

FIG. 22. Horrea of Hortensius.

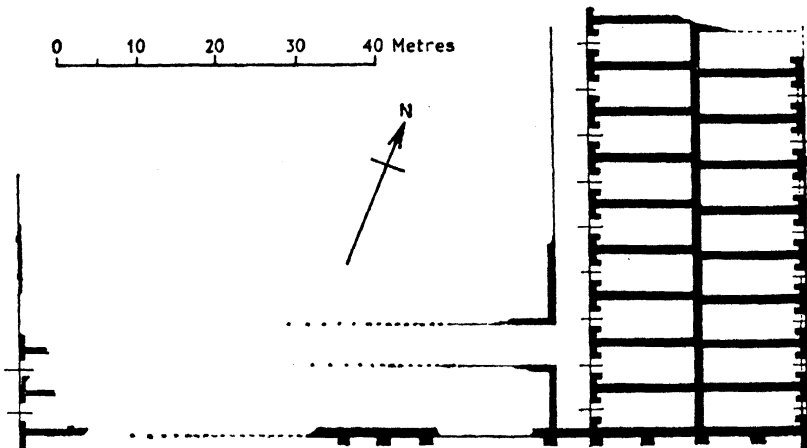


FIG. 23. Antonine Horrea.

rebuilt to double its capacity later in the second century,¹ and a fourth, probably the largest of the series, was added, probably under Commodus. The tremendous increase in the total storage capacity of Ostia and the harbours may in part be explained by the decision to bring the Alexandrian corn fleet to the new Ostian harbour rather than to Puteoli. Reserves that had previously been held at Puteoli now had to be stored by Trajan's harbour. It would seem uneconomic to transfer corn from the harbour to Ostia before dispatch to Rome, but this may have been done; it is more probable that the Roman corn stored in Ostia came in smaller vessels direct to the Tiber.

The efficient organization of the corn traffic depended in large part on the measurers, *mensores frumentarii*, who formed one of the most important guilds at Ostia, and later at Portus. The guild was divided into three sections, whose titles presumably reflect their different but related functions: there were *acceptores*, *adiutores*, *nauticarii*.² These titles are not self-explanatory, but we can roughly guess the division of responsibility. Cargoes had to be checked on arrival (? *acceptores*); quantities had to be registered as they entered and left the *horrea* (? *adiutores*); and further control was needed when river boats were loaded for the passage to Rome (? *nauticarii*).

Not all the *horrea* at Ostia and Portus were intended for grain. Temporary storage had also to be provided for oil and wine and other goods that arrived in bulk. In Ostia there is no sign that dock space was distributed according to commodities. The granaries are scattered and not concentrated. It is possible that the arrangements by Trajan's harbour were more deliberately planned, for in a well-known votive relief from Portus which shows two merchantmen with cargoes of wine in the harbour the unloading seems to be associated with a statue of Bacchus in the background.³ Remains of a temple of Bacchus were found in the centre of the north-east side of Trajan's harbour and in it a statue of Bacchus.⁴ Perhaps *horrea vinaria* were concentrated in this quarter. There is much of interest to be learnt concerning the planning of the storage when the area is excavated. Meanwhile all that is known for certain is that marble was dumped beyond the harbours on the south bank of the canal to await reloading for Rome.⁵

Many of the shippers who came regularly to Ostia probably found it

¹ Grandi Horrea, NS 1921, 381.

² *acceptores*, 2. 154; *adiutores*, 2. 154; *nauticarii*, 2. 289. Paschetto, 217.

³ Pl. xx.

⁴ p. 165.

⁵ p. 167.

more convenient to do business there than at Rome and it is probable that Roman merchants came to meet them. In the Forum Vinarium the wine importers from Rome seem to do their business side by side with Ostian importers. An inscription records a *corpus vinariorum urb(anorum) et Ost(iensium)*¹ and Cn. Sentius Felix, whose career is centred in Ostia, is described as 'patronus negotiator(um) ab urbe'.²

A much more impressive illustration of such business is the Piazzale delle Corporazioni behind the theatre.³ The large double colonnade is contemporary with the original construction of the theatre under Augustus. In its present form sixty-one small rooms open off the colonnade, and on the pavement in front of most of them mosaics illustrate the occupation of the owners.⁴ One of these mosaics has the inscription 'stat(io) Sabratensium' and depicts an elephant.⁵ A large proportion of the others illustrate the corn trade, and among the overseas communities represented Africa is the most conspicuous province.

But these mosaics are not set at the original level. Beneath them is an earlier series of which it has been possible to examine only four.⁶ While the later mosaics mostly point clearly to overseas trade and especially the corn trade, the earlier mosaics are much more ambiguous. Three have designs which have no specific commercial association—Minerva and stag, a victor in the games, two Nereids; only the fourth is explicit. It has the letters 'S.R.' and probably depicts the instruments used by the *stuppatores restiones* in making rope.⁷

There has been much dispute concerning the original and later function of this public colonnade. Calza held that the traders and shippers who were most important for the supplies of Rome were concentrated here by imperial authority under Augustus, and that this was one of the main centres of official control, its function remaining virtually unchanged into the third century.⁸ Rostovtzeff accepted this view and saw in the grouping of overseas shippers an early illustration of close imperial control.⁹

¹ 318; possibly also Bloch, *Epigraphica*, i (1938) 38: '[colleg]ium vinariorum impo[r]-
tatorum urb. et Ost.?'.

² 511.

³ Calza, *BC* 43 (1915) 178.

⁴ A complete list, Calza, art. cit. 187; *S* 4549.

⁵ *S* 4549¹⁴; Pl. xxiii a.

⁶ *NS* 1914, 72 f., 98 f.

⁷ *S* 4549⁵⁸, *NS* 1914, 72. The design of the mosaic rules out the suggestion (*Economic Survey*, iv. 63) that the letters represent 'statio Rusicadensium, Ruspiniensium, or Regiensium'.

⁸ Calza, art. cit. 196–206.

⁹ Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*² (1957) 159 and 607 f., n. 22.

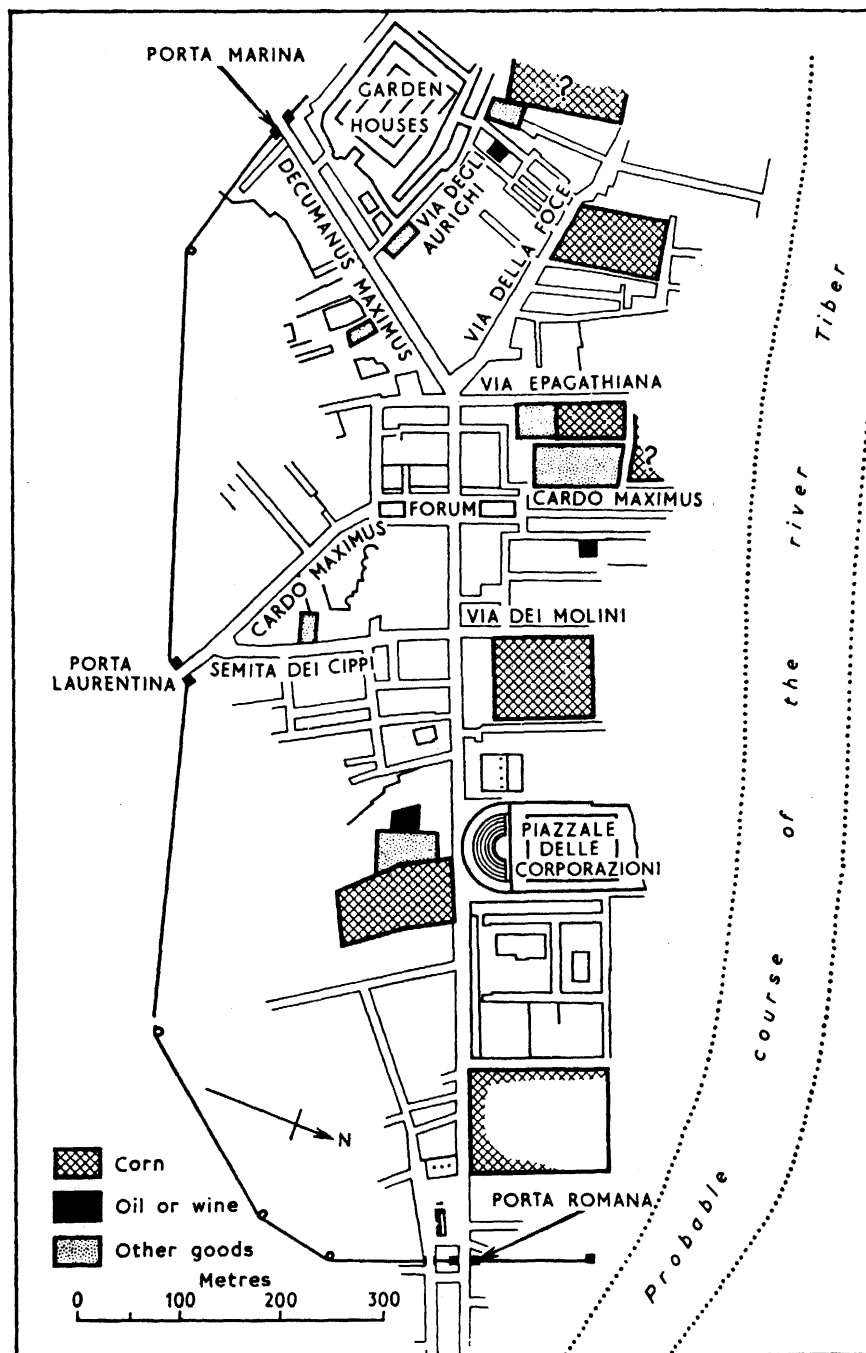


FIG. 24. Distribution of Horrea.

The balance of argument has turned against this view, because it is not consistent with the rest of our evidence concerning the relation of traders and government in the early Empire. That evidence suggests that the control of shippers and trade developed slowly and only became rigorous in the Severan period and afterwards. Tenney Frank has emphasized that there is no evidence for the concentration of shippers in this colonnade until the raising of the level, which Calza has dated to the end of the second century, when the theatre was rebuilt. He concludes that not until then were the *stationes* designed as centres of control. Previously, he suggests, these were offices available to any who wished to buy the space.¹

A more extreme reaction from Calza's view is advocated by Van Berchem. He suggests that the colonnade had originally no commercial significance, and was closely associated in function with the theatre. The small rooms off the colonnade were taken by guilds and other groups whose members congregated in them during theatre intervals. Perhaps they also paid for theatre performances.²

For this purpose the small rooms seem to be singularly ill fitted, and unless the colonnade had some ulterior function it is unlikely that it would have been so large. One of the earliest mosaics refers to the *stuppatores restiones*. It is likely that these spaces were rented to local trading groups and any others who wished to take space here. Ownership probably changed frequently; the rope-sellers occupy a different position in the colonnade when the level is raised.³

There is also now evidence that overseas shippers were represented here long before the end of the second century. A marble pediment, with the inscription 'naviculari Africani', was recently found on the east side of the colonnade.⁴ The lettering is extremely good and cannot be later than the reign of Hadrian. Moreover, the chronology of the changes in the Piazzale as generally accepted from Calza is too schematic. It is tempting to associate the building of the temple in the centre of the gardens, and the raising of the level of the colonnade, with the rebuilding of the theatre, but a study of the various styles of construction suggests that the building history of the Piazzale was more complex.

¹ Tenney Frank, 'Notes on Roman commerce', *JRS* 27 (1937) 72-79, esp. 74 f. See also M. R. Étienne, 'Les amphores du Testaccio au III^e siècle', *Mélanges*, 61 (1949) 151.

² D. Van Berchem, *Les Distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'empire* (Geneva, 1936) 111.

³ S 4549¹.

⁴ Bloch, 44. This pediment is too heavy for the lightly built *stationes*. It may have been set up over the doorway to the rooms on the eastern side.

The brickwork of the central temple bears no similarity to that of the new theatre, nor to any other buildings in Ostia that can be dated to the reign of Commodus or later. It has every characteristic of a late Flavian building, including late first-century brickstamps, and was probably built under Domitian.¹ A series of large rooms behind the colonnade on the east side, but accessible from it, is of similar style and probably of approximately similar date. Nor are all the mosaics of the higher level contemporary. There is a considerable difference in the size of the tesserae used, a fair indication of a difference in date. The mosaics of the north-west corner may well be much earlier than Commodus.

We may even question the inference that in its later form this colonnade was under strict imperial control. It is perhaps not without significance that the authority for erecting statues in the public gardens round the temple was given not by the procurator, but by the local council.² It is also clear that, though the corn trade is extremely prominent, other trades are also represented, and among them some which would hardly seem to represent services vital to Rome.

One such *statio* is occupied by the tanners of Ostia and the harbours, *corpus pellion(um) Ost(iensium) et Porte(nsium)*.³ Next to them on one side are the rope-sellers; on the other *navicularii lignarii*, timber shippers, who may have been catering for the Roman or Ostian market or both. Gaul is represented by *Narbo*⁴ and probably also by *Arelate*, symbolized by a pontoon bridge over a river, which carries the combined flow of three smaller rivers, the confluence of the Rhône;⁵ neither town was concerned primarily with the export of corn. The letters 'M.C.' are found in a mosaic between two jars of wine and date palms;⁶ they may represent Mauretania Caesariensis, but there is no hint of corn. The Alexandrini of another *statio*⁷ could be concerned with a wide range of goods other than corn.

It is true that the two Sardinian communities of Carales and Turrus are corn exporters and the shippers of Carales add corn measures with ships in their mosaic to illustrate their business.⁸ Most of the African towns represented are also concerned with corn. They include Carthage,

¹ p. 65.

² 'l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) p(ublice)' on statue bases, e.g. 172, 4140. The point is emphasized by Van Berchem, *op. cit.* 113. But see Addenda.

³ S 4549².

⁴ S 4549³².

⁵ NS 1914, 288 with fig. 3; cf. L. A. Constans, *Arles antique*, 343.

⁶ S 4549⁴⁸.

⁷ S 4549⁴⁰. The restoration '[Ale]xandrin[i]' is probable, but not certain, NS 1920, 166.

⁸ S 4549^{19, 21}.

Misya, Hippo Diarrytus, Gummi, Curubis.¹ But the African elephant adopted by Sabrata² points to the trade in ivory which came up by the desert route from the south. Nor is Syllectum a corn centre; its shippers probably carried mainly oil.³ Of the mosaics which carry no inscription, one depicts a boar, a stag, and an elephant, perhaps pointing to the supply of animals for the amphitheatre.⁴

In three inscriptions shippers are accompanied by traders, *navicularii et negotiantes*.⁵ Presumably the *negotiantes* were concerned with orders for goods that they would buy in their home district and ship to Ostia. Even in the supply of corn it seems probable that in the early Empire arrangements for shipping were made by private contract.⁶

The offices in this Ostian colonnade cover a wide diversity of trades and traders. Since more than half of the mosaics are lost or cannot be identified, the full range is unknown to us: the absence of Spanish communities, for instance, may not be significant. But even among those that survive there is a sufficient range to lead us to doubt whether this is in fact a spectacular illustration of bureaucracy. More probably the colonnade was originally designed for the benefit of private traders from Ostia and overseas who found it convenient to have representatives in such a conspicuous setting. In their offices there was no room for the stocking and sale of goods; but here orders could conveniently be placed and progressed. The *procurator annonae* no doubt found it increasingly convenient to have so many representatives of the corn trade concentrated and easily accessible, but there is no reason to believe that they came here on his invitation or maintained their offices merely to receive his instructions.

Most of the shipping represented at the upper level in this colonnade probably came to the imperial harbours rather than to the river mouth. This would be a natural inference from the representation of large cornships; it is confirmed by the inclusion of the Claudian lighthouse in some of the mosaic designs.⁷ The function of the colonnade was

¹ S 4549¹⁸, 10, 12, 17, 34.

² S 4549¹⁴.

³ S 4549²³; *Economic Survey*, iv. 63. But see Pl. xxiv b, note.

⁴ NS 1914, 287, fig. 4.

⁵ S 4549²¹ (Carales). 15 and 16 have only 'navicularii et negotiantes de suo'; the name of the state may have been above the door.

⁶ Columella, i *Praef.* 20: 'nunc ad hastam locamus, ut nobis ex transmarinis provinciis advehatur frumentum, ne fame laboremus.'

⁷ S 4549²¹, 23, 32; 32 (Narbo), a ship in full sail, with lighthouse, wrongly interpreted (NS 1916, 326 f., followed by *CIL*) as a ship being loaded by a crane from a warehouse.

probably already established before Claudius built his harbour and it was natural to continue the use of facilities that were working well. Ostia's relation to the harbours was not dissimilar to that of London city to the London docks.

By analogy we may expect that the Forum Vinarium, which has not yet been discovered, is to be found near the Tiber and not at Portus. A recent attempt has been made to locate it near the temple of Bacchus by Trajan's harbour on the strength of the proposed identification of monuments depicted in the Torlonia harbour relief.¹ But the identifications are extremely speculative and the function of the Forum Vinarium seems to correspond so closely with that of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni that it seems more likely that it, too, should have been in Ostia.

The evidence of inscriptions confirms the inference. Material may have been taken from Ostia to Portus when Ostia was declining; but it is barely conceivable that inscriptions found in Ostia were originally set up in Portus. The finding of a dedication to the *genius* of the guild of wine importers at Ostia is adequate evidence that the guild headquarters were at Ostia.² L. Caecilius Aemilianus is 'corporatus in templo fori vinari importatorum negotiantium';³ the importers' headquarters were in the Forum Vinarium. Similarly, if their business was done by Trajan's harbour, the importers would have commemorated Marcus Aurelius there and not in Ostia.⁴ The Forum Vinarium probably resembled the Piazzale della Corporazioni on a more modest scale. The temple and the sculptured group of a four-horse chariot⁵ recorded in the inscriptions may have stood in a free area surrounded by colonnade.

Of the shippers that frequented the Ostian harbour we have a few further obscure glimpses from inscriptions. L. Caelius L. f. A[rm](ensis) Aprilis Valerian[us] is described as a *curator navium Carthaginiensium*.⁶ The tribe Arnensis is the tribe of Carthage and we may assume that he is a Carthaginian resident in Ostia. We do not know what were his responsibilities, but there were guilds of *curatores navium marinarum*⁷ and also of *curatores navium ammalium*.⁸ Perhaps they acted as agents to secure docking facilities for shipping. While ship-owners from communities in the provinces seem to have congregated in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni and sometimes acted together, as when the owners

¹ M. Fasciato, 'Ad quadrigam fori vinari', *Mélanges*, 59 (1947) 65.

² Bloch, 2.

³ Bloch, *Epigraphica*, 1 (1939) 37.

⁴ Ibid. 38.

⁵ 58-9.

⁶ S 4626.

⁷ 364, 5, 4142.

⁸ 364.

of African and Sardinian ships, 'domini navium Afrarum universarum item Sardorum', set up a statue to a patron of the curators of sea-ship-ping,¹ it is possible that some big shippers had their own private representatives to watch their interests.

Sextus Fadius Secundus Musa is known as a rich Gallic shipper from Monte Testaccio sherds and the inscription on the base of a statue in his honour at Narbo.² His names and those of other Sexti Fadii are found on more than twenty amphora fragments from Monte Testaccio, showing that they were engaged in the shipment of Spanish oil to Rome. Héron de Villefosse has drawn attention to Sexti Fadii at Ostia and suggests that they may be descended from freedmen of the family sent to keep an eye on the passage of Fadian cargoes through Ostia to Rome.³ Other shippers' names that are found on Monte Testaccio sherds also recur at Ostia, such as L. Antonii. D. Caecilii, Laberii; but all these names, including Fadii, are too widely spread in the Roman world to justify any secure inference from their presence at Ostia.

Concerning the transport of goods by river to Rome there is a considerable body of evidence in inscriptions, literary sources, and reliefs; but this evidence is not easy to interpret in detail. From the elder Pliny's description the river passage would seem to involve no serious problem. The Tiber is 'capable of carrying ships of the largest size from the Italian sea'; it is 'a most peaceful carrier of goods from every quarter of the world'.⁴ Virgil's picture is very different; his Tiber is a dangerous river:

verticibus rapidis et multa flavus harena,
in mare prorumpit.⁵

Today one rarely sees a boat on the river between Rome and the mouth. The current flows swiftly and unexpected eddies increase the difficulties of light boats. Stories of incautious bathers being suddenly sucked down and drowned are repeated in Rome and Ostia.

Two American scholars who recently made the practical experiment of floating down the Tiber on a rubber raft have emphasized the difficulties of the river passage to Rome. They point out that Roman sails were square-rigged and therefore needed a following wind; in the winding course of the Tiber they would have been for much of the

¹ 4142.

² CIL xii. 4393.

³ Héron de Villefosse, *Bull. arch. du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1918) 264.

⁴ Pliny, *NH* iii. 54: 'quamlibet magnarum navium ex Italo mari capax, rerum in toto orbe nascentium mercator placidissimus.'

⁵ Virg. *Aen.* vii. 31.

distance helpless. The current, they think, was too strong for oars. Their conclusion is that transport by river to Rome must have been confined to barges towed by oxen, that it was fundamentally uneconomic, and could only have been sustained by an imperial power with rich resources.¹

This view would seem to be confirmed by Procopius' account of the Gothic war in the sixth century. After recording the capture of Portus by the Goths he briefly describes the relation of the harbour to Rome:

When traders arrive with their ships in the harbour they unload their cargoes, reload them on to barges and so proceed up the Tiber to Rome. They make no use of sails or oars. For boats cannot be carried by the wind owing to the winding course of the river which does not flow in a straight line; and oars are ineffective since the current flows continuously against them. Instead they attach ropes from the barges to the necks of oxen who drag the boats like wagons to Rome.²

A later passage, however, shows that oxen were not indispensable. Belisarius was besieged in Rome and could not bring in provisions by road. Portus had been surprised and occupied by the Goths; all hope of bringing food to Rome rested on Ostia and the Tiber. Supplies of food and military forces had been collected in Campania; all the ships that were available were loaded to capacity and sailed for the Tiber; the troops convoyed what remained by the coastal road; ships and troops met at Ostia.³

Procopius emphasizes the difficulty of proceeding farther. The tow-path on the left bank had long fallen out of use, since Rome's trade was concentrated in Portus. No oxen were available. The crisis was resolved by using the small boats attached to the largest of the merchantmen. They waited for a following wind and then set sail. 'Where the river flowed in a straight course they raised their sails and proceeded without difficulty; but where the river curved round and followed an oblique course, their sails got no benefit from the wind. The sailors took to the oars and with great difficulty forced their way against the current.' Procopius' evidence makes it clear that in the sixth century transport by river to Rome was normally confined to haulage by oxen, but that in a crisis a combination of oars and sail was practicable. Earlier evidence shows that Tiber transport was much more diversified in the Republic and early Empire.

¹ L. A. and L. B. Holland, *Archaeology*, 3 (1950) 87.

² Procopius, *De bell. Goth.* i. 26, 10-12.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 7, 4-9.

When Virgil in the *Aeneid* described the dispatch of two biremes to Rome from the Trojan camp at the river mouth he was not straining his readers' credulity.¹ Warships frequently made the journey in the Republic. Ships stationed at Rome fought at sea and returned to Rome; and when Antium was conquered some of her ships were taken to Roman docks.² But warships relied on a concentration of oar-power and were better equipped than merchantmen for the journey.

The evidence of Strabo and Dionysius of Halicarnassus shows that merchantmen also could complete their journey by river. Dionysius speaks of ships of up to a capacity of 3,000 amphorae that are rowed or towed up to Rome.³ Strabo adds that even ships which had to unload part of their cargo at sea could, when lightened, run inland as far as Rome.⁴ Juvenal also seems to describe an African trader with a cargo of oil coming up the river.⁵ It seems clear that merchantmen with a small capacity did not have to unload at Ostia: and probably many of them continued to use the river harbour even when the imperial harbours had been built. They made their way by a combination of sail and oars or haulage.

How much of Rome's trade was carried in small vessels we cannot determine, but the emphasis on grain transports has probably distorted the picture. The Alexandrian merchantman described by Lucian probably exceeded a thousand tons,⁶ and this may not have been exceptional in the Alexandrian and later in Commodus' African fleet. But even grain carriers could often be much smaller. In offering privileges to ship-owners who carried corn for the Roman market Claudius set the lower limit at 10,000 modii, nearly 90 tons.⁷

But Claudius' regulation is poor evidence for the size of merchantmen carrying other goods. When in 218 B.C. it was decided that a position in the Roman senate was incompatible with mercantile trade, senators were forbidden by law to own ships of a capacity of more than 300 amphorae;⁸ the natural inference is that men were trading with ships not much larger. Similarly when Cicero, speaking of the merchantmen collected by Dolabella in Asia in 43 B.C., says that they were all

¹ Virg. *Aen.* viii. 94: 'olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant | et longos superant flexus.'

² Livy viii. 14. 12.

³ Dion. Hal. iii. 44. 3: 'μέχρι τῆς Ῥώμης εἰρεσίᾳ καὶ ῥύμασι παρελκόμεναι κομίζονται.'

⁴ Strabo, 232.

⁵ Juv. v. 88 f.: 'illud enim vestris datur alveolis quod | canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta.'

⁶ L. A. Casson, *TAPA* 81 (1950) 51-56.

⁷ Gaius, *Inst.* i. 32 c.

⁸ Livy xxi. 63. 3.

over 2,000 amphorae (50 tons) in capacity he implies that ships of that size were common enough.¹ It seems probable that much of the coastal trade in Italy at least was carried on in small vessels. Petronius' genial freedman Trimalchio built five ships, loaded them with wine, and sent them, presumably from Campania, to Rome.² Had they not gone to the bottom on the way they would have ended their journey in Rome and not at Ostia. Trimalchio replaced his losses by bigger and better ships: 'size, you know, means strength'. There may have been a general tendency to increase the size of trading vessels.

Merchantmen that relied on sails alone had to be towed when the wind was not behind them. The vessels best suited to make their way up river were those that were equipped with oars as well as sails. Such vessels had once been common. Little is heard of them in the Empire, and it has sometimes been thought that they became obsolete when sailing technique improved in the late Republic.³ They probably had a much longer life. When Ovid makes his melancholy journey to exile at Tomi he changes ships at Corinth; for the first part of his journey at least his ship relies on oars as well as sail.⁴ One of the mosaics in the recently discovered late Empire villa at Piazza Armerina in Sicily depicts wild beasts being embarked. The ship, in addition to a central mast and sail, is generously equipped with oars.⁵ The type persisted because it was still useful. It was less at the mercy of the winds and, though its size was limited, it could travel more quickly than larger ships completely dependent on sails.

While small merchantmen were probably a common sight on the Tiber, it was rare for a large vessel to make the journey. Ammianus Marcellinus describes the transport upstream of Constantius' obelisk as a memorable occasion. The boat had 300 rowers, but even so it did not complete the last winding stretch to the Roman docks; the obelisk was unloaded at Vicus Alexandrinus and carried for the last three miles by road.⁶ This was not the first occasion that such a sight had been witnessed. Augustus and Caligula had once brought obelisks nearly as

¹ Cic. *Ad fam.* xii. 15. 2.

² Petronius, *Sat.* 76.

³ Le Gall, *Le Tibre* (Paris, 1953) 70-72.

⁴ Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 10. 3: 'sive opus est velis, minimam bene currit ad auram | sive opus est remo, remige carpit iter.' Cf. Fig. 25 d.

⁵ G. V. Gentili, 'I mosaici della villa romana del casale di Piazza Armerina', *Boll. d'Arte*, 37 (1952) 40, fig. 16. Cf. Dion. Hal. iii. 44: 'αὐτὸν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων νῆες ὀπηλικάαι ποτ' ἂν οὖσαι τύχῳσι'.

⁶ Amm. Marc. xvii. 4. 13-14.

large to Rome and they too had been carried up the Tiber.¹ But the ships which carried them were specially designed and not kept in regular service.* The Augustan ship became an exhibit in the docks at Puteoli until it was burnt; Caligula's ship became the foundation for the lighthouse at the entrance to Claudius' harbour.

