei* (1942); R. C. Carrington, *Antiquity*, 7 (1933) 133.

By the Forum Baths and also by the Stabian Baths are a line of shops built to a common design with a regular first floor above them separately approached by stairs from the street.¹ In some small plots buildings are fitted in with no true atrium. But the atrium house remained the dominant type and it is doubtful whether any Pompeian building exceeded 40 feet in height. Meanwhile at Rome Augustus had imposed a building limit of 70 feet.² This alone is sufficient to show that different principles were being adopted in Roman housing. Vitruvius is more explicit:

In view of the imperial dignity of Rome, and the unlimited number of citizens, it is necessary to provide dwellings without number. Therefore . . . necessity has driven the Romans to have recourse to building high. And so it is that by the use of stone piers, crowning courses of burnt brick and concrete walls, high buildings are raised with several stories, producing highly convenient apartments with views. And so with walls raised high through various stories the people of Rome have excellent dwellings without any hindrance.³

Similarly Cicero contrasts Rome with its high houses to low-spreading Capua.⁴

High buildings were no novelty in Rome at the end of the Republic. In describing the portents of the first year of Hannibal's invasion in 218 B.C. Livy relates that an ox in the Forum Boarium found its way up from the street to the third story of a house;⁵ and upper stories are sufficiently common in republican anecdotes to show that a large proportion of the population lived above the ground floor. High buildings were in fact, as Vitruvius says, the logical answer to the increase in population which began early in Rome and probably developed particularly rapidly in the century of overseas victories that followed the Punic Wars. When space was scarce and ground rents high the natural solution was for several families to live together in a single building and make the maximum use of the building plot by extending upwards rather than outwards. What was first a necessity for the poor became later also a convenience for the upper classes. Cicero has to defend his

¹ A. Boethius, 'Remarks on the development of domestic architecture in Rome', *AJA* 38 (1934) 166; A. Maiuri, *Atti del primo congresso nazionale di studi romani* (1929) 164.

² Strabo, 235.

³ Vitruvius ii. 8. 17. In translating I follow the interpretation of A. Boethius, *The Art Bulletin*, 33 (1951) 136 n. 3.

⁴ Cic. *De lege agraria*, ii. 96: 'Romam in montibus positam et convallibus, cenaculis sublatam atque suspensam'.

⁵ Livy xxi. 62. 3.

irresponsible young friend Caelius Rufus against a charge of taking rooms in an insula owned by Clodius at a rent of 30,000 sesterces.¹

The use by Cicero of the word 'insula' shows the emergence of a vocabulary to mark a fundamental distinction in house types. Henceforward insula and domus denote in common usage two very different forms of dwelling. The insula is the large, normally high, block divided into separate apartments which can be separately let. The domus is the house designed primarily for a single family. Suetonius, in describing the great fire of Nero's principate, clearly separates the two types: 'praeter immensum numerum insularum, domus priscorum ducum arserunt'.² Elsewhere he contrasts insulae with private houses: 'inquinolos privatarum aedium atque insularum pensionem annuam repraesentare fisco'.³

Vitruvius, as we have seen, gives a favourable picture of the large house-blocks in Rome. His contemporaries were much less flattering. Strabo emphasizes the general unsightliness of the city and the insecurity of the buildings, constantly threatened with fire and collapse.⁴ Augustus attempted to stop one of the main abuses by limiting the height of buildings. Nero seized the opportunity afforded by the rebuilding of large parts of Rome following the great fire to improve general standards of building by more sweeping measures.⁵ In particular the use of timber and inflammable tufas in the construction was severely restricted. Once the technique of concrete construction had been mastered, not later than the second century B.C., it should have been possible to build tall house-blocks that were reasonably secure, but it is probable that timber and sun-dried bricks remained for a long time the main building materials in the poorer parts of the city owing to their cheapness. The Neronian rebuilding set the standard for the future. From the Flavian period onwards concrete construction dominated the field, and the brick industry had developed sufficiently to make fired bricks and broken tiles the standard material for the facing of walls.

Rome had felt and satisfied the need for large house-blocks early in the Republic. They were common in Cicero's day and not confined to the poor; throughout the Empire they increasingly displaced the domus. Juvenal and Martial can look with envious eyes on the spreading mansions of wealthy patrons; they live themselves in insulae.

¹ Cic. *Pro Caelio*, 17. Cicero corrects the figure to 10,000 s.

² Suet. *Nero*, 38. 2.

³ Ibid. 44. 2.

⁴ Strabo, 235.

⁵ Tac. *Ann.* xv. 43.

Martial is given a small farm on the Via Nomentana; at Rome he has only a third-floor apartment.¹ When the fourth-century regionary catalogues were drawn up, there were in Rome 46,000 insulae, and only 1,790 domus.² Ostia's housing development, dictated by the same basic causes, followed broadly the Roman pattern, but the need for vertical expansion was felt much later and the dominance of the insula came more abruptly.

There is no sign that space was unduly scarce in the late Republic or early Principate. The walls surviving from this period do not seem to be intended to carry heavy weight; there are no traces of large apartment blocks. The wealthy still lived in low spreading houses essentially Pompeian in type, and three small atrium houses on the Via delle Domus Repubblicane, which were probably built in the early first century B.C. and replaced by an insula in the early second century A.D., suggest that the 'Pompeian' house was not limited to the rich.³ We may be certain that shops on street fronts carried living quarters above them, perhaps in two upper stories, but it is very doubtful whether any large areas were specifically planned or laid out in tall apartment blocks. It was probably the building of the new Claudian harbour, accentuated by Trajan's extension, that led to the revolution in housing. The increase of trade produced by the imperial harbours attracted a rapid influx of population into Ostia. It was for that reason primarily that the town was virtually rebuilt within three generations; in the rebuilding, insulae sprang up in every quarter. By the late Flavian period, when this rebuilding began, Ostian architects had Rome's experience to guide them; they could see the new streets of Nero's 'nova urbs' and the insula type had reached full maturity. They were able to plan even the largest areas on the new model and had soon mastered the principles involved.

The various types of Ostian insulae are not the original products of local architects; they reflect Roman models. This is clear both from ground plans preserved on the marble plan of Rome and from remains of Roman insulae that can still be seen. Two façades in particular serve to complement the Ostian evidence. One is incorporated in the Aurelian wall near the Porta Tiburtina,⁴ the other in the church of St. John and

¹ Martial i. 117. 7: 'scalis habito tribus sed altis'.

² There are minor variations in the numbers recorded in different surveys, discussed by L. Homo, *Rome impériale et l'urbanisme dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1951) 540, 638.

³ NS 1923, 180.

⁴ Calza, *MA* 23 (1914) 75 f. with tav. v (c).

St. Paul on the Caelian hill;¹ both show the same principles of construction as the insulae of Ostia, and would be completely in place in Ostian streets. The striking ruin at the foot of the Capitol with traces of four stories is like the cross-section of an Ostian insula,² and various series of ground-floor rooms beneath Roman churches fit convincingly into the Ostian pattern. But the evidence from Rome is scattered and fragmentary; it was the excavations of Ostia that first revealed the general character of the dominant town house of the imperial period, and it was Calza who first focused attention on the importance of the Ostian evidence.³

Though the plans of individual insulae vary considerably, certain general principles apply throughout. Space is used economically and there are normally more than two stories. The upper stories are not secondary and subordinate as in a Pompeian house, but regularly planned and some of them at least no less attractive than the ground floor. Separate access is provided for these upper stories by stairs entered direct from the street: the staircase is wide and the steps solid, either in travertine or in brick with wooden treads. The Pompeian house turns away from the street and looks inward; the insula draws its main light from the street through large windows. The disposition of the windows is based on the needs of the rooms or corridors which they serve, rather than the design of the elevation, but in the large blocks the regularity of the plan results in a rough symmetry in the façade. In some insulae light from the street is supplemented by light from an inner court; and at all times the lighting of his building seems to have been one of the architect's main preoccupations. The effectiveness, however, of the lighting was severely reduced by the lack of good transparent glass; the selenite that was normally used dimmed the light considerably.⁴

Although most insulae were divided into clearly distinct apartments, some of the services were communal. Water could not be piped to the upper floors, and tenants had to draw their supplies from a public

¹ A. M. Colini, 'Storia e topografia del Celio', *Mem. Pont.* 7 (1944) 164.

² A. Muñoz and A. M. Colini, *Campidoglio* (1930) 45.

³ Calza's two basic studies: 'La preminenza dell'Insula nella edilizia romana', *MA* 23 (1914) 541-608; 'Le origini latine dell'abitazione moderna', *Architettura e Arti decorative* (1923-4) 3-18 and 49-63. Supplemented later by 'Le case Ostiensi a cortile porticato', *Palladio* 5 (1941) 1-33.

⁴ Selenite, Calza, *Origini*, 13 f.; remains, *NS* 1908, 23. Many windows probably only had wooden shutters.

source. In the House of Diana a cistern was provided in the central court; in the Via della Fontana tenants had to go to the near-by cistern in the street; in the Garden Houses fountains were supplied in the gardens that surrounded the blocks of flats. In *insulae* which catered for better-class tenants lavatories were probably provided for each apartment, or at least on every floor: the large size of the latrine near the entrance of the House of Diana suggests that it was intended for the whole block.

In appearance the *insulae* are simple and severe. There is no attempt to dress them in superfluous ornament nor to disguise their character. The brickwork of the façade is not covered by stucco, though relieving arches are often picked out in bright red paint to add variety.¹ In better-class blocks entrances are framed by brick pilasters or columns and pediment, an inconspicuous but dignified feature.² Balconies also sometimes add liveliness to the street fronts. Some are in wood, carried on projecting timber beams or travertine corbels: others are carried on vaults springing from travertine corbels. On the south and west faces of the House of Diana, as along the east side of the Via degli Horrea Epagathiana, a continuous line of balcony supported by a series of vaults runs along the whole street front, and has given its name to the Via dei Balconi.³ These are not true balconies. They are too narrow for convenient use and, more important, they do not correspond with floor levels; they were not accessible from within. Their purpose seems to be primarily decorative, though they gave a little protection from heat and rain to the pavement below.

The main effectiveness of the *insulae* comes from the lines of windows and the plainness of the surface, and the larger the area planned the more effective normally is the result. Thus the long narrow block between the Via della Fontana and the Via delle Corporazioni, which was built to a single plan, was probably always more attractive than the south side of the Via di Diana where the building plots were comparatively small and irregular. Proportion also must have counted considerably in the total effect, but the evidence for the height of Ostian *insulae* is insecure. The average height of the stories is 3.5 metres, and in the House of Diana and some other buildings steps leading from the first to the second floor can still be seen; the existence of fourth and fifth stories, however, is disputed.⁴

The general arguments in favour of *insulae* with more than three

¹ Calza, *Origini*, II. ² Pl. XI. ³ Pl. VIII b. ⁴ A. von Gerkan, *RM* 55 (1940) 161.

stories are strong. At Rome the building limit had been set at 70 feet by Augustus; Nero had also legislated in the matter and Trajan set a new limit of 60 feet.¹ This legislation clearly implies that building up to the limit was common practice in Rome and we should expect Ostia, at a time when the need for more accommodation was urgent, to follow Roman example. When most of the Ostian insulae were built, Trajan's reduced limit of 60 feet will have been in force. This height, rather more than 17 metres, could have provided four stories of average height and a lower fifth story.

That Ostian houses at least approached Trajan's building limit is also strongly suggested by the height of the Capitolium. It seems clear that this temple is set on such a high podium in order to raise it above the highest buildings behind and near it. The height from the ground of the pediment of the temple would have been roughly 70 feet, from which it seems reasonable to infer heights of over 50 feet in the neighbourhood. To such indirect argument may be added the more specific evidence provided by the House of Diana. Clear traces of three stories can still be seen in this house and the existence of the running balcony well above the first floor shows that there must have been at least one story above the second floor. A relieving arch thinner than the walls still standing, found among the ruins, seems also to have come from a floor above the second.² The standard width of weight-carrying walls in the insulae, 59 cm. (two Roman feet), is certainly sufficient to carry five stories, but provides no evidence for their existence, for the Romans notoriously often built more stoutly than was necessary. While some of the larger insulae like the House of Diana may have had four and five stories, narrow blocks such as that on the Via della Fontana were probably lower.

There is little evidence to determine the nature of roof construction. The distribution of pipes in the House of the Lararium suggests a terraced roof.³ Elsewhere, as in the House of the Painted Vaults, many of the original roof-tiles have been found in the ruins; probably pitched roofs were more common than terraces.⁴

Though the insulae all conform to certain general principles they differ considerably in scale and plan and cater for a wide range of purses. The simplest plan is probably also the oldest, the building of

¹ *Epit. de Caes.* 13.

² NS 1917, 322. The thickness is 32 cm. compared with 59 cm. in the lower walls.

³ P. Harsh, 'Origins of the insulae of Ostia', *MAAR* 12 (1935) 58.

⁴ Calza, *Origini*, 8 f.

upper stories over a row of shops on the street front. The shops are high and vaulted and a mezzanine floor is added for the shopkeeper beneath the vault. This upper room, which could be subdivided by light partitions, is reached by a staircase from the back of the shop, the first four steps in brick, the rest in wood; it is lighted by a small window above the centre of the door to the shop. Staircases lead direct from the street to the upper stories. This type of dwelling developed naturally against such public buildings as basilicas: it is found at Pompeii by the Forum Baths, possibly introduced from Rome by Sulla's colonists.¹ It is frequently repeated at Ostia, as in the *Cardo Maximus* between the Capitolium and the river, and on the *Decumanus* frontage of the Neptune Baths. Narrow blocks of this type normally form part of a larger design, the main building developing behind them. The ground floor is used for shops, because shops brought in higher rents than apartments.

A simple development of this plan is to set two such narrow blocks back to back, as in the area between the *Via della Fontana* and the *Via delle Corporazioni*.² Passages joining these two streets divide the buildings into three groups. In the southern group a series of living-rooms occupies the ground floor on the *Via delle Corporazioni*: the corresponding frontage on the *Via della Fontana* is used for shops. In the centre group the distribution is reversed: shops line the *Via delle Corporazioni*; behind them is an apartment. The third group is occupied by industrial premises. The upper stories throughout the block are reached by independent stairs from the streets. The same basic principle underlies the so-called Garden Houses. Two large apartment blocks are laid out on a common plan in the middle of large gardens. A through passage divides each block into two halves. On each side of this central passage are two apartments, back to back, each independent of the other for its light. The *Casette-tipo* repeat the plan on a more modest scale.³

When the *insula* develops in depth and cannot be adequately lighted from street frontages an inner court is sometimes added. The utilitarian purpose of this device is best illustrated by the House of Diana.⁴ The architect of this *insula* had a large building plot, 23·30 × 39·30 metres. He had two street frontages, the *Via di Diana* on the south, the *Via dei Balconi* on the west; but the north and east sides of his plot were

¹ A. Boethius, *AJA* 38 (1934) 166.

³ Fig. 12.

² Calza, *MA* 23 (1914) 599, Pl. IX a.

⁴ Calza, *NS* 1917, 312; Fig. 9.

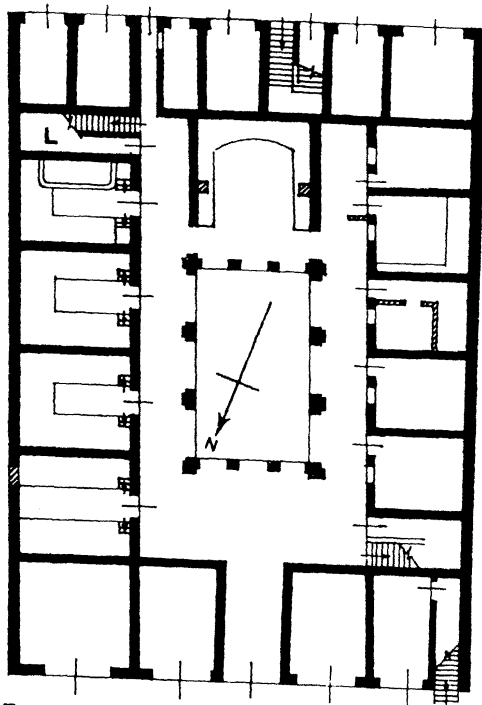


FIG. 8. House of the Triclinia (Builders' Guild House).

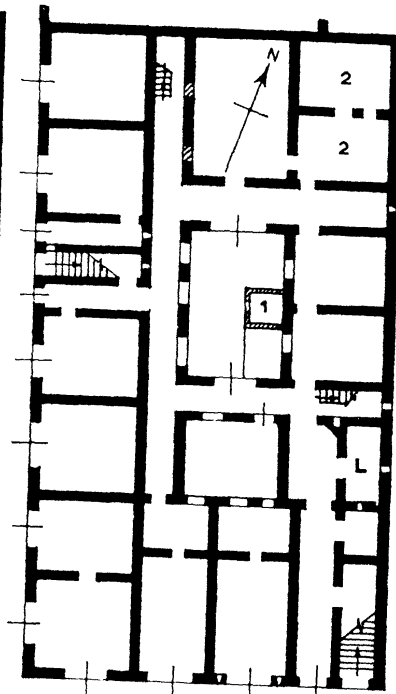


FIG. 9. House of Diana. 1. Cistern added in open court. 2. Rooms later converted to a Mithraeum.

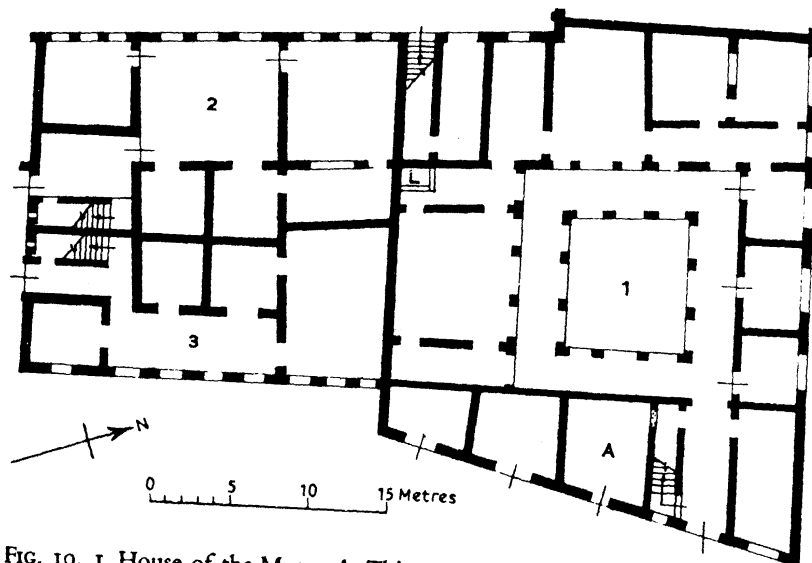


FIG. 10. 1. House of the Muses. A. This room was later included in the house by blocking the entrance from the street and opening a doorway in the west wall. 2. House of the Yellow Walls. 3. House of the Graffito.

already closed in by earlier buildings: from these quarters he could draw no light. He solved his problem by leaving a small open court (8.80×5.80 metres) in the centre of his building, which directly or indirectly gave light to the rooms around it. The House of the Triclinia illustrates the same principle.¹ Light was available from the streets to the north and south of the building, but the areas to east and west were already built up, or shortly to be built up. The main rooms in the centre of the house had to have some other source of light; it was provided by a large open court (12.10×7.15 metres) surrounded by a portico carried on brick piers.

Though the courts of the House of Diana and of the House of the Triclinia fulfil the same function and are both essential to the lighting of the buildings they serve, there is a marked difference between them. The small court in the House of Diana has all the appearance of a mere practical expedient: the larger court of the House of the Triclinia gives, as is intended, an aristocratic air to the building. It was in this type of building centred on a peristyle court that the *insula* came nearest to the *domus*, and, since it was comparatively *uneconomic* in space, it was probably accompanied by high rents. The most attractive example in Ostia is the House of the Muses,² where the careful paintings of the ground-floor rooms and the elegance of their mosaics suggest that the tenants were wealthy. Normally the portico of the ground floor reaches only to the level of the first floor, where it is repeated, as can still be seen in the *Horrea Epagathiana*.³ In the *Insulae* of Serapis and of the Charioteers the piers extend to the top of the first floor.

A variant on the use of an inner court is provided by a garden in a group of apartments north-east of the Capitolium.⁴ The building plot available measured approximately 70×27 metres. It had frontages on the *Via dei Dipinti* to the west, a quiet street, and on the more busy *Via di Diana* to the south; to the north and to the east there were already other buildings. The architect arranged his building in the shape of an L and used the rest of his space as a garden. On the quieter *Via dei Dipinti* he built two *insulae* to a common pattern, reserved for living apartments only. Since light could be drawn both from garden and street, the apartments could be two rooms deep. His third *insula*, occupying the angle of the two streets, had shops on the *Via di Diana*.

¹ P. Harsh, art. cit. 23; Calza, *Palladio*, 5 (1941) 3; Fig. 8.

² Calza, *Palladio*, 5 (1941) 6; Fig. 10; Pl. x b.

³ Ibid. 19; Becatti, NS 1940, 32.

⁴ Calza, MA 26 (1920) 321.

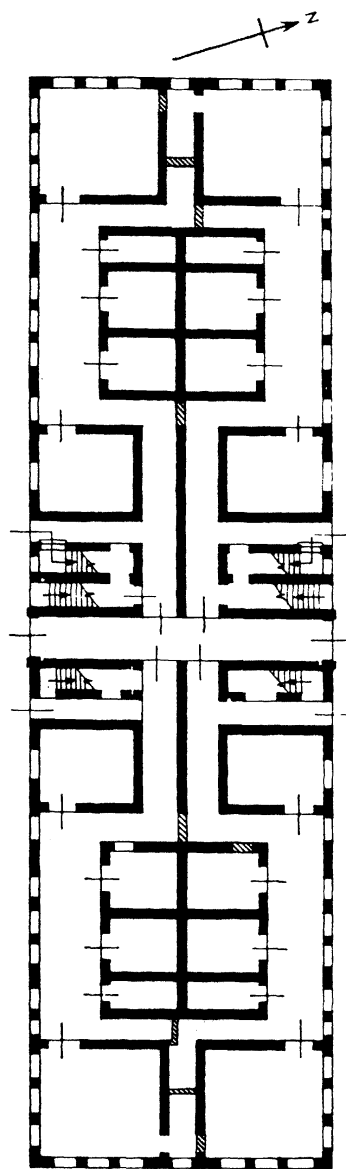
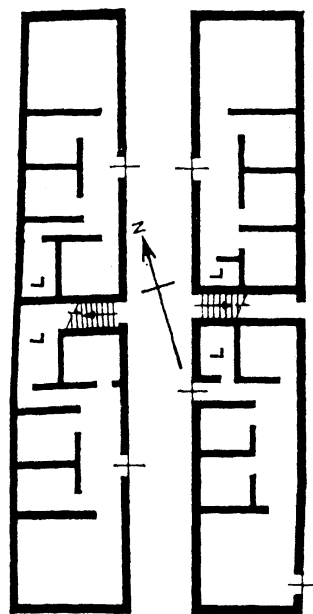
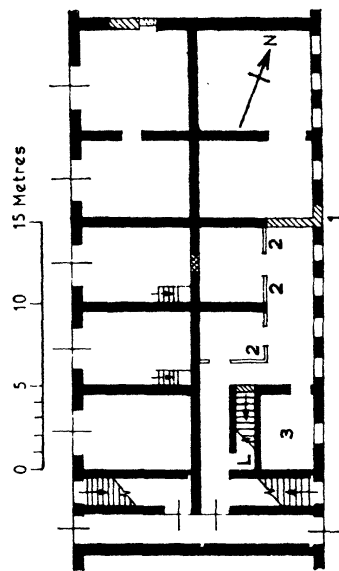


FIG. 11. Garden Houses.



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FIG. 12. Casette-tipo. FIG. 13. House of the Painted Ceiling. 1. Original entrance from street, closed when the apartment was reduced. 2. Light walls, no longer surviving. 3. Paintings described, p. 441.



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It was larger and needed additional light; here he added a small open court. All three insulae shared the garden, and each insula had its separate stairs leading from street or garden to the upper stories.¹

Most insulae are clearly divided into independent apartments, *cenacula*, but these are not always confined to a single floor. In the House of the Paintings and its neighbour, the House of the Infant Bacchus, the seven rooms of the ground floor are planned as a unit, but an inner staircase leads to an additional five rooms on a mezzanine floor. In the House of the Painted Vaults the ground-floor flat is self-contained. This insula is independent of other buildings and can draw light from all four sides. A corridor runs down the centre of the building: on each side of the corridor is a series of five rooms, the two at the north end being used as shops.² This simple plan is repeated on the first floor, where a kitchen can still be seen occupying the same position in the plan as the kitchen below. There is an outer staircase leading from the street to the upper floors, but the first floor is also connected with the second by an independent inner staircase. This staircase is narrow and may lead only to a small number of secondary rooms on the floor above. In the Garden Houses, in the House of the Muses and its two southern neighbours, there is a much wider and more imposing inner staircase leading up from the ground floor. These apartments probably occupied two complete floors and provided as much accommodation as an independent house.