It was more normal to unload large cargoes and send them upstream by smaller boats. Of these river boats we hear most of the *naves codicariae*. Seneca raises the question who was the first to persuade the Romans to take to ships. It was Claudius, who was given in consequence the name Caudex—'quia plurimum tabularum contextus caudex apud antiquos vocatur . . . et naves nunc quoque ex antiqua consuetudine, quae commeatus per Tiberim subvehunt, codicariae vocantur'.² This explanation does not describe clearly the form of the boats; their function was to carry Roman food supplies up river. This function is confirmed by other evidence. In the Theodosian Code the *codicarii* are closely associated with the *mensores frumentarii* who measured the grain.³ The same association is seen in an inscription on the base of a statue set up to Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, *praefectus annonae*, in the late fourth century, by the measurers. They commemorate his high qualities in office; he resolved a long-standing feud with the *codicarii* so successfully that both parties to the dispute were satisfied.⁴ They show their link with the harbour service when they commemorate a procurator of the imperial harbours.⁵ One inscription records 'codicarii naviculari infernates';⁶ another 'codicari nav(iculari) infra pontem S(ublicium?)'.⁷ Both terms may be used to distinguish the *codicarii* operating from Ostia and those operating on the Tiber above Rome.⁸ It is significant that the guild of the *codicarii* is one of the few Ostian guilds for which evidence survives through the third and fourth

¹ Pliny, *NH* xxvi. 69–70.

² Seneca, *De brev. vit.* 13. 4. Perhaps the name was originally used to distinguish a boat constructed with planks from the more primitive type hollowed from the trunk of a tree.

³ *Cod. Theod.* xiv. 4. 9 (417): 'ad excludendas patronorum caudicariorum fraudes et Portuensium furta mensorum'; xiv. 15. 1 (364): 'sola ducenta milia modiorum frumenti integri adque intemerati iuxta priscum morem mensores et caudicarii levioribus pretiis pistoribus venundare cogantur.'

⁴ *CIL* vi. 1759.

⁵ 170.

⁶ 131.

⁷ 185.

⁸ Le Gall, *Le Tibre*, 257, rejects this explanation on the ground that river traffic above Rome was confined to *lyntrarii*. This needs more independent confirmation; if there were *codicarii* only on the lower Tiber there would be no need for the descriptive qualification.

centuries. Being vital to Rome for the transport of food they were kept busy even when the total volume of trade was drastically reduced.

A representation of a boat used in this service may survive in a painting in the Vatican, which was taken from a tomb in the cemetery outside the Porta Laurentina in the nineteenth century. The painting has been heavily restored, but the essential elements were clear when it was found.¹ The Isis Giminiana is being loaded with a cargo of grain. Standing on a cabin in the stern is Farnaces *magister*, the ship's master, ready to control the rudder. In the centre of the boat is a measure into which a man is pouring corn (*res*) from a sack; opposite him is a corn measurer checking the quantity. On his right stands a figure in black holding in his hand a branch. He is not, as has been suggested, the captain of the boat; the same figure appears on a mosaic design in the hall of the measurers and is connected with their work. In the bows sits a figure by a second measure on which is written 'feci', showing that he has finished his work. A planked gangway leads up from the quay (not represented) to the boat and two porters are shown carrying up sacks on their shoulders. The presence of the measurers shows beyond doubt that the loading of corn is being represented, and since the picture comes from an Ostian tomb this should be an Ostian scene, and the boat a river boat. Its shape is not perhaps what we would expect. It certainly could not be described as a low flat-bottomed barge, such as the *navis codicaria* has often been assumed to be. The stern rises high from the water; the keel has a curving line and the tapering prow also rises high. There is no sign of sails; the mast, near the prow, might be for a towing-rope.

Le Gall has convincingly identified two other boats as *naves codicariae*.² One is depicted on a relief from Rome, the other comes from a mosaic in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni. This mosaic shows two boats side by side; a porter is carrying an amphora of wine from one to the other.³ The scene represents the transshipment from sea-going merchantman to river boat; the mast is a towing mast. The same crescent shape recurs in a boat incised with much less detail on the side of a dedication by the salt workers of the right bank.⁴ Rome's salt was transported by river, not road, probably in *naves codicariae*.

The *navis codicaria* relied on haulage and, to keep the ropes clear of the deck, a haulage mast was normally used. In Procopius' day river boats

¹ B. Nogara, *Le Nozze Aldobrandini*, 71 (original state).

² Le Gall, *op. cit.* 228.

³ Pl. xxv a.

⁴ S 4285, now transferred to Ostia.

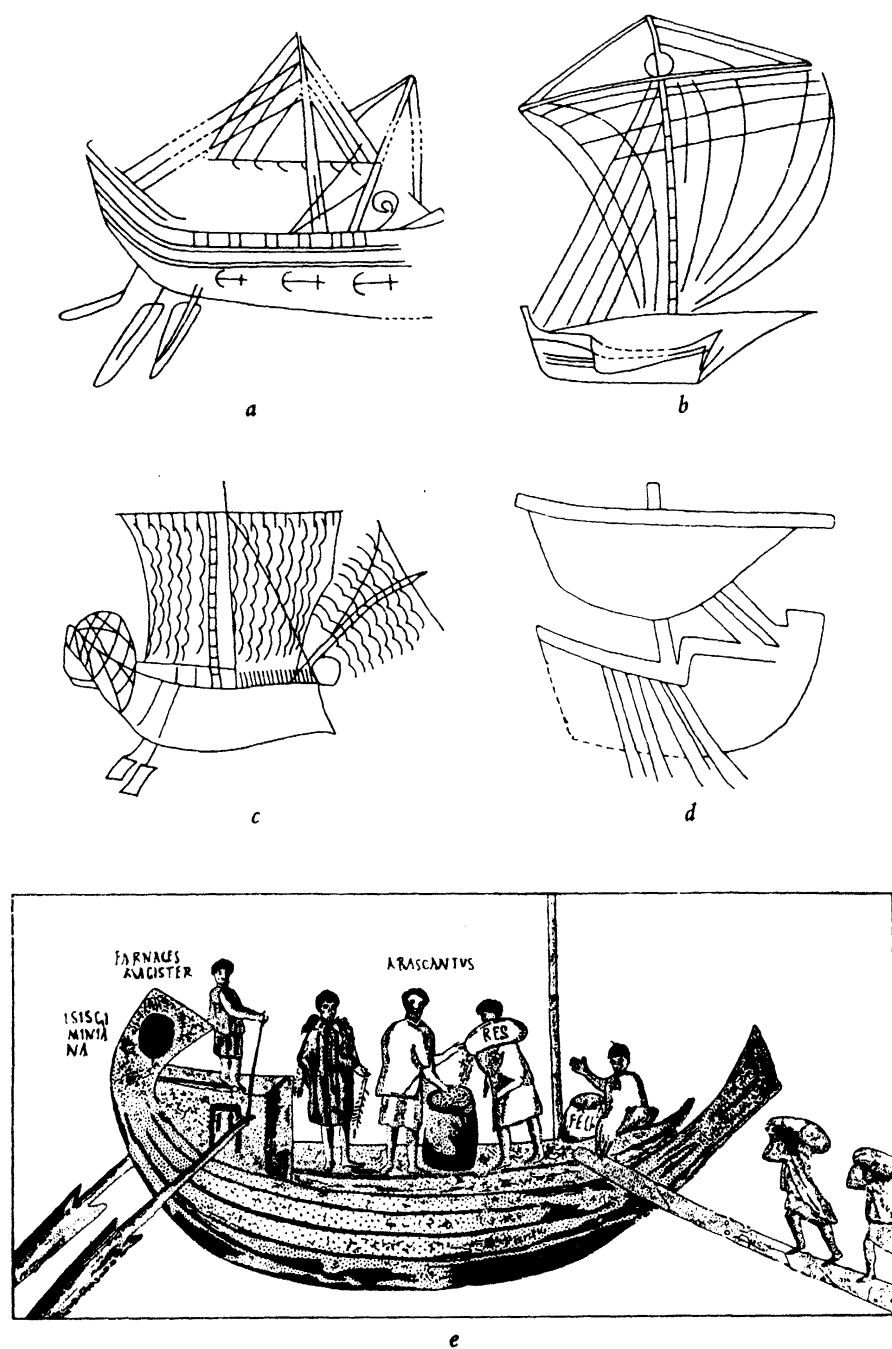


FIG. 25. *a-c*. Graffiti from house walls. *d*. From a tomb relief. *e*. From a tomb painting the Isis Giminiana.

were towed by oxen and it has often been assumed that this was the general practice throughout the classical period. Le Gall has rightly emphasized that for the use of oxen there is no classical evidence; the sources imply that haulage was confined to manpower.¹ A relief on the base of the great statue of the Tiber, which probably came from the Iseum in the Campus Martius and is now in the Louvre, shows a boat being hauled upstream by three men, each straining on his own tow-rope.² Similar scenes are depicted on reliefs from Gaul.³ Martial writes of hauliers, *helciarum*, on the upper Tiber.⁴ Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinaris still refer to them in the fourth and fifth centuries on the Moselle and on the Saône.⁵ Oxen were probably introduced after the fourth century, when manpower was short. Previously slave labour was the cheapest and most effective means of haulage.

In two inscriptions the *codicarii* are linked with the owners of a different type of boat, the *lenuncularii*. Together they honour a procurator of the imperial harbours,⁶ and a Roman knight who is described as 'patronus et defensor' of the *lenuncularii* is a president of the guild of *codicarii*.⁷ The association implies that the functions of the two trades were complementary or similar. The comparatively small number of references to *lenunculi* in Latin literature are scarcely more informative than Seneca's description of *naves codicariae*. All that emerges clearly is that they were small vessels; they were used at sea but also for fishing in rivers.⁸

At Ostia the *lenuncularii* were divided into five guilds, which sometimes combined. Together they are 'universi navigarii corporum quinque lenunculariorum'.⁹ But each constituent guild had its own title and represented a separate function. Most important seem to have been the *lenuncularii tabularii auxilarii*, for fragments of five separate rolls of their members have survived and between A.D. 152 and 192 the number of ordinary members rose from 125 to 258.¹⁰ That they had Roman senators who were not Ostians among their patrons suggests, though

¹ Le Gall, *op. cit.* 257.

² Id. 'Les bas reliefs de la statue du Tibre', *Rev. arch.* 22 (1944) 41; *Le Tibre*, 219.

³ A. Grenier, *Manuel d'Arch. Gallo-Romaine*, vi (2) 555, 557, figs. 178-9.

⁴ Martial iv. 64, 21-25: 'quem nec rumpere nauticum celeuma | nec clamor valet helciariorum, | cum sit tam prope Mulvius sacrumque | lapsae per Tiberim volent carinae.' Cf. Ovid. *Tristia*, iv. 1. 10: 'cantat et innitens limosae pronus harenae, | adverso tardam qui trahit amne ratem.' The simile implies a common scene.

⁵ Ausonius, *Idyll.* 10, 41-42; Sid. *Apoll. Ep.* ii. 10. 4.

⁶ 170.

⁷ 4144.

⁸ Caesar, *BC* ii. 43. 3; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 5. 7; Amm. Marc. xiv. 2. 10.

⁹ 4144; cf. 170, 352.

¹⁰ 250, 251.

it does not prove, that their work was of more than local significance. The *ordo corporatorum lenunculariorum pleromariorum* were considerably less important. In A.D. 200 they have only sixteen ordinary members and six of presidential rank, and neither of their two patrons seems to be a man of standing.¹

One other guild of *lenuncularii* is recorded in inscriptions, *lenuncularii traiectus Luculli*.² The natural meaning of *traiectus* is the passage across the river.³ The Tiber had no bridge near its mouth and ferry services were needed. In the Republic agricultural workers with holdings on Isola Sacra had to be carried across the river; when the imperial harbours were built the traffic in passengers and goods became more intensive. Four ferry services are recorded—*traiectus Luculli*, *marmorariorum*,⁴ *togatensium*,⁵ *Rusticelius*.⁶ In two cases the type of boat is specified. Those who operated the Rusticelian ferry service are described as *scapharii*;⁷ the *Lucullan* guild are normally described as *lenuncularii*, but, in one inscription, as *scapharii et lenuncularii*.⁸ The *scapha* is a light rowing-boat, the word being used, for example, of the ship's boat carried by merchantmen; the *lenunculus*, in contrast, is presumably a heavier boat manned by several oarsmen. Perhaps the Rusticelian service was confined to passengers, while the Lucullan service provided for passengers and also heavy loads. If the two remaining ferry guilds were operated by *lenuncularii* we may have an explanation of the *quinque corpora lenunculariorum* in these three ferry services with the *tabularii* and *pleromarii*. They combined together because they used the same type of rowing-boat.

The functions of the *tabularii* and *pleromarii* can only be guessed. It has been suggested that *tabularii* is another form of *tabellarii* and that the members of this guild were concerned with a river messenger service between Ostia and Rome.⁹ This is most unlikely. The Via Ostiensis and the Via Portuensis were the quickest means of communication; even the *classarii* went on foot.¹⁰ The addition of *auxilarii* to the titles provides a better clue; it suggests auxiliary service to other boats.

The *lenuncularii tabularii* may be the owners of tug-boats. When the

¹ 252. Interpretation doubtful, perhaps only three presidents.

² S 5320; cf. 5380.

³ Le Gall, *Le Tibre*, 224, rejects this meaning on the ground that one ferry service would have sufficed: he underestimates the traffic. His suggestion that *traiectus* represents services associated with different docks strains the meaning of the word.

⁴ 425.

⁵ 403.

⁶ S 4553-6, 5327-8.

⁷ S 5327-8.

⁸ 513.

⁹ Preller, *Rom und der Tiber* (1849) 149.

¹⁰ Suet. *Vesp.* 8. 3.

harbour was crowded it would normally have been impossible for merchantmen to manoeuvre into position under sail; more often they must have furled their sails and been towed to their berths by rowing-boats. The *navis codicaria* may also have been towed by boat to its loading point in the harbour and again out of the harbour before slaves started their tough journey along the river tow-path. That rowing-boats had an important part to play in the harbour service is confirmed by Nero's commemorative coinage; in many of the issues a small boat, manned by several oarsmen, is seen in mid-harbour among the merchantmen; and, as we have seen, a small basin was reserved for them by Claudius' harbour. They were also needed by the river docks at Ostia town.

A representation of one of these tug-boats may be preserved in a terra-cotta relief from an Isola Sacra tomb.¹ This roughly depicts a boat with curved prow and stern. Three men strain at their oars; a fourth stands in the stern wielding an extremely large rudder-oar. In the bows is a small mast, which may have carried an auxiliary sail, or perhaps a tow-rope; a rope is attached to the stern, but unfortunately the jobbing artist is not concerned with what his boat is pulling.

The *lenuncularii pleromarii auxiliarii* may correspond to the σκάφαι ὑπηρετικοί mentioned by Strabo in his account of the river harbour, small boats which went out to sea to lighten the larger merchantmen before they entered the river.² The provenance of the guild roll strengthens the identification a little; it was found near Tor Boacciana, which in the Roman period roughly marked the river mouth. Nor would the small size of the guild in 200³ be surprising. By that time most of the big merchantmen preferred to sail to the imperial harbours, which they could enter without difficulty.

IMPERIAL CONTROL

In view of Ostia's importance as an essential link in Rome's overseas trade it is natural that the control of the harbours was not left to local authority. Supervision from Rome continued through the Republic; it was considerably extended as the imperial system developed. In the late Republic Rome's interests were safeguarded by a quaestor stationed at Ostia, whose primary function was to supervise the reception, storage, and reshipment of corn from the provinces. He had a tribunal

¹ Pl. xxviii a. Another example perhaps, incised on the face of a tomb, NS 1938, 47 (tomb 4).

² Strabo, 232.

³ S 4459.

in the forum at Ostia¹ and perhaps his authority was backed by judicial powers greater than those normally associated with the quaestorship. This seems a reasonable inference from the inscription set up, probably under Augustus, by the shipowners of Ostia: 'Pacceio L. f. | q(uaestori) pro pr(aetore)'.² This inscription was found at Tibur, but the recent discovery of fragments of a similar inscription to the same man at Ostia confirm that Pacceius was being honoured by the Ostian shipowners for his quaestorship at Ostia.³ Perhaps all Roman quaestors at Ostia were given a praetor's judicial competence.

On the building of the Claudian harbour the senatorial quaestor was replaced by imperial officials responsible to the *praefectus annonae*. The most frequently attested of the new officials is the *procurator annonae Ostis*, many of whom are recorded from the second and early third centuries. But the first official known to us, an imperial freedman, Claudius Optatus, is 'proc(urator) portus Ostiensis'; he may be identified with the freedman of Claudius who was appointed to command the fleet at Misenum.⁴ Later, in the third century, the title *procurator portus utriusque* is recorded.⁵ From the evidence available when he wrote, Hirschfeld concluded that the two titles covered the same function, that the *procurator portus* was replaced, probably under Hadrian, by the *procurator annonae*, who in turn was superseded, probably under Septimius Severus, by the *procurator portus utriusque*.⁶

Since Hirschfeld wrote, new evidence has modified the dates he proposed for changes in organization. A new African inscription records a *procurator annonae* who held office under Trajan⁷ and the last known member of the series must now be dated after 215.⁸ Hirschfeld's main argument, however, remains unaffected since there is still no clear evidence of the two titles existing together.⁹ Moreover, the title of the Trajanic *procurator annonae* might strengthen his argument. M. Vettius Latio is described as 'proc(urator) annonae Ostiae et in portu', which might seem to represent a transition between two titles.

¹ 139 p. 499.

² 3603.

³ Bloch, 32: '[— Pacceio L. f.] q. pr[o pr.] | naviculariei O[stiensis]'.
⁴ 163, Pliny, *NH* ix. 62.

⁵ e.g. 125, 170.

⁶ Hirschfeld, *Kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten*², 248–50.

⁷ *AE* 1939, 81; H. G. Pflaum, *Les Procurateurs équestres* (1950) 56.

⁸ 160. P. Bassilius Crescens was honoured by the builders' guild in their 34th *lustrum*, probably after 215 (see p. 331).

⁹ The first known *procurator portus utriusque* is recorded in an inscription from Rome, *CIL* vi. 1020, a dedication to 'Vibia Aurelia Sabina d(ivi) Marci Aug(usti) f(iliae)'. This need not necessarily be earlier than 215.

On general grounds, however, it seems more likely that there were two offices rather than one. The control of the imperial harbours needed attention on the spot and should have occupied the full time of a responsible official. His main responsibilities will have been to see to the effective maintenance of harbour installations and to control the shipping. There was need for another official to attend to more general problems of supply and to serve as a link between the head of the department in Rome and the local authorities at Ostia.

The post of the *procurator annonae* belonged to the lowest of the three grades of equestrian procurators, carrying an annual salary of 60,000 sesterces.¹ Though holders of the post normally moved on to higher office,² they were at or near the beginning of their public career when they came to Ostia. Nor should they be regarded as experts replacing amateurs. There is little trace of specialized experience among them. Q. Petronius Melior, who had been *adiutor curatoris alvei Tiberis*³ will have gained some relevant experience, but P. Aelius Liberalis is the only *procurator annonae* known to have served in the department earlier; he had previously been paymaster at Ostia: 'praepositus mensae nummul(ariae) f(isci) f(rumentarii) Ost(iensis)'.⁴ Two others came to the work from the department of libraries.⁵

The honours paid to these procurators by Ostian guilds suggest something of the range of their work. That they should be commemorated by the corn measurers⁶ and by corn merchants⁷ is natural enough, for corn supplies were their primary responsibility, as their title implies. The frequent honours paid by the builders, *fabri tignuarii*,⁸ are less expected. We may infer that the procurator was responsible for the maintenance of granaries and other warehouses used at Ostia and the harbours for Roman supplies. No inscriptions yet found record their relations with ship-owners, but this must have been an important part of their work. In the offices of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni they could deal conveniently with the carriers of overseas goods. In the early Empire the state's immediate concern seems to have been limited to corn; when oil and wine were also distributed free to the people at Rome the procurator's direct responsibilities were greatly increased.

The procurator had a small staff. His chief adjutant was a *cornicu-*

¹ CIL x. 7580: 'proc. ad annonam Ostis ad HS $\overline{\text{LX}}$.'

² Pflaum, op. cit. 340-2.

³ 172.

⁴ 2045.

⁵ S 5352; CIL x. 7580.

⁶ 154, 172.

⁷ 161.

⁸ 160, S 5344, 5345, 5351, 5352.

larius,¹ under whom were a number of *beneficiarii*.² Inscriptions throw a glimmer of light on the work of the department. The chest of the department, *mensa nummularia fisci frumentarii Ostiensis*, has already been mentioned; it presumably had to meet payments to shipmasters and for labour at the docks and in the warehouses. The head of this branch was an imperial freedman: under him, both at Ostia and at Portus, were a number of *dispensatores*, pay clerks, all of whom were imperial slaves;³ they include one who worked at Puteoli as well as at Ostia, 'Chrysanthus Aug(usti) disp(ensator) a fruminto Puteolis et Ostis';⁴ some of Rome's reserves were still stored at Puteoli.

In a dedication to the majesty of the imperial house two of these pay clerks join with an imperial freedman, whose title is obscure: 'Traiano Aug(usti) lib(erto) a X m.' It is possible that this freedman was 'a decem millibus modiorum'. Claudius had offered privileges to those who put ships of not less than 10,000 modii capacity in the service of Rome's corn supply. An imperial freedman at Ostia was responsible perhaps for investigating claims.⁵

Inscriptions also record *tabularii* at Ostia and at Portus.⁶ They are all imperial freedmen, and there is an assistant grade, the *tabularius adiutor*.⁷ A Flavian freedman, whose tomb has been found near the harbour, is *tabularius portus Aug(usti)*;⁸ later, when Trajan's inner basin is added, P. Aelius Onesimus is *tabularius portus utriusque*.⁹ An inscription from Rome gives the fuller title *tabularius Ostis ad annonam*; in his case the Ostian post was the first in a career that advanced through financial offices to the procuratorship of Belgica.¹⁰ The function of the *tabularius* was to keep records and perhaps also to check imperial cargoes on arrival. A relief from Portus in the Torlonia museum may represent *tabularii*, or their assistants, at work.¹¹ It shows porters unloading wine jars from a ship; two men seated with tablets in front of them are probably recording quantities. Hispanus, *Aug(usti) lib(ertus) tabul(arius)*, makes

¹ 160.

² 5¹⁶. Cn. Sentius Felix is 'patronus beneficiarior(um) proc(uratoris) Aug(usti)'.

³ At Ostia, 202; at Portus, 204, 207.

⁴ CIL x. 1562.

⁵ S 4319. The very improbable supplement suggested in CIL: '(a(nni) d(ecimi) m(agistr)o)' can be abandoned in view of a parallel from African Lepcis published by Miss Reynolds, BSR 23 (1955) 126 n. 4: 'Aurelio Caesari Antonini Aug. Pii f. Vitalis lib. verna a X m.' She suggests that both men were imperial officials, perhaps concerned with financial administration in harbours. It is an objection to my guess that Lepcis exports oil and not corn; but the privilege may have been extended.

⁶ At Ostia, 200, 304, S 4316, CIL vi. 8450; at Portus, S 4482, AE 1948, 103.

⁷ 49, 200. ⁸ S 4482. ⁹ AE 1948, 103. ¹⁰ CIL vi. 8450. ¹¹ Pl. xxvi a.

a dedication to the imperial majesty to commemorate his promotion, presumably to the office of *tabularius*.¹ It was responsible work; he was proud to be appointed.

Other imperial procurators are recorded but their function is less clear, and they are known only from isolated inscriptions. C. Pomponius Turpilianus is 'procurator ad oleum in Galbae Ostiae portus utriusque'.² From this it has been inferred that *horrea* for the storage of oil had been built by the emperor Galba at the Claudian harbour. His rule, however, seems to have been too short to leave such a constructive mark; Wickert is more probably right in seeing here a reference to the well-known *Horrea Galbae* at Rome;³ in which case Turpilianus was controlling the passage through the harbours of oil destined for Rome.

Dorotheus, an imperial freedman, is *proc(urator) massae Marian(ae)*,⁴ presumably checking the passage of lead from the silver mines which Tiberius had confiscated in the south of Spain. The passage of iron may also have been under direct imperial control, for T. Petronius Priscus is described as 'procurator Aug(usti) ferrariarum et annonae Ostis'⁵ and a dedication is made at Ostia by a slave in the service of a company producing iron, 'Hilarus socior(um) vect(igalis) ferr(ariarum) ser(vus)'.⁶ This division seems to have had an office in Ostia, for a lead token has been found inscribed: 'stat(ionis) ferr(ariarum) for(i?) Os[t(iensis)]'.⁷

A Flavian freedman on his tombstone is described as *praepositus camel-lorum*.⁸ Below the inscription are roughly but vividly incised two camels and an elephant between them. T. Flavius Stephanus may have been responsible for the reception and sending on to Rome of camels and other animals for imperial displays. The inclusion of an elephant with the camels makes this a more natural interpretation of his function than a military post.

An imperial messenger service is suggested possibly by a *procurator pugillationis et ad naves vagas*⁹ and, more clearly, by two *tabellarii* recorded on tombstones from Isola Sacra.¹⁰ Evidence also comes from Ostia and from Portus of *frumentarii*, who were used in the imperial service both as messengers and as police. At Ostia two brothers dedicated

¹ S 4316: 'Hispanus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) tabul(arius) numini ob processus votum redd(idit)'.
² 20.

³ Wickert, S (2), p. 849.

⁴ 52; cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 19. 1.

⁵ S 4459.

⁶ S 4326. Iron from Elba worked at Ostia, NS 1912, 387.

⁷ S, p. 773, 4326 add.

⁸ Bloch, 37.

⁹ 2045. No parallel is known and the interpretation is very uncertain. Paschetto, 201; Le Gall, *Le Tibre*, 236.

¹⁰ Thylander, A 256, 279.

a relief on a column on the south side of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni to the *genius* of the *castra peregrina*, their headquarters at Rome.¹ By the harbours a detachment of the *frumentarii* set up a commemorative tablet to Alexander Severus and the imperial family.²

The control of the Tiber and of its banks was also the responsibility of the central authority at Rome. Boundary stones have been found marking the right bank of the river. They were set up by the *curatores alvei Tiberis et riparum* in the Julio-Claudian period³ and this board was probably responsible for the maintenance of embankments. In the nineteenth century ample traces of these embankments could be seen on both sides of the river between the Forum and Tor Boacciana.⁴ Today only a small tract can be seen, which is not visible unless the Tiber is low, opposite Tor Boacciana on the right bank.⁵ The wall is over 2 metres thick, built of concrete with an aggregate of large tufa blocks. Channels in the concrete can still be seen where the wall was laced with timber beams.

The Tiber authority had an office at Ostia, *statio alvei Tiberis*;⁶ three inscriptions reflect its work. It is from the *curator alvei Tiberis et riparum* that the *lenuncularii traiectus Luculli* have to get authority to rebuild their premises early in the second century.⁷ His authority is recorded in a more fragmentary inscription for the building or rebuilding of a *vigil[iarium]*,⁸ perhaps by one of the ferry services. Of the third fragment all that can be said is that the authority of the *curator* is related to a guild, whose name is lost.⁹ Whether these three inscriptions refer to the same guild or three different guilds is uncertain. That the *curator alvei Tiberis* exercised a general control over all the guilds of river boatmen seems unlikely, since in that case more evidence of his activity should have survived; it seems more probable that he controlled the use of the banks and that in all three inscriptions he is concerned with buildings. The *vigiliarium* of the second inscription may be a watch-tower.

The main work of the Tiber authority was at Rome and it is possible

¹ 7.

² 125.

³ S 4704; NS 1921, 258. Two further stones have since been discovered: complete catalogue, G. Barbieri, *Topografia*, 62 n. 2.

⁴ L. Canina, *Sulla stazione delle navi di Ostia* (1838) 3; Carcopino, 510. Le Gall, op. cit. 335, infers that there was no embankment in the eastern half of the town, but see p. 491.

⁵ Pl. VI d.

⁶ S 5384.

⁷ S 5320.

⁸ 254.