But, as in modern blocks of flats, changes could be made in the distribution of rooms, and apartments could be reduced or enlarged. When the House of the Painted Ceiling on the Via della Fontana was originally built five living-rooms were provided on the ground floor and one of these had a doorway communicating with the shop behind it on the Via delle Corporazioni. This apartment presumably also included rooms on the first floor, for an inner staircase was built towards the south end of the house. As we see this apartment now, the inner stairway has been walled up, the doorway leading into the shop has been blocked, and a wall has been built across the main corridor cutting off two rooms at the north end.³ What was once a spacious apartment has been reduced to very small dimensions. Conversely the ground floor of the House of Jupiter and Ganymede seems originally to have been a self-contained apartment; it was only later that an inner staircase was added, suggest-

¹ Fig. 14.

² Fig. 16.

³ Excavation report, Vaglieri, NS 1908, 21; Fig. 13.

ing the incorporation of some rooms on the first floor.¹ Similarly shops could be connected with or separated from the apartments behind them by the opening or blocking of a doorway.

Since no furnishings remain we cannot securely know to what uses the various rooms of an apartment were put, but it is clear that in the original planning the rooms were not all regarded as interchangeable. In all apartments that can be clearly recognized as independent units one room is substantially larger than the rest and in some cases its dominance is emphasized by its height. The room at the north-east corner of the ground floor of the House of Jupiter and Ganymede, for instance, is nearly twice as large as any other room in the apartment (6.80 × 8.30 metres) and its ceiling comes at the top of the first floor: in smaller apartments the distinction is less marked. The wall paintings and mosaic pavement of this room are usually the best in the apartment and it is particularly well lighted.

A standard plan is repeatedly used for the distribution of these rooms; it can be seen in its simplest form in the House of the Painted Ceiling. The ground-floor apartment of this insula is now entered at the south-west corner from a passage that connects two streets. Originally this was a secondary entrance only; the main entrance, subsequently closed, was on the street.² The rooms are served by a corridor which runs along the front of the building. The main room lies at the north end of the corridor and occupies the whole depth of the apartment: it is lighted from the street by three large windows. The second room in size and emphasis is at the south end of the corridor; it too is lighted direct from the street, but by only a single window. The three remaining rooms are smaller and open off the west side of the corridor. Their lighting is indirect, through the corridor, and their wall decoration is less elaborate; these are rooms of secondary importance, probably bedrooms. The corridor, liberally lighted from the street, is much wider than a corridor need be: it is both hall and corridor, as if it were the vestigial remnant of the atrium. This basic plan with a series of secondary rooms opening off a corridor and indirectly lighted through the corridor, and the two most important rooms directly lighted at the two ends of the corridor, can be seen also in the Garden Houses, the Casette-tipo, and the houses on the east side of the Via dei Vigiles. In every case the main room comes at the far end of the apartment from the entrance.

This standard plan is normally used when the apartment has no great

¹ MA 26 (1920) 360.

² Fig. 13; Pl. ix a.

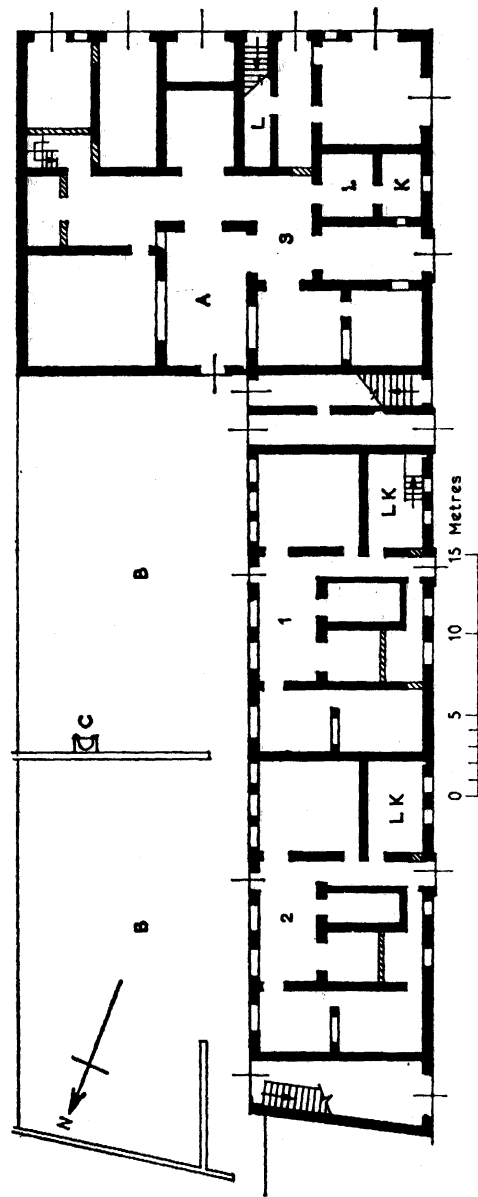


FIG. 14. 1. House of the Infant Bacchus. 2. House of the Paintings. 3. House of Jupiter and Ganymede. A. Open court. B. Garden. c. Small shrine with terra-cotta figure of Jupiter.

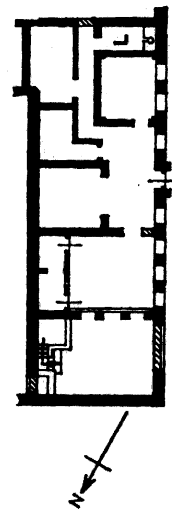


FIG. 15. House of the Well.

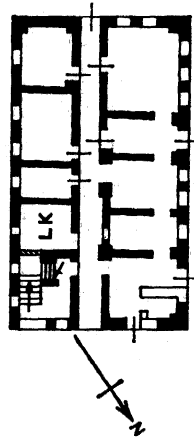


FIG. 16. House of the Painted Vaults.

depth, but in the House of the Paintings and its neighbour, which are substantially deeper than any of the houses mentioned above, the plan is based on the same general principles. The secondary rooms are in the centre, the more important rooms at either end. Where the plan is based on a central court the main room carries even more emphasis. Its logical place is at the end of the court facing the entrance, as in the House of the Triclinia, or in the social headquarters of the *seviri Augustales*. The House of the Muses forms an exception because the street entrance is not central, but to the side of the building: the entrance is from the east, the main room is in the centre of the south side. It is conspicuous not only by its size but also by its arcaded front.

The division of the insula into independent apartments is not always apparent. In the House of Diana certain small groups of rooms seem to be interdependent, but it is not easy to see how the first floor was divided. It seems likely that this large building catered for rather different needs and was more elastic in plan, providing for the renting of much smaller apartments and even single rooms.¹ There must indeed have been a large demand for temporary accommodation for visitors in Ostia, as well as many Ostians who could not afford to rent more than one or two rooms.

The main surprise perhaps in the Ostian insulae is the size of so many of the apartments. The House of the Paintings and its neighbour have twelve rooms, the House of the Painted Ceiling had originally five on the ground floor with further rooms on the first floor. The House of the Painted Vaults has eight rooms on its ground floor, and more than ten rooms in the apartment above. From Martial and Juvenal we expect darkness, squalor, and general discomfort in the insulae; only poverty can compel a man to lodge there. These Ostian apartments are well lighted, spacious, and cheerfully decorated with wall paintings and mosaic pavements. Certain amenities, it is true, are missing. No rooms yet found in insulae are heated, and upper floors could have no running water; but the size and decoration of their apartments show that the insulae were by no means confined to the poor. In the Augustan period the tenants of such blocks as the House of the Muses would almost certainly have lived in independent houses.

Nor do the buildings themselves correspond with what we should expect from the complaints of Seneca, Juvenal, and Martial. Like

¹ Becatti, *Mitrei*, 15, suggests that the building may have been the headquarters of a guild. The plan seems to be less well suited to this purpose.

Strabo before them, these writers emphasize the insecurity of life in the insulae of Rome.¹ Fire and collapse seem to be constant risks. In contrast, the insulae of Ostia seem solid and well built; their walls are sufficiently thick, at least on the ground and first floors, to carry the weight of the highest building that the law allowed; there are few signs of major reconstruction or restoration on the ground floors dictated by a need to strengthen the building. Nor do the brick-faced concrete walls of the ruins suggest an acute fire risk.

In this respect the ruins are perhaps misleading. Though external walls were of concrete, timber was widely used throughout the house, for doors, windows, and furniture. Some rooms were vaulted, but timber ceilings were equally common; and minor partition walls were also often of timber. The main danger came from oil lamps and open braziers, which were probably used in extreme cold. Carelessness in the use of fires was liable to summary punishment,² but enforcement must have been virtually impossible. The fire risk would have been less serious if the means of fire-fighting had been more adequate; as it was, there was great difficulty in controlling a fire once it had caught hold. Tenants in insulae were required to keep water in their apartments for use in the case of fire,³ but the quantity available must have been totally insufficient if the fire was not tackled at once. The *Fasti* record a fire on 1 January 115 which destroyed a large number of properties.⁴ Later, as excavation has shown, at least three large blocks were burnt to the ground. Both the House of Diana and the House of the Paintings, with its two neighbours, seem to have been abandoned by the beginning of the fourth century, though no evidence of fire was found.⁵ The ground floors show no clear traces of collapse; the upper stories may have been more lightly and insecurely built.

The general amenities of the insulae, moreover, depended primarily on the number of people that they contained. In general the best apartments are probably the best preserved: it was not in such apartments as the ground-floor rooms of the House of the Paintings and the House of the Painted Ceiling that the poor people lived. Even in the most impos-

¹ Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 35. 5; *De Beneficiis*, vi. 15. 7; Juvenal iii. 190-202.

² *Dig.* i. 15. 5: 'insularios et eos qui neglegenter ignes apud se habuerint, potes fustibus vel flagellis caedi iubere.'

³ *Dig.* i. 15. 3. 4: 'praeterea ut aquam unusquisque inquilinus in cenaculo habeat, iubetur admonere (praefectus vigilum).'

⁴ 'K. Ianuar. incendium ortum in v[ico—] et praedia complura deusta sun[t].'

⁵ p. 85.

ing blocks the rooms beneath the roof were probably small and dark and the smaller insulae were probably much less comfortable than the larger. The mezzanine rooms over shops were certainly low and dark: in the strip-insulae that had only a narrow frontage of one or two shops on the street the apartments are likely to have been particularly small and poorly lighted.¹ Sometimes perhaps a ground-floor plan is misleading. The so-called Casette-tipo seem to be cheaply built: though reticulate and brick are used for the external walls, the internal walls are roughly faced with tufa blocks of irregular size. The stairs leading to an upper floor were of wood. The walls are not apparently designed to stand great weight and some of them are considerably out of line. The ground-floor apartments, however, closely resemble that of the House of the Painted Ceiling, with a large main room at the far end of the apartment, the second largest room at the opposite end of a corridor, and three other subsidiary rooms. Instead, however, of a small lavatory we find a large latrine with room for two seats. The natural inference is that the building was more crowded than its plan suggests.

The insulae were the response to the increase of population and a rise in ground rents. So long as demand for accommodation exceeded supply they represented the most attractive investment available, and during the period of prosperity the profits of trade and industry probably went largely into this type of building. Passages in the Digest confirm practices that even without evidence could be assumed: 'If I lease to you an insula belonging to another owner for 50,000 sesterces and you lease the same insula to Titius for 60,000 sesterces. . . .'² Another typical case is cited of 'a man who had rented an insula for 30,000 sesterces and so rented the individual apartments that his total revenue was 40,000 sesterces'.³

Between the late Flavian period and the death of Antoninus Pius few new independent houses were built, and many were pulled down to be replaced by insulae. These catered not merely for the poor, but also for families of substantial means. For some three generations the insula became the dominant house type at Ostia; its supremacy, however, did not long outlive the period of prosperity. At Rome the population did not decrease sharply as the wealth of the empire declined; the special steps taken by the emperors to feed and entertain the people ensured overcrowding. But when Ostia's commercial prosperity declined her

¹ For strip-insulae, A. Boethius, *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson*, i (1951) 440.

² *Dig.* xix. 2. 7.

³ *Dig.* xix. 2. 30.

population declined also. In the third century there was almost certainly more accommodation than was needed or could be afforded: *insulae* were no longer a profitable investment and the standard of maintenance fell sharply as rents declined. It is clear at least that by the end of the third century some large apartment blocks had been abandoned.

But while in the late Empire the *insula* declined, the *domus* came back into its own. At the beginning of the second century independent houses were destroyed to make way for the building of apartment blocks. In the fourth century, and perhaps as early as the third, independent houses were reusing what had once been the walls of apartment blocks. But these houses of the late Empire differed considerably from their predecessors of the late Republic and early Empire both in plan and in decoration.

For the history of the Ostian *domus* in the fourth, third, and early second centuries B.C. there is no evidence; by the Sullan period, and probably earlier, the typical Pompeian house based on atrium and peristyle was fashionable. On the north side of the Via della Fortuna Annonaria there survived throughout the Empire the remains of a peristyle dating from the Republic.¹ This peristyle was once surrounded by tufa columns along its four sides and travertine columns at the corners. The columns were covered in stucco and fluted, and carried Doric capitals. On the south side the original columns remain; the rest were later replaced by brick piers. The date of the original building is approximately fixed to the early first century B.C. by the *opus incertum* face of the original walls. This peristyle probably formed the back of a house whose plan has been obscured by later rebuilding.

Pompeian affinities are more clearly recognizable in two houses on the west side of the southern *Cardo*, immediately beyond the Forum. The House of Jupiter the Thunderer has *opus incertum* walls of the late second or early first century B.C.; its neighbour, the House of the Mosaic Niche, was added some fifty years later. Though substantially modified and reconstructed more than once, these two houses had a continuous history as private houses into the late Empire and much of their original plan is still recognizable. The entrance from the street is flanked by two shops; between them a passage leads into a Tuscan atrium round which the living-rooms are grouped, with the main living-room of the house, the *tablinum*, facing the entrance. Each house originally had

¹ Pl. XII a.

a peristyle behind the atrium, but when space became more valuable these areas were taken over for other building.

But most of the evidence for the private houses of the late Republic and early Empire lies beneath the second-century level, for, when the town was rebuilt to meet a sharp increase in population, houses with atrium and peristyle were too extravagant in space to survive; most of them were pulled down to be replaced by insulae and public buildings. The eastern side of the western Decumanus was, before the rebuilding, lined with such houses. The street front was occupied by shops; passages led through to large atria, with peristyles behind them. These house plans have left their mark in the narrow frontages and considerable depths of the buildings that succeeded them, and nowhere can the contrast in the use of space be better seen than in the area of the Vicolo di Dionisio. This street is flanked by shops with living quarters above them; it leads to a large open area round which was built a series of insulae. What has become a populous district had been a single house; the area now surrounded by insulae was formerly a private peristyle.¹ Another such house has been replaced by the Baths of the Six Columns.

The latest of the atrium houses on the western Decumanus are not earlier than Augustus. By the Flavian period fashions have decisively changed. No new atrium houses are built; their place is taken by what for convenience may be called the peristyle house. The first clear example is a Flavian house on the western Decumanus outside the Porta Marina. The entrance on the street is flanked by shops; a passage leads into what was probably a garden, surrounded by a portico carried on brick piers. In the garden is a *biclinium*, recalling the open-air dining fashion familiar at Pompeii; the rooms open off the portico.² This is the commonest basic plan in Ostia; it is used for *horrea*, for the Barracks of the Vigiles, for insulae.³ It becomes the dominant type of private house in the second century and continues into the late Empire. Sometimes the central area is paved with mosaic, sometimes it is laid out as a garden.

A more controversial early example of the peristyle house is to be seen in the House of Apuleius, which occupies a restricted and irregular area at the back of the group of four republican temples near the

¹ Becatti, *Topografia*, 108.

² Ibid. 121; Pl. XII b. The date might be late Neronian rather than Flavian, Bloch, *Topografia*, 221 (III.7.4).

³ An analysis of the type, Calza, *Palladio*, 5 (1941) 1-33.

theatre.¹ Its walls date from a wide range of periods, but the original nucleus of the house is probably Trajanic. A long entrance passage, flanked by two rooms on either side, leads into what resembles a Corinthian atrium, with eight columns surrounding an open area in the middle of which is a sunk basin; from this 'atrium' a series of rooms leads westwards. This house has been called the last Pompeian house in Ostia, but the Corinthian 'atrium' is no true atrium. The area surrounded by columns is wider than the combined width of east and west corridors. It is in fact a small peristyle court.² This house, however, cannot be regarded as typical; its unusual shape is dictated by the shape of the area available.

Of the second-century peristyle houses the most elegant surviving example is the House of Fortuna Annonaria, built towards the middle of the century.³ The central focus of the house is an open garden surrounded on three sides by travertine columns which were probably originally covered by stucco and fluted; on the fourth side a continuous wall runs the whole length of the building. The rooms open off the three sides of the colonnade, with the entrance from the street on the north and the main room at the west end. The central room at the eastern end of the garden was heated, the first example known to us at Ostia, and it probably served as a bedroom; for, while the rest of the mosaic pavement is divided into a series of figured octagonal panels, a large band against the east wall has only a simple geometric design; this is probably where the bed stood. Though changes were later made, especially in the main living-room at the west end of the garden, to meet the fashions of the late Empire, the plan of the house has remained substantially unchanged. A tasteful neo-Attic well-head was found in the garden⁴ and, in its final phase at least, house and garden were liberally decorated with sculptures.

The House of the Columns, at the angle of the southern *Cardo* and the *Via della Caupona del Pavone*, is more orthodox in plan.⁵ It was probably built in the third century and was continuously occupied into the fifth century. There are two entrances from the *Cardo*, a wide vestibule and, beside it, a narrow passage for the servants with a long narrow room off it for the doorkeeper. Both vestibule and passage lead into a long open court, surrounded by brick piers carrying a portico. In its final phase this court was paved with large cubes of variegated

¹ Lanciani, *NS* 1886, 163; Paschetto, 421.

² P. Harsh, *MAAR* 12 (1935) 29 f.

³ Becatti, *Casa Ostiense del tardo impero*, 23.

⁴ Pl. XXXVII c.

⁵ *Ibid.* 15.

marbles and had a nymphaeum and a long shallow basin in the centre. This may be a later refinement; perhaps the court was originally paved with mosaic. The rooms open off the portico, the main room facing the entrance at the west end.

An open court is also the central feature of the charming House of the Round Temple.¹ This house in its present form probably dates from the late third century, but on its east side it incorporates much earlier walls. The main entrance is now from the Via del Tempio Rotondo to the south, but traces of an earlier entrance on the north side can still be seen; possibly the third-century house repeats the form of an earlier building on the site. This comparatively small building combines *domus* and *insula*.² The street frontage is occupied by two large shops, each with an inner staircase leading to a mezzanine floor. There are also two solid staircases leading up from the street to upper floors. On this side the walls have the standard *insula* thickness of two Roman feet (59 cm.), and presumably carried two or three stories above the shops.

A vestibule, between the two shops, leads to the *domus* behind, which is built round a small open courtyard with a fountain set in a sunk basin in the centre. On the north side the court admits directly to the main living-room of the house; on the other sides it is surrounded by a wide portico carried on brick piers. On the west side is a series of four rooms, three of them heated from a stoke-hole to the south;³ on the east side there is a further series of four rooms. The walls of the *domus* are not designed to carry heavy weight. Those of the eastern wing are only 37 cm. thick, those of the west wing 44 cm.; since there are also no signs of an inner staircase, the house was probably limited to the ground floor. In its final phase marble was freely used to line court, brick piers, and many of the walls. Much of this may have been added later, but this house must always have been elegant.

The independent peristyle houses hitherto examined were built for wealthy families, but the plan could be adapted to a modest purse, and was sometimes used when the site available was not suited to the building of an apartment block. A good example can be seen near the temple of Hercules. This house was probably built towards the end of the

¹ Ibid. 3; P. Harsh, art. cit. 24; Fig. 17; Pl. XIII a.

² Cf. *Dig.* xxxix. 2. 15. 14: 'item quid dicimus, si *insula* adiacens domui vitium faciat, utrum in *insulae* possessionem an vero in totius domus possessionem mittendum sit?' *Dig.* xxxii. 91. 6: 'appellatione domus *insulam* quoque iniunctam domui videri.'

³ Becatti, op. cit. 4 f., regards the heating system as a later modification. I believe that the stoke-hole, and with it the heating, is an original feature.

second century, but by the late Empire it had been abandoned. A series of seven rooms are grouped round a small open court and a light inner staircase in the north-west corner leads to upper rooms, probably over only one wing of the house. What remains of the paintings on the walls is unpretentious and unimpressive; in no respect does the house suggest social distinction.¹

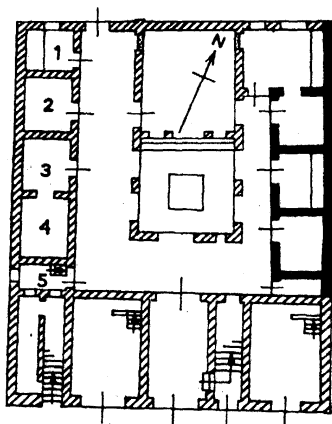


FIG. 17. House of the Round Temple. Rooms 2, 3, 4 were heated from 1 and 5.

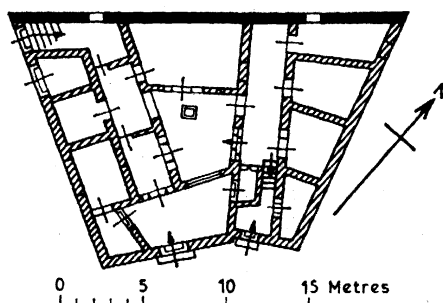


FIG. 18. House of the Gorgons.

That the central open court had become the basic element in the independent house is well illustrated by the House of the Gorgons, which lies at the junction of the southern *Cardo* with the *Semita dei Cippi*, and was probably built towards the end of the third century.² The area available for the house was an irregular trapezoid of awkward shape and dimensions. The architect reduced his plan to some sort of order by building round an open court of very irregular shape. The plan, odd at first sight, in fact resembles that of the Round Temple House, with its main room leading off the court and two series of smaller rooms opening off porticoes on east and west. An inner staircase at the south end of the eastern corridor leads to upper rooms, probably over this wing only. The quality of the mosaics, the spaciousness of the vestibule, and the provision of two rooms, shut off from the rest of the house, for the doorkeeper, suggest that the owner was a man of means. But the house does not occupy the whole block. In the south-east corner are two rooms that have no connexion with the house, and on the *Cardo* one of the rooms is reserved as a shop, unconnected with the interior.

¹ Reg. I. 14. 3.

² Becatti, *op. cit.* 5; Fig. 18.

Among the independent houses of the second and third centuries there is one interesting exception to the open courtyard principle. The House of the Well has been adapted to the fashions of the late Empire, particularly in the lavish application of marble, but the plan of the original house, typically Hadrianic in its brickwork, has not been seriously modified.¹ It lies some distance south-west of the centre of the town and forms part of a long narrow block between two streets. The house plot is small, approximately 23×8 metres only. The long street front is well windowed in the manner of a contemporary insula. The main entrance, elegantly framed by applied brick columns, is roughly in the centre of the street front on the west; but there was originally a secondary entrance at the back in the north-east corner, later blocked up. The front entrance leads into a spacious hall, off which open three rooms. From the south-east angle of the hall a corridor leads to a small lavatory and, opposite, what was probably the kitchen. The main room lies left and north of the hall, well lighted by three windows on the street front. Two small rooms are entered from the east side of the hall. There was a further room at the north end which had originally two entrances from outside. Later these were blocked, the entrance from the hall was enlarged, and two columns of Giallo Antico gave additional emphasis to what had now become the main living-room of the house.

The façade and the ground plan of this building resemble those of a ground-floor apartment in an insula, but there are no outer stairs leading to upper floors, the walls are light, and there is no trace of an inner staircase. The house seems to be self-contained, and limited to a single floor. More such buildings may be found in the south-east quarters of the city, for in this area the general level of the ruins beneath the soil is conspicuously low.

Though the main tendency in the second century among the rich as well as the poor was to live in apartments in large insulae, independent family houses were still built. They were not confined to any particular quarter, but they are virtually excluded from the areas which were most important for Ostia's trade, between the river and the Via della Foce in the west and between the river and the Decumanus in the east. Some of them, such as the House of the Well and the House of the Round Temple, were no larger than some of the apartments in the insulae; others, such as the House of the Columns, could have accommodated

¹ Ibid. 25; p. 248, Fig. 15.

a substantial household of freedmen and slaves as well as the family; but none of them recall, except by contrast, descriptions of the palaces of the nobility at Rome. One important area, however, outside the town, has barely been touched by excavation. Pliny the Younger describes in detail his Laurentine villa, some five miles from Ostia.¹ It was one of a long line of villas that stretched southwards along the coast. All that can now be seen is a series of mounds, a few isolated walls, and, on the surface, bricks, roof-tiles, and a scatter of marble fragments.² Pliny was particularly proud of the elaborate plan that he had imposed on his builder; the form of his villa may not be typical, but we can be certain that these coastal villas were spacious and luxurious and that the main emphasis was on the ground floor. What concerns us more in a social study is to know how many of these coastal villas were occupied not by Ostians but by temporary residents, like Pliny, from Rome. This we may never know, even when the ruins have been excavated.