⁹ Bloch, 46: '— permis[su] — — — Ma]ximi c[larissimi] v[iri] [curatoris | alvei] Tiberi[s] et riparum | —] corp[us —]'

that the office at Ostia was in the charge of an assistant, related to the head of the board in the same way as the Ostian *procurator annonae* served the *praefectus annonae* at Rome. Le Gall identifies this assistant with the *praefectus curatorum alvei Tiberis*. When, in or shortly before the Flavian period, the Roman board of five was replaced by a single commissioner, the assistant's title became *adiutor curatoris alvei Tiberis*.¹ Only one *praefectus* is known, Sp. Turanius Proculus Gellianus, in the Claudian period,² and, as Le Gall has emphasized, it is probably significant that he was given a prominent part in the revived cult of the Laurentine Lavinates at Lavinium.³ A large proportion of the officials in this cult were drawn from Ostia, for the good reason that they could attend the ceremonies without difficulty. Turranius Proculus was probably chosen because he was in office at Ostia, perhaps when the revival of the cult was inaugurated. While the Roman curator was a prominent senator, his assistant was a knight.

Two further imperial services were represented at Ostia, the fleet and the *vigiles*. During the Republic Ostia had been the main Roman naval base on the west coast of Italy. Augustus transferred the command to Misenum, but warships were still stationed at Ostia through the Empire. On Nero's harbour coins, though the field is mainly filled with merchantmen, a trireme is also shown leaving harbour,⁴ and a dedication has been found at Portus to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dulicenus by men serving in the Misenum fleet 'when they were at Ostia under the command of' a trierarch.⁵ Tombstones also survive, both at Portus and at Ostia, of men who died on service and of others who lived on in the district when their service was completed.⁶ From the distribution of inscriptions it seems that the ships of the Ostian detachment were divided between the imperial harbours and the Tiber. Their main duties, we may assume, were to police the harbours and control shipping. They may also have been used to carry governors to their appointments in western provinces and emperors when they sailed from Ostia. The presence of the Misenum flagship, the *hexeres Ops*, at Ostia is probably to be associated with such an imperial occasion.⁷ The triremes at Ostia were normally a detachment from the Misenum fleet; but, as at Centumcellae farther north, there is also evidence at Ostia of ships from Ravenna.⁸

¹ Le Gall, *op. cit.* 182.

² *CIL* x. 797.

³ Le Gall, *op. cit.* 183.

⁴ Pl. XVIII a.

⁵ 110, dated A.D. 186.

⁶ 232-43, S 4496-8, Bloch, 39.

⁷ 232; C. G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy*, 53.

⁸ S 4496, 4497; Starr, *op. cit.* 23.

Suetonius records that the ships' crews who had to come on duty from Ostia and Puteoli to Rome appealed to Vespasian for special boot money; they were instructed to dispense with boots altogether and meekly complied.¹ At Rome they were probably connected with imperial displays. We know that *classiarii* were in charge of the awnings in the amphitheatre; they are also likely to have been called on for naval displays in the *naumachia*.

There is more evidence concerning the organization of the *vigiles* at Ostia, for their barracks have been excavated. Claudius had detached an urban cohort to Ostia for fire service² but Hadrian seems to have been the first to station trained fire-fighters in the town. Towards the end of his reign a large new building was completed for a detachment of the Roman *vigiles*. A long series of inscriptions was found when the building was excavated.³

The Barracks of the *Vigiles* reproduces one of the commonest plans in Ostia. It is found on a small scale in the Horrea Epagathiana and the headquarters of the builders, on a large scale in several of the *horrea*. A fragment of the plan of Rome incised on marble suggests that the same plan was used for the barracks of the *vigiles* in Rome.⁴ A large open courtyard is surrounded by a portico carried on brick piers. Off the portico open a series of eighteen rooms, and stairs at the four angles lead to the two or more upper stories, where the same plan was probably repeated. The building faced streets on three sides, and was closed on the fourth by a row of shops. There were subsidiary gates in the north and south walls, but the main entrance to the barracks was from the Via dei *Vigiles* on the east.

Most of the rooms round the courtyard seem to have been living-rooms for the men, and only two have a distinctive character. The room in the south-east corner was the men's latrine in which Fortuna presided. A small shrine attached to the wall carries the inscription 'Fortunae sanctae' and probably contained a marble or terra-cotta figure of the

¹ Suet. *Vesp.* 8. 3.

² Suet. *Claud.* 25. 2.

³ Date of the barracks, p. 136. Description, Paschetto, 285; P. K. Baillie Reynolds, *The Vigiles of Imperial Rome*, 107-15.

⁴ Baillie Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pl. ii (p. 46). Lanciani (*NS* 1889, 19 and 77) thought that the building was originally a private house and that the change from large to slit windows in the ground-floor rooms marked a change of use: he was followed by Paschetto and Baillie Reynolds. But the change in windows took place in the course of construction. Brickstamps date the building to the last years of Hadrian and it was being used by the *vigiles* before Hadrian died.

goddess;¹ on the floor is a marble altar dedicated by C. Valerius Myron, who was attached to the staff of the commander of the *vigiles* at Rome, *beneficiarius praefecti vigilum*.²

At the western end of the courtyard, facing the main entrance, the room which carries most emphasis in the plan served as a chapel for the imperial cult. It was preceded by an antechapel occupying the space of the portico. Here was depicted in mosaic a typical sacrifice. The central scene shows a struggling bull with the axeman ready to strike; two balancing scenes at the sides show the dead bull about to be carved up.³ The entrance to the chapel itself is emphasized by two columns and raised by a step above the level of the antechapel. In the centre were found traces of an altar and against the back wall is a podium which was originally lined with marble. On this were set five small 'bases' dedicated to the emperors Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and L. Septimius Severus, and to Marcus Aurelius when he was heir apparent.⁴ From this Antonine family party Commodus is noticeably absent, but the dedication to Septimius Severus is inscribed on an erasure. His names and titles probably replaced those of Commodus.⁵

At the side of the chapel was found the base of a statue of Lucius Aelius, adopted son of Hadrian, set up in A.D. 137.⁶ Other imperial statues were set up between the piers of the portico, and many of their bases can still be seen in the building. Hadrian's base is not among those that have survived but his statue must surely have once occupied a prominent place.

Behind the imperial chapel was a group of five rooms, which may have been used for the officers, for there was originally a separate latrine in the north-west corner. There is, however, little evidence in the surviving remains to show for what purposes the various parts of the building were used. Fire drill was probably carried out in the open court; meals were taken in small units, for there is no sign of a large hall in the building. At the western end of the court are two water tanks feeding troughs, which at first sight suggest a drinking place for horses or mules. But there is no evidence for stabling in the building,

¹ S 4282.

² S 4281.

³ Carcopino, *Mélanges*, 27 (1907) 227.

⁴ S 4357, 4366, 4368, 4376, 4380. Two of these 'bases' are altars. Three carried small figures, presumably imperial, perhaps in silver.

⁵ Paschetto, 294, suggests less probably that the base reused by Septimius Severus was originally dedicated to Hadrian. In style it corresponds very closely to that of Marcus Aurelius.

⁶ S 4356.

and the comparatively primitive equipment of the *vigiles* could have been carried in hand-carts. More probably this is where the men washed.

We see a little of the lighter side of the fireman's life. On each side of the main entrance there seem to have been bars, for the drinking cups in the mosaic floors point unmistakably to the sale of wine. They may explain why C. Pomponius cut his name twice on one of the pilasters that frame the door. On the walls and floors of some of the rooms traces of familiar games still survive.

The inscriptions found in the building tell us all we know of the organization of the detachment. At first there are no signs of a centralized command and the number of senior officers seems to vary: there were apparently two tribunes in 168 and 190, only one in 181.¹ In 168 and 239 there were four centurions,² suggesting a total force of rather more than 400 men, and this was perhaps the normal size of the detachment. The four Ostian centuries, however, were composite forces drawn from different units at Rome. A group of men of the fifth cohort from the century of Respectus serve at Ostia under the command of Tettius Paulinus;³ and while the tribunes of 168 are drawn from the fourth and seventh cohorts the centurions come from the first, second, sixth, and seventh.⁴

Detached duty at Ostia lasted only four months, and on the Ides of December, April, and August reliefs arrived: 'These men came down in the detachment to Ostia from the Ides of August to the Ides of December, when Pudens and Pollio were consuls (166) in the century of Claudius.'⁵ Below comes a list of names followed by the letters 'f.p.a.d.', marking their admittance to state corn (*frumentum publicum accipit die . . .*) on a certain day of the month. For the *vigiles* were recruited partly from the Latini Juniani, whose citizen rights were restricted; by the second century such men received full citizenship at the end of three years' service in the force. The most tangible sign of their new status was the grant of state corn, and this they recorded carefully. Most of the surviving lists are inscribed on stone, but some are less formal. Three soldiers, of whom two at least joined up on the same day and came down as comrades, have painted their record on a wall of one of the rooms.⁶

In A.D. 195 we hear for the first time of a tribune who is *praepositus*

¹ S 4500 (168), 4378 (190), 4503 (181).

² S 4500 (168), 4397 (239).

³ S 4503.

⁴ S 4500.

⁵ S 4499.

⁶ S 4509.

vexillationis,¹ pointing to a centralization of the command under Septimius Severus. A further change may also have been made in his principate, for on the bases of two statues set up in 207 he and his son Caracalla are described as 'restorers of the Ostian camp'.² It was probably at this time that the shops on the west side were incorporated in the barracks by the blocking up of their doorways on the street. From this time also the sub-prefect of the *vigiles* is regularly mentioned in inscriptions together with the tribune in command;³ we may infer that he resided, for at any rate part of the year, in Ostia.

Inscriptions recording *vigiles* have also been found at Portus, and Lanciani reported that most of them came from a large building near the bishop's palace which he considered to be of Antonine date.⁴ It seems likely that the harbour force was at first controlled from Ostian headquarters; for Cassius Ligus, tribune of the third cohort, who was *praepositus vexillationis* at Ostia in 195, made a dedication to Hercules by Trajan's harbour.⁵ The subordination of a harbour detachment to a headquarters in Ostia town would conform with the general pattern of organization in the second century.

The latest inscription from the barracks of Ostia is on the base of a statue set up to Furia Sabinia Tranquillina, wife of the emperor Gordian III between 241 and 244.⁶ The absence of later inscriptions is significant, for the series which begins in 137 is a long one. Later coins, extending to the reign of Julian, were found in the building,⁷ but they merely show that the building was still used. The only later evidence connecting Ostia town with the *vigiles* is in an inscription of 386 from Portus which apparently mentions Ostia.⁸ But the inscription is fragmentary and the context obscure. It cannot outweigh the absence of evidence in the place where evidence most naturally would have been found.

We may infer that shortly after the middle of the third century the Ostian detachment of *vigiles* no longer did duty in the old town. This is but one of many signs that Rome's overseas trade was now concentrated at the harbours and that Ostia herself was no longer regarded as of vital importance to Rome. It has already been remarked that most

¹ S 4380.

² S 4381, 4387.

³ e.g. S 4388 (dated 211), the base of a statue of Caracalla: 'curantibus M. Firmio Amyntiano s(ub)pr(aefecto), M. Antonio Proculo trib. coh. VI vig. praeposito vexillationis.'

⁴ 6, 13, 14, 15, Thylander, A 31; Lanciani, *Ann. Inst.* 40 (1868) 188; Fig. 6 (13), p. 164. ⁵ Cassius Ligus at Ostia, S 4380; at Portus, 13, ?14.

⁶ S 4398.

⁷ NS 1889, 37.

⁸ 231 = Thylander, B 236. The fragment which may have mentioned Ostia is now lost.

of the *horrea* show no signs of attention in the late Empire. The list of known *procuratores annonae*, whose headquarters seem to have been in Ostia, ends shortly before the middle of the third century. How long the Piazzale delle Corporazioni retained its original function is uncertain. The workmanship of some of the latest mosaics is crude, and several were very carelessly patched, but these are uncertain indications of date. It is more significant that no statue base from the area later than the Severan period has been found, though no less than twelve survive from the second and early third centuries, commemorating procurators, traders, and local dignitaries. It is doubtful whether shippers were doing business here in the fourth century.

The Theodosian Code does not mention Ostia. The *horrea* with which fourth-century emperors were concerned were the *horrea* of Portus and not of the old town. The corn measurers of the Code are the *mensores Portuenses*. Portus remains vital to Rome, but even at Portus the spring has gone out of the year. The *comes portus*, who has replaced the *procurator portus utriusque*, has an unenviable task. He controls less shipping, but he has more anxieties.

The Egyptian corn supply was transferred to Constantinople when Constantine established his new capital in the east. Rome relied increasingly on Africa and looked precariously for the balance to Sardinia, Sicily, and the other western provinces. The sea routes were no longer fully secure. When emperors repeated instructions that there was to be no interference with shipping bound for Rome¹ we may infer that such interference was not uncommon. Famine at Rome was a constantly recurring danger during the fourth century, especially when Africa was temporarily lost.

From the rescripts of the fourth-century emperors we see something of the growing difficulty of the administration. There is corruption in the management of the *horrea* at Portus and special precautions have to be taken against dishonesty; the *mensores* and the *codicarii* have to be reminded of their duties.² But the most conspicuous change lies in the position of the guilds. They had begun as free associations; they are now parts of the imperial machine. In the second century the trades which they represented were popular and no special measures were needed to man the services essential to Rome. By the fourth century numbers have to be maintained by a combination of pressure and

¹ *Cod. Theod.* xiii. 5. 4 (324); xiii. 5. 8 (336); xiv. 15. 3 (397).

² *Ibid.* xiv. 4. 9.

privilege. Membership of an essential trade has become hereditary. Claudius had been able to increase the volume of shipping by incentives, without compulsion. A little later the author of the Book of Revelation could write of 'the great city wherein were made rich all that had their ships in the sea by reason of her costliness'.¹ By the fourth century elaborate measures have to be taken to ensure that ship-owners keep their shipping on the seas.

A study of the Ostian guilds is an essential complement to any review of the trade of Ostia.

¹ Rev. xviii. 19.

I 4

THE GUILDS

WHEN Ostia was at the height of her prosperity, the men who worked at the docks and in the warehouses, in trade and industry, were no longer deeply concerned with local politics. The election of magistrates had passed to the council; the popular assembly rarely met, never for controversial business. The political and social life of the average Ostian was concentrated instead in the *collegia*, the guilds in which members who shared a common interest joined together for mutual benefit.¹

Such associations had a long history in Rome. Welcome at first, they had come under increasing suspicion towards the end of the Republic when they were abused for political ends, and contributed handsomely to the organization of violence and intimidation. The natural reaction of the authorities was suppression. Only the oldest and most respectable *collegia* were allowed to continue; the remainder were dissolved. When stability was restored by Augustus greater tolerance could be shown, but the potential danger persisted and the guilds remained subject to central control. To maintain a secure existence every guild had to have the formal sanction of the Roman senate or the emperor. Without such formal sanction the guild was *illicitum*, having no legal rights, and was liable to suppression.

In some areas the new dispensation was no more tolerant than the old. In the east, where political faction persisted when power was lost, the guilds could still foment trouble. In spite of the danger of widespread fires, Trajan would not authorize a fire brigade in Nicomedia, though Pliny undertook to restrict the number of members.² In Pompeii the disturbances which culminated in bloodshed at the amphitheatre were attributed in part to *collegia*, and unauthorized guilds were suppressed as a result.³ That the associations of traders were also playing an active part in local politics is clearly shown in the election appeals

¹ The basic account of the Roman guilds is by J. P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* (4 vols. Louvain, 1895-1900); cited as 'Waltzing'.

² Pliny, *Epp.* x. 33 and 34.

³ Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 17. 4: 'collegiaque quae contra leges instituerant dissoluta.'

painted on street walls—farmers, wagoners, timber merchants, and others boldly champion their candidates for office.

At Ostia there were no such political dangers, and there is no sign of restriction. Nor are Ostian guilds confined to trades such as the corn measurers and owners of river boats that were vital to the service of Rome. They cover almost every aspect of the town's life and must have included a considerable proportion of the population. The list of trade guilds known from inscriptions is a long one, and we can be certain that it is not yet complete. Statue bases and commemorative tablets could be afforded by the large and prosperous guilds, such as the builders and those engaged in the corn trade; but the smaller guilds of local craftsmen and traders probably left very few such memorials. The career of Cn. Sentius Felix includes among the guilds of which he was patron, the *argentarii*, *olearii*, *piscatores propolae*.¹ We have no other record of these guilds. A tombstone found in 1908 was the first and remains the only hint of the guild of painters, *collegae pingentes*.² Very few of the trades of Ostia can have lacked a guild organization. Only a few of these guilds specifically record the authority which protected them, but these include the fullers, *fontani*,³ who were only of local importance and not one of the most important trades. The number of their members in 232 was less than fifty and their premises, distributed through the town, are small.* We cannot assume that those guilds which do not record such authority were strictly illegal, for they include the powerful and prosperous guild of builders, and the *codicarii* who were indispensable to Rome's supplies.

Our evidence for assessing the nature and function of the guilds in Roman society is fragmentary. Of their legal status we know something from the great collections of Roman law. They could, from the time of Marcus Aurelius, hold property and inherit legacies;⁴ they could own and free slaves;⁵ they could collect subscriptions from members.⁶ The gradual process in the later Empire of their virtual enslavement to the imperial government we can trace in outline from the same sources.

¹ 5.

² S 4699.

³ S 4573: 'corpus fontanorum q(uibus) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coire lice(t)'. Similar authority is recorded by the *fabri navales* of Ostia (168) and of Portus (256), and by the *pelliones* (10); also by the *mensores*, but on only one of their many inscriptions.

⁴ Dig. xl. 3. 1 (Ulpian): 'divus Marcus omnibus collegiis, quibus ius coeundi est, manumittendi potestatem dedit'; cf. ii. 4. 10. 4. This does not exclude the practical exercise earlier of what now became a formal right.

⁵ Waltzing, ii. 438.

⁶ Id. i. 451.

For the rest we are mainly dependent on inscriptions. From these we can reconstruct the internal organization of the guilds and learn something of their activities. But inscriptions do not tell the whole story, and it is the things that were taken for granted and were not worth recording that we most want to know. The full record of a guild meeting or the conscientious diary of a *procurator annonae* at Ostia could resolve many problems.

It is on the professional side of the guilds' activities in the early and middle Empire that we are least well informed. How far did the guild press the common interests of its members in relations with other trades and with the authorities? When guild meetings were held, to what extent were trade matters discussed? Did the guilds ever bring pressure to bear by withholding services? Were they concerned with rates of pay and conditions of work? Did they in any sense adopt the principle of the closed shop, making guild membership a condition of exercising a trade?

For most of these activities there is no evidence in the ancient sources. The guilds certainly did not represent the interests of workers against employers, because employers formed the backbone of the guilds. The *lenuncularii* and the *codicarii* were owners of boats and not the oarsmen nor crew. The membership of the fullers' guild is so small that it was almost certainly confined to the owners and managers of fullers' shops. Here, as in the boats, the harder physical work was probably done mainly by slaves. Surviving inscriptions are largely concerned with the social side of the guild's life. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the trade guilds were almost exclusively social clubs in origin.

In the late Empire the guilds were driven to protect their commercial interests owing to the increasing pressure placed on them by imperial officials. In the third century the *codicarii* and *lenuncularii* together set up a statue to the procurator of the imperial harbours: 'ob insignem eius erga se benevolentiam ac singularem abstinentiam'.¹ In the late fourth century Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, *praefectus annonae*, was commemorated by the measurers of Portus in fulsome terms on his statue base: 'he controlled the administration of the eternal city's corn supply with such fairness of judgement that all who approached him with disputes found in him a father rather than a judge. So it came about that we, the measurers of Portus, who had a long-standing feud with the *codicarii*,

¹ 170.

departed satisfied and each party congratulated itself on benefits received and victory won.¹

Such inscriptions, though in fact late, would not have been out of place earlier. When, in the second century, the builders honoured Q. Petronius Melior, *procurator annonae*, with a statue 'ob plurima beneficia eius',² they were probably thinking of public building contracts rather than private benefactions. C. Veturius Amandus, a Roman knight, described as 'patronus et defensor V corporum lenunculariorum Ostiensium', is commemorated by the *lenuncularii* 'ob insignem eius in defendendis se et in tuendis eximiam diligentiam';³ it was probably the business interests of the *lenuncularii* that he defended. We see the same common business interests behind the taking of *stationes* by Ostian guilds in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, as early as the first century.⁴ Business interests played a part in the formation of the guilds; the social satisfaction that they provided was, however, an important factor in their growth and popularity. The guild was a miniature *res publica*. Each guild had its own set of rules, embodied in a *lex collegii*. But, though there was considerable variation in detail, the constitutions of the guilds conformed to a common general pattern. They were recruited, it seems, by election, and in some guilds at least membership involved an entry fee; for Cn. Sentius Felix is described as 'gratis adlect(us) inter navicular(ios) maris Hadriatici'.⁵ The rank and file of the guild, normally designated *plebs* in the guild rolls, retained within the guild an active part that they had lost in their town assembly. They elected their officers by popular vote and it was by their decrees that honours were normally conferred and general business transacted.⁶

Office in the guild, as in the government of the town, was based on the collegiate principle, but there was variation in the numbers who shared office and in the titles they took. *Quinquennalis* was the standard title for the chief officers, and some, as their title implies, held office for five years; thus a president of the builders could be described as *magister quinquennalis lustrum xx*, implying that he held his office in the twentieth five-year period of the guild's history. The chief officers of the *seviri Augustales* were elected for only two years. The number of presidents varied, but not according to the size of the guild. The *lenuncularii*

¹ *CIL* vi. 1759.

² *S* 5345.

³ 4144. A similar phrase in a new fragment, Bloch, 48: '—corporis defend—'.

⁴ The *s(tuppatores) r(estiones)* are among the earliest, above, p. 285; but the guild itself is not mentioned. Later, *S* 4549²: 'corpus pellion(um) Ost(iensium) at Porte(nsiū) hic.'

⁵ 57-8.

⁶ *S* 4562.

pleromarii, who had only nineteen ordinary members, had at least three *quinquennales*;¹ the more important *lenuncularii tabularii*, who in 192 had 258 ordinary members, had only two.² The builders and probably the shipbuilders of Ostia had three;³ the important corn merchants had two.⁴ The shipbuilders of Portus were exceptional in having as many as six at their head.⁵

The *quinquennales* were the main executive. They presided over meetings, carried decisions into effect, and were responsible for the general conduct and discipline of the guild. In some guilds they were supported by treasurers, normally two, *quaestores* or *curatores*, who were responsible for controlling the income and expenditure of the guild chest. Their funds came from members' subscriptions and benefactions, especially under members' wills. When a man had held the presidency he could be elected to a life-presidency, becoming *quinquennalis perpetuus*; in some guilds ex-officers took the general title *honorati*.⁶

An inscription on the base of a statue set up by the corn merchants to a *procurator annonae* provides a typical illustration of a guild's procedure: 'Q. Calpurnio C. f. Quir(ina) Modesto, proc(uratori) Alpium, proc(uratori) Ostiae ad annon(am), proc(uratori) Lucaniae, corpus mercatorum frumentariorum per M. Aemilium Saturum et P. Aufidium Faustian(um) q(uin)q(uennales), ex decreto corporat(or)um, q(uae)storibus) M. Licinio Victore et P. Aufidio Epicteto. l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) p(ublice)'.⁷ The statue was voted by decree of the whole guild. Responsibility for carrying out its decision rested with the two presidents. The expenditure was met by the two treasurers. Since the statue was to be erected not in the guild centre but in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, the authority of the town council was required.

Such honours were normally paid by the guild as a whole, but instances occur of action taken by part only of the guild. Two bases have been found which once carried statues of P. Martius Philippus, patron of the Ostian shipbuilders. Between the two inscriptions there is only one significant difference. The first is set up by the whole guild, *corpus fabrum navalium*,⁸ the other by the ordinary members only, *plebes corporis [fabrum navali]um Ostiens(ium)*.⁹ A statue set up by the builders

¹ 252; the interpretation is uncertain, possibly six presidents.

² 250, 251.

³ Builders (128, 160); shipbuilders (169; possibly four presidents in a guild roll, Bloch, 43).

⁴ 161.

⁵ 256.

⁶ Builders (128); *dendrophori* (67); shipbuilders of Portus (256).

⁷ 161.

⁸ 169.

⁹ Bloch, 31.

to one of their presidents was decreed not by the whole guild but by the ex-officers: 'huic primum omnium universi honorati statuam ponendam decreverunt ob merita eius'.¹

Like the town itself, the guilds also elected patrons, in recognition of services rendered or hopefully anticipated. Some patrons were already members of their guild when honoured, as T. Testius Helpidianus, who was 'patronus et q(uin)q(uennalis)' of the *corpus traiectus marmorariorum*.² Others were chosen from associated trades, as C. Veturius Amandus, who was patron of the *lenuncularii* and president of the *codicarii*;³ or P. Aufidius Fortis, who was president of the corn merchants and patron of the measurers.⁴ But such associations were not necessary; wealth and influence were the primary qualifications. Cn. Sentius Felix, who rose rapidly to the highest office in the town's government, and was himself a member of the guild of shippers who traded in the Adriatic, was patron of such widely varied guilds as the bankers, the fishermen, the wine merchants, and many others.⁵

Some of the Ostian guilds were even able to attract the patronage of Roman senators. The *lenuncularii tabularii* head their guild roll of 152 with the names of four senatorial patrons.⁶ Three of these names recur among the patrons of two other Ostian guilds, one of which has in 140 no less than ten senatorial patrons.⁷ But these guilds were perhaps exceptional. The patrons in the guild rolls of the *lenuncularii pleromarii* at Ostia and of the *fabri navales* at Portus seem to be local men.⁸

Within the guild there was no distinction between freedman and free-born citizen. The freedman could not be a member of the town council, nor hold a magistracy, but there was no restriction on his advancement in the guild and many of them rose to office. Nor was this late development. L. Aquillius Modestus, an *Augustalis*, was president of the builders before the death of Nero⁹ and a large proportion of the many other presidents known to us from this important guild were also freedmen. They include Marcus Licinius Privatus, who, after rising to the presidency of the builders, became treasurer and then president of the bakers.¹⁰ Office was in the reach of all who could afford the generosity

¹ 370.² 425.³ 4144.⁴ 10.⁵ 5.⁶ 251.

⁷ 246, 247. The names common to all these guilds are T. Prifernius T. f. Paetus Rosianus Geminus, M. Sedatius C. f. Severianus, M. Sedatius M. f. Severus Iulius Reginus. The reason for their close association with Ostia is unknown.

⁸ 252, 256.

⁹ 299. Modestus was president in the second *lustrum*. The guild was incorporated under Nero, p. 331.

¹⁰ 15.

that was expected of them and a large proportion of members could look forward to a title which would add distinction to their tombstones. For the guilds were not large communities.

The builders who, from the number of surviving inscriptions seem to have been the wealthiest of the guilds, had only some 350 members at the end of the second century.¹ The *lenuncularii tabularii*, who had 128 ordinary members in 152, had increased their numbers to 258 in 192 and perhaps to 290 in 213.² The guild roll of the shipbuilders of Portus, probably from the Severan period, includes 353 names.³ But many of the guilds were much smaller. The *lenuncularii pleromarii* have only 24 members in 200⁴ and the fullers less than 50 in 232.⁵ Nor does there seem to be any sign of the absorption of small guilds by the larger. The *lenuncularii*, for example, might have been expected to form a comprehensive guild; they preferred to maintain five separate guilds. The *quinque corpora navigantium* sometimes acted together; but they maintained their separate identities and set up independent guild rolls.⁶ Similarly the corn measurers, *mensores frumentarii*, were divided into *acceptores*, *adiutores*, *nauticarii*; each had their own officers, though they too sometimes combined to honour benefactors.⁷

There were also two guilds associated with the Forum Vinarium, where a single comprehensive guild might have been expected. L. Valerius Threptus is *curat(or) negotiantium fori vinarii, q(uin)q(uennalis) collegi geni fori vinari*.⁸ The first of these two guilds elsewhere has the fuller title *corpus splendidissimum importantium et negotiantium vinariorum*.⁹ It seems to have combined Roman and Ostian merchants, for we hear of a *q(uin)q(uennalis) corpor(is) vin(ariorum) urb(anorum) et Ost(iensium)*.¹⁰ But the two groups may have preserved separate organizations within the guild, for Cn. Sentius Felix is *patronus negotiator(um) vinarior(um) ab urbe*. He was also member of a guild 'ad quadrigam fori vinari',¹¹ which is perhaps to be identified with the *collegium geni fori vinari*.