The *domus* within the town has been called an independent house. This conveniently distinguishes it from the *insula*, but it is not a completely accurate description. Even the largest late republican atrium houses had shops flanking their entrances. Shops rented or managed by the owner's freedmen brought good profits, and this arrangement withdrew the main living centre of the house from the street. The houses of the early Empire followed the precedent and incorporated shops in their street fronts; in the late Empire such shops are very rarely found. This may in some cases be a mark of widening social distinctions; but generally it is more easily explained by the decline in the value of shops when Ostia's prosperity declined.

The shift of emphasis from the *insula* to the *domus* in the late Empire was one of the most important revelations of the excavations begun in 1938. Earlier excavation, mainly concentrated in the area between the Decumanus and the river, had presented the picture of a general impoverishment from the third century onwards; the new campaign revealed a large number of houses that were handsomely maintained through the fourth century. These houses have been admirably described by Becatti and the generous supply of plans and photographs in his publication makes a detailed description of individual houses here unnecessary.

It is clear at once that the independent houses of the late Empire cannot be schematically reduced to a series of standard plans; what gives

¹ Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 17.

² Cf. Fea, *Viaggio*, 63.

them their common character is their style of decoration and the architectural forms that they use within the house. Some of the houses that flourished in the fourth century have a long continuous history behind them. The two houses on the southern *Cardo* still retain much of their original construction of the first century B.C.; others date from the second century A.D. and have received only minor modifications. But most of the late houses reuse walls of older buildings, and their plan is largely dictated by the serviceable walls that were available. When business declined, shops, industrial premises, and *insulae* were no longer profitable investments: ground rents probably fell and the rich could afford houses that were not economic in their use of space. But even the rich had no wish to spend money unnecessarily: if they could build their house by reusing old walls rather than by completely demolishing the buildings on their site they did so. Provided that the essential amenities were secured they seem to have been little concerned with the shape or symmetry of their houses. In the House of Amor and Psyche the reused material is mostly confined to outer walls:¹ in the House of the Dioscuri the plan of the original *insula* is clearly recoverable.²

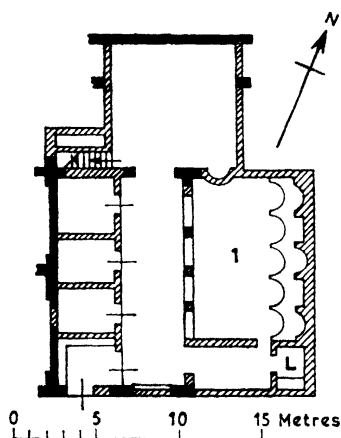


FIG. 19. House of Amor and Psyche. 1. Nymphaeum preceded by garden (Pl. XIV b).

In spite of the variety in plan the houses of the fourth century have much in common. They concentrate on the ground floor and when an upper floor is added it is secondary and approached by an inner staircase and not from the street: normally it does not extend over the whole house. Unlike the *insula*, the late *domus* draws away from the street, and looks inward rather than outward. The west wall of the House of the Dioscuri originally had a long line of regular windows: when the *insula* became a *domus* most of these windows were closed. Similarly on the east side which faced on the street a new peripheral wall was added to give greater privacy to the house. The other main changes in this conversion are the destruction of partition walls in order to provide larger rooms and the addition of a private set of baths. This last feature, however, is not typical, in fact no other example has yet been found;

¹ Becatti, *op. cit.* 6; Fig. 19.

² *Ibid.* 14; Fig. 20.

but it is common for these late houses to have one or more rooms heated by hypocaust and hollow pipes running up the walls. Such heating is never found in the *insulae*.

But though the rich families of this period seem to be content to use the public establishments for their bathing, they set great store by

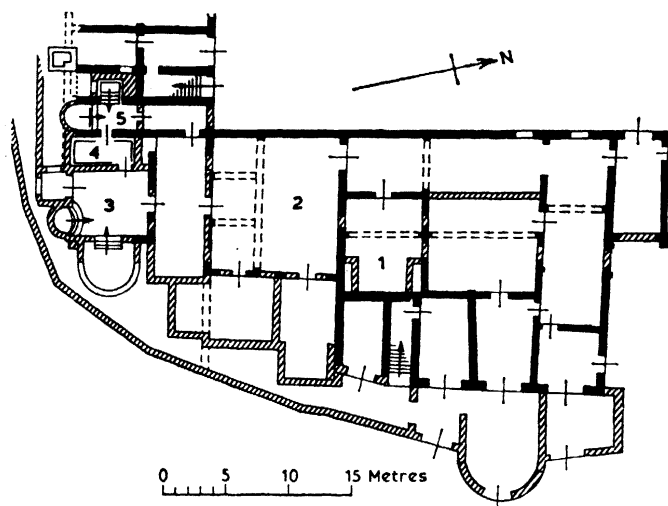


FIG. 20. House of the Dioscuri. The dotted lines indicate some of the walls destroyed when the house was remodelled. 1. Room with Castor and Pollux mosaic. 2. Room with coloured Venus mosaic. 3. Frigidarium. 4. Tepidarium. 5. Caldarium.

a display of water within their homes. In almost all these late houses there is a fountain or nymphaeum, which often assumes an elaborate form. In the small but richly decorated House of Amor and Psyche the nymphaeum and the small garden which precedes it occupy almost as much space as the combined area of the ground-floor rooms.¹ A wide corridor runs down the centre of the building with the main room at its end. On one side of the corridor is a series of four rooms with a light inner staircase at the north end leading to an upper floor over this wing. On the other side is a small room near the entrance leading to a small lavatory: the rest of this side is free of rooms. Behind a series of columns flanking the corridor is an open area probably used as a garden. Behind this, against the back wall, is a series of niches, curved and rectangular alternating, framed by arches in brick carried on small columns. From the foot of the niches marble steps lead down to the ground; water flowed over them. A variant on this scheme can be seen

¹ Fig. 19; Pl. XIV b.

in the House of the Nymphaeum, where the nymphaeum is again surprisingly large for the size of the house.¹ There is the same series of alternating curved and rectangular niches but the water flows down into a large marble basin. This strong emphasis on the play of water is possibly a late development. The large nymphaeum in the House of Fortuna Annonaria is not part of the original construction.

Both insula apartments and domus had always emphasized one main living-room by its size and by the quality of its decoration. In the later domus this emphasis is particularly marked. Frequently this room is raised by two steps above the level of the remaining rooms: it is also often emphasized by a pair of columns at its entrance. Originally this room was always rectangular in shape; in the late Empire it sometimes caught the fashion of the curving line. In the House of Fortuna Annonaria, for example, the room has been reconstructed to take an apsidal end;² the same change can be seen in the main room of the headquarters of the *seviri Augustales*.

New architectural fashions also appear in the late houses, looking forward to the Byzantine age rather than backward to the classical forms of Greece and Rome. The elaborately cut Corinthian capital which had become the prevailing fashion by the second century is now out of date: in these houses, as in the late restorations of public buildings, the capitals are stylized and schematic. In classical architecture columns were used to carry architrave and frieze; arches were carried on piers of brick or stone. In these houses the column is combined with the brick arch in a pattern that was to become common in the Middle Ages.

But the most striking common feature of these houses is the wealth of marble that they display. Framed marble panels form the dadoes on their walls, and many of their pavements have elaborate *opus sectile* designs in coloured marbles. To what extent this lavish use of marble represents a new fashion we cannot say, for even the oldest private houses changed with the times, but in pavements at least the widespread use of marble probably represents a change. The mosaics that can now be seen in the House of Fortuna Annonaria seem to be contemporary with the original building. Had marble floors been as fashionable in the second century as in the fourth more marble pavements would have been used. In the fourth century marble pavements were not confined to the wealthiest class; some of the most elaborate patterns are found in the smallest houses.

¹ Becatti, *op. cit.* 10.

² Pl. xiv a.

From late Republic to late Empire the housing of Ostia reflects the social and economic developments in the town. The large spreading atrium and peristyle houses are contemporary with the dominance of a limited aristocracy. The concentration on well-planned, solidly built insulae in the first half of the second century bears witness to the diffusion of prosperity that followed the building of the imperial harbours and the rise of the middle class. The decline of the insulae and the renewed emphasis on the domus are the results of the decline of trade, and the reopening of the gulf between rich and poor.

I3

AGRICULTURE AND TRADE

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING

OF all the workers who contributed to the life of Roman Ostia the primary producers are the least conspicuous in the records that have survived; but they maintained the population before overseas trade developed and after it had collapsed. Even at the height of commercial prosperity, food crops, salt, timber, and fish were not unimportant to the town's economy.

Of Ostian agriculture we learn nothing from inscriptions, very little from literature. But from the nature of the land reasonable inferences can be drawn. There is a sharp distinction in character between the land to the east and to the west of the modern village.¹ To the east the plain between Ostia and Acilia had once probably been a lagoon. On its northern side there is an overlay of alluvium deposited by the Tiber and the land slopes gently down from the river until it reaches a point below sea-level. The southern half of the plain was almost certainly the marshland in which Nero proposed to dump Roman rubble after the great fire of 64.² Hydraulic pumps have now restored the land to agriculture, but through the Middle Ages and into the nineteenth century it was the *stagno di Ostia*. No traces of Roman occupation are to be found on this side of the plain. On the north-western edge of marsh were the salt-beds whose legacy can still be seen in the dejected look of crops and weeds.

The northern side of the plain was comparatively good agricultural land. The heavy soil deposited by the Tiber needs drainage in winter and irrigation in summer, but, when well cared for, it can produce grain and provide reasonably good pasture. Fragments of roof-tiles and brick, coarse pottery, occasional blocks of *selce* which do not seem to come from roads, can be seen at scattered points, suggesting

¹ p. 9.

² Tac. *Ann.* xv. 43. 4: 'ruderi accipiendo Ostiensis paludes destinabat utique naves quae frumentum Tiberi subvectassent onustae rudere decurrerent.' No trace of what should be a very large deposit of rubble has ever been reported. It may have been retained in Rome for use in concrete construction.

farm buildings and perhaps villas. There is other evidence to indicate that there were large estates in this area.

It is here that we should look for Symmachus' Ostian estate. He tells us that it was bordered by the river and he implies that his villa stood on high ground from which he could look down on the shipping going upstream: 'ergo de mei agri specula peregrinarum navium numero transcursus'.¹ The estate must have been large, for he complains of the military exactions on it: 'urget Ostiense praedium nostrum militaris impressio. nos legum inane nomen vocamus'.² There are two sites only which satisfy these conditions.

The present farm of Dragone stands on a small eminence overlooking the river, some two and a half miles upstream from Ostia. Roman bricks turned up by the plough in the fields, a large block of marble, fragments of columns, show that this was the site of a villa. More imposing is Dragoncello, less than a mile farther upstream. Occupying the site of ancient Ficana at the north-western end of the Acilia ridge, it stands on a high hill which drops sharply down to the river.³ Walled within its buildings can be seen fragments of granite columns and Roman brick. Against a wall stands a somewhat dilapidated imperial statue, its head missing and its decorative breastplate pitted with the marks of bullets. This is the more imposing site, though the land is less productive than the farmland of Dragone. It was probably once owned by Symmachus.

There may also be other evidence of two large estates near the Tiber. Constantine is reported to have included in his endowment of the church which he built at Ostia two Ostian estates: 'possessio Quirinis, territorio Hostense, praest(ans) solid(os) trecentos et undecim; possessio Balneolum, territ(orio) Hostense, praest(ans) soli(dos) quadraginta duos'.⁴ The name Balneolum survives in a modern agricultural settlement, Bagnoli, north of the Via Ostiensis, some two miles from Acilia.⁵ It can be traced back to sixteenth-century maps, on which it seems to cover a large area below the Acilia ridge. It is tempting to associate the other estate, Quirinis, with a brickstamp VARAE QUIRIN which is found

¹ Symmachus, *Ep.* iii. 82. 2.

² Symmachus, *Ep.* ii. 52. 2; cf. *Ep.* vi. 72: 'Ostiense praedium nostrum frequens pulsat impressio.'

³ Sites of Dragone and Dragoncello, Fig. 1, p. 112. For the identification of Dragoncello with Ficana, p. 17. Phot. B. Tilly, *Virgil's Latium*, 97. ⁴ *Lib. Pont.* i. 184.

⁵ G. Tomassetti, 'Vie Ostiense e Laurentine' (*Archivio della R. soc. rom. di storia patria*, xvii-xx, 1897) 100.

at Ostia and seems to have been locally produced.¹ If the association is valid the estate will have been near the river because only from the river clay could bricks be satisfactorily produced. Both these estates provided handsome revenues; they must have been large.