Even members who did not achieve office could have the satisfaction

¹ S 4569, the guild roll of A.D. 198. Some names are missing, but there are 16 *decuriae*, which average 22 members.

² 250 (A.D. 152), 251 (192), Bloch, 42 (213).

³ 256.

⁴ 252.

⁵ S 4573.

⁶ p. 296.

⁷ Presidents of the three divisions are recorded in the dedication of a well-head in A.D. 197, 2. The *adiutores* and *acceptores* combine in setting up a statue to a *procurator annonae*, 154. Separate action by the *adiutores*, 4140. Several inscriptions record the *corpus mensorum frumentariorum Ostiensium*, presumably the combined divisions, e.g. 172, 363, 12. For their functions, p. 282.

⁸ 430.

⁹ Bloch, 2.

¹⁰ 318.

¹¹ 511 8.

of rising in seniority among the *plebs*; for it seems that the order in which the names are listed in the guild rolls represents the standing of the members. Of the eleven members of the *lenuncularii tabularii* who survived in the guild from 152 to 192 two have become officers, the remaining nine have risen from near the bottom to the top of the list.¹ In the more recently found fragments of another roll of the same guild set up in 213 the practice is confirmed.² The first four columns of this list are missing, but the names at the head of the fifth column correspond with those at the foot of the last column in 192. If the length of the columns were the same in the two lists, some 120 members have remained in the guild since 192 and they are all listed before more recent entrants. Seniority depended apparently on the date of entry; in the record of the names no attempt is made to distinguish between freedman and freeborn. The shipbuilders seem to be exceptional in admitting a small number of free foreigners to their guilds, both at Ostia and at Portus; but there is no suggestion that they had an inferior status within the guild. They are not listed together in the rolls but are scattered through the lists, probably according to their seniority.³

Guilds could own slaves, but their names do not appear on the rolls. They were few in number and were probably used for the maintenance of guild headquarters and temples. If they were granted freedom they took their name from the guild which they had served, in the same way as a public slave of the town became Ostiensis. The family name Hadriaticus can have no other origin than the guild of shippers trading in the Adriatic.⁴ C. Vinarius Sulpicianus,⁵ a member of the *seviri Augustales*, probably owes his name to the wine merchants' guild. Similarly Q. Pistorius Ianuarius⁶ may reflect the bakers' guild. But the only such name that is widely distributed in Ostia is Salinator, and the origin of this name is controversial. It has been suggested above that it derives from the workers in the *salinae*, the salt-beds near Ostia.

In some trade-guild inscriptions outside Ostia the titles *mater* and *filia* are found,⁷ a strange intrusion in what were essentially masculine societies. Women with these titles are not patrons, but usually seem to be of the same social class as the ordinary members. Their appointments derive from social rather than religious reasons: for some reason they

¹ 250, 251, with notes on 251; cf. fragments of two intermediate rolls, S 4567, 4568.

² Bloch, 42.

³ Id. 43; 256.

⁴ S 4562 (2B, 1), 4569 (xii. 9), and in two unpublished inscriptions.

⁵ S 4563 (5), 12.

⁶ S 4975.

⁷ Waltzing, i. 447.

had become particularly associated with the guild, perhaps in advising on practical matters in the guild headquarters. Though many guild rolls survive from Ostia, the title *mater* appears only once, in the ship-builders of Portus. Maecia Menophile has a special heading to herself, and she is listed among the dignitaries, after the presidents of the year, and before the ex-officers, *honorati*.¹ The name Maecius does not recur in the long list; Maecia Menophile did not owe her position to relations in the guild.

Among the trade guilds of Ostia the builders, *fabri tignuarii*, were in several respects exceptional.² Unlike the other guilds they had a quasi-military organization, which was perhaps modelled on the pattern of the builders at Rome.³ The ordinary members of the guild, in place of the colourless title *plebs*, were styled *numerus caligatorum* and were divided into sixteen sections, *numerus caligatorum decuriarum xvi collegii fabrum tignuariorum Ostiensium*.⁴ Each section consisted normally of twenty-two members and was presided over by a *decurio*. The sixteen *decuriones* were in turn subordinate to the three presidents, *magistri quinquennales*, who held office for five years and were assisted by a secretary, *scriba*, who maintained the guild records.⁵

An inscription found at Tusculum may throw more detailed light on the organization of the builders' guild.⁶ T. Flavius Hilario rose to the head of his section in the fifteenth *lustrum*; in the sixteenth he was chosen to help supervise the voting, *nungentus ad subfrag(ia)*; in the seventeenth he became president, and, after his five years of office, *honoratus*. In the following two periods he was *ensor ad mag(istros) creando(s)*, presumably presiding over the elections to the presidency. Finally, in the twenty-second period he was appointed to a board of twelve judges, *iudex inter elect(os) xii*, perhaps to settle internal disputes. For the titles *nungentus ad suffragia*, *ensor*, *iudex* there is no evidence in inscriptions found at Ostia, but they are equally unknown among builders' guilds elsewhere. If Hilario was a freedman of a freedman of the Flavian house his date could fit the Ostian guild.

¹ 25621.

² Tenney Frank (*Economic Survey*, v. 250) suggests that the *fabri tignuarii* of Ostia are woodworkers, perhaps operating furniture factories. Their large size, their form of organization, and the honour they pay to imperial procurators make this view very unlikely. For the meaning adopted, *Dig. l. 16. 235*: "fabros tignarios" dicimus non eos dumtaxat qui ligna dolarent, sed omnes qui aedificarent.

³ For the Roman guild, Waltzing, ii. 117; for the date of its foundation, C. Pietrangeli, *BC* 67 (1939) 101.

⁴ 160.

⁵ 347, 418, *S* 4569, dec. iii. 2.

⁶ 2630.

No patrons of the builders are recorded, and, in view of the particularly large number of their inscriptions that survive, we may assume that they had none.¹* They were also unlike other guilds in having an official who was not elected from the members. Three inscriptions mention a *praefectus* of the guild. All three are men of importance in local government, and seem to have no business connexion with the builders. M. Acilius Priscus held equestrian military posts in or near the Flavian period and, when he returned to Ostia, he became duovir and *pontifex Volcani*.² P. Aufidius Fortis, in the middle of the second century, held the quaestorship five times as well as the duovirate.³ Rather later, M. Antonius Severus was in succession *quaestor alimentorum*, *quaestor aerari*, and duovir; his tribe Menenia shows that he did not come from an Ostian family.⁴ M. Acilius Priscus, the first *praefectus* known to us, is described in the record of his career as holding the post continuously for three years; perhaps it was an annual appointment which could be renewed. The title implies that the appointment was made from outside the guild and not from within, perhaps by the town council.

The Ostian builders are not alone in having a *praefectus*. The title is also associated with guilds of *fabri* and *fabri tignuarii* in other towns of Italy and the western provinces. It is usually explained as a para-military appointment connected with the use of the builders' guild as a fire brigade.⁵ That *fabri* were so used in other towns is clear enough from the evidence; but there are two difficulties in applying this explanation to Ostia. There is no positive evidence whatsoever from Ostia connecting the builders with a fire service, and it would be natural to assume that this responsibility rested with the *vigiles*. There is also no evidence at Ostia of a guild of *centonarii*, who seem to be an integral part of the fire service in other towns.

It remains possible that the Ostian builders were required to deal with fires in residential areas while the *vigiles* were responsible for the docks and warehouses or that they were used as general auxiliaries to the

¹ In two inscriptions *patronus* is restored. 359, the career of a Roman knight, patron of the colony: [*patrono*] | [*collegi fab[rum]*] | [*Ostiensium*]; I prefer [*praefecto*] | [*collegi fab. [tign.] Ostiensium*] (for the office of praefectus, below); S 4656: *A. Livio A. filio Palatina* [*patro*]no [*collegi*] [*fabrum*] [*tignuar. Os*]tis. The conditions would be satisfied by *fabrum* [*navalium Os*]tis.

² Bloch, 23 = 7. The title is restored: [*praef(ectus)*] [*colleg(i) fabr(um)*] [*Ostiens(ium)*] cont[*inuo t*]riennio. See Bloch's note.

³ 10, p. 203.

⁴ 298. Possibly 359 (n. 1 above), also a public figure of standing.

⁵ Waltzing, ii. 352-5.

vigiles. A simpler explanation might be that the special importance of the builders in the construction and maintenance of public buildings made it desirable to put them under the control of a senior official appointed by the town government. It is perhaps also possible that the absence of patrons is not the builders' choice. This may have been a precaution imposed from without against corruption. The ship-builders of Portus may also have been subject to official control. P. Martius Philippus, patron of the Ostian shipbuilders under Septimius Severus, is *tribunus fabrum navalium Portens(ium)*.¹ The title is recorded on only one inscription and is not included among the regular officers listed in the guild's roll.

To what extent Ostian trade guilds were confined to the trades they represented is uncertain. We happen to know from a chance inscription that the workers in ivory and citrus wood at Rome admitted to their guild only craftsmen in their own trade.² But this restriction was not applied by all the guilds. When the emperors gave privileges to the Roman bakers and to ship-owners they were careful to lay down that the privileges did not apply indiscriminately to all members of the guild, but only to those who were actually carrying on those trades.³ But since one of the main functions of the guild was to safeguard trade interests it is reasonable to believe that men would most naturally seek election to the guild that represented their own trade. There are, however, several instances of Ostians who belonged to more than one guild.

By imperial regulation a man was not strictly allowed to be a member of more than one authorized guild. The original date of this regulation we do not know, but it was re-enacted by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.⁴ It does not, however, seem to have been strictly enforced at Ostia. M. Caerellius Iazemis is president of the bakers, but also a *codicarius* and a corn merchant;⁵ L. Calpurnius Chius, a corn measurer and *codicarius*, is treasurer of both guilds.⁶ C. Granius Maturus is a curator

¹ 169.

² ILS 7214.

³ *Frag. Vat.* 233 (Ulpian): 'qui in collegio pistorum sunt, a tutelis excusantur, si modo per semet pistrinum exerceant.' *Dig.* l. 6. 6. 6: 'licet in corpore naviculariorum quis sit, navem tamen vel naves non habeat nec omnia ei congruant, quae principalibus constitutionibus cauta sunt, non poterit privilegio naviculariis indulto uti.' Cf. *Dig.* l. 6. 6. 12, applying more generally to important trade guilds.

⁴ *Dig.* xlvii. 22. 1. 2: 'non licet autem amplius quam unum collegium legitimum habere, ut est constitutum et a divis fratribus: et si quis in duobus fuerit, rescriptum est eligere eum oportere, in quo magis esse velit, accepturum ex eo collegio a quo recedit, id quod ei competit ea ratione, quae communis fuit.'

⁵ 4234.

⁶ 16.

of sea and river shipping and associated with the corn measurers.¹ Cn. Sentius Felix is president of the curators of sea shipping and also a member of the guild of shippers trading in the Adriatic.² The guilds to which these men belong represent interests that are closely allied. Sometimes there is no such connexion. The freedman Marcus Licinius Privatus worked his way up to the presidency of the builders, later he was treasurer and president of the bakers.³ L. Valerius Threptus, another president of the builders, was treasurer of the traders in the wine market and president of the guild of the *genius* of the wine market.⁴

Did such men who belonged to more than one guild operate in more than one trade or were they admitted by guilds to which they had no natural claim? It is easy to believe that men who had acquired capital would spread their interests over associated trades. There is no reason, for instance, why a man who traded in corn should not also invest in its transport to Rome and in the bakers' trade which was the largest consumer of corn. It is more surprising to find builders as bakers and wine merchants, but there is nothing inherently unreasonable in a man who has accumulated capital in building trying to increase it by investment in very different occupations. His main responsibility would be to provide the capital for buying or extending the business; he could put the day-to-day management in the hands of freedmen.

There could, however, be a different explanation of such pluralism. Guilds may have been anxious to attract as members men of wealth whatever their occupation in the hope of benefactions. The instances that have been noted are all of men who held guild office, presumably men of substance. The evidence of the guild rolls suggests that such pluralism was not common; probably it was confined to the rich.

If pluralism were common among ordinary members we should expect to find clear traces of it in a comparison of the rolls of the builders of 198 and of the *lenuncularii tabularii* of 192.⁵ The wealth of the builders is attested by their premises and by the number of statues that they erected; the *lenuncularii tabularii* had three senatorial patrons. Both guilds must have been very attractive. Yet though the roll of the builders contains some 350 names and that of the *lenuncularii* 258, no single name appears in both lists. A roll of the *lenuncularii pleromarii* also survives from A.D. 200;⁶ it has no name in common with the

¹ 363, 364. If, as is probable, Bloch, 62, refers to the same man, he was patron and president of the corn measurers.

² 57.

³ 15.

⁴ 430.

⁵ S 4569, 251.

⁶ 252.

builders, and only two are shared with the *tabularii*, M. Cippius Ostiensis and M. Cippius Felix. Even here identity is not certain, for the M. Cippii are widely distributed in Ostia and the two cognomina are also extremely common. Of uncertain date, but probably not far from the end of the second century, is a large fragment of a roll of shipbuilders containing nearly one hundred names.¹ None of the names reappear on the other lists. Similarly, two long rolls survive, from the *lenuncularii tabularii* in 152 and from the contributors to a temple fund in 140; only one name is common to both lists.² None of the names recur in a substantial fragment from an unidentified guild roll, also set up near the middle of the century.³

In the late Empire the guilds became hereditary and members were tied to their trade. Such compulsion was new, but it had long been customary for sons to follow fathers in the guilds. It was also common for families and their freedmen to follow the same trade.⁴ Among the *lenuncularii tabularii* there are 6 M. Cippii in 152, and 13 in 192; there are 10 M. Cornelii in 152 and 23 in 192; there are 5 M. Publicii in 152 and 28 in 192.⁵ In the guild of contributors to a temple fund there are no less than 27 L. Naevii, though the name is not common in Ostia.⁶ In another fragment of an unidentified guild roll more than a quarter of the forty-odd names preserved are T. Tinucii.⁷ Similarly C. Vettii are common among the shipbuilders but otherwise rare.⁸

When the imperial harbours were built it was natural that those whose work was bound up with the harbours and the settlement that grew up round them should at first belong to the Ostian guilds. In some trades the two groups continued a common organization for a long time. The guild of bakers was still described as *corpus pistorum Ostiens(ium) et Port(ensium)* in the Severan period.⁹ The tanners also had not yet separated, as their mosaic in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni shows: *corpus pellion(um) Ost(iensium) et Porte(nsium)*.¹⁰ But it was inevitable that, sooner or later, independent guilds should be established

¹ Bloch, 43.

² 252, 246. P. Cincius Saturninus occurs in both lists (246. vii. 38; 250. iv. 25).

³ 247.

⁴ Emphasized by Wilson, *BSR* 13 (1935) 66.

⁵ 250, 251.

⁶ 246.

⁷ *S* 5357 (dated 262); cf. *S* 4586, 5358, smaller fragments from similar lists in which T. Tinucii figure prominently, probably from the same guild.

⁸ Bloch, 43 (note), perhaps over-emphasizes the point; there are 5 Vettii (no praenomen recorded) among the builders in 198 (*S* 4569), and Vettii in the *s(?tuppatores)* (257), but these are allied trades.

⁹ 15.

¹⁰ *S* 4549².

by the new harbours; the process had begun long before the independence of Portus from Ostia had been made explicit by Constantine. The shipbuilders of Portus had their own guild, *corpus fabrum navalium Portensium*,¹ before the end of the second century, and a guild roll of *stuppatores*, earlier than the fourth century, has been found at Portus.² The *corpus saburrariorum* which honoured Marcus Aurelius in 156 by the harbours is also probably a harbour guild.³

Each guild had its own headquarters, *schola*, in which meetings were held, festivities such as the guild's birthday celebrated, and common religious observances maintained. To such *scholae* there are several references in Ostian inscriptions, but only one can be identified beyond doubt. The guild house of the builders occupies a valuable site on the south side of the Decumanus, immediately east of the Forum. It was built in the early years of Hadrian's principate when an intense building programme was being developed in the colony, and resembles in plan the Barracks of the Vigiles on a smaller scale. The rooms of the ground floor open on to a portico which surrounds an open court paved with plain white mosaic. Five of these rooms are clearly dining-rooms and can have been used for little else, for the couches on which the diners reclined are solidly built in concrete. The room which faces the entrance carries most emphasis in the plan and has a podium along its wall, showing that, like the corresponding room in the Barracks of the Vigiles, it was used as a chapel. The kitchen is in the south-west corner, and the latrine in the south-east, tucked away under the stairs. These stairs, with a corresponding set at the north-west angle, solidly built in travertine, still stand, but nothing remains of the upper stories to which they led. This building had already been largely stripped before excavation but it could be identified by the guild roll inscribed on the base of a statue of Septimius Severus.⁴

One other building can almost certainly be associated with a trade guild. On the north side of the Via della Foce is a large hall which was used by the corn measurers. A panel in the centre of the mosaic pavement shows measurers at work; in the hall was found part of a statue base set up by the corn measurers. This hall, however, is very different

¹ 169, Bloch, 31.

² 257.

³ 102.

⁴ S 4569. It is not certain that this was from the outset the builders' guild house. The podium of the chapel is considerably later, and one at least of the stone couches, in the north-east room, is not original, since it is built against an entrance which was later closed, p. 243, Fig. 8.

from the builders' headquarters. It is undivided and could not provide enough accommodation for an important guild's social headquarters. This was probably not their main *schola*; it may have been connected in some way with a temple that adjoins it.¹ Among unidentified buildings there are several others that may have belonged to guilds.²

The guild houses attracted gifts from members and patrons and among them representations of the imperial house predominate in the form of portrait heads, busts, and statues. Fragments of marble tablets recording dedications to the guild of the Rusticilian ferry service, *corpus scaphariorum traiectus Rusticeli*, illustrate the practice.³ M. Marius Primitivus presents a head or statue of L. Verus to the guild in 145 on the birthday of the emperor Antoninus Pius;⁴ in 166 he joins with a colleague in a similar bequest on the birthday of L. Verus.⁵ Another fragment may record further bequests by himself and possibly his father to celebrate his appointment to the presidency of the guild under Marcus Aurelius.⁶ The standard form of dedication became an imperial head of silver in high relief held up by an Atlas in bronze.⁷ It seems clear from their records that this guild regarded imperial birthdays as important occasions. It is perhaps for the same reason that the ship-builders set up statues to patrons on 11 April 195. They probably deliberately chose the birthday of the emperor Septimius Severus for the dedications.⁸

Of another guild, which cannot be identified, we have a much fuller picture, from a well-preserved inscription recording the gifts presented by members to the guild house, which was dedicated in 143:⁹

M. Antonius Ingenus (presented) a statue of the most true Caesar (M. Aurelius) with a Victory in painted wood and a silver bust of Antoninus Augustus, one pound in weight. To commemorate the dedication (he gave) to every member four sesterces.

A. Herenuleius Faustus (presented) a bust of Antoninus Augustus, two pounds in weight.

¹ Becatti, *Topografia*, 125.

² Notably the Schola del Traiano on the western Decumanus, Becatti, *Topografia*, 146. Less secure, Reg. iii. 2. 5, in which an altar to Mars was found, Bloch, 6 (with notes). Possibly the building in the centre of the south side of the triangular area south of the Forum Baths. See also Becatti, *Topografia*, 132.

³ S 4553-6, 5327-8, with notes on p. 665.

⁴ S 4553.

⁵ S 4554.

⁶ S 5327-8.

⁷ 'imaginem ex argento cum clipeo et Atlante aereo'; the weight is added.

⁸ 168, 169. W. F. Snyder, 'Public Anniversaries in the Roman Empire', *Yale Class. Stud.* 7 (1940) 223-317. esp. 253 f.

⁹ Calza, *Epigraphica*, 1 (1939) 28.

C. Voltidius Martianus (presented) a bust of Aelius Caesar (L. Verus), one pound in weight.

C. Antistius Herme(s) (presented) a bust of Concordia, one pound and a half in weight.

C. Antistius Onesimus (presented) a silver bust of the most true Caesar, one pound and a half in weight.

C. Nasennius Felix (presented) a silver bust of Antoninus Augustus, one pound in weight.

C. Nasennius Felix iun(ior) (presented) a silver bust of the most true Caesar, one pound in weight.

P. Aelius Eutychu(s) (presented) six benches.

M. Cornelius Maximus (presented) four tables, two stools.

M. Aeficius Herme(s) and Cn. Sergius Feli(x) presented with their own money a painted wooden statue of L. Aelius Commodus (L. Verus).

Ti. Claudius Threptus presented a hot bath and with it a heating apparatus.

Q. Cornelius Hermes and L. Aurelius Fortunatus presented with their own money a bronze statue of Antoninus Augustus with a marble base and to commemorate the dedication gave to each member four sesterces.

L. Cornelius Euhodus presented a silver bust of Antoninus.

L. Aurelius . . . a pair of candelabra.

L. Cornelius Euhodus (presented) six ?mattresses, four ?cushions.

This catalogue probably covers bequests made over several years from the dedication of the guild house. It closes with a different, but no less typical form of benefaction: 'P. Sextilius Agripp(a) offered at a public meeting of the guild [. . .] on condition that from the interest of the above-mentioned sum the members of the guild should dine on 24 August, the anniversary of his birthday.'

Two of the dedications to this guild were accompanied by distributions of money to the members. Such distributions were not uncommon. On similar occasions the members of the Rusticilian ferry guild each received two or one denarii.¹ When the statue set up by the builders to P. Bassilius Crescens, *procurator annonae*, in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni was dedicated, his *cornicularius* distributed gifts in kind, *sportulae*, to the members.² Endowments to provide guild dinners are also recorded in other inscriptions. A. Egrilius Faustus left in his will a capital sum of 4,000 sesterces to his guild to provide an annual dinner on 27 November, presumably his birthday.³

A similar interpretation should probably be given to another Ostian inscription.⁴ This lists under month headings the names of contributors.

¹ S 4554-6.

² 160.

³ 246, col. 2, 24-29.

⁴ 326.

Each name is preceded by the date of the contributor's birthday and is followed by his donation and the annual interest accruing at 12 per cent. There was no fixed contribution, for the sums range from 2,000 to 6,000 sesterces. Nor were all the names inscribed at the same time; it is quite clear from the arrangement on the tablet that the list grew. Probably it contains the names of benefactors providing money for their fellow members of the guild to dine on their birthdays. The list includes one woman and therefore belonged more probably to a religious than to a trade guild. The marble tablet which records the donations was provided by P. Claudius Abascantus and the list includes his son. Both were prominent members of the *dendrophori*; it probably comes from their guild house.

For the religious aspect of the trade guilds the evidence is less explicit, but it seems clear that it was an integral element in their organization. The cult of the guild *genius* and some form of imperial cult were common to all guilds, but most if not all had also their own patron gods or goddesses. The rope-sellers of Portus honour Minerva as *conservatrix et antistes*;¹ the measurers are described as *mensores frumentarii Cereris Augustae*.² In the builders' guild house was found a head of Minerva and the record of a dedication to Mars.³

It seems highly probable also that some guilds were particularly closely associated with certain temples which they built and maintained. Such guild temples are well attested in other towns;⁴ at Ostia the evidence is less direct. No single case can be regarded as clearly proved, but the cumulative evidence is strong.

Opposite the so-called Schola del Traiano on the north-west side of the western Decumanus is a brick temple built probably towards the end of the second century.⁵ The temple itself stands well back from the road and is preceded by a large open court enclosed by walls which shut it off from the streets. Such a court is not a common feature in temple architecture but it is well adapted for the purposes of a guild, providing a place for meeting as well as for worship. Within the temple

¹ 44.

² 5¹²: Cn. Sentius Felix is *patronus mensor(um) frumentarior(um) Cereris Aug(ustae)*; cf. 2, the dedication of a well-head by the measurers: 'monitu sanctissimae Cereris et Nympharum.'

³ The dedication to Mars (S 4300), by a president of the guild, was reused to line the podium of the chapel. The stone was not recovered, but traces of the letters could be read on the plaster.

⁴ A list of guild temples, Waltzing, iv. 439.

⁵ Bloch, 31.

area were found the base of a statue set up to a patron of the shipbuilders and a large fragment of a guild roll.¹ The title of the guild does not survive on this fragment, but there are good reasons for attributing it to the shipbuilders, for the list includes a number of free foreigners, such as are found on the guild roll of the shipbuilders of Portus, but not, so far as our evidence goes, in other guilds.² This then is probably a temple built and used by the shipbuilders.

Two other temples repeat this plan. The earlier of the two stands on the south side of the eastern Decumanus, a little west of the theatre. Steps lead up from the street to an enclosed court. Against the back wall is the temple, roughly similar in dimensions to that of the shipbuilders; in front of the steps leading up to the cella is an altar. Little but the brick carcass of temple and surrounding walls remains, and no inscription was found within the building. The character of the brickwork and a fragment of entablature point to a date in the second half of the second century. Near by, on the opposite side of the Decumanus, was found a fragment of a large inscribed epistyle; it has a dedication to the deified Antoninus Pius and was set up probably by the builders.³ It is tempting to believe that this epistyle belongs to the temple and that the temple was dedicated to Antoninus Pius after his death; but the temptation to identify should probably be resisted. Farther west along the Decumanus, beyond the Forum, was found a fragment of a very similar inscribed epistyle.⁴ It too carries a dedication by the builders to an emperor, but during his lifetime, when a temple is not likely to have been built. Both epistyles may belong to more modest monuments.* It remains reasonable, however, to infer from its plan that the Antonine temple on the eastern Decumanus was a guild temple.

The third courtyard temple was designed towards the middle of the third century, and it has a strange history.⁵ This temple lies a little west of the Round Temple. The street entrance leads into an open court surrounded by portico, and the temple was to have been built at the far end of the court. But it seems that the temple itself was never completed. The podium was begun, but before the cella was added there was a change of plan; the basement within the podium was modified and converted into a Mithraeum. With this Mithraeum is associated an

¹ Bloch, 43; Becatti, *Topografia*, 149.

² Becatti, *Topografia*, 148.

³ S 4365.

⁴ S 4382. The height of the letters, in each line, is almost identical in the two epistyles.

⁵ Becatti, *Mithei*, 21.

inscription found near by, recording that it was built by Fructosus, the patron of a guild.¹ The natural inference is that the Mithraeum was designed for members of the guild; the plan of the area makes it probable that Fructosus was using guild premises. Only the first letter of the guild's name survives; it may have been the guild of *stuppatores*. Among such modest folk Mithraism was exercising a powerful attraction in the middle of the third century: the original intention may have been to build a temple to one of the traditional gods.

There may be a fourth example of a guild courtyard temple. On the east side of the *Semita dei Cippi* is an attractive building which centres on an open courtyard; by the late Empire a small set of baths had been installed. Two heads of a philosopher, perhaps Plotinus, found in the building, suggest that it may have been used for philosophical discussions. But originally there was a small temple at the end of the courtyard, which was later destroyed; the original plan suggests guild premises.²

Another temple may be associated with the measurers. This temple, which stands on the north side of the *Via della Foce*, has not the distinctive plan of the temple of the shipbuilders, but a hall which was occupied by the corn measurers immediately adjoins it. It is difficult to believe that they would have been allowed to build their premises against a temple unless they had some special relation to it.

In two further cases the evidence is confined to inscriptions. L. Caecilius Aemilianus is described as 'corporatus in templo fori vinarii importatorum negotiantium'.³ The natural inference is that the wine importers were closely associated with the temple in the wine market. In the guild roll of the shipbuilders at Portus one member is described as *aediti(mus)*; ⁴ he may have served in a temple belonging to the guild.

It is tempting also to believe, as has often been suggested, that the temple in the middle of the public gardens of the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* was a guild temple.⁵ The colonnade round the gardens was occupied by *stationes* of Ostian guilds and traders and shippers from the provinces; many of the statues in the gardens were set up by guilds with the permission of the town council. It was here that the builders

¹ Bloch, 9: '—rius Fructosus patron(us) corp(or)is s[— | te]mpl(um) et spel(aeum) Mit(hrae) a solo sua pec(unia) fecit.'

² No detailed publication is available; Becatti, *Topografia*, 155.

³ Bloch, *Epigraphica*, i (1939) 37. See also pp. 335 f.