The extent of land available for large-scale farming is uncertain, because we do not know the eastern boundary of Ostia's territory. It is generally supposed that the high ground of Acilia marks the limit, and this is a natural geographical line; but we have no secure evidence, and an extension eastwards, perhaps as far as Malafede, is not impossible.² The land on the Romeward side of Acilia is better than the land to the west; there could have been profitable estates here.

To the west of modern Ostia, from Castel Fusano northwards across the Tiber to Trajan's canal, the soil is almost exclusively sand, except where on both its banks the river has deposited a layer of alluvial clay. This light soil becomes very parched in summer, but the phreatic table lies very little beneath the surface and there is no difficulty in providing water for crops. This land was best suited to the production of vegetables and a limited range of fruit. Ostian leeks were famous,³ and lettuces, cabbages, beans, and turnips, the most popular of Roman vegetables, grow well in the district today. The younger Pliny, whose villa was some five miles from Ostia, tells us that figs and mulberries grew particularly freely,⁴ and a chance record of the gluttony of the emperor Clodius Albinus suggests that Ostian melons were a delicacy;⁵ they have a good name in the Roman market today. The island between the river and Trajan's canal was a dreary waste until its modern reclamation, but it could be called the garden of Venus in the late Empire,⁶ and its proverbial fertility is confirmed by the vegetables and fruit it now produces.

¹ Bloch, *Harvard CP*, 56-57 (1947) 88 n. 440; cf. 439.

² Ostian boundaries reviewed, Dessau, *CIL* xiv, p. 9; Carcopino, 454-7. The evidence for the eastern boundary is not decisive.

³ Pliny, *NH* xix. 110: 'laudatissimum (porrum) Aegypto, mox Ostiae atque Ariciae'.

⁴ Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 17. 15: 'hortum morus et ficus frequens vestit, quarum arborum illa vel maxime ferax terra est, malignior ceteris'; Pliny, *NH* xv. 97: 'nec alio modo quam pomi magnitudine differunt mora Ostiensia et Tusculana Romae.'

⁵ SHA, *Clod. Albin.* 11. 3.

⁶ *Cosmographia* (Aethicus), Riese, *Geographi Latini minores*, p. 83, l. 24: 'insula vero quam facit (Tiberis) inter urbis portum et Ostiam civitatem, tantae viriditatis amoenitatisque est, ut neque aestivis mensibus neque hiemalibus pasturae admirabiles herbas debeat; ita autem vernali tempore rosa vel ceteris floribus adimpletur, ut pro nimietate sui odoris et floris insula ipsa Libanus almae Veneris nuncupetur.'

Vegetable production, both for the local market and for Rome, was probably the most profitable form of Ostian agriculture, and it was concentrated mainly in the plain south of the town and on the island north of the river. Such market-gardening does not encourage the growth of large estates, and the five parallel public roads that cross the plain helped no doubt to preserve the pattern of smallholdings.¹ Probably most of the workers lived in the town and went out daily to their work.

We should expect a local supply of pigs and poultry. Apicius preserves an elaborate recipe for an Ostian pork delicacy,² and there were ample supplies of acorns in the neighbouring woods. Varro has given us a glimpse of a poultry specialist in his allusions to the Ostian villa of M. Seius.³ This villa was run as a strictly business concern. There were no elaborate paintings, bronzes, and marbles; nor the signs of olive and wine production normally associated with a rustic villa. Seius concentrated on bees and birds, making the maximum profit from the minimum space. Peacocks were his most lucrative line. He used his hens to hatch out the eggs, and then brought on the birds for the market, where they would fetch 50 denarii apiece. After Hortensius had set the example, peacocks became fashionable fare, and there would be eager buyers in the residential villas of the coastline and among the wealthier merchants in Ostia. On an Ostian relief we can see a shopkeeper at her stall catering for less luxurious tastes.⁴ Behind her is a line of poultry, plucked and ready for sale; in a pen on the ground are live rabbits.

We can also assume that the local demand for mules and asses for the bakeries and mules and horses for carriages plying between Ostia and Rome was locally supplied and that oxen were bred for the plough, for sacrifice, and, later, for towing river boats upstream. Home-grown meat, which was not an important item in the Roman diet, could be supplemented by wild boar hunted in the Laurentine woods.⁵

Very little of Ostia's territory was suited to grain, and when imports from the provinces became available Ostia, like Rome, relied on them. For olives the soil was even less suited, but vines grow freely today and vineyards are marked in the earliest maps of the district. Ostian wine is

¹ See Note F, p. 473.

² Apicius, *De re coq.* vii. 4. 1.

³ Varro, *RR* iii. 2. 7-14; 6. 3-5.

⁴ *Museo*, 134, phot. p. 53.

⁵ Martial ix. 48. 5: 'inter quae rari Laurentem ponderis aprum | misimus: Aetola de Calydone putes.' Horace, *Sat.* ii. 4. 42, is less flattering: 'nam Laurens (aper) malus est, ulvis et arundine pinguis.'

not competitive; its consumption was probably confined to the leanest purses.

In the earliest and latest phases of Ostia's history the small population could have been self-supporting. When population increased with the growth of trade, agriculture played a minor part in the town's economy. In the early Empire the prospects of quicker money from trade may indeed have proved dangerously attractive to land workers, and it is perhaps for that reason that Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian settled imperial tenants on the land.¹ But if agricultural prices rose with a rising demand from an expanding population a smallholding should still have brought a good return.

The food which came from the land was supplemented by fish. Fishermen are recorded on only one inscription. Cn. Sentius Felix included among the many guilds of which he was patron the men who caught and sold fish, 'piscatores propolae',² and a large shop on the Decumanus near the Macellum can be identified as one of their shops. More revealing, however, are the representations of men fishing in mosaics and the exceptional prominence of realistic fish in mosaics and paintings throughout the town. Nor is this emphasis surprising. In addition to the local demand, which must have been heavy, Ostia's fishermen were in the best position to supply fresh sea fish for the Roman market.³ Local waters, the younger Pliny tells us, were not well supplied with valuable fish but they yielded excellent soles and prawns.⁴ Juvenal supplies a reason for the shortage of the connoisseur's requirements:

mullus erit domini, quem misit Corsica vel quem
Tauromenitanae rupes, quando omne peractum est
et iam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit,
retibus adsiduis penitus scrutante macello
proxuma, nec patimur Tyrrhenum crescere piscem.⁵

Ostian waters were being over-fished. Claudius, however, had added variety to the local catch by introducing *scarus* from the Hellespont.

¹ *Liber coloniarum* (Rudorff, 1845) i. 236: 'Ostiensis ager ab impp. Vespasiano, Traiano et Hadriano, in precisuris, in lacineis, et per strigas, colonis eorum est adsignatus, sed postea impp. Verus Antoninus et Commodus aliqua privatis concesserunt.' ² 5¹⁷.

³ The same feature is found at Pompeii, where also fishing was an important trade. A. Palombi, 'La fauna marina nei mosaici e nei dipinti Pompeiani', in *Pompeiana* (Napoli, 1950) 425-55.

⁴ Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 17. 28: 'mare non sane pretiosis piscibus abundat, soleas tamen et squillas optimas egerit.'

⁵ Juvenal v. 92-96.

The commander of the Misenum fleet was instructed to scatter them off shore from Campania to Ostia and they were to be given a chance to establish themselves freely. All that were caught in the first five years had to be put back; after that, says Pliny the elder, the supply was plentiful.¹

Good fish could also be caught in the river. Varro even ranked Tiber fish with Campanian corn and Falernian wine, but Macrobius, who quotes him in the fourth century, regards Varro's encomium as a sign of the austerity of his times.² In the Empire the main delicacies came from the sea. The most prized of the river fish was the lupus,³ similar to if not identical with the bass; eels were common enough, but little appreciated. Grey mullet, sturgeon, and shad are caught in the river today.⁴

While agriculture and fishing could be assumed without any explicit evidence, the production of salt is controversial. In the tradition reflected in Livy the main purpose of the original settlement at Ostia was the production of salt,⁵ but in his account of Rome's fourth-century wars with the Etruscans the Roman salt-beds are those of the right bank.⁶ That these were the beds from which Rome drew her main supplies in the Empire we know from an inscription discovered there towards the end of the last century, a dedication to the 'genius saccariorum salarior(um) totius urbis camp(i) sal(inarum) Rom(anarum)'.⁷ In view of the absence of positive evidence Carcopino and Calza have assumed that the Ostian beds were early abandoned.⁸

There are two main reasons for believing that salt continued to be produced at Ostia through the Roman period. It seems unlikely that the impoverished Ostia of the Middle Ages would have turned to the production of salt if the beds had been abandoned for more than 600 years; medieval production suggests continuity from the Roman period.⁹ Moreover, the frequent occurrence of Salinator as a family name on Ostian inscriptions is most easily explained as arising from

¹ Pliny, *NH* ix. 62.

² Macrobius iii. 16. 12.

³ Horace, *Sat.* ii. 2. 31: 'unde datum sentis, lupus hic Tiberinus, an alto | captus hiet? pontisne inter iactatus, an amnis | ostia sub Tusci.'

⁴ For Tiber fish, S. A. Smith, *The Tiber and its Tributaries* (London, 1879) 149-61.

⁵ Livy i. 33. 9: 'in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae'; cf. Pliny, *NH* xxxi. 89.

⁶ Livy vii. 17. 6.

⁷ S 4285.

⁸ Carcopino, 477. Calza, *Topografia*, 15, goes farther and thinks that they never existed, but were transferred from the right bank when the fourth-century operations of C. Marcius Rutilus were ascribed to Ancus Marcius (p. 17).

⁹ A history of the salt-beds, C. Fea, *Storia delle Saline* (Roma, 1833).

the freedom given to slaves employed in the salt-beds. Similarly public slaves who had been freed by the town took the name Ostiensis, and Hadriaticus derives from the guild of shippers trading in the Adriatic.¹

When the Ostian salt-beds were originally established they were probably on the edge of a lagoon, but, as the lagoon filled up, it will have been more difficult to maintain communication with the sea. The canal that now carries to sea the water pumped from what was previously marsh until recently carried a Roman bridge over it.² The broad canal which the Roman bridge presupposes may represent the widening and deepening of a natural outlet to the sea. The canal was maintained to feed the salt-beds.

The Ostian district had one other important natural resource of which surviving inscriptions tell us nothing. Scattered references in literature suggest that the coastal area was well supplied with timber. The wooded estates of Castel Fusano and Castel Porziano, where pine, oak, and ilex grow freely, recall the coastal woodlands that stretched from Ostia to Antium. Pliny speaks of the neighbouring woods that supplied his fuel;³ Hortensius' Laurentine villa was in wooded country.⁴ Virgil in his *Aeneid* counts timber among the resources of the king of the Latins,⁵ and the tragedy of Nisus and Euryalus ends in a wood near Ostia.⁶ Much later Procopius, in his account of the war against the Goths in the sixth century, describes the Via Ostiensis as hemmed in by woods.⁷ In the early nineteenth century the hillside between Acilia and the coastal plain, now bare, was still covered by trees. They were probably descended from Roman woodlands; for these slopes are wooded in the earliest maps of the district known to us.

In the earliest days of settlement the local timber supply was most needed for construction. When concrete, tufa, and brick became the standard building materials, large supplies of timber were still needed for house fittings, furniture, and fuel. At both Ostia and Portus there were large guilds of boatbuilders, *fabri navales*, who probably drew their main supplies from local woods; for the coastal pine, *pinus pinea*, though comparatively worthless for general building purposes, is good ship timber. But in total volume the timber consumed as fuel, whether in the form of charcoal or wood, probably outweighed all other uses.

¹ p. 318.

² 126, recording the replacement of a wooden by a stone bridge in A.D. 284; phot. Carcopino, 488. The bridge was destroyed in 1943.

³ Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 17. 26.

⁴ Varro, *RR* iii. 13. 2.

⁵ Virg. *Aen.* xi. 134 ff.

⁶ Ibid. ix. 378 ff.

⁷ Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* i. 26. 13: ὁλῶδης τε ἡ ὁδὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἀπημελημένη.

The growing number of baths in the second and third centuries must have imposed an increasing strain on diminishing resources and it is possible that by the fourth century the coastal woods were largely stripped. For in the Theodosian Code we find that there is considerable difficulty in maintaining the supply of timber for the baths of Rome.¹ Had adequate supplies still been available near Ostia the imperial government would surely not have been so anxious.

LOCAL TRADE AND INDUSTRY

In the period of prosperity boatbuilding was probably Ostia's most important industry, but small-scale production covered a wide field. The alluvial clay by the river provided the raw material for a modest production of bricks and lamps. Most of the bricks used in Ostian buildings came from the same clays near Rome that supplied the capital, but some stamps are confined to Ostia and seem to represent local production.² Among the owners are the two sons (or grandsons) of M. Petronius Mamertinus, praetorian prefect under Antoninus Pius;³ among the foremen in charge is Egrilius Eutyches,⁴ a freedman or the descendant of a freedman of the Egrilii, the most widespread family in Ostia. More direct evidence of small-scale local production is a deposit of roof tiles by a furnace towards the west end of the excavations.⁵

The production of lamps was also limited, and for the same reason, that the greater part of the soil being sandy was unsuited to the purpose. Though a very large number of lamps has been added by the new excavations to those already published, the general picture does not seem to have been modified. Most of them came from Rome or other popular centres of manufacture. There is, however, one local workshop that seems to have had a large output in the Severan period. The stamp of Annus Serapidorus is by far the commonest among those found in

¹ Fuel problems, *Cod. Theod.* xiii. 5. 13; Symmachus, *Rel.* 44: 'tunc urgente defectu navicularios aequè lignorum obnoxios functioni ad parem sollicitudinem vocare coeperunt' (*sc. mancipēs salinarum*, who were responsible for providing fuel for the baths). *Cod. Theod.* xiii. 5. 10 (364): 'navicularios Africanos qui idonea publicis dispositionibus ac necessitatibus ligna convectant, privilegiis concessis dudum rursus augemus', has been taken (Waltzing, *Les Corporations professionnelles*, iii. 55) to mean that African shippers were required to provide timber for the Roman baths. This, if true, would be a stronger indication of the shortage of Ostian supplies, but the reference is perhaps more probably to timber for construction.

² *CIL* xv. 2156-223; Bloch, *Harvard CP*, 56-57 (1947) 83 nn. 409-44.

³ Bloch, art. cit. 84 n. 411.

⁴ S 5308²⁰.

⁵ Reg. i. 17. 1, near the Baths of Mithras.

Ostia, occurring on more than one hundred lamps and covering a variety of designs, both Christian and pagan.¹ With this workshop seem to be associated two others with a much smaller output.² Among imported lamps there are several examples of an African fabric.³

The plain coarse pottery used by the poorer people and the wide range of containers used in kitchen and larder may have been largely produced locally but the better-class ware of the middle and upper classes was imported. The earliest imports came from Athens and production centres in Etruria and perhaps south Italy, which were influenced by Attic models.⁴ In the third and second centuries Italian black-glazed ware dominated the market. Soon after the end of the Republic it was superseded by the red-glazed decorated ware from the potteries of Arretium and other Italian centres. But the Arretine industry, in spite of its large output and wide distribution, had a brief life. Even before the Flavian period the less refined products of Gallic potteries had virtually won the market.⁵ Glass also had to be imported: at first a luxury for the few, it became increasingly popular as Ostian prosperity increased.

The import of ready-made articles was, however, exceptional. A very large proportion of the goods that were sold in the shops were made on the premises. A terra-cotta relief from a tomb in the Isola Sacra cemetery shows a shopkeeper with a wide range of tools for sale: on the same relief a craftsman is shown making the tools.⁶ This is a fair illustration of typical Roman practice, for production and distribution were normally in the same hands. Another Ostian relief shows a shoemaker at work and suggests that he sold the shoes he made.⁷ In a shop in front of the theatre was found satin spar that had been imported from Britain, but not yet made up into jewellery.⁸ On inscriptions we find a metalworker, *vascularius*,⁹ and a purple dyer, *purpurarius*.¹⁰ They probably carried on their trades in small rooms behind shops such as can be seen lining most of the streets of the town. Even the lead pipes which

¹ CIL xv. 6296.

² Ibid. 6550, 6553 with Dressel's note on 6296.

³ Ibid. 6643, from the factory of the Pullaeni. These lamps are widely distributed outside Africa, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv. 61.

⁴ *Topografia*, tav. xxiii. For the Attic fragments, p. 471.

⁵ The increasing dominance of Gallic ware will become apparent when the detailed results of the 1938-42 excavations are published.

⁶ Calza, *Necropoli*, 252, fig. 150; Pl. xxvii a.

⁷ H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, i. 288 f., fig. 94.

⁸ NS 1913, 393 f.

⁹ 467.

¹⁰ 473.

distributed the water supply from the aqueduct to public and private buildings throughout the town were not mass produced. That many of them were made locally is clear from their stamps, which, when fully preserved, include the name of the owner of the property which the pipe serves, the workshop (*officina*) and the *plumbarius*, the individual craftsman who made the pipe. Nearly half of those preserved come from imperial workshops, probably in Rome, but on the rest the craftsmen have familiar Ostian names, such as A. Larcus Eutyches, L. Caecilius Maximus, C. Ostiensis Felicissimus. Among the Hadrianic pipe-makers are C. Nasennius Musaeus¹ and C. Nasennius Fortunatus;² C. Nasennius Felix follows in the early Severan period;³ C. Nasennius Thalamus, also a *plumbarius*, cannot be dated;⁴ a Nasennius Fortunatus is recorded as the owner of a workshop in the joint reigns of Septimius Severus and Caracalla and under Alexander Severus.⁵ The Nasennii were among the most prominent families of the local aristocracy in the second century; a freedman branch of the family probably carried on the manufacture of lead pipes over several generations. But they did not monopolize the trade; other workshops are recorded, and two were owned by women.⁶

Nor are there many clear signs of large-scale industry in the excavated area of the town. Nearly all the units are comparatively small and, since most of the buildings had been stripped bare before excavation, it is rarely possible to tell which shops were confined to the retail trade and which combined production with sale; for the typical form of shop suited either use. The large number of these shops is one of the most striking features of Ostia. They line nearly all the streets and cover a much larger proportion of the town than at Pompeii. This is partly because Ostia's population was much more concentrated, partly because the traders and ships' crews that came to the harbours provided good business for shopkeepers. They needed supplies for the homeward voyage.

The commonest form of shop resembles the Pompeian type and can still be seen in many Italian towns today. On the street is a large room in which the goods are stacked and sold; behind it there is a smaller room which can be used for production or for extra accommodation. In the corner a wooden staircase leads up to a small mezzanine

¹ S 5309¹², 13.

² Barbieri, 'Fistole inedite', NS 1953, 174, n. 40.

³ Ibid. 159, n. 10.

⁴ Ibid. 175, n. 41.

⁵ Ibid. 160, nn. 12, 14.

⁶ Ibid. 172, n. 38; 174, n. 39.

floor where the family live. The shop front during the day is completely open: at night wooden shutters are run across. There are minor variants. Some shops have no back room and were perhaps confined to retail trade; others have a back room as large as the shop, suggesting larger-scale production. Not all shops have living quarters above them.¹

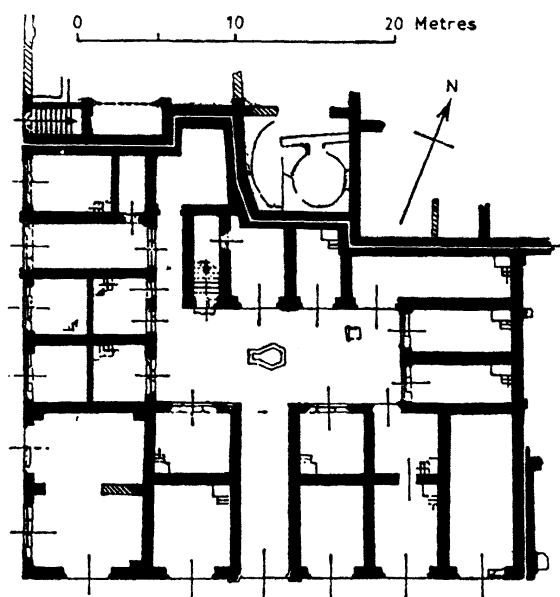


FIG. 21. Shopping market ('House of the Lararium').

Normally shops are set in rows along the frontage of public buildings and apartment blocks. Occasionally they are grouped together in independent architectural units. Such shopping bazaars are not found in Pompeii, but the conception of a self-contained block of shops is realized at Ferentinum and Tibur in the late Republic² and finds a more elaborate development at Rome by Trajan's Forum. The first example known at Ostia lies on the south side of the Via della Foce.³ A passage from the street leads into a long open courtyard flanked by eight shops on either side. The east wall dates back to the first half of the second century B.C., but the earliest internal walls are in mature reticulate.⁴

¹ A catalogue and type-analysis of Ostian shops, G. Girri, 'La taberna nel quadro urbanistico e sociale di Ostia' (Ist. di arch., Milano, Tesi di laurea I, 1956). The total number of shops listed is 806.

² Boethius and Carlgren, *Acta arch.* 3 (1932) 181.

³ Reg. iii. 1. 7; Becatti, *Topografia*, 110.

⁴ The east wall is one of the earliest examples of *opus incertum*, faced with large irregular blocks, bound by very weak mortar. It was probably connected with other walls to the east.

This shopping market was probably established under Augustus, incorporating an earlier wall. It was substantially restored under Trajan. Under Hadrian the same principle was applied with greater refinement in the so-called House of the Lararium, built at the angle of the Decumanus and the Via degli Horrea Epagathiana.¹ Here too the shops are removed from the bustle of the streets. Passages lead from both streets into a court, off which, on all four sides, open a series of ten shops. A niche in variegated terra-cotta, which perhaps held figures of the *Lares* of this community of shopkeepers, adds colour and variety to the design.

Very different from the shops that have been considered are the premises of the bakers, which suggest large-scale production. In the early days the Roman housewife had baked her own bread at home; domestic ovens had passed out of date before the end of the Republic. At Pompeii the bread trade is distributed over a series of small establishments catering for small districts; at Ostia the units are much larger. Though two-thirds of the town have been excavated only two buildings that can be securely identified as bakeries have been found. The first to be discovered was on the Via dei Molini and occupies an area of 9,950 square metres, roughly equivalent in size to six normal shops.² The second is on the west side of the *Semita dei Cippi*, and its area is even larger.³ Both probably date from Hadrian's reign and in both all the processes of bread-making were carried through on the same premises, from the grinding of the corn to the baking of the loaf. It is probable that one of these bakeries had a regular contract to supply the *vigiles*; both perhaps distributed their output through retailers. In the Severan period the Ostian bakers claimed privileges that had been granted to the bakers at Rome,⁴ which might suggest that they were also supplying the Roman market. The distribution at Rome of *panis Ostiensis* in the fourth century implies the practice then.⁵

There are also signs of a wholesale trade in wine and oil. Immediately below the museum a large number of earthenware jars can be seen sunk in the ground.⁶ The jars are over 4 feet high and their capacity is

¹ Calza, NS 1923, 183; Fig. 21.

² Id. NS 1915, 242.

³ The date of this bakery (i. 13. 4) is not attested by brickstamps. Becatti, *Topografia*, 125, suggests a Trajanic date. The framing walls are probably Trajanic, but the internal walls associated with the bakery seem to be Hadrianic or later.

⁴ *Frag. Vat.* 234 (Ulpian): 'sed Ostienses pistores non excusantur, ut Filumeniano imperator noster (Caracalla) cum patre (Septimio Severo) rescripsit.'

⁵ *Cod. Theod.* xiv. 19. 1.

⁶ NS 1903, 201.

marked on the lip. The size varies slightly but averages 40 amphorae, which is equivalent to some 230 gallons. Three other such deposits have been found, and the largest of them has over 100 jars, providing a total capacity of more than 20,000 gallons.¹ These *dolia defossa*² were not used for grain, which was stored on raised floors in buildings specially designed for the purpose. They contained wine or oil, which was stored in sunken jars to preserve a cool and even temperature.

These Ostian deposits were not serving Rome. Had they been intended for the temporary storage of Roman supplies they would have been near the Tiber bank, whereas one of them is more than half a mile from the river,³ and the largest is also on the south side of the Decumanus. Almost certainly they are wholesale stores which sold to retailers, inns, and bars. Roman supplies remained in the containers in which they had been shipped until they could be carried up to Rome.

The business of the oil merchant, *olearius*, is well illustrated in the Insula Anniana. On the face of this Hadrianic block are three inscribed bipedales: 'omnia felicia Anni'. On two further bipedales reliefs have been roughly cut. One shows a vessel in full sail, loaded with jars of oil; the other shows a man standing between large jars, representing the oil arrived and stored for sale; there was a third, now lost. Next to the living quarters of the block is a large deposit of sunken jars. Perhaps the original Hadrianic owner of this block imported oil in his own ships and sold it to the trade. Inscriptions suggest that the wine trade was organized on the same general lines.