⁴ 256¹⁷⁹.

⁵ Paschetto, 175.

honoured one of their presidents, Marcus Licinius Privatus;¹ Q. Acilius Fuscus, *procurator annonae*, was similarly honoured by two branches of the corn measurers.² The statue of Q. Calpurnius Modestus, also *procurator annonae*, was set up by the corn merchants.³ The area was peculiarly associated with the guilds; it is not unlikely that they at least contributed to the building and maintenance of the central temple.

We do not know to what gods or goddesses these temples were dedicated, but, so far as our evidence goes, the guild cults in the second century were the old-established cults of the traditional religion. Though many of their members worshipped Isis, Mithras, and other oriental gods, there is no evidence to suggest that such cults were ever officially adopted by the trade guilds until the late Severan period. The building then of a Mithraeum instead of a temple on guild premises may be a sign of the times.

Their temples, their guild houses, their statues set up in public gave to the Ostian trade guilds a conspicuous place in the life of the town. It is possible that they also paraded with banners on ceremonial occasions. For this there is no evidence, but it is only from chance literary references that we know that the Roman guilds took part in such occasions as the triumphal processions of Gallienus and Aurelian.⁴

Any review of the trade guilds of Ostia must be based primarily on the inscriptions and buildings of the period from the Flavian to the Severan dynasties, when they were popular and prosperous. The evidence for their rise and consolidation and for their later decline is fragmentary and tenuous. Of trade associations under the Republic we know nothing and are likely to learn little from further excavation. Under Augustus the ship-owners of Ostia, *navicularii Ostienses*, acted together in honouring a Roman quaestor,⁵ but they were not necessarily at the time formally united in a guild. The first guild whose formal incorporation we can approximately date is the guild of builders; their history starts in the Julio-Claudian period.

On the side of the base of a statue of the emperor Diocletian set up by the builders in 285 are recorded the names of the three presidents of the twenty-ninth *lustrum*.⁶ This would suggest a foundation date for the guild near the middle of the second century, but it was long ago seen that such a late date was incompatible with many other inscriptions

¹ 15.² 154.³ 161.⁴ *vexilla collegiorum*; SHA, Gall. 8. 6; Aurel. 34. 4.⁵ 3603, Bloch, 32.⁶ 128.

relating to the guild and its presidents. Formal proof that Diocletian's base had been used before and that the date referred to an earlier dedication was found when a membership roll was discovered in the builders' guild house. This roll is inscribed on the base of a statue of Septimius Severus which was set up in 198.¹ In it the three presidents of the twenty-ninth *lustrum* appear at the head of three of the sixteen sections, and since no presidents are separately recorded in the roll it is possible that they were in fact presidents at the time.² If 198 fell in the twenty-ninth *lustrum* the guild will have been established between 58 and 63.

On general historical grounds the principate of Claudius might seem a better context than that of Nero, but further correspondences confirm that this date is approximately correct. L. Antonius Peculiaris was president of the guild in the twenty-fifth *lustrum*.³ In his period of office a commemorative tablet was set up to Q. Petronius Melior, *procurator annonae*,⁴ who was honoured by the corn measurers in 184.⁵ This also suggests a date near 60 for the formal incorporation of the guild.⁶

The only other evidence bearing on the first-century history of the guilds concerns a much smaller guild. Under Trajan the guild of the ferry service of Lucullus, *corpus lenunculariorum traiectus Luculli*, received permission from the Tiber commissioner to improve premises which may have been their guild house. The inscription records the completion of the work—'firmiori et cultiori opere fecerunt'—and its dedication to the majesty of the imperial house.⁷ This guild must already have been well established at the time. From the evidence at present available no other trade guild can be proved to have been formed before the second century and one of the most important seems not to have been formed before the Antonine period. The *lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii* had a large membership and powerful patronage. Fragments of no less than five of their guild rolls survive, but the earliest is from 152 and this roll includes with the presidents of the year only one ex-president,⁸ whereas the roll of 192 has six. The first surviving roll seems to be near the guild's foundation.

The absence of evidence does not, of course, mean that no other guilds

¹ S 4569.

² Praenomina are not recorded in this roll, but nomen and cognomen correspond: (Cn.) Sergius Mercurius, dec. xv. 1; (M.) Licinius Privatus, xvi. 1; (T). Claudius Sosipolis, vi. 1. ³ 297. ⁴ S 5345. ⁵ 172 with p. 481.

⁶ For a fuller review of the evidence, Wickert, S, p. 611.

⁷ S 5320.

⁸ 250.

existed. First-century inscriptions are still comparatively rare, and very few Julio-Claudian buildings, apart from the temples, survived the rebuilding of the town in the early second century. But the contrast with the very large number of inscriptions from the early second century is striking and perhaps not without significance. It is doubtful whether the guilds were wealthy or powerful before the general growth of prosperity which is reflected in the intensive rebuilding of the town. In the second century they enjoyed wealth and prestige. They could afford handsome buildings, develop a colourful social life, and attract generous patronage. Their decline during the third century was probably abrupt. After the Severan period very few guild inscriptions survive. Even the builders in setting up a statue to Diocletian reused an old base and omitted to erase the earlier date.¹

The main reason for the virtual eclipse of the trade guilds in Ostia was the shrinking of the total volume of trade and the shifting of emphasis to Portus. The guilds of Portus were still essential to Rome and could not therefore be allowed to disintegrate. In the Theodosian Code we hear of the *mensores*,² the *saccarii*,³ the *codicarii*⁴ of Portus. The *codicarii* set up a statue to the emperor Constantine,⁵ the *mensores* to a *praefectus annonae* of the late fourth century.⁶ When Portus can be excavated we are likely to find much more late evidence for the guilds than at Ostia. But the trade guilds of the fourth century are very different in character from those of the second; instead of free institutions they have become closely controlled departments of state.⁷

Not all guilds were connected with trade. Among the old-established guilds at Rome some were connected with public religion. Such religious guilds were not uncommon in imperial Ostia. Though serving a different purpose they closely resembled the trade guilds in organization, and offered similar social attractions in addition to their religious functions. They had their own guild houses, and a similar hierarchy of officers and patrons.

Attached to the cult of Magna Mater were the *dendrophori* and the *cannophori*. The cult which they served was popular among the ruling classes and the common people. A roll of the *dendrophori* from the Severan period records five patrons, including some of the most distinguished Ostians of the day.⁸ When their guild house was rebuilt it

¹ 128.

² *Cod. Theod.* xiv. 4. 9.

³ *Ibid.* xiv. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.* xiv. 4. 9.

⁵ 131.

⁶ *CIL* vi. 1759.

⁷ For the later history of the guilds, Waltzing, ii. 357.

⁸ p. 504.

was dedicated to the *numen domus Augustae*; gifts to it included figures of Mother Earth, of Mars, and of Silvanus. The *cannophori* had a similar organization and attracted similar benefactions. A high priest of the Great Mother presented statues of Cybele and Attis to the guild and dedications to emperors were made in the guild house by individuals and by the guild. In the area reserved for the cult of Magna Mater was a temple of Bellona; near by was the guild house of the *hastiferi*, who were especially associated with her cult.¹

The *cultores Iovis Tutoris* also formed an association, but their headquarters may have been outside the town, for the only inscription referring to them was found near Acilia. It records a gift by two officials, a *quaglator*, whose function we do not know, and a *curator*.²

A record is also preserved of the *cultores Larum et imaginum Augustorum*.³ They had petitioned an imperial procurator for the use of a site on an estate that had once belonged to the Rusticelii, but had become imperial property. His decision is commemorated as a charter of foundation:

This site was assigned by Callistus, imperial procurator, to the worshippers of the *lares* and *imagines* of our invincible lords on the Rusticelian estate for the celebration of due occasions under the care of Maximianus, slave born in the emperor's service, steward of the estate, as is provided in the letter sent by the above-named Callistus. The site was designated on the Kalends of June when the emperor Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus was consul for the second time (205).

There follows a copy of the procurator's letter to the steward of the estate:

Callistus to Maximianus. The petition sent to me by the worshippers of the imperial *lares* I have sent to you. In such a matter, where religious duty was so clearly involved, you should have shown every anxiety to see that the site which had been formerly consecrated should be used for meetings to promote the welfare of our lord emperors. Now, though the worshippers express their wish to do it themselves, see that you take the matter in hand and have the place cleaned without delay.

In the list of members added below at least three imperial slaves are included. The association was probably composed mainly of workers on the estate.

¹ For the guilds associated with Cybele, Attis, Bellona, p. 360.

² 25. Waltzing, i. 424, suggests that the *quaglator* was an arbitrator.

³ S 4570.

In addition to trade and religious guilds individually sanctioned by the Roman senate or the emperor general authority was granted early in the second century by senatorial decree for the establishment of *collegia tenuiorum*.¹ These guilds of humble folk raised funds for the burial of their members and enjoyed the other social benefits of union. The decree which authorized them is quoted in an inscription from Lanuvium which contains also the rules of a local burial guild.² The conditions imposed were intended to ensure that the guild did not become a source of disturbance nor lose sight of its primary function. Monthly subscriptions could be collected, but members could meet only once a month. In the rules of the Lanuvium guild the special feast days of the guild are listed together with the contributions in kind due from members; precautions are also taken against unruly behaviour. A fragmentary inscription from Ostia seems to preserve in its heading a paraphrase of the senatorial decree;³ it was probably set up by an Ostian burial club.

Similar in organization to the guilds were the *iuvenes*. The institution of the *Iuventus* was widespread in Italy and the western provinces. It represented the young men of standing in the community, who had their own headquarters, paraded on ceremonial occasions, and gave their own special display, the *lusus iuvenalis*.⁴ It is doubtful whether the institution had a long history in Ostia, for it is recorded in only two surviving inscriptions. Cn. Sentius Felix, who held the duovirate in the late first or early second century A.D., was *q(uaestor) iuvenum* and also *curator lusus iuvenalis*.⁵ This latter office is recorded in another fragmentary inscription which is probably not much later in date.⁶ Cn. Sentius Felix was also patron of the *veterani Aug(usti)*.⁷ It is very doubtful whether Ostia attracted veterans from the legions, but several inscriptions record men who had settled in Ostia after serving in the praetorian or urban cohorts at Rome. *Veterani Augusti* also include men who had served in the fleet. They were of very different status and origin from the urban troops, but they probably belonged to the same veterans' guild.

¹ Waltzing, i. 141.

² ILS 7212.

³ S 4548.

⁴ M. della Corte, *Iuventus* (Arpino, 1924).

⁵ 5⁴.¹⁷ He is also *patronus iuven(um) cisianor(um)* (l. 15), perhaps a separate organization of *iuvenes* who raced in two-wheeled carriages.

⁶ Unpublished.

⁷ 5¹⁶; cf. S 4364, a commemorative tablet in honour of an emperor, probably Antoninus Pius, set up by '[cor]pus veter[anorum]'.

Freedmen had their own special organization, the *seviri Augustales*. Their official concern was the cult of the imperial house, but they had their own social headquarters and were organized as a guild. The main attraction of membership was almost certainly the prestige and practical advantage of belonging to a wealthy society, publicly recognized. The most distinctive feature of their organization is the elaboration of their hierarchy and the large number of their officials. The former slave was more conscious than the free citizen of the dignity of office.¹

Even the public slaves and freedmen employed in the town service were allowed to form their own organization. Their guild roll is headed by a *tabularius*, a freedman, presumably responsible for keeping the records, and two *arkarii*, treasurers, who are both slaves. Of the 81 members, 21 are slaves, 35 have the name *Ostiensis*, showing that they are former slaves who have won their freedom in the town service, or freedmen of men so freed; the remainder are freedmen from other families.² It is significant that slaves are not separated in the list but are distributed among the freedmen. As in the trade guilds the order is probably based on seniority.

Two other guilds are more difficult to classify. The guild of the five districts, 'corpus V region(um) col(oniae) Ost(iensium)', is known from one inscription only.³ Whether this association was religious or merely social we cannot know. The evidence for the other guild is fuller but hardly more easy to interpret. A large marble tablet, long since lost, records the names of guildsmen who contributed money for the enlargement of a temple, *ordo corporator(um) qui pecuniam ad ampliand(um) templum contuler(unt)*; it was set up in 140.⁴ The guild has no less than ten senatorial patrons; in addition to life-presidents and presidents there are 181 ordinary members.

It would seem at first sight that the sole function of this guild was to raise subscriptions for the rebuilding of an important temple, and that its life would end when the temple was rebuilt. It is surprising therefore to see that one of the guild members left to the guild a capital sum to provide guild banquets on the anniversaries of his birthday.⁵ Two further rolls of the guild, discovered more recently, confirm that the guild had a long life. The first was set up shortly before 135.⁶ The guild

¹ For the *seviri Augustales*, p. 217.

² 255.

³ 352 (dated 251).

⁴ 246.

⁵ 246, col. ii. 24.

⁶ S 5374. The title of the guild is lost, but the two *quinquennales* of 135 are listed in the roll of 140 as *quinquennalicii*. Other names occur in both lists. See Wickert's notes in *CIL*.

then had only three patrons and two at least, probably all three, were local men; perhaps this inscription marked the beginning of the guild. The second list is dated to 179, but records also the presidents for 182 and 187.¹ There are now only two patrons, a senator and a knight, but there are still more than 100 members. It seems unlikely that the rebuilding of a temple was spread over fifty years, for the earlier decades of the guild were years of great prosperity in Ostia.

There should be a clue to the identity of the guild in the career of Cn. Sentius Felix. He is recorded as a patron in the first of the guild rolls surviving, and his career is set out in great detail on his funerary altar.² There is no title in his career that directly reflects the heading in the guild rolls, but two titles remain unexplained. Felix was patron of the 'corpus togatorum a foro', a guild otherwise unknown; if, however, this was another name for the temple contributors, the temple should presumably be in the Forum. But it is almost inconceivable that either of the two temples in the Forum, the Capitolium or the temple of Rome and Augustus, should have been dependent on private subscriptions; nor does the list contain sufficient distinguished Ostian names to fit either of the two main temples of the town. Felix was also 'gratis allect(us) inter navicula(rios) maris Hadriatici et ad quadrigam fori vinari'. The reference seems to be to two closely associated guilds, the second at least having its headquarters in the Forum Vinarium. It is economic to believe that this is the guild to which L. Caecilius Aemilianus belonged, 'corporatus in templo fori vinari importatorum negotian-tium'.³ The guild rolls may belong to wine importers who were responsible for the maintenance of the temple in the Forum Vinarium. The interest of importers from Rome in the business of the wine market would help to explain the patronage of Roman senators.

The guilds of Ostia covered a very wide field and must have included a considerable proportion of the free population. They provided an outlet for the ambitions of the rich and, to those who were less well off, amenities which they could not individually afford. Their prosperity coincides with the rise of the middle class, and the dominance of the insula. When emphasis shifts to the domus, the self-contained house of the wealthy, in the late Empire, the guilds have become impoverished and inconspicuous in the old town. At Portus the trade guilds had a longer prominence under the mixed blessings of protection and control.

¹ S 5356.

² Patron, S 5374 (a) 3. Career, 5.

³ Bloch, *Epigraphica*, I (1939) 37.

15

RELIGION

WHEN Ostia was at the height of her prosperity, the Forum, which was the centre of public life, was framed at its northern and southern ends by temples, and the Capitolium, at the northern end, was the dominant building in the town. Temples were conspicuous in every quarter, built singly or in groups; a host of smaller shrines, less conspicuous, can still be seen in private houses and public buildings. The ruins and inscriptions suggest that religion pervaded public and private life, but the pattern is complex and changing. It reflects general changes of outlook in the Roman world, and particular changes in Ostia's social structure.

The study of Ostian cults is tantalizing, for more than half the temples that have been discovered are still nameless, and many of those known from inscriptions have yet to be identified. But sufficient evidence is already available to attempt an historical survey. The traditional cults of the Roman people dominated Ostian religion in the Republic and early Empire; the rise of the middle class and the growing cosmopolitanism of second-century prosperity was accompanied by a deep penetration of oriental cults. The spreading of Christianity coincides with the period of economic stress, and the stubborn resistance of paganism to the domination of Christianity in the fourth century probably derives from a wealthy aristocracy. Every aspect of Ostian religion can be paralleled elsewhere in the Roman world, but the total pattern is distinctively Ostian.

REPUBLICAN CULTS

The most distinctive feature in the history of Ostia's religion is the pre-eminence of the cult of Vulcan.¹ His high priest has a general supervision over the temples of the town; he is *pontifex Volcani et aedium sacrarum*. His authority is recorded in inscriptions for the setting up of a statue to a priest of Isis;² he also authorizes statues in the field of

¹ L. R. Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia* (Bryn Mawr Monographs, xi, 1912) 14. Cited as 'Taylor'.

² 352.

the Great Mother,¹ and dedications to Serapis by the imperial harbour.² He is chosen from the leading citizens of Ostia and his appointment, which is for life, is recorded in the town Fasti.³ He is assisted in the cult of Vulcan by three praetors and two (possibly three) aediles, *praetores (aediles) sacris Volcani faciendis*.⁴

While the *pontifex Volcani* was always a man who had won distinction, local or imperial, the praetors and aediles of the cult were normally appointed before they entered the local Council; and they could be appointed very young. A. Fabius Felicianus died at the age of nineteen;⁵ L. Aurelius Fortunatianus, *praetor primus*, was only four and a half years old when he died;⁶ P. Lucilius Gamala similarly was probably only a boy when he was appointed *praetor tertius*.⁷ Normally only one of these junior priesthoods was held; Cn. Turpilius Turpilianus and P. Lucilius Gamala are exceptional in holding both.⁸ It seems likely that the office was held for one year only and was regarded as a preliminary step in a public career. Of the duties of this college of junior priests we have only one echo, in a fragment of the Fasti for A.D. 91: 'in [fundo] Volusiano arb[os ful]mine icta; cond[itum per] aedilicios'. It seems that the aediles of Vulcan were responsible for the laying of the god's anger when lightning had struck. A small marble tablet found in the Via della Fullonica, with the inscription 'fulgur divum',⁹ and similar tablets in an Ostian house and on the wall of a *crypta*¹⁰ may record the propitiatory action of Vulcan's aediles.

One Ostian inscription mentions a *patrius deus* of Ostia. Cn. Turpilius Turpilianus, aedile and praetor in the cult of Vulcan, offered an image of Vulcan 'patrio deo'.¹¹ It is a reasonable inference that the offering was in fact made in the temple of Vulcan. Even if this inference is wrong, the offering of an image of Vulcan would still emphasize the importance of Vulcan's cult in Ostia.

The origin and early nature of Vulcan's cult remain obscure. The Romans themselves could not explain the name and the derivation is still far from certain. In historical times Vulcan was primarily a god of fire and had been largely assimilated with the Greek Hephaestus; he was important, but not one of the major powers. Earlier it may have

¹ 324, 325.

² 47.

³ *Fasti*, A.D. 36 and 105.

⁴ For the number, p. 173.

⁵ 351.

⁶ 306.

⁷ 23-5. His priesthoods of Vulcan are listed before his election to the council, when he is *infans*.

⁸ 3, 2.

⁹ S 4294.

¹⁰ C. Pietrangeli, 'Bidentalìa', *Rend. Pont.* 25-26 (1949-51) 37-52 (Ostia, 39, 41).

¹¹ 3.

been very different. Before Jupiter came to dominate the Roman pantheon, tradition suggests that Vulcan had a more important place than later in Roman cult.¹ Of this there is an echo in the ritual of *devotio* described by Livy: 'qui sese devoverit, Volcano arma sive cui alii divo vovere volet, ius est.'²

In what form and by what means did Vulcan come to Ostia? Wissowa considered that the special importance of Vulcan in Ostia is explained by the overriding danger of fire among the granaries.³ To this there are strong objections. When fourth-century Ostia was built, her main function was to protect the coast; it was not until much later that the storage of corn and other goods became her chief concern. We may doubt whether, if Wissowa's explanation is right, Vulcan would have displaced the patron god of the fourth century. It is reasonable to look for deeper roots.

Carcopino, who has made the most detailed study of the problem, has offered the most comprehensive solution.⁴ In his view Vulcan was originally the god of water as well as fire and pre-eminently the god of the Tiber. His cult was a federal cult of the Latins at the river mouth. Like the cults of Lavinium it was taken over by Rome when she conquered the area, but the cult was maintained at its original centre. The priesthood of Vulcan at Ostia is to be compared with the *Laurentes Lavinates* of Lavinium and the *sacerdotes Caenin(i)enses*. Pontifex, praetors, and aediles were appointed by Rome, but since Ostia was a populous centre, unlike Lavinium, it was unnecessary to look outside Ostia to fill the posts. The main festival of Vulcan at Ostia, the *Volcanalia* on 23 August, remained a Roman concern. The emperor or his representative presided and stayed at Ostia for a series of associated festivals, including those of Castor and Pollux. Virgil, according to Carcopino, glorified this cult in his *Aeneid*. His Thybris is the Ostian Vulcan and the federal centre is clearly prophesied in a well-known passage:

hic mihi magna domus, celsis caput urbibus exit.⁵

The 'magna domus' is the temple of Vulcan at Ostia; the high cities are the Latin cities of the Alban hills who share the cult at the river mouth. The name of this cult centre is preserved in a priesthood

¹ Wissowa in Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, vi. 357.

² Livy viii. 10. 13; cf. i. 37. 5; xxx. 6. 9; xli. 12. 6.

³ Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², 230; still maintained in Roscher, *Lexikon*, vi. 362.

⁴ Carcopino, 39-167.

⁵ Virg. *Aen.* viii. 65.

recorded in Ostian inscriptions, the *sodales Arulenses*. Arula was the name of the pre-Roman religious centre at the Tiber mouth.

Carcopino's identification of Vulcan with the god of the Tiber has won very little support. The arguments marshalled against the view by Rose seem decisive,¹ and they have been further strengthened by Le Gall's more recent study of the Tiber cult.² There is no real evidence in the *Aeneid* to suggest that Virgil's Thybris is any other than *pater Tiberinus*, who had a shrine at Ostia and was also worshipped at other points on the river. The crucial line from which Carcopino drew such sweeping inferences admits more easily a completely different meaning. The contrast is between the lower and upper Tiber; the high cities are the hill-top towns near the headwaters of the river.³

But though Carcopino's identification of Vulcan with the Tiber cannot be accepted, his view that Roman Ostia was preceded by a federal cult centre of Vulcan is not thereby discredited: Rose finds this interpretation reasonable and probably right.⁴ The case rests on two main arguments, the interpretation of the *sodales Arulenses* and the control by Rome of the Ostian priesthood. In the present state of our evidence neither argument can be more than a hypothesis; each has its difficulties.

The *sodales Arulenses* are recorded in five inscriptions and in four cases certainly, in the fifth possibly, the holders of this priesthood also held a junior priesthood in the cult of Vulcan. But four of the inscriptions come from the late second or the third century and there is no reason to believe that the fifth is substantially earlier.⁵ In this late period the priesthood seems to be a normal stage in a public career. Had it existed in the first half of the second century some record of it should have survived, for those years, corresponding to the peak of Ostia's prosperity, are particularly rich in inscriptions. It is natural to infer that the *sodales Arulenses* were instituted after the middle of the second century; it is unlikely therefore that their roots lie so deep in Ostia's history. If the memory of a pre-Ostian Arula had survived so long, we could expect to find some echo in a literary source.⁶

¹ H. J. Rose, 'The Cult of Volkanus at Rome', *JRS* 23 (1933) 46.

² Le Gall, *Recherches sur le culte du Tibre* (Paris, 1953) 40.

³ *Ibid.* 43 f.

⁴ Rose, *art. cit.* 51 f.

⁵ 341, II, 432, S 4671 are approximately dated by clear internal evidence. Bloch, 56 = S 4625 has to be dated by script alone.

⁶ *Arulenses* might possibly be derived from *arula* = a little altar; cf. *CIL* xiii. 939: 'sacerdos Arensis'. In a second-century hall opposite the temple of Hercules (Reg.

The relation of Rome to the Ostian cult of Vulcan remains equally obscure. In the *Fasti* 'creatus' is used of the appointment of the pontifex; the word, embarrassingly wide in connotation, would be applicable to appointment by a Roman authority, by the Ostian council, by the Ostian people, or by the priests of Vulcan. Among praetors and aediles in the cult the method of appointment is specified in only one case, and even there the restoration is controversial. M. Marius Primitivus was probably appointed by the Ostian council: 'decur(ionum) dec(reto) aed(ilis) | sac(ris) Volc(ani) fac(iundis)';¹ but his case might be so recorded precisely because it was exceptional.

We are on no firmer ground when we look for the presence of emperors or their representatives at the Volcanalia at Ostia. Carcopino points out that the tradition of a third-century Christian persecution at Ostia records that the investigations were carried out on the emperor's instruction either by the *praefectus urbi* or by a *vicarius urbis*, and that he was at Ostia from roughly 8 to 28 August. Carcopino assumes that the dates are significant and that the investigation was timed to coincide with the Volcanalia on 23 August over which the emperor's representative was to preside.² It is easier to assume that the investigation took place in August, because the trouble came to a head in August.

A second instance is rather stronger. When Messalina made her bid for power in 48, she waited, according to Tacitus, until Claudius was to leave for Ostia to celebrate a sacrifice.³ That this was not the only object of his journey is suggested by the account of Dio, who says that Claudius went to examine the corn supply;⁴ and Claudius was certainly accompanied by his *praefectus annonae*.⁵ But the two accounts are compatible and, if the dates fitted, the Volcanalia might be implied in the reference. Tacitus gives a mark of time in his description of Messalina's celebrations: 'adulto autumno simulacrum vindemiae celebrabat.'⁶ The Romans regarded autumn as beginning on 8 or 11 August; the Volcanalia were on 23 August. This might possibly be described as 'adulto

1.15.3, the Aula delle Are) were preserved four republican tufa altars, which may have been in the care of the *sodales Arulenses*.

¹ S 4553. Carcopino (64) refers his appointment by the council to his membership of the council: 'Primit[ivus d(ecreto)] decur(ionum) dec(urio), aed. || sac. Volc. fac.' But the standard formula for appointment to the council is 'decurionum decreto decurio adlectus', e.g. 321, 349, 362, 390.

² Carcopino, 156.

³ Tac. *Ann.* xi. 26. 7: 'nec ultra expectato quam dum sacrificii gratia Claudius Ostiam proficisceretur.'

⁴ Dio lxi. 31. 4.

⁵ Tac. *Ann.* xi. 31. 1.

⁶ Ibid. 4.

autumno', but the natural interpretation of the phrase requires a later date, in September, or possibly October. And if Claudius was concerned for the corn supply he is more likely to have sacrificed to Castor and Pollux, to whom we later find an urban prefect praying for calm weather.¹

If it could be demonstrated that the festival of Castor and Pollux was closely associated with the Volcanalia, Carcopino's thesis would be strengthened, for we know that this festival was presided over in the late Empire by the urban prefect or consul, and earlier by the urban praetor. But Carcopino's general arguments for dating the festival in August are insufficiently strong to outweigh the only piece of positive evidence available, which dates the festival to 27 January.²

Nor should any inference concerning the importance to Rome of the Ostian cult of Vulcan be drawn from the propitiatory ceremonial prescribed by the Sibylline books in 64 after the great fire at Rome.³ Tacitus records that supplication was to be made to Vulcan, Ceres, and Proserpina; and that Juno was to be propitiated by the matrons of Rome, first on the Capitoline hill, then at the nearest point on the coast; water was taken from the sea and sprinkled over the temple and image of the goddess.⁴ Ostian Vulcan is not here concerned; purification by sea-water was a standard prescription, which had been earlier applied in a more drastic form to Cybele.⁵

Until more definite evidence can be found it is easier to believe that Vulcan came to Ostia from Rome rather than to Rome from Ostia, and that when he came he was a god of wider powers than he enjoyed in the late Republic and Empire. It is not impossible that he was the main god of an early settlement by the salt-beds and that he retained his pre-eminence and an elaborated priesthood when that settlement was absorbed by the fourth-century colony. If that is so, his temple may have been east of Ostia, near the salt-beds, and that would help to explain why no trace of it has been found. We learn that it was restored by the Augustan Gamala,⁶ and the Fasti record a further restoration under Trajan in 112, but no temple within or near the Castrum can be identified as Vulcan's. The problem is further complicated by a series of fragments ingeniously associated by Barbieri. This inscription records

¹ As suggested by Taylor, 24; Amm. Marc. xix. 10. 4. For the beginning of the Roman autumn, Pliny, *NH* xviii. 271, Varro, *RR* i. 28. 1.