The wine trade at Ostia was centred in the Forum Vinarium and importers and merchants shared a common guild, 'corpus splendidissimum importantium et negotiantium vinariorum', whose members were concerned with the import and sale, probably in bulk, of wine. A dedication to the *genius* of the guild is made by an auctioneer, 'praeco vinorum';⁴ we may infer regular auctions in the wine market. Some of the wine that was handled here came from the east coast of Italy and was probably carried by Ostian shippers. An inscription, now in the Vatican,

¹ The largest deposit, on the south side of the eastern Decumanus (v. 11. 5), next to the Horrea of Artemis; another next to the Insula of Annius (iii. 14, 3). The third was excavated at the end of the eighteenth century, near the Horrea of the Measurers, and is now overgrown, Paschetto, 344; Carcopino, *Mélanges*, 29 (1909) 360-4.

² For the term cf. *Dig.* xviii. 1. 76: 'dolia in horreis defossa si non sunt nominatim venditione excepta, horreorum venditioni cecisse videri.'

³ *Reg.* iii. 14, 3.

⁴ Bloch, 2: 'genio corporis splendidissimi importantium et negotiantium vinariorum C. Septimius Quietus praeco vinorum d(ono) d(edit).'

records a wine merchant who was also a shipper in the Adriatic; 'negotianti vinario item naviculario, cur(atori) corporis maris Hadriatici';¹ and that the Adriatic shippers were an Ostian guild is confirmed by other evidence. Cn. Sentius Felix, the wealthy duovir and patron of many guilds at Ostia in the late first and early second century, was 'gratis adlect(us) inter navicula(rios) maris Hadriatici'; he was also a member of a guild in the wine market, 'ad quadrigam fori vinari'.² The family name Hadriaticus in Ostian inscriptions points the same way; it was the name given to guild slaves when they were freed.³

Further confirmation was added when in 1953 a magnificently inscribed tombstone of another officer of the guild was found at Ostia. A. Caedicius Successus, a president of the *seviri Augustales* was 'curator nauclerorum maris Hadriatici, idem quinquennalis'.⁴ His wife's name is Pontulena Pyrallis, and the family names of both husband and wife are also found in an inscription in the cloisters of the Basilica of St. Paul on the Via Ostiensis.⁵ The A. Caedicius of this inscription was married to Pontulena Iusta; his trade is not recorded, but the size of his inscription shows that he was wealthy. Since many of the inscriptions from St. Paul's come from Ostia we may suspect that we have in the two Caedicii Ostian relations marrying into the same family. The family name Pontulenus is not common, but names ending in 'enus' are most widely distributed on both sides of the Adriatic.⁶ It is probable that the marriage connexion was made in the course of trade.

There is no evidence for this Adriatic trade before the second century A.D., but Ostia had her own shippers early. The first record of them is an Augustan dedication to the Roman quaestor at Ostia by the 'naviculariei Ostienses',⁷ but, apart from the Adriatic trade, there is not yet any evidence of their activities in the second century and later.

The pattern of the grain trade was probably similar. A large proportion of Ostia's storage capacity was used to hold reserves for Rome, but the so-called Horrea of Hortensius, being on the far side of the Decumanus from the river, are ill sited for corn that was to be reloaded on to river vessels; more probably they were built for Ostia's own needs. In them the importers could store their stock.

¹ *CIL* vi. 9682 (origin uncertain, probably Ostian). For wine from this area, *CIL* vi. 1101: 'negotiantes vini supernat(is) et Arimin(ensis)'.

² 5⁸⁻⁹.

³ p. 318.

⁴ *Fasti arch.* 8 (1956) p. 272 n. 3680.

⁵ *CIL* vi. 13876. The cognomen is lost.

⁶ Indices *CIL* iii. v. ix. Pontuleni are recorded at Asculum in Picenum, *CIL* ix. 5232; *EE* viii. 219.

⁷ 3603; Bloch, 32.

The middlemen in the corn trade were the *mercatores frumentarii*, and the few inscriptions that record members of their guild suggest that they were men of substance. P. Aufidius Fortis, a life president, rose to the duovirate and was patron of the colony in the middle of the second century. He was also a member of the council at Hippo Regius in Africa, and it has been suggested above that this honour was associated with his trade visits to negotiate the purchase and shipment of corn.¹ He was also patron of the corn measurers and of the divers; a corn merchant would need the goodwill of the measurers; divers would be useful when salvage was needed. P. Aufidius Faustianus and P. Aufidius Epictetus, who also held office in the guild, were almost certainly his freedmen launched in business by their patron and owing their rise in the guild to his influence. Two other corn merchants are recorded. M. Iunius Faustus became both duovir and *flamen Romae et Augusti*.² He was also patron of the guild of curators of sea shipping and was honoured with a statue by the shippers of Africa and Sardinia, both corn-exporting provinces.³ M. Caerellius Iazemis was president of the bakers' guild and a *codicarius*; he made a dedication to Hercules Invictus at Tibur.⁴

There may also be evidence of middlemen in the Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana. This large building is presumably a business investment by two enterprising freedmen. Its name, recorded above the monumental entrance, suggests that it is a warehouse for the storage of goods; and it is consistent with this purpose that the entry should have an inner as well as an outer door and that the stairways leading to upper floors should be sealed off by separate doors. The general dispositions of the building seem to be dictated by a desire for security. There are sixteen large rooms on the ground floor and at least two floors above.⁵ Perhaps traders who bought in bulk could store their goods here before distribution to retailers.

Less ambitious *horrea* are scattered through the town. In places there is little to distinguish them from shopping markets such as the House of the Lararium. Some ten or twelve rooms are grouped round an open court, normally paved with *opus spicatum*; but the rooms do not have the wide-open doorways of shops and they are lit by slit windows. Good examples may be seen on the west side of the *Semita dei Cippi* and on the north side of the *Cardo degli Aurighi*. They were probably used for the storage of goods other than corn, oil, or wine, and operated by wholesalers. When trade declined some of these small *horrea* were

¹ 10, p. 203. ² 161. ³ 4142. ⁴ 4234. ⁵ Becatti, NS 1940, 32; Pl. xv a.

no longer needed for storage. One set, east of the Baths of the Six Columns, was converted to other use, probably in the Severan period, and a Mithraeum was installed in one of the rooms; in the fourth century a diminutive set of baths was carved out of the south-west corner of the *horrea* at the south end of the Via della Trinacria.

Such enterprises as the building of the Horrea Epagathiana required a considerable outlay of capital. We may suspect that the bankers played an important part in the development of Ostia. Unfortunately the inscriptions which record bankers, *coactores argentarii*, tell us nothing of their activities.¹ We should like to know how they invested the money deposited with them, to what extent they supplied capital for the rising middle class, and what rates they charged on their loans. It is doubtful, in view of the limited extent and general character of Ostian territory, whether much money was invested in land. Trade and building must have supplied the main demand for loans, and the banker's main hope of making his own money grow was directly or indirectly through trade.

During the second century there seems to have been no need for money to lie idle. When benefactors leave endowments to the town or to their guild they can specify the rate of interest to be realized on the capital and assume that it will accrue regularly and indefinitely.² The banker's business probably became much more hazardous in the economic decline of the third century.

OSTIA'S SERVICES TO ROME

By the second century Ostia was importing for her own population considerable quantities of corn, oil and wine, pottery, glass, and other finished products; and a wide range of raw materials for her craftsmen. This she could never have afforded to do on the resources of her own territory. Ostian prosperity depended primarily on the services she rendered to Rome.

In the complex structure of Rome's trade Ostia had three main functions to fulfil. She had to provide harbour facilities for Rome's imports from overseas; she had to provide storage capacity for Roman supplies that could not be immediately sent upstream; and, sooner or later, she had to send to Rome such cargoes as could not be carried in the ships

¹ Most are very fragmentary: 470, S 4644, 4659, 4967, 5197; Bloch, 53, a freedman Egrilius, president of the *seviri Augustales*. Cn. Sentius Felix is president of the *argentarii* (511), probably bankers. 405, a *stipulator argentarius* (for the trade, Dig. xlv. 1. 41; Suet. Vit. 14. 2; Diz. epigr. i. 660).

² 326 (12%), 353 (5%), 367 (6%).

that brought them to port. Ostia also was a more convenient centre than Rome for much of the business that had to be negotiated with shippers; for the larger merchantmen turned about at the harbour and could not make the river passage to Rome.

Before the building of the imperial harbours the most crucial problem was the difficulty of entry to the river mouth, owing to the silt carried down by the river. Local pilots were needed to guide incoming ships through the sandy shallows, and the larger ships had to unload part of their cargoes before they could enter harbour. In calm weather this need not have caused great difficulty, but the owners of tenders may not have been so ready to risk their boats in heavy seas. When Fiumicino had become the normal port of entry to the Tiber we find the same difficulties repeated. In 1826 twenty-seven ships' captains from Sardinia and other states sent a protest to the Pope because the river boats would not come out to sea to do their duty.¹ Earlier Sardinian ships' captains had probably made similar protests to the Roman quaestor at Ostia. Doubtless shipwrecks were not uncommon, both outside the river mouth and even in the river. An inscription records divers, *urinatores*,² presumably engaged on salvage work.³

When Trajan had added his inner basin to the Claudian harbour this main problem was solved. Even the great Alexandrian merchantmen could anchor in safety in the inner harbour. But the old river harbour was not completely neglected. The presence at Ostia of an office of the Spanish and Gallic export tax, 'statio Antonin(iana) XXXX Galliarum et Hispaniarum', suggests that goods from Gaul and Spain were still coming in at the Tiber mouth.⁴ There may have been a lighthouse to guide them. Tor Boacciana in its present form is medieval, but its nucleus is Roman, of the late second or early third century, and its shape seems to have remained unchanged. There is no evidence of Roman remains beyond it; both shape and site suggest that it was a lighthouse or watch-tower.

It would have been impossible to send at once to Rome all the cargoes that arrived in harbour. Lucian describes an Alexandrian merchantman engaged in the transport of corn.⁵ It was 150 feet long, 45 feet deep and

¹ G. B. Rasi, *Sul Tevere e sua navigazione da Fiumicino a Roma* (Roma, 1827) 70.

² 10.

³ Cf. *Dig.* xiv. 2. 4. 1: 'sed si navis . . . in alio loco summersa est et aliquorum mercatorum merces per urinatores extractae sunt . . . '.

⁴ S 4708; S. J. de Laet, *Portorium* (Bruges, 1949) 161.

⁵ Lucian, *Navigium*, 5-6; L. Casson, 'The Isis and her voyage', *TAPA* 81 (1950) 43.

wide; and had enough corn on board to supply the whole of Attica for a year. When a fleet of such vessels¹ arrived in harbour the only practical solution was to store the corn in granaries and dispatch it to Rome by river boats over a period. It was also a wise insurance to spread Rome's reserves.

The most individual characteristic of a granary is the raising of the floor on low brick walls to keep the grain dry. By this criterion four large *horrea* can be identified as granaries in Ostia,² and the emblems of *modius* and measuring rod over the entrance to another building that has been largely destroyed by the river is a reasonably certain indication of a fifth.³ One of these, the so-called Horrea of Hortensius, lies on the south side of the Decumanus, opposite the theatre, and may have served local rather than Roman needs.* The remainder are near the river. By the imperial harbours warehouses occupy an even larger proportion of the area than at Ostia. Trajan's inner basin is almost completely surrounded by them, but until they are excavated it remains uncertain how they were distributed between corn and other goods.

Three of the Ostian granaries conform to a common plan. The storage-rooms open off the four sides of a colonnade or portico which surrounds a large open area. Extra capacity is provided by adding a second story, repeating the ground-floor plan. Two at least of the *horrea* by Trajan's harbour are planned rather differently. The storage-rooms are built back to back in a series of blocks; the open area between the blocks is restricted.⁴ A similar plan is used in the last of the Ostian granaries known to us, built towards the end of the second century.⁵ This distribution of rooms makes more economic use of space; for that reason it probably superseded the earlier type.

The storage capacity for corn in Ostia's granaries was more than was needed for her own population, and part of it must have been designed to hold a reserve for Rome. That Roman corn should be stored in Ostia during the Republic and early Empire is natural; we should, however, have expected that, when the imperial harbours had been built, Rome's supply would be concentrated by the harbours. But the storage capacity of Ostia was substantially increased in the second century in spite of the addition of new *horrea* round Trajan's harbour. Two of the granaries were built shortly after the completion of the new harbour;⁶ a third was

¹ For the volume, Casson, art. cit. 51; St. Paul's ship was comparable, Acts xxvii. 37-38.

² Reg. i. 8. 2; ii. 2. 7; ii. 9. 7; v. 12. 1.

³ i. 7. 2; Paschetto, 314.

⁴ NS 1925, 58; Lugli, *Porto*, 83.

⁵ Fig. 23.

⁶ i. 7. 2 and i. 8. 2.