² Calendar of Polemius Silvius, *CIL* 1², p. 257.

⁴ Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44. 1.

⁵ Dio xlviii. 43. 5.

³ Carcopino, 77.

⁶ 1²¹.

an *aedes Volcani* and *pronaos*, but seems to refer to a new building sanctioned by the Roman senate.¹ The size of the letters suggests a small building and the date is probably Julio-Claudian. This may be a secondary temple within the city.

Vulcan's is not the only cult associated with the origins of Ostia. L. Calpurnius Chius, a rich freedman living in or near the Severan period, was *magister ad Martem Ficanum*.² The title has been associated with Ficana, which, in the tradition, was conquered before Ostia was established.³ It was the conquest of Ficana, the last high point between Rome and the sea, which gave Rome control over the mouth of the river and the coastal plain. This inscription is insufficient evidence for a public cult of Mars Ficanus, for L. Calpurnius Chius might have been an official of a *vicus* named after a statue. New evidence, however, shows conclusively that such a cult was maintained. The new evidence is a small base carrying an inscription. The relief above the inscription, probably a figure of Mars, has been almost completely lost, but the inscription is well preserved. It records a dedication to Mars Ficanus by an imperial slave, *vilicus saltuariorum*, probably in the late second century A.D.⁴ This inscription was found in 1952 in the grounds of an agricultural establishment on the Via Ostiensis, roughly half a mile east of Roman Ostia; it had been brought there some five years previously and was said to have been found at Malafede, roughly a mile on the Rome-ward side of Acilia. If this was the original site of the dedication, it might mark the assumed position of a battle that preceded the capture of Ficana.⁵

Among the other cults of republican Ostia the worship of Castor and Pollux had special importance. The *Fasti* of Polemius Silvius include among Roman festivals 'the games of the Castors at Ostia' on 27 January, which was the day of the dedication of the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman Forum.⁶ At Rome the Dioscuri were associated with the cavalry: they had taken part in the Battle of Lake Regillus and

¹ S 4724. With the help of new fragments Barbieri restores: '[ae]dem Vo[lc]ano ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) faciund[am] cur[avit] | —Proculus [duo]vir II [cum] pronaos—'. The letters of the first line are 8 cm. high, of the second 6.5 cm.

² 16¹⁰.

³ p. 17.

⁴ 'Marti Ficano | Agathon | Caesaris ser(vus) | vilicus saltua | riorum cum | suis voto | libens | d(ono) d(edit).' The base is now in the Museo della Via Ostiense (M. F. Squarciapino, *Il Museo della Via O.* 31). The *saltuarii* were probably employed on the imperial Laurentine estate; cf. Carcopino, 255, who quotes a further record from the district.

⁵ See Note G, p. 474.

⁶ CIL 1², p. 257, 232; Taylor, 23.

miraculously appeared on horseback by the Fountain of Juturna to give the news of victory. But in Greece and southern Italy Castor and Pollux had long been associated with navigation, and it was this aspect of their cult that Rome observed at Ostia.

Each year on 27 January the Roman *praetor urbanus*, succeeded in the later Empire by the *praefectus urbis* or consul, celebrated on behalf of the Roman people games in honour of the twin gods, and a praetor of the late second or early third century A.D. has left a record in indifferent verse of the festivities:

litoribus vestris quoniam certamina laetum
exhibuisse iuvat, Castor venerandeque Pollux,
munere pro tanto faciem certaminis ipsam,
magna Iovis proles, vestra pro sede locavi
urbanis Catius gaudens me fascibus auctum
Neptunoque patri ludos fecisse Sabinus.¹

Catius Sabinus, urban praetor, who was to hold a second consulship in A.D. 216, commemorated his official visit to Ostia by a representation in sculptured relief or in painting of the games over which he had presided.² The versifier does not record the nature of the contests of the *ludi Castorum* at Ostia, but the close association of Castor and Pollux with the cavalry suggests horse-racing. A glimmer of light on the spectacle may possibly be derived from a poem of Statius. The second poem of the fifth book of the *Silvae* is composed in honour of the sixteen-year-old Crispinus, son of Vettius Bolanus, distinguished consular of the Julio-Claudian period. Amid the obscurely rhetorical catalogue of his virtues there is a probable Ostian reference:

ipse ego te nuper Tiberino in litore vidi,
qua Tyrrhena vadis Laurentibus aestuat unda,
tendentem cursus vexantemque ilia nuda
calce ferocis equi, vultu dextraque minacem
—si qua fides dictis, stupui armatumque putavi.³

The most recent editor of Statius sets this scene in the Campus Martius, where young men of quality certainly rode when Strabo

¹ I.

² Carcopino, 80, and R. Paribeni, *Rend. Pont.* 15 (1939) 97, thought that Catius Sabinus officiated as *praefectus urbis*, a forced interpretation of the Latin. That the games were at this period conducted by the *praetor urbanus* is confirmed by Bloch, 10, a dedication at Ostia to Neptune, Castor, and Pollux by an urban praetor. Catius Sabinus made a similar metrical dedication as praetor to Hercules at Rome, *ILS* 3402.

³ Statius, *Silvae*, v. 2. 113–17 (éd. H. Frère, Collection Budé, 1944).

wrote.¹ A Silver Latin poet might refer to the Campus Martius as the Tiber shore, but not even the most rhetorical of poets would picture the river in these terms. The two banks of the river might possibly be titled Laurentine and Tyrrhenian, but the description of the meeting of Tyrrhenian waters with Laurentine shallows is inapplicable to the Tiber flowing through Rome. Transferred to Ostia the description has convincing point. The meeting of two waters aptly describes the contrast between the open sea and the outflow of the river. The Laurentine shallows stretch south from the Tiber's mouth, and it is on this coastline that the scene should be set. What was Crispinus doing there? He might have been merely taking exercise on his horse, his family might even have had a villa by the shore. But why was Statius looking on? It is not far-fetched to regard him as a spectator at a formal occasion, a *certamen* in the *ludi Castorum*; Crispinus may have been taking part with other young nobles in a ceremonial horse-race.

There is a further literary reference to the cult in the late Empire. In 359 Tertullus, city prefect, when storms prevented the grain ships entering harbour and there was serious danger of riots in Rome, left hurriedly for the coast. 'While Tertullus sacrificed at Ostia in the temple of the Castors, the wind dropped and the sea was calmed; then the wind changed to a gentle breeze from the south and the ships in full sail entered the harbour and filled the granaries with corn.'²

The temple of Castor and Pollux at Ostia has not yet been found, though an inscription records that it was restored in the second century by P. Lucilius Gamala.³ None of the temples yet excavated seems appropriate, and the ambiguous wording of a fifth-century writer has been held to imply that the temple was on the right bank of the river. 'The river dividing into two branches makes an island between the city harbour (Portus) and the town of Ostia, where the Roman people come with the city prefect or consul to honour the Castors with genial solemnity.'⁴ The passage is clearly not decisive, and better evidence suggests that the temple was on the left bank. A small base carrying a dedication to Neptune, Castor, and Pollux by L. Catius Celer, urban

¹ Strabo, 236.

² Amm. Marc. xix. 10. 4.

³ 2¹³.

⁴ *Cosmographia Iulii Caesaris* (Aethicus), Riese, *Geographi Latini minores*, 83: '[Tiberis] in duobus ex uno effectus insulam facit inter portum urbis et Ostiam civitatem, ubi populus Romanus cum urbis praefecto vel consule Castorum celebrandorum causa egreditur sollemnitate iocunda'.

praetor, was found near the centre of the city;¹ it probably once stood in the temple area. Like so many Ostian inscriptions it was not found in its original setting, but it is unlikely to have been carried across the river. A dedication to the Castors in honour of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Serapis probably stood in the temple area of Serapis, for it was found near by.²

From an inscription of Severan date we know that oracles were given in the temple: the three that have survived do not inspire confidence. Septimius Nestor, an epic poet from Laranda who had a wide reputation in Asia Minor, commemorated on a marble tablet the oracles given him by the Dioscuri. The first recognizes him as a renowned poet, the second assures him that his fame will survive throughout the ages. From the little we know of his works it is no injustice that this prophecy, probably composed by the poet himself, was unfulfilled. The third bids him set up his statue in the temple.³

Jupiter also was worshipped at Ostia from early days, for Livy in his account of 199 B.C. records that envoys brought news from Ostia that the temple of Jupiter had been struck by lightning.⁴ This temple, perhaps dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, will have been within the walls of the fourth-century colony.⁵ Outside the walls of the Castrum Iupiter Optimus Maximus is attested by four boundary stones in the area of the four republican temples, near the theatre. These stones delimit at the corners an irregular but roughly square area: on each are the letters 'I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) S(acrum)'.⁶ This was an open area sacred to Jupiter: later it was enclosed by a wall but it still remained open to the sky. A small altar set up to Iupiter Optimus Maximus by a corn measurer as the result of a dream may be republican.⁷ A further dedication of two silver Lares by a prominent freedman, also prompted by a dream, was found in the guild house of the builders and belongs to the second century.⁸ There was also an association of *cultores Iovis*

¹ Bloch, 10. G. Barbieri, *Athenaeum*, 31 (1953) 166, suggests that the small temple at the angle of the Decumanus and the Via dei Molini (iii. 9. 4), near which this inscription was found, is the temple of Castor and Pollux. This temple, however, was not built until the late Republic and seems to have had no predecessor on the site. We should expect a larger temple. More probably it was on the seaward side of the town.

² Unpublished.

³ R. Paribeni, *Rend. Pont.* 15 (1939) 97–102. For the text of the third oracle and the identification of the statue, G. Barbieri, *Athenaeum*, 31 (1953) 158.

⁴ Livy xxxii. 1. 10.

⁵ For a possible identification, p. 352.

⁶ S 4292.

⁷ 23, 'fortasse rudis potius quam antiqua' (Mommsen).

⁸ S 4293, president of the *seviri Augustales*.

Tutoris; its cult centre was probably outside the town, for the only inscription recording the cult was found near Acilia.¹

Among the earliest cults of Ostia may also have been that of Liber Pater. The only certain evidence of his cult is an inscription of the Empire,² but there is reason to attribute to Ostia a dedication to the god in archaic lettering and style: NO.OFALIUS NO.F.Q.PRO | SED.ET.FAMILIA. SOUA.LEIBERO | DONUM.DAT.MERET. This dedication, now in Vienna, came from the collection of Cardinal Pacca, and, since his collection was formed primarily though not exclusively from excavation at Ostia, an Ostian origin was suggested by Mommsen.³ The quaestor who made the dedication was probably the Roman quaestor stationed at Ostia.⁴

To these early cults was added later that of Hercules Invictus. The finding of a large temple to Hercules was one of the great surprises of the excavation programme begun in 1938;⁵ for there was little to suggest in the inscriptions and earlier excavation of Ostia that Hercules held an emphatic position in the religious life of the town.⁶ Some 200 metres west of the Forum, on the north side of the Via della Foce, is a roughly triangular area reserved for religion. Dominating the area is a large temple, strictly oriented east-west. The faces of the podium are constructed of large blocks of tufa, carefully fitted, with a severe cornice above and below. Below the podium, providing a firmer base, are two steps of travertine, and the eight wide frontal steps which lead up to the temple on the east are also in travertine. The walls of the original cella were of small tufa blocks, approaching regularity in shape, an early example of *opus quasi-reticulatum*. Of the further decoration of the original temple nothing survives.

The type of workmanship of the cella walls and the substantial use of travertine indicate that this temple dates from the last quarter of the second century, or the first half of the first century B.C. The large altar in front of the temple is dedicated to Hercules Invictus. A most attractive relief in marble found near by raises interesting speculation on the nature of the cult.

This relief has been admirably described, illustrated, and explained by Becatti, and what follows is based on his account.⁷ The relief is 0.71 metre high and was probably 1.40 metres long originally, but the left side has been broken away. Three scenes are depicted, of which the

¹ 25.

² S 4299.

³ CIL. 1². 2440.

⁴ p. 176 n. 4.

⁵ Becatti, 'Il culto di Ercole ad Ostia', BC 67 (1939) 37.

⁶ Taylor, 36.

⁷ Becatti, art. cit. 39. Other interpretations examined, BC 70 (1942) 115. Pl. xxx a.

third on the left is largely lost. On the right two groups, each of three fishermen, are pulling hard at a net. Within the net are an empty boat and three fishes (one of them perhaps a dolphin), representing the sea. In the centre of the net is a figure of Hercules, his right hand with club upraised and his left hand stretched in front. He is bearded and his hair is tightly curled. He wears a corslet and a chiton, but his sex remains emphatically exposed. To his left and below is a box or chest. The figure of Hercules represents not the god himself, but a bronze statue of the god in the style of the late archaic period.

The central scene shows Hercules in movement, turned to the left. On a truncated pyramid stands a box or chest which seems to be identical with the box figured in the net in the first scene. From the box Hercules takes a folded tablet which he hands to a small boy standing to the left: on the tablet are the letters '[s]ort(es) H(erculis)'. Above these figures is an open tablet.

In the final scene to the left, a male figure in toga turns left and holds a tablet half open; to his left, above, a small figure of a winged victory holds out a wreath; below can be seen traces of a boy's head; another figure to the left is needed to balance the design. Above the relief is the dedicatory inscription 'C. Fulvius Salvis haruspexs d(edit) d(edicavit)'. The style of the lettering of this inscription, the style of the relief itself, and the form of the toga jointly suggest a date approximately between 100 and 50 B.C. for the dedication.

These scenes Becatti interprets in relation to the Ostian cult. The statue of Hercules in the net is the cult statue in the temple at Ostia: the scene records a myth otherwise lost which may be compared with the legend of Albunea whose image was found in the Anio holding in her hand a book of prophecies. The chest in the net contains oracles and is seen again in the central scene. Here a small boy, as was the Roman practice in oracular shrines, takes an oracle written on a folded tablet which is presented, symbolically, by Hercules. The third scene, which must be more conjectural since it is partly lost, may record the interpretation by the *haruspex* of an oracle to signify the promise of victory to a consultant. So interpreted the three scenes form an intelligible and convincing narrative: we may at least feel certain that the Ostian Hercules in the late Republic gave oracles.

The most difficult scene to interpret is the scene on the right. There is no trace of an appropriate myth in the story of Hercules elsewhere in the Greek or Roman world. Becatti suggests as an alternative the literal

interpretation that the cult statue was in fact recovered from the sea, a Greek original brought to Italy and lost off the Tiber mouth in a shipwreck.¹ This interpretation, which Becatti rejects, is attractive, and is perhaps the easiest way of explaining the presence of what seems to be an archaic Greek statue in an Ostian temple. During the late Republic there was a brisk traffic in sculpture from Greece to Italy, and not all of it arrived at its destination. One ship went down off African Mahdia; another might have been lost in bad weather while waiting to negotiate the sand-bar at the Tiber mouth. Such treasure trove in fishermen's nets would not be without parallel at Ostia. Suetonius records among school debating themes drawn from actual life the story of some youths who went down to Ostia and agreed a price with fishermen on the shore for their catch. When the nets were pulled in there were no fishes but a bar of gold. Both sides claimed the gold; to whom did it belong?²

If an archaic Greek statue of Hercules was fished out of the sea at Ostia it would indeed have been a portent and a *haruspex* was the man to interpret it. Perhaps C. Fulvius Salvis was responsible for the establishment of the oracular shrine to hold the statue and recorded the story in stone, adding the illustration of a successful prophecy which he had interpreted.

Part of the original dedicatory inscription of the temple may, as Bloch has suggested, survive on a fragment of travertine found near by.³ If the identification is sound the inscription records the names of the two men, probably magistrates, who were responsible. The first of these names begins 'C. Ca . . .'. It is an attractive guess that this is a C. Cartilius, possibly the father of the C. Cartilius Poplicola for whom the town built a public tomb in the early Augustan period outside the Porta Marina.⁴ For at an early stage in his public career Poplicola dedicated to Hercules an idealized portrait statue of himself, rather larger than life, represented as Theseus.⁵ The inscription on the base has been much altered.⁶ It was originally dedicated when he was duovir for the second time: as this honour was repeated the inscription changed until

¹ Becatti, *BC* 67 (1939) 54.

² Suet. *De rhet.* 1.

³ Bloch, 64, reads: 'C. CA— | P. DO— | EX S(ENATUS) [C(ONSULTO)]', implying that the building was authorized by the Roman senate: he infers that the names are of Roman magistrates. I am very doubtful whether any trace of the letter S remains on the stone* and, even if the authority came from Rome, local magistrates could have been made responsible for the work. The combination of senatorial authority and local executive is attested in a small temple of Vulcan at Ostia (p. 343 n. 1).

⁴ p. 39.

⁵ R. Calza, *Scavi di Ostia*, iii (1) 221, *Museo*, 121.

⁶ Bloch, *Scavi di Ostia*, iii (1) 209 f.

duovir iterum' became eventually 'duovir V iterum q(uin)q(uennalis)'.[★] He is also associated with Hercules in another inscription of which only a fragment survives.¹ Later dedications to Hercules Hermogenianus² and Hercules Turranius³ show a similar attachment of families to the cult. More difficult to interpret is the inscription on an altar: 'aqua Salvia Herculi sac(rum)'. This altar was already broken when the larger part of it was reused in a Mithraeum, in or near the Severan period, and the decoration largely erased.⁴ But the original inscription is probably not later than Augustan and there may be some connexion between Aqua Salvia, possibly a well near the temple, and the C. Fulvius Salvis who dedicated the relief that has been discussed.

In the same area with the temple of Hercules are two other smaller temples; one to the north-east, probably contemporary, another to the south, fitted in awkwardly a little later between the Via della Foce and the Hercules temple: neither temple can be identified.

Not long after the laying out of this religious area five further small temples were built. One stands alone on the north side of the Decumanus immediately outside the east gate of the fourth-century walls, and remains anonymous.⁵ The suggestion that it was the temple of Vulcan, placed outside the colony walls, as was the normal custom, must be abandoned in view of the exploration of the foundations:⁶ it seems that there was no earlier temple on this site, and the temple of Vulcan must date back long before the first century B.C.

The remaining four temples of this period were built on a common tufa platform to a common plan, on the north side of the Decumanus, west of the theatre. They stood in a large reserved arca, enclosed on three sides by a portico, and open towards the Decumanus.⁷ They were small in size and unpretentious in decoration, confined to tufa and stucco. In the easternmost a small altar was found, dedicated to Venus;⁸ and it has been suggested that these four temples are those built by the

¹ 'C. CARTILIO— | DUOVIR(O) SE— | HERCULA—', 315, *Scavi di Ostia*, iii (1) 212 n. 4, with tav. xxxv. 3. Dessau, following C. L. Visconti, read a stop after HERCUL. I agree with Bloch that the mark is probably not original. He suggests for the last line 'HERCULA[NI PATRONO P(OSUERUNT)]'.

² S 4287.

³ Unpublished.

⁴ S 4280; revised and discussed, Becatti, *BC* 70 (1942) 120. On one face the inscription was later changed to *aquae Salviae et Hercli sac.*

⁵ NS 1918, 133.

⁶ Wilson, *BSR* 13 (1935) 56 n. 4. But perhaps the partial exploration is not decisive. A suggested identification, p. 351.

⁷ R. Paribeni, *MA* 23 (1914) 441.

⁸ 4127.

first P. Lucilius Gamala to Ceres, Fortuna, Venus, and Spes.¹ This suggestion was first made in 1907 by Van Buren;² it was accepted by Carcopino, who further proposed that the house built behind the temples belonged to Gamala the donor.³ The view seemed even more attractive when in 1911 an inscription was found immediately behind the temples recording a Gamala.⁴ Carcopino also noted the finding in the area of an inscribed fragment probably referring to Ceres.⁵

For those who date this Gamala, as most do, to the second century A.D. the identification is inadmissible, because the temples were clearly built much earlier and *constituit* cannot be regarded as an alternative for *restituit*. Even for Carcopino, who dated the death of this Gamala to the early years of Claudius, the construction of the temples is too early, for a date scratched on plaster shows that they were completed, at the latest, by 23 B.C.⁶ In style the workmanship seems to fall between the Sullan walls and the Augustan work in the theatre.⁷ A date towards the end of the Republic suits our chronology of the Augustan Gamala.

In Gamala's inscription the fourth temple, that of Spes, is separated from and comes later than the remaining three. We should infer that Gamala was responsible for only three of the four temples on a common platform. His temple of Spes, built a little later, may perhaps be identified with the small temple on the Decumanus outside the east gate of the Castrum; the style fits the context. The house, however, behind the four temples should probably not be attributed to Gamala's family. It was not built before the Flavian period, and the name on the water-pipe leading to the house, dating perhaps from the second century, was P. Apuleius.⁸

The cults that can be assigned to the republican period in Ostia are those of Vulcan, Castor and Pollux, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Hercules, and probably Liber Pater, but the number of unidentified temples indicates that there were several others. Among them was undoubtedly Silvanus, not perhaps honoured with a separate temple—that was not his custom—but by altars and small shrines. His cult was still popular in the Empire and will have been strong in the Republic.

Near the end of the first century B.C. two temples were built on the Decumanus, at the north end of the Forum, but no evidence has been

¹ I²³-28, 32.

² *AJA* 11 (1907) 55.

³ Carcopino, *Mélanges*, 31 (1911) 224-30.

⁴ *S* 4657. I have not been able to find this inscription.

⁵ Carcopino, loc. cit. 227; 4146.

⁶ *S* 5289¹.

⁷ pp. 538 f.

⁸ *S* 5309²⁹.

found to identify them. Since they were both destroyed when the Hadrianic Capitolium was built, their cults were probably taken over by the new temple and this should limit the field of inquiry. The eastern temple seems to have replaced a secular building and may be the original Capitolium.¹ The western temple might be the temple of Jupiter, mentioned by Livy,² replacing perhaps an earlier temple on the same site.

To the Augustan period should probably also be assigned a small temple at the south end of the Via degli Augustali, enclosed in a trapezoidal area.³ The wall enclosing this area has been rebuilt in neat reticulate, but the lowest section of the wall in the south-east corner is much earlier; the large irregular tufa blocks suggest a date early in the second century B.C. It is possible therefore that the Augustan building replaces a much earlier temple on the site. The inscription on a well-head found near the temple identifies the cult with Bona Dea,⁴ goddess of fertility whose rites were confined to women. It is appropriate that the temple is withdrawn from public view by the wall which surrounds the area.

Another temple of Bona Dea was later built just outside the Porta Marina on the east side of the Decumanus.⁵ The temple area was surrounded by an enclosing wall open only at the north-east corner. Here a doorway led into a room containing an altar. From this room a passage led to the centre of the area, in which was the small temple itself, prostyle and tetrastyle, with four columns in brick or tufa covered with stucco. In front of the temple was an altar, and a three-winged portico ran round the wall enclosing the area opposite the temple and to the south. To the north of this temple three rooms, whose function was not indicated by excavation, completed the complex. Though the form of the temple itself was similar to many others in Ostia, it was not raised up on a podium and it was not immediately accessible to the public. The wall that surrounded the area was unbroken, except for the doorway, and entrance to the temple was indirect, at the end of a corridor. A serpent coiled round a phallus in marble, found near the temple, reflects the main focus of the cult.⁶

The style of construction of this temple complex, in *opus reticulatum* with tufa quoins, brick being used only in decorative external pilasters

¹ Becatti, *Topografia*, 104.

² Livy xxxii. 1. 10.

³ Reg. v. 10. 2; Becatti, *Topografia*, 119.

⁴ Unpublished.

⁵ Calza, NS 1942, 152.

⁶ Inv. 985.

on the west and south walls, suggests a date in the early Julio-Claudian period. To the same period points the lettering of the dedicatory inscription, which records that the temple was the gift of a *duovir*.¹ The cult of Bona Dea is also probably illustrated in a small statuette found between the western Decumanus and the Via della Foce. It represents a seated matron holding in her left hand a cornucopia. Head and right arm are lost, but what remains strongly resembles representations of the goddess.²

Ostia was also concerned with a cult revived at Lavinium to the south. According to tradition Lavinium had once housed the Di Penates of Rome, and in the Republic Roman magistrates regularly visited the town to attend religious ceremonies. By the end of the Republic Lavinium was becoming depopulated and the religious links with Rome may have lapsed. It was probably the antiquarian Claudius who created a new priesthood, including *pontifex*, *augur*, *salius*, to revive the cult.³ The members were appointed mainly from knights; Ostians of the upper classes figure prominently, because they were near enough to attend the ceremonies.⁴

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE IMPERIAL CULT

While the principate of Augustus probably saw at Ostia an increase in the number of cults long established at Rome, it saw also the introduction of the imperial cult which was gradually to pervade the whole life of the colony. As in many other Italian towns, the imperial cult first took official shape in Ostia in the organization of the priesthood of *Augustales*, confined to freedmen. The first inscription recording the office known to us is probably to be dated shortly before A.D. 11,⁵ but the institution is known elsewhere as early as 12 B.C. and Ostia, closely associated with Rome and with the imperial house, is likely to have been one of the first towns to adopt the institution.

For the citizen population the cult of Rome and Augustus was more important. A temple, almost certainly eclipsing all other Ostian temples of the day in magnificence, was built at the south end of the Forum not long after the death of Augustus.⁶ At the head of the temple cult

¹ NS 1942, 163 (*AE* 1946, 221): 'M. Maecilius M. f. [T]urr[anianus] | aedem Bonae Deae ex sua [pecunia constituit] | idemq(ue) prob[avit].'
² Ibid. 152 and fig. 1.

³ G. Wissowa, 'Altlatinische Gemeindegulte', *Hermes*, 50 (1915) 21-33.

⁴ A list of Ostians associated with the cult, Le Gall, *Le Tibre*, 183 n. 2.

⁵ S 5322, in honour of Drusus, son of Tiberius, before his quaestorship in A.D. 11.

⁶ Becatti, *Topografia*, 115.

was a *flamen Romae et Augusti*, always a man of distinction, and appointed for life. In the temple was found a statue of Roma with her foot resting on a globe representing the world,¹ for the cult combined with the new imperial house the greatness of Rome herself: it is appropriate that a temple servant should make a dedication to *Imperium*.² Individual emperors who were deified were also, at least from the Flavian period, honoured with *flamines* in Ostia and may have had temples. For the Julio-Claudians no evidence survives, though record is preserved of a *flaminica divae Augustae*, priestess of Livia; she was Plaria Vera, the distinguished wife of the distinguished A. Egrilius Rufus, who, after rising to the duovirate, was himself *flamen Romae et Augusti*.³

Much humbler is the cult of the Lares Augusti, first introduced, so far as our knowledge goes, under Claudius. The inscription on the marble panels which once formed the outer face of a circular chapel gives the date of the ceremonial dedication of the building, 26 June 51, and names the three *magistri* of the first year who paid for the building: 'Laribus Augustis sac(rum) magistri anni primi de s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecerunt).' The benefactors are not men of great standing in the colony; all three are probably freedmen or of freedman stock; they have the same praenomen and nomen and probably came from the same household. But they were allowed a good site for their building. The marble panels fit precisely a small round brick building on the south side of the Decumanus in the Forum.⁴

THE RISE OF ORIENTAL CULTS

If we followed the prejudices of Tacitus and Juvenal we should regard all the cults attested at Ostia before the Flavian period as respectable. The absence of evidence for oriental cults at Ostia during this earlier period may be accidental, for the number of inscriptions surviving from the first century A.D. is substantially smaller than from the second. But though it might seem that the flowing of the Orontes into the Tiber should proceed first by the mouth of the river, it is to be remembered that Ostia during the Republic looked west rather than east: Rome's main gateway to Asia Minor and Egypt was Puteoli. There were probably many slaves and freedmen of eastern origin in

¹ *Topografia*, tav. ix.

² 73: 'imperio | Q. Ostiensis | Felix | aedituus | aedis Romae et Aug(usti) | fecit'.

³ 399. For the identification of her husband, Bloch, 22.

⁴ The identification of the fragments with the building is due to Gismondi. The inscription is not yet published.

Ostia by the end of the Republic, but this stock had not yet risen to challenge the ruling classes of Roman and Italian origin. Devotees of oriental cults there must have been,¹ but, until secure evidence is found, it may be doubted whether these cults, with the possible exception of Cybele, had won the recognition of temples and priesthoods in Ostia. After the building of the imperial harbours the social climate changed. In the period of prosperity that began under the Flavians and lasted through the Antonine age eastern trade was attracted to Ostia, and freedman stock played an increasingly important part in local government. It was against this background that the oriental cults won recognition and began to leave a significant mark in the records of the town.

Of these oriental cults the worship of Cybele, the Great Mother, held a unique position in the Roman state.² In the crisis of the second Punic War the black stone of the goddess had been brought to Rome from Pessinus, at the prompting of the *Libri Sibyllini* and with the authority of the priestly college of the *decemviri*. This was a state act and the goddess was given a worthy reception by the state. Formally met at Ostia by leading senators and noble ladies, the goddess was ceremonially brought to Rome and lodged in the very heart of the city on the Palatine hill near to the hut which still commemorated Romulus. Here an impressive temple was built to house the goddess, and dedicated with much pomp and ceremony on 9 April 191 B.C.

The cult itself was orgiastic and not to Roman taste; the embarrassment was solved by a typical Roman compromise. The goddess, if she was to protect the Roman state, had to be worshipped in her own way; native priests were brought with her, to perform the necessary ceremonies. These, however, were highly emotional and were confined to the temple area. The priests were allowed once a year to collect offerings in Rome but they were forbidden to parade their religion through the streets. Rome paid her respects to the goddess in a more Roman way. In the days between the anniversary of the carrying of the goddess to Rome and the dedication of her temple, from 4 to 9 April, special games of a traditional Roman pattern were held in Cybele's honour, *Ludi Megalenses*, and presided over by curule aediles. As an additional compliment the leading nobles of Rome formed dining clubs in honour

¹ A painting of Isis, or of a priestess of Isis, on an Augustan tomb, NS 1938, 56 (tomb 18); *Scavi di Ostia*, iii (i) 86.

² For a detailed account of the cult of Cybele, H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* (Paris 1912).

of the goddess, and the nobility retained a special attachment to her cult until the late Empire.¹ This is to be explained in part by the initiative that the senate had taken in summoning the goddess to Rome; it was strengthened by the association of Cybele with the home of Rome's Trojan ancestors. Though Pessinus was always regarded as the original centre of the cult, Cybele in Italy and the west was always the Idaean mother of the gods, 'mater magna deum Idaea'.

Cybele was a goddess of nature and fertility: with her cult was associated that of Attis, the shepherd of the hills. The story of Cybele and Attis was commemorated in an annual festival in March, when winter was over and the new year beginning. On 15 March the festival opened with a parade of reed-bearers, *cannophori*, perhaps recalling the finding of Attis by the river bank; there followed nine days of fasting and continence during which, on 22 March, came the procession of the *dendrophori*, the tree-bearers, carrying to the temple each year a pine tree symbolizing the death of Attis. The period of fasting was ended on 25 March by the day of rejoicing, Hilaria, when the rebirth of Attis was celebrated; devotees at this climax of the festival cut themselves with knives and some even sacrificed their manhood to become *galli*, dedicated for life to the service of the goddess.

In the Republic the public performance of these ceremonies had been forbidden, and, since only eunuchs could be priests of the goddess, the priesthood was barred to Roman citizens. This dualism in Rome's attitude to Cybele was ended by the emperor Claudius. The priesthood, which no longer was confined to eunuchs, was opened to Roman citizens, and the March festival was officially recognized and performed in public.² How soon and in what form did this cult reach Ostia?

For Cybele the evidence from Ostia is fuller than for any other of the oriental cults. The area reserved for the goddess was largely excavated by Visconti in the middle of the last century and yielded a rich harvest of cult buildings, sculptures, and inscriptions.³ By the beginning of this century the area had again become overgrown with grass and bramble, but it was included in the 1938 programme. Calza was able to check and modify Visconti's report in important respects and to

¹ S. Aurigemma, 'La protezione speciale della gran madre Idea per la nobiltà Romana', *BC* 37 (1909) 31.

² Carcopino, 'La réforme romaine du culte de Cybèle et d'Attis' in *Aspects mystiques de la Rome païenne*, 49-171, modified by J. Beaujeu, *La Religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire*, i (1955) 316 f.

³ C. L. Visconti, *Ann. Inst.* 40 (1868) 362; 41 (1869) 208.

complete the investigation of the whole area, at least at its imperial level. Though much had been taken from the site in the earlier excavation, new shrines, important inscriptions, and sculptures were found.¹

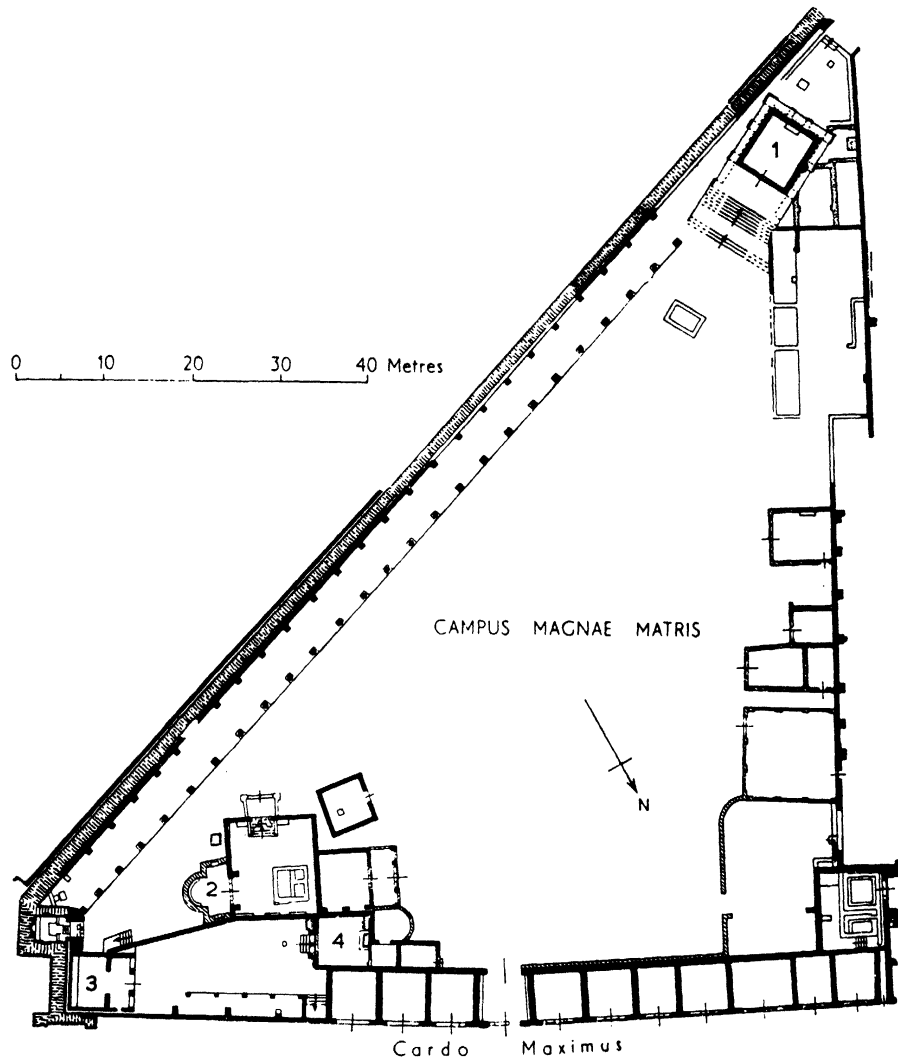


FIG. 26. Cybele and her associates. 1. Temple of Cybele. 2. Shrine of Attis. 3. Temple of Bellona. 4. Guild House of *Hastiferi*.

The area reserved for Cybele and her associates lies on the south side of the town by the gate that leads to Laurentine territory. It forms a large triangle, approximately 4,500 square metres in extent, bounded on the east by the *Cardo Maximus*, on the south by the Sullan walls,

¹ G. Calza, *Mem. Pont.* 6 (1947) 183.

on the north by a set of public baths and other buildings. The actual temple of Cybele lies at the western apex of the triangle and faces east. The podium is constructed in reticulate and crowned by a brick cornice; it is, however, unlike the normal temple podium in having three alcoves nearly 1 metre deep added to its three sides, connected presumably in some way with the cult.

The temple cella is small and nearly square (7.30×6.50 metres), built in brick once lined with marble. Visconti reported two niches in the side walls but of these no trace now remains, the walls only being preserved to a height of *c.* 70 cm. There is no trace remaining of columns in front of the cella, but the temple was probably prostyle, tetrastyle. It is approached from the east by eight marble-lined stairs covering the width of the temple, and these stairs are divided into two flights. On the third step there is a landing 2 metres deep, which is explained by two holes, one on each side of the stairway. These holes once probably held earth, or vessels filled with earth, in which small pine trees or, more probably, flowers such as violets used to decorate the sacred pine of Attis were grown. In front of the temple is an altar, built in reticulate, lined with marble, and successively enlarged. At the back of the cella is the base for the cult statue.

In front of the temple to the east is a large open trapezoidal area. On the south side this area is bounded by a portico 4.50 metres deep supported by brick columns and brick piers attached to the containing wall; on the north side Visconti reported a similar portico, but Calza found no trace of it and it cannot be reconciled with what is now seen. Instead there seems to have been a boundary wall, against which a series of rooms of varying shape were later built at various times. This large area was covered with a thin layer of sea sand, for this was the field of the Great Mother, *Campus Magnae Matris*, the scene of the *taurobolium*, where bulls were sacrificed. At the eastern end of the area were further buildings, and it was in the centre of this side that the main entrance to the area lay from the *Cardo*. To the north of the entrance was a series of shops: to the south, behind a wall that screened them from the street, was a series of shrines and associated buildings.

One of the most dramatic triumphs of Visconti was his discovery of three dedications excellently preserved (which can now be seen in the Lateran Museum)—an admirably executed reclining life-sized Attis in marble, the gift of C. Cartilius Euplus, a bronze Venus half life size, and a small cippus in the form of a chest crowned by a cock, dedicated

by M. Modius Maximus, high priest of Cybele, *archigallus coloniae Ostiensis*.¹ These dedications were found together in the portico on the south side of the campus, and it seems that they were taken here in Roman times, perhaps to be hidden. They probably came from the shrine of Attis that Calza discovered in 1940, among the buildings at the east end of the area.²

This shrine is a roughly square enclosure, entered on the south side. The doorway is framed by two Pans emerging in high relief from half-columns of marble. They hold in one hand a shepherd's crook, in the other a six-reeded pipe. Though the workmanship is rough, the effect is striking. Within the enclosure is a small chapel, oriented south-north with two rectangular niches in the side walls and a large apse facing the entrance. A number of dedications were found in or near this chapel of Attis. Seven statuettes were given by C. Cartilius Euplus, who also presented the large reclining Attis found by Visconti.³ They include with small figures of Attis a frieze of animals associated with Cybele, and a figure of Venus Genetrix who, as the goddess of the Julian house, of Trojan origin, has a natural place in the cult of Idaean Cybele and is associated with her in Rome.⁴ The syncretism of the cult is also seen in the symbolism of the reclining Attis:⁵ his head is crowned with the rays of the sun and on his Phrygian cap is a crescent moon, suggesting the influence of astrological doctrines borrowed from the cult of Anatolian Men. With Men Attis became identified under the title Attis Menotyrannos, which is applied to him in a late Greek dedication from Ostia.⁶

To the east of Attis' shrine is a temple to Bellona of modest dimensions, whose dedicatory inscription has survived. The temple was presented and paid for by the lictors and town slaves: the site was assigned by the two duovirs of the year.⁷ Later the area of the temple was improved and the work was again paid for by the lictors and town slaves, together with the colony's freedmen.

¹ Visconti, *Ann. Inst.* 41 (1869) 210. Photos: Paschetto, 163 (Attis), 377 (Venus), 378 (cippus).

² Calza, *art. cit.* 193. It is difficult to understand their excellent state of preservation unless they were hidden.

³ R. Calza, *Mem. Pont.* 6 (1947) 207. But see Ch. Picard, *Rev. Arch.* 48 (1956) 84, who argues that one of the figures, identified as Mars, is more probably a Corybant.

⁴ A. Bartoli, 'Il culto della mater deum Idaea e di Venere Genitrice sul Palatino', *Mem. Pont.* 6 (1947) 229.

⁵ Graillot, *op. cit.* 210.

⁶ IG xiv. 913.

⁷ Calza, *art. cit.* 198. The inscription, 4.

The cult of Bellona, goddess of war, had been introduced to Rome in the early Republic, probably from the Sabine country; but in the late Republic and increasingly in the Empire the Roman cult was submerged in the more orgiastic cult of a goddess who, under various names, was widely worshipped through Asia Minor, and who was identified at Rome with Bellona. It was this oriental goddess of war and fertility who was commonly associated with Cybele.¹ An essential part in the cult of Bellona was played by the *hastiferi*, who originally perhaps celebrated a ceremonial war dance; their guild house was built at the north end of Bellona's temple area. A dedicatory inscription is preserved in which the *plebs* of the guild honour the emperor Caracalla in A.D. 203² and there is a record of the restoration of a shrine in A.D. 211 by three patrons of the guild, two men and a woman.³

But the most important guilds in these associated cults were the *dendrophori* and *cannophori*, attached to the ceremonial of Cybele. Both had guild houses and both attracted benefactions from patrons, officers, and members. Visconti found huddled together in the central niche of the back wall of the temple of Cybele a group of bases of dedications to the *cannophori*.⁴ Q. Caecilius Fuscus, high priest of the cult in Ostia, had presented to the guild a small silver image of the Great Mother with a representation of Nemesis.⁵ There is a separate record of his gift of a silver image of Attis to the guild with a representation in bronze of the sacred fruit of the goddess.⁶ Calpurnia Chelido had presented a silver image of the stone fetish of the goddess.⁷ Q. Domitius Aterianus with his wife Domitia Civitas, described as *pater* and *mater*, honorary titles conferred by the guild, had presented a statuette of Attis.⁸

Near by were found inscriptions of the guild of *dendrophori*. C. Atilius Felix, attached to the ceremonial cult as an *apparator* and freedman of a priest of the goddess, records the gift of a statuette of Silvanus.⁹ Sex. Annii Merops, an ex-officer of the guild, *honoratus*, presented in A.D. 142 a statuette of Mother Earth;¹⁰ Iunia Zosime, *mater*, a small silver representation of Virtus.¹¹

Small imperial heads in silver were also presented to the guild. The first, of Antoninus Pius in 139, was given by the guild itself.¹² A head of

¹ Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*⁴ (1929) 50 f.

² Calza, 200 (n. 3).

³ Ibid., n. 5. The *aedes* is not identified.

⁴ Visconti, *Ann. Inst.* 40 (1868) 390.

⁵ 34.

⁶ 35: 'imaginem Attis argentiam p(ondere) i cum sigillo Frugem aereo.'

⁷ 36: 'typum matris deum argenti p(ondere) ii.'

⁸ 37.

⁹ 53.

¹⁰ 67.

¹¹ 69.

¹² 97.

L. Verus was presented by a member, to commemorate the grant of immunity to him by the guild.¹ A head of Septimius Severus is also recorded.² In another inscription the guildsmen record that they 'restored with new expenditure the guild house which they had built with their own money, and dedicated it to the majesty of the imperial house', 'numini domus Aug(ustae)'.³

From these discoveries Visconti inferred that the small irregular area behind Cybele's temple was the headquarters of the two guilds.⁴ This view seemed confirmed by his report of two altars in the area, the larger attributed to Cybele, the smaller to Attis, and of a stone bench built against the wall. When the area was again investigated, no trace of the stone bench was found and the two 'altars' were seen to be brick piers. The walls which to Visconti seemed to divide up the area were of a much earlier date than the temple and had probably been destroyed down to the new level when the temple was built.⁵

Visconti's interpretation of this area must therefore be rejected. The guilds of the *dendrophori* and *cannophori* were wealthy, as the dedications presented to them show; they were also probably large. The roll of the *dendrophori* dating from the Severan period has five patrons and no less than eleven officers and ex-officers: the number of the *plebs* is not known but it cannot have been small.⁶ Such guilds can hardly have been content with premises so restricted; their guild houses must be sought elsewhere in the neighbourhood.

The patrons of these two guilds, and particularly of the *dendrophori*, included men of great distinction in the town. The Severan roll is unfortunately fragmentary, and only the ends of the names of the patrons which head the list survive, but it is clear that three at least and probably four are members of Ostian senatorial families.⁷ They had at least two distinguished predecessors, Cn. Sentius Felix, who rose quickly to the duovirate and was patron of many guilds,⁸ and C. Granius Maturus, duovir, patron of the corn measurers and of two shipping guilds.⁹ Their relation to the cult was probably very similar to that of the Roman nobility. A fragment of a roll of the *cannophori* is headed by a senatorial patron.¹⁰

But the officers and members of the guilds and the priests of the cult do not seem to have been men of great standing. None is known to

¹ 107.

² 116.

³ 45.

⁴ *Ann. Inst.* 40 (1868) 385.

⁵ Calza, art. cit. 189.

⁶ 281.

⁷ p. 504.

⁸ 514.

⁹ 364.

¹⁰ Unpublished.

have held public office in Ostia, though many were wealthy. One unknown *dendrophorus* is described on his tombstone as *sevir Augustalis idem q(uin)q(uennalis)*;¹ probably there were many other rich freedmen in the guild. Publius Claudius Abascantus, for example, had been a public slave in Gaul, attached to the council of the Three Gauls, from whom he secured his freedom. He came to Ostia late in the second century, probably made money in trade or business, and became a prominent member of the *dendrophori*;² he may have been a devotee of Cybele's cult in Gaul. In 203 he proudly set up a statue to his young son, P. Claudius Abascantianus, to commemorate his appointment for a second term to the presidency of the *dendrophori*. On the side of the statue base is recorded the authority given by the *pontifex Volcani* for the setting up of the statue in the field of the Great Mother.³

At the head of the cult was the *archigallus coloniae Ostiensis*; he was assisted by priests and priestesses. The sarcophagus of a priestess, Metilia Acte, wife of a president of the builders' guild, illustrates the main objects used in the ritual—lighted torches, cymbals, and double flute.⁴ Inscriptions add a little colour. Calpurnius Iovinus commemorates on his tomb 'his dearest brother, Iulius Charelampes, priest of the mother of the gods of the colony of Ostia, who led in nineteen trees and lived 48 years, 2 months'.⁵ For nineteen years Charelampes had ceremonially, as priest, accompanied the *dendrophori* as they carried a new pine tree, symbolizing the dead Attis, to the temple of Cybele. More interesting, because more individual, are the fragmentary records of the *taurobolium*.

The sacrifice of a bull or of a ram was not an original element in the cult of Cybele, but it was common to many Anatolian cults. At some time in the second century it was grafted on to the cult of Cybele, and probably by official inspiration;⁶ for the commonest form of the *taurobolium* in the cult of Cybele was a public ceremony on behalf of the emperor. The earliest recorded example that has been found at Ostia is in honour of Marcus Aurelius and his family, celebrated between A.D. 170 and 174;⁷ a second is perhaps 'for the preservation and safe return and victory of Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamma';⁸ another is for the preservation and victory of the emperors Trebonianus and Volusianus (251–3).⁹ A *criobolium* was celebrated for the preservation of

¹ 33.² Wickert, S, p. 615 ad 326.³ 324.⁴ Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des vatican. Mus.* i (3) (Museo Chiaramonti), p. 429 n. 179.⁵ S 4627.⁶ Graillot, op. cit. 150.⁷ S 4301 = 40.⁸ S 4303.⁹ 42.

Commodus, though his name was erased when his memory was damned.¹ Other fragments cannot be attributed to specific emperors.

What makes the Ostian series particularly interesting is the fullness of their formula in contrast with the records of other towns. Elsewhere the imperial house and the state concerned alone are recorded.² At Ostia blessings were invoked on all the main organs of imperial government: 'a *taurobolium* was celebrated in honour of the great Idaean mother of the gods for the preservation of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and L. Aurelius Commodus Caesar and Faustina Augusta and all their other children; for the senate, the *xviri sacris faciundis* (the Roman priestly college responsible for the control of foreign cults), the equestrian order, the army of the Roman people; for all that sail the seas . . . for the decurions of the colony of Ostia, for the *cannophori* and for the *dendrophori*'.³ The contrast with other towns is explained by the intimate connexion between Ostia and Rome.

Such public ceremonies were normally held on the prophetic prompting of the high priest of Cybele, 'ex vaticinatione archigalli':⁴ this formula has not yet been found at Ostia, but the ends of all the inscriptions are lost or only partially preserved. On one perhaps the concluding formula is 'by decree of the decurions in public session',⁵ but the Ostian council even in this case may have merely given formal authority at the suggestion of the high priest.

Bulls could also be sacrificed for individuals. In such cases the person concerned stood in a deep trench specially dug, which was covered by a board pierced with holes. Through the holes poured the blood of the sacrificial bull and the initiate covered his whole person with the blood. This baptism of bull's blood, which originally was thought to transfer the power of the bull to the initiate, came to have a symbolic meaning. The blood of the sacrifice purified the initiate and if repeated after twenty years could confer everlasting blessedness. Aemilia Serapias records her baptism on 15 May 199 and her commemoration of the event by an altar.⁶ The names of the two priests who presided at the ceremony are added.

Calza, assembling the evidence of his excavations, concluded that the large area by the Porta Laurentina was adapted to the cult of Cybele and her associates in the time of Antoninus Pius.⁷ The earliest evidence

¹ S 4302.

² A list of *taurobolia*, Graillet, 159.

³ S 4301 = 40.

⁴ Graillet, 153.

⁵ S 4302: '[decurionum decret]o publ[ice].'

⁶ 39.

⁷ Calza, art. cit. 202.

for the religious guilds came from his reign: the brickwork of the temple of Cybele was appropriate: there was no evidence to associate Hadrian with the cult in Ostia. The original walls of the sanctuary of Attis are of much earlier date, their large reticulate suggesting the Julio-Claudian period, but the preserved dedications to Attis, the Pans which flanked the entrance, and the large apse are almost certainly not earlier than the Antonine period; before this the building might have been used for another purpose. The temple of Bellona in Calza's view fitted this general dating. Identifying P. Lucilius Gamala f(ilius) praef(ectus) Caes(aris) with the P. Lucilius Gamala who restored baths built by Antoninus Pius, and who is described in his inscription as *praefectus L. Caesar(is)*, Calza concluded that the temple of Bellona was built in the second half of the second century when Commodus was Caesar.¹

The attribution of the large-scale conception in Cybele's honour to the reign of Antoninus Pius would on general grounds be appropriate, as Calza emphasized.² The concern of Pius for the cult of Cybele is emphasized in his biography and in his coinage; and the first public *taurobolium* of which record has survived dates from his reign.³ But there is perhaps a stronger case for preferring a Hadrianic date. The earliest surviving inscription in the area of the temple dates from 139,⁴ the very first year of Antoninus Pius, and though Hadrian is nowhere explicitly connected with the Ostian cult of Cybele, a head of Hadrian and a large number of coins of his reign were found by Visconti near the temple.⁵ A water-pipe stamped with Hadrian's name shows that there was at least some activity in the area in his reign.⁶ Hadrianic brick-stamps were reported by Visconti from the area of the temple of Cybele,⁷ and the southern colonnade with its pattern of brickwork and reticulate fits the context. Hadrian's sympathy for Cybele is shown in his restoration of Cyzicus, one of the great centres of the cult.⁸ His concern for Ostia, as has been seen, was serious and continuous: the replanning of this area would match the other great composite building plans of the reign.

An earlier date than Calza has chosen may also be preferred for the temple of Bellona. The brickwork is regular and well coursed and the width of the bricks is larger than the standard brickwork of the second

¹ Calza, art. cit. 198. Temple inscription, 4; 'praef. L. Caes.'; 26.

² J. Beaujeu, op. cit. 312 ff.

³ Graillet, 150.

⁴ 97.

⁵ Visconti, *Ann. Inst.* 40 (1868) 369.

⁶ Ibid. 376.

⁷ Ibid. 369.

⁸ *RE*, 'Kyzikos' (Ruge), 231.

half of the century: the dedicatory inscription also is better than one would expect at such a date.¹ Brickwork and lettering both point to a Hadrianic or early Antonine date. Moreover, a recently published inscription shows that the guild of *hastiferi*, which presupposes a cult of Bellona, received a dedication from one of its members as early as 140.² If we are right in identifying the Caesar of the temple inscription, for whom P. Lucilius acted as *praefectus* with L. Aelius, the adopted son of Hadrian, the temple will have been built at the end of Hadrian's reign, in 137 or 138.³

For the general history of Ostia an uncertainty covering little more than a generation is not a critical issue. It is more important to decide whether the development (Hadrianic or Antonine) of the area marked the first introduction of an organized cult of Cybele to the town. Calza concluded that it did, and the absence of any earlier evidence makes any other answer rash. Yet doubt must remain. In Rome the cult had been established since the end of the third century B.C. and the goddess had passed through Ostia on her way to Rome. By the Augustan age a legend was even established of a miracle at Ostia. The vessel carrying the goddess had grounded on the river mud and efforts to float it were unavailing. Claudia Quinta, daughter of a noble house, whose reputation was in question, solemnly invoked the goddess to prove her innocence, and was able to free the boat by the lightest of efforts. Ovid records the legend, and a relief later commemorated it.⁴ Nor was this Ostia's only recorded connexion with Cybele before the Empire. In 38 B.C. Roman public opinion was shocked by portents. The hut of Romulus burnt down; a statue of Virtus which stood before one of the gates fell to the ground. 'Certain persons, inspired by the mother of the gods, declared that the goddess was angry with them.' The Sibylline books gave the same interpretation and prescribed that the image of the goddess should be taken down to the sea and purified by its water. It was presumably at Ostia that Cybele received her ritual bath, and caused no little consternation, for 'she went out from the shore to the deep water, remained there a long time, and was only brought back with difficulty'.⁵

¹ The bricks average 3.4 cm. in width; the joints are carefully raked. The only feature that would be unusual at such a date is the thickness of the mortar between bricks, often exceeding 2.5 cm.: the other criteria are more important. Inscription, Pl. xxxviii a.

² Bloch, 7.

³ p. 201. L. Aelius was adopted in 136 and died in Jan. 138.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 291; for the relief, Graillot, 65.

⁵ Dio xlviii. 43. 5.

Ostia had earlier associations with Cybele than with other oriental cults: we should expect Cybele to be established in the town before the second century A.D., if not already in the Republic, at least under Claudius, who was responsible for the transformation of the cult at Rome and was a frequent visitor to Ostia. Perhaps the evidence does not exclude the possibility of a cult of Attis and Cybele on or near the site of the second-century rebuilding. There were certainly earlier buildings at both ends of the field, but their function we do not know.

One other piece of evidence may be relevant. In the Lateran Museum is a funerary stone commemorating L. Valerius Fyrmus, *sacerdos Isidis Ostiens(is) et M(atris) M(agnae) D(eum) Trastib(erinae)*.¹ In high relief above the inscription is the figure of the priest, now headless, and on each side of the figure the symbols of the two cults, including a cock representing the *galli* of Cybele and lotus flowers of Isis. What is the significance of *Trastib(erinae)*? Dessau interpreted the term to refer to the cult of Cybele at the harbours, but Paschetto was surely right in rejecting this explanation.² It would not perhaps be anomalous for the priest of Isis whose cult was in Ostia itself to serve also a cult of Cybele some two miles distant: probably many of the workers at the harbour still lived in Ostia town. What would be anomalous would be the description of the harbour area as *Trastib(erinus)*. The standard term used after the building of Trajan's harbour was *portus uterque*. The bakers of the joint guild are *pistores Ostienses et portus utriusque*:³ Culcia Metropolis, cymbalist in the cult of Cybele by the harbours, is described as *tympanistria m(atris) d(eum) m(agnae) utriusq(ue) portus*.⁴ Paschetto would seem to be right in interpreting *Trastiberinus* as the right bank of the river opposite Ostia town. The memorial of L. Valerius Fyrmus cannot be precisely dated, but the lettering is good and, with the style of the relief, points to a date in the second century, possibly in the first half, certainly well before the end. The right-bank cult is not therefore necessarily earlier than the main cult by the Laurentine gate, but it is possible that it was the first centre of the cult to be established. It may have marked the place where legend said that the vessel carrying Cybele to Rome was grounded on the river mud.

Though Cybele was the first of the oriental goddesses or gods to be formally adopted by Rome, it was the Egyptian cults of Serapis and

¹ 429; Benndorf und Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranischen Museums*, p. 53 n. 80. Phot. Graillot, 246.

² Dessau in *CIL*; Paschetto, 164.

³ 101.

⁴ Thylander, A 92.

Isis that had the widest international following in the Hellenistic period. The political acumen of the Ptolemies, aided by the interested patronage of Greek philosophers, had transformed the old Egyptian cults for export and they had spread rapidly and widely throughout the Greek world. There were temples of Serapis and Isis in Puteoli, Pompeii, and other Campanian towns by the end of the second century B.C.,¹ and the cult of Isis was strong enough in Rome in the middle of the first century B.C. to attract intermittent persecution. It was persecuted because it offended against Roman manners, being emotional, orgiastic, and liable when misused to undermine morals. The support given by Cleopatra to Antony and, more especially, the emphasis laid by Octavian's propaganda on the danger of the east to Rome stiffened the official opposition to the Egyptian cults; but under Gaius a temple was built to Isis in the Campus Martius, and from that time the cult enjoyed wide popularity at Rome. It was probably not until the prosperity period that the Egyptian cults secured a firm hold in Ostia. A fragment of the *Fasti* records that a temple of Serapis was dedicated on 24 January A.D. 127,² and we may assume that no earlier temple to Serapis preceded it. Though included in the town record the temple was not built by the town authorities nor by its magistrates: it was the gift to the town of a member of the Caltilian family. Since his cognomen is missing it is idle to speculate whether he was a rich freedman, but there is no reason to believe that he was prominent in Ostian government.

This temple of Serapis may be identified with a small brick-built temple standing back in its sacred area from a street which runs south from the Via della Foce at the far end of the excavated area.³ At the entrance from the street is a bull in black mosaic on a white ground. Within is an open court paved with a black-and-white mosaic of Nilotic scenes, of which little remains. The temple is approached by a flight of steps at the west end of the court and preceded by a pronaos paved with a black-and-white unfigured mosaic, variegated by square and triangular insets of various coloured marbles. The court was originally connected, to north and south, with two other buildings, which must have been associated with the cult; they may have been the living quarters of the temple warden and the priests. But in the late Empire, probably in

¹ *RE*, 'Isis' (Roeder), 2103, 2107.

² *Fasti*, 127: 'VIII k(alendas) Febr. templum Sarapi, quod [.] Caltilius P[—] | sua pecunia exstruxit, dedicatum [es]t.' Bloch, in an article published in *AJA*, 1959, reminds us that the day of dedication was Hadrian's birthday.

³ p. 139.

the fourth century, the entrances from the temple court were closed and these buildings passed into other hands. The cult of Serapis was in decline.

The dimensions of the temple are modest, but the evidence is inadequate to provide a fair impression of its architectural decoration and wealth; for the site had already been plundered, and many of its dedications were probably dispersed, before the end of the Roman period. Inscriptions and sculptures, however, tell us a little of the cult. In contrast to the practice in the Serapeum by the harbours, where Greek was the normal language of dedications, most of the inscriptions concerning Serapis at Ostia are in Latin; probably the association with Egypt was less strong. Of the temple hierarchy we have evidence only of a temple warden, *neocorus*, mentioned in two inscriptions.¹ Serapis was not an exclusive deity. His association with Egyptian Isis was to be expected; he could also come to terms with Roman cults. Not far from the temple were found two bases, which once carried dedications to Hercules and to the two Castors in honour of I(upiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) S(arapis).²

Representations of Serapis have been found at many points in the town, in private houses and in public places. Most conspicuous of the private statues preserved is the terra-cotta figure of Serapis, nearly life-size, seated within a small shrine that was added to the south side of the main court of the Insula of Serapis, probably in the Severan period.³ A similar statue, which was found near the temple in the garden behind the theatre, was probably a public dedication.⁴ In the interesting dialogue of Minucius Felix the discussion of Christianity is introduced when the pagan Caecilius salutes Serapis with a ceremonial kiss;⁵ we imagine a head of Serapis on a herm, or a free-standing statue by the side of the street.

No temple of Isis has yet been found, but the distribution of inscriptions and dedications referring to her cult suggests that it was on or near the river bank, west of the centre.⁶ Inscriptions record three priests of

¹ 188; *IG* xiv. 920. Taylor, 73, refers both inscriptions, said to have been found at Ostia, to Portus, since, when she wrote, there was no evidence of a separate Serapeum at Ostia.

² Unpublished. For the title of Serapis (I.O.M.S.) cf. *ILS* 4393. A similar abbreviation, I.O.M.D(olichenus), *ILS* 4296 (cf. 4287).

³ *Arch. Anz.* 52 (1937) 385.

⁴ Paschetto, 370, describes the statue before the head was found. Signora Calza was able to fit a head, found later, to the statue, inv. 1210.

⁵ Min. Felix, *Octavius*, 2, 4.

⁶ Paschetto, 401.

Ostian Isis, *sacerdotes Isidis Ostiensis*: L. Valerius Fyrmus, who was also priest of the Great Mother,¹ M. Ulpus Faed[imus],² and one whose name is lost but who may have been a decurion of the colony.³ To these may be added D. Flavius Florus Veranus 'priest of the revered queen', *sacerdot(i) sanct(ae) regin(ae)*, decurion of the Laurentine *vicus Augustanus*. He was commemorated by a senator, Flavius Moschylus, himself a devotee of the cult, who made provision in his will for a statue of the priest to be set up, 'mindful of his reverence and purity'.⁴ This interesting inscription is dated to A.D. 251, when social currencies were considerably debased. There is nothing in the surviving evidence to suggest that the cult attracted men of such standing in the second century.

Records of dedications to Isis survive. P. Cornelius Victorinus, a clerk in the town government service, presented, presumably to the temple, a statuette of Mars on horseback 'to Queen Isis who restored health to him'.⁵ Caltilia Diodora, whose family name is that of the builder of Serapis' temple, presented a silver Venus, one pound in weight, with two wreaths, one of gold.⁶ C. Pomponius Turpilianus, an imperial procurator, dedicated an altar to Isis, and, with her, to the numen of Serapis, to Silvanus, and to the Lares: 'aram sanctae Isidi, numini Sarapis, Silvano, Laribus', and his dedication was made in honour of the imperial house: 'pro salute et reditu Antonini Aug(usti), Faustinae Aug(ustae), liberorumque eorum'.⁷

Two inscriptions which record an *Anubiacus*⁸ and a *Bubastiaca*⁹ show that in the general religious syncretism of the middle Empire Isis assimilated the cults of the dog-headed Anubis, conductor of souls in the underworld, and of Bubastis, whom the Romans identified with Artemis: Caltilia, herself titled *Bubastiaca*, makes her dedication to Isis Bubastis. Of the *pastophori*, the religious brotherhood normally associated with the cult of Isis, there is no trace in surviving Ostian inscriptions, but in the area by the river, where the cult of Isis has left most evidence, was found a statuette of a kneeling *pastophorus*, holding in his hand a little shrine containing an image of Isis with hieroglyphs above.¹⁰

In the cemeteries devotees of the cult are recorded on tombstones, *Isiaci* and *Isiacae*,¹¹ and the terra-cotta epistyle over the tomb of Flavia

¹ 429.

² 437.

³ S 4672.

⁴ 352; revised, *ILS* 6149.

⁵ S 4290: 'signum Martis cum equiliolo Isidi reginae restitutrici salutis suae.'

⁶ 21.

⁷ 20.

⁸ S 4290, cf. 352.

⁹ 21.

¹⁰ Paschetto, 165.

¹¹ 302, 343, 352, S 4290.

Caecilia and Q. Maecius Iuvenalis reflects the cult of Isis no less clearly in its imagery.¹ On one side is the sacred Apis bull lying to the right, with sistrum above and in front a basket laden with fruit; on the other side, a second Apis lying to the left, with sistrum above and situla in front. On the situla is cut in relief the head of a man or boy.

A different aspect of the cult of Isis is recalled by a large terra-cotta hanging lamp with ten burners in the form of a ship.² Within the field of the boat are three figures, each represented within a sanctuary framed by two columns: Isis is in the centre, above is Harpocrates, below, Serapis. This lamp reflects Isis' function as goddess of the seas, protector of voyagers, celebrated by the festival of the *navigium Isidis* on 5 March.

To judge by the evidence that has survived, the cults of Cybele and of the Egyptian gods enjoyed their widest support in Ostia from the Antonine to the Severan periods: by the later third century the religion of Mithras seems to have eclipsed them in popularity. Mithraism, of Persian origin, had assimilated in its contact with Mesopotamia a strong Semitic and astrological background, and during the Hellenistic period had spread widely through Asia Minor. Plutarch records that it was brought to Rome in Pompey's day, but it was not until the Flavian period that it made any headway in the west.³ No less than eight Mithraic shrines could be seen at Ostia when the 1938 excavation campaign was launched; when the campaign was completed the number had risen to at least fifteen, and others no doubt will be found when the remaining third of the town area is uncovered.⁴

Some of the Ostian Mithraea have individual features, but in general they conform to the common pattern. There is usually a small room or pronaos leading into the shrine itself: this is a long and narrow room shut off from the light, representing the rocky cave in which the god was born: in two inscriptions the shrine is actually called a cave, *spelaeum*.⁵ On both sides of the room are long podia sloping slightly upwards from the wall; on these the worshippers knelt to pray. Between the two podia is a corridor, along which the celebrating priest passed to an altar.

¹ 1044; Benndorf und Schöne, *op. cit.* 386 nn. 556–9.

² NS 1909, 118 n. 7, fig. 2.

³ F. Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra*² (1902) 31.

⁴ A detailed identification, description, and analysis of the Ostian Mithraea, G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia II, i Mitrei* (Roma, 1954), cited as 'Becatti'. The monuments and inscriptions are catalogued by M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* (1956) 216–321.

⁵ S 4315, Blösch, 9.

Some of the altars are hollowed to take a lamp, and the front of the altar is pierced so that the light could shine through in the form of a crescent or illuminate a relief applied to the altar.¹ In the Mithraeum of the Painted Walls a bust of the sun was dramatically lighted in this way.² Behind the altar the central mystery of the cult is represented, normally in a relief applied to the wall. In the scene depicted there is little variation from shrine to shrine except in the quality of the workmanship and the material used. Mithras is figured in Phrygian dress, mounted on a bull, which he kills with a large knife, looking backwards as his knife is plunged into the bull's neck. A dog jumps towards the blood flowing from the wound, and on the other side a serpent stretches up towards it; a scorpion attacks the bull's genitals. Above, a crow watches the scene. At the entrance to the shrine, or on either side of the altar, Cautes and Cautopates are portrayed in small statues or in mosaic. Cautes, with torch upraised, represents day and light; Cautopates, with torch lowered, darkness and night.

One shrine, which adjoins to the west the House of Apuleius, behind the four republican temples, is particularly well preserved and rich in astrological symbolism.³ At the heads of the two podia are Cautes and Cautopates in mosaic. In the white mosaic of the corridor seven semi-circles in black at regular intervals represent the seven planets, which are also represented by figures in black-and-white mosaic on the faces of the podia. Above, on the narrow ledge in which the podia end, are depicted, also in black-and-white mosaic, the twelve constellations of the zodiac. In the Mithraeum of Felicissimus the planets are explicitly related to the seven grades of initiates in mosaic panels along the central corridor between the podia.⁴

The astrological background is reflected again in a small statue of the god of time found in another Mithraic shrine. He is represented with a lion's head, for time devours all things, and his body is six times encircled by a serpent, representing the tortuous course of the sun in the sky. Wings, symbolizing the winds and decorated with symbols of the seasons, spring from his shoulders and hips. In his hands he holds two keys, each pierced with twelve holes, which open the gates of heaven, and, in his left hand, the sceptre of rule. The thunderbolt of Jupiter is cut on his chest, and on the base of the statue are represented the hammer

¹ Becatti, 136.

² Becatti, 61 f.

³ Lanciani, *NS* 1886, 163; Becatti, 47.

⁴ Becatti, 108.

and anvil of Vulcan, the wand of Mercury, and the cock and pine-cone of Aesculapius or possibly Attis. Time is the parent of all things.¹

More exceptional is the representation of a footprint in the mosaic pavement near the entrance of one of the smaller shrines. This feature is unknown in Mithraea elsewhere and may, as Becatti suggests, have been adopted from the cult of Serapis, whose temple was near by. It was probably an invocation to the faithful to follow in the footsteps of the god.²

The Mithraea of Ostia do not suggest great wealth. The largest are far smaller than many at Rome, holding at most some forty worshippers; some have room for less than twenty. Most of the shrines are improvised within existing buildings. One of the largest makes use of a service corridor under a set of public baths;³ another takes over a *crypta* in the imperial palace;⁴ another uses the face of the tower in the Sullan town wall by the Tiber and the wall itself.⁵ In the House of Diana two small rooms in the north-east corner of the ground floor are adapted to the cult by blocking windows and installing podia.⁶ In the near-by Mithraeum of Menander rooms in a house are similarly taken over and no attempt is made to change the paintings on the walls and the mosaic pavements, though they have no Mithraic reference.⁷ The incorporation of a large painting of two crested serpents and a *genius* from a private lararium in another Mithraeum was a useful economy, but the subject was appropriate, for the serpent figures prominently in Mithraic representations.⁸ Such economies were not always practised. In the Mithraeum of the Painted Walls new paintings were superimposed on the old and they illustrate the cult, though too little remains for their significance to be clear.⁹

In contrast to most of the Ostian Mithraic sculpture, which is undistinguished in quality, one cult group suggests, at first, good taste and a long purse.¹⁰ This fine group is remarkable in three respects. It is a free-standing group instead of the normal relief; it is signed by the artist, Kriton of Athens; and Mithras is represented not in Phrygian but in Greek dress, which has no parallel in the whole range of Mithraic monuments. The style of the sculpture seems to place it in the first half

¹ Becatti, 119. The type probably derives from Egypt, R. Pettazzoni, *Essays on the History of Religions* (Leiden, 1954) 180-92 = *Ant. class.* 18 (1949) 267.

² Becatti, 80; M. Guarducci, 'Le impronte del *Quo vadis*', *Rend. Pont.* 19 (1942-3) 323 ff.

³ Becatti, 29.

⁴ 66, p. 374.

⁵ NS 1924, 69; Becatti, 39.

⁶ NS 1915, 327; Becatti, 9.

⁷ Becatti, 17.

⁸ Becatti, 102.

⁹ Becatti, 63.

¹⁰ *Musco*, 149; Becatti, 32.

of the second century,¹ and the Greek dress would admirably fit the strong hellenizing flavour of Hadrian's reign. But it is difficult to date the Mithraeum in which the group was found as early as this: moreover the insignificant base on which it was set, and the crude ancient restorations to the figure of the bull suggest that this impressive group was acquired for the Ostian shrine after it had already been damaged.²

Most of the inscriptions that have survived record the gift of the essential furnishings of the shrine. In addition to the main cult scene of Mithras slaying the bull, the altar, the marble or mosaic furnishings of podia and corridor, and the figures of Cautes and Cautopates, the commonest form of dedication is a head or statuette of Mithras. But in one case a representation of Ahriman, *signum Arimanium*, the principle of evil, is recorded,³ recalling that the Mithraic cult envisaged a dualism in which the god of light and sun strengthened his followers against the evil in the world.

Of the various grades in the cult Ostian inscriptions record only the highest, *pater*. Each shrine was presided over by a *pater*, who is sometimes described as *pater et antistes*, sometimes as *pater et sacerdos*. The title *pater patrum* is also found once. It occurs elsewhere, but is not common before the fourth century and its meaning is far from certain. It might mean no more than highest in the highest grade; the Ostian example may invite a different interpretation. The inscription commemorates 'Sextus Pompeius Maximus, sacerdos solis invicti Mithrae, pater patrum' and was set up by the priests of Mithras, 'sacerdotes Solis Invicti Mithrae ob amorem et merita eius'.⁴ Pompeius Maximus in another inscription found *in situ* is recorded as *pater* to have restored a Mithraeum.⁵ Perhaps his fuller title, *pater patrum*, implies that he was the head of the cult in Ostia; the *sacerdotes* who honoured him may have been the heads of individual shrines.

The *patres* do not seem to be important public figures. Sextus Pompeius Maximus, *pater patrum*, was president of one of the ferry-service guilds,⁶ but no other record of his guild has yet been found and it may

¹ Becatti (37) prefers a later date, identifying the sculptor with a M. Umbilius Criton who is recorded on a late-second-century dedication from another Ostian Mithraeum (Becatti, 83); he suggests that the sculptor received his citizenship through M. Umbilius Maximus, a Roman senator who was patron of the Ostian *lenuncularii tabularii* in 192 (CIL xiv. 251). It is difficult to date the sculpture late enough to allow the identification.

² Becatti, 37.

³ S 4311. For Ahriman's place in Mithraism, Cumont, *Textes et monuments . . . de Mithra*, i. 139, ii, nn. 27, 323, 324.

⁴ 403.

⁵ S 4314.

⁶ 403: 'q(uin)q(uennalis) corp(or)is treiectus togatensium'.

be assumed that it was comparatively unimportant. Fructosus, who built a guild Mithraeum, to be described below, was also president of one of the smaller guilds.¹ M. Cerellius Hieronymus may be identified with 'Cerell(ius) Ieroni(mus)', an ordinary member of the builders' guild in 198.² The rest are mere names to us, but most of the cognomina suggest freedman stock. No worshipper of Mithras is known to have held public office; the majority seem to have been men of humble means and modest social standing.

Very few Mithraic inscriptions are dated, and the chronology of the cult's development remains largely conjectural. The earliest firm evidence dates from 162, when the Mithraeum in the so-called 'Imperial Palace', excavated by Visconti in 1857, was furnished.³ The combined evidence of paintings, mosaics, and coins found in the building suggests that the Mithraeum of the Seven Gates is roughly contemporary;⁴ on similar grounds the Mithraeum of the Animals has been dated to the same period.⁵ None of the surviving Mithraea can be securely dated before the middle of the second century; most of them are demonstrably later.

The great majority of surviving inscriptions seem by their lettering to date from the end of the second or from the third century, and on historical grounds the reign of Commodus forms an appropriate context for the expansion of the cult. For Commodus was both a follower of Mithras and closely associated with Ostia.⁶ It was perhaps because of the emperor's personal concern for the cult that a group of worshippers could ask for and receive authority to use a cellar or back room in the palace designed primarily for imperial visits.⁷ The expansion of Mithraism continued through the Severan period and probably reached its peak near the middle of the third century.

The Mithraea are not concentrated in any one district, but are evenly distributed over the town.⁸ Most of them probably served the initiates

¹ Bloch, 9. Only the first letter (S) of the guild survives, but this is sufficient to exclude the most important guilds.

² 70, 4313; in builders' roll, S 4569, iii. 7.

³ 56, 57; Becatti, 54.

⁴ Becatti, 99.

⁵ Becatti, 92.

⁶ SHA, *Commodus*, 9. 6. For his association with Ostia, p. 79.

⁷ 66: 'C. Valerius Heracles pat[e]r e[t] an[tis]tes dei iu[b]enis incorrupti So[l]is invicti Mithra[e, c]ryptam palati concessa[m] sibi a M. Aurelio—.' A possible restoration is 'a M. Aurelio Commodo Antonino Aug.', but the authority may have been given by an imperial freedman. This Mithraeum is later than that excavated by Visconti in the 'Imperial Palace' (which has inscriptions of 162), but it may have been in an unexplored part of the establishment, Becatti, 120.

⁸ Distribution map, Becatti, 132. Fig. 27, p. 382.

of a restricted area round the shrine, but one seems to be closely associated with a guild. A little west of the Round Temple is a building complex of mid-third-century date, which closely resembles the courtyard temple of the shipbuilders. The plan seems to be typical of guild temples. Two shops open on the street; a passage between them leads into a courtyard, at the end of which was to have been built a temple of orthodox form. But the plan to build the temple was abandoned, and the basement, which had been begun, was modified and converted into a Mithraeum.¹ Fragments of an inscription found near by record the building of a Mithraeum by the president of a guild, possibly the *stuppatores*;² it comes almost certainly from this shrine. The building of a Mithraeum instead of a temple to one of the traditional gods on guild premises, presumably for members of the guild, is striking evidence of the popularity of Mithraism towards the middle of the third century.

An interesting graffito on the wall of a small room in a living apartment behind a row of shops has been interpreted by Becatti as a private tribute to Mithras: 'Dominus Sol hic avitat.'³ The letters are large and carefully written, high enough (1.90 metres) to avoid damage; the words were a serious declaration of faith. Becatti sees here a follower of Mithras invoking the god in his own cave-dark room. But the language of Mithraism requires 'invictus Sol' or 'Invictus Deus Sol', and the room is no darker than many in Ostia. 'Dominus Sol' reflects more probably the general cult of the sun, which grew in strength during the third century, especially under Aurelian. There may be further evidence of this sun cult in the name of a priest of the Sun and Moon on a brick-stamp found at Ostia.⁴ But the unobtrusiveness and the uncertainty of this evidence for a cult which, if Ostia followed the Roman pattern, should have been strong in the third century is surprising.

In contrast to the widespread evidence of Mithraism, Christianity, which in the third century was to become its chief rival, is not firmly attested before the end of the second century and will be discussed in a later setting. The known list of oriental cults recorded may be briefly completed. Iupiter Dolichenus is normally associated with the armies

¹ Becatti, 21.

² Bloch, 9: '—rius Fructosus patron(us) corp(oris) S[— | te]mpl(um) et spel(aeum) Mit(hrae) a solo sua pec(unia) fecit'. For the guild, *saburrarii*, *susceptores*, *scapharii* are also possible.

³ Becatti, 125.

⁴ 40897: 'ex officin(a) L. Aemili Iuliani | solis et lunae | sac(er)dotis'. For a further possible reference to the sun cult at Ostia, Becatti, 127.

and the fleets, but he had a shrine on the Janiculum at Rome, and at Ostia there survives a dedication by a civilian. In the republican tetra-style temple near the temple of Hercules was found a small base: 'Iovi Dolicheno L. Plinius Nigrinus q(uin)q(uennalis)'¹ and near it a magical alphabet.² This temple cannot have been dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus. It is possible that the base, like so many of Ostia's inscriptions, was not found in its original setting; or perhaps the dedication was made in the temple of another god. The dedicator was a man of standing and is probably the Plinius Nigrinus who is recorded in the *Fasti* as duovir in A.D. 147.

Jupiter Sabazius, a Thracian god who had a wide vogue in the imperial period, is also attested in a dedication, possibly of the second century, by a L. Aemilius, 'ex imperio Iovis Sabazi'.³ This inscription was found in a sanctuary which has the main characteristics of a Mithraeum.⁴ Near by was found a further dedication: 'numini caelesti P. Clodius Flavius Venerandus vivir Aug(ustalis) somnio monitus fecit.'⁵ *Numen caeleste* has been identified with Carthaginian Caelestis, whose cult is associated with that of Sabazius in Rome.⁶ Caelestis had spread her influence widely in the Empire as queen of the sky, earth, and underworld. She protected travellers, and foot imprints were commonly dedicated to her; two *ex-voto* footprints, found under the corridor of this sanctuary, might seem to strengthen the identification.⁷ But in another Ostian inscription 'caeleste numen' is applied to 'Invictus deus Sol omnipotens';⁸ it was found near by and may have been set up by the same man in this same shrine. Becatti is probably right in regarding both inscriptions as Mithraic.⁹ The building, in its final form, and especially the two podia flanking the central corridor point to a Mithraeum. We may infer either that a Sabazeum was later converted into a Mithraeum or, perhaps more probable, that the cults were associated. There is evidence also for the cult of the Thracian rider god at Ostia in two reliefs of the second or third centuries.¹⁰ In each case the name of the dedicator is in Greek; the cult probably did not spread widely.

¹ Bloch, 4.

² Bloch, 5.

³ S 4296.

⁴ Vaglieri, NS 1909, 20; Becatti, 113.

⁵ S 4318.

⁶ Taylor, 93; M. Guarducci, 'Nuovi documenti del culto di Caelestis a Roma', *BC* 72 (1946) 11-25 (Ostia, 19).

⁷ NS 1909, 21.

⁸ S 4309; Becatti, 116: '[Invicto] deo Soli | [omnip]otenti | [—]o caelesti | n[u]m[ini] p[raesenti] | fo[r]tu[na]e laribus | tut[ela]eque | [sa]c. | [Venera]ndus.'

⁹ Becatti, 116.

¹⁰ NS 1912, 439, (inv. 764) and another unpublished example (inv. 865). For this cult, G. I. Kazarow, *Die Denkmäler des thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien* (Budapest, 1938).

Unidentified cults from the east are reflected in the Shrine of the Three Naves on the east side of the Insula of the Charioteers, which has the long podia normally associated with a Mithraeum but a distinctive mosaic which is not Mithraic, and in an altar from the Piazzale delle Corporazioni showing a seated female figure between two griffins, with a standing Hermes beside her.¹

To this list of oriental cults may tentatively be added the festival of Maiumas. John Lydus, whose account is repeated by Suidas, records that 'the festival was celebrated in Rome in the month of May. The leading men of Rome came down to the coastal town of Ostia and gave themselves up to enjoyment, splashing one another in the waters of the sea.' The main centre of this festival in the late Empire was at Syrian Antioch, though it originated perhaps from Gaza. The name Maiumas probably means a harbour and Maiumas may have been a ship festival. At Antioch it had a bad reputation and was frequently suppressed. In the Theodosian Code are included rescripts of the fourth century threatening penalties for abuse, but the Roman celebration, in Lydus' account, seems harmless enough. The reliability of Lydus' testimony has been doubted, since there is no other reference to the Roman festival; but such argument from silence, in a field where so much is unknown, carries little weight. That the festival, which certainly was not confined to Syria, should have been adopted by Rome is not improbable and, since it was concerned with the sea, Ostia was the natural place for its celebration: Castor and Pollux had already established the precedent. The festival, however, was probably not introduced before the Severan period, and perhaps later.²

Oriental cults were widely represented in Ostia; and the most important of them, the cults of Cybele, of Isis and Serapis, and of Mithras, had a large following. They became firmly established in the prosperity of the first half of the second century and expanded in the late Antonine and Severan periods. Our evidence consists in the ruined shells of buildings and unemotional inscriptions. To clothe the dry bones with flesh we must imagine colourful processions in the streets; crowds thronging the field of the Great Mother when the *taurobolium* was celebrated; the cymbal, flute, and drum of Cybele's ritual; and the rattle of Isis.

¹ Becatti, *Mitrei*, 69. For the altar, NS 1914, 289, fig. 6, wrongly interpreted as Cybele with her lions (I owe the correction to Signora Calza).

² Lydus, *De mens.* iv. 8 (Wuensch, p. 133, 1-8); RE, 'Maiumas' (Preisendanz); Taylor, 80.

THE DIFFUSION OF THE IMPERIAL CULT

By the second century the imperial government had no reason to distrust the oriental cults: they were loyal to the empire and invoked the blessings of their gods on the imperial house. Bulls were sacrificed to Cybele on behalf of emperors, and the guild house of the *dendrophori* when rebuilt was dedicated to the majesty of the imperial house. A dedication could be made to Isis for the preservation and safe return of the imperial family.

The imperial cult meanwhile pervaded Ostia more widely than in the pre-Flavian period. *Flamines* of Vespasian,¹ Titus,² Hadrian,³ Antoninus Pius,⁴ Marcus Aurelius,⁵ Pertinax,⁶ Septimius Severus⁷ are recorded; it is no doubt by chance alone that Trajan is until now missing from the list. And some at least of these individual cults were maintained for a long time. A *flamen divi Titi* was still alive in 173,⁸ and a *flamen divi Hadriani* towards the end of the second century.⁹ The temple of Rome and Augustus was probably the original centre of this form of imperial cult; other temples may have been added later. Bloch has convincingly interpreted a large inscribed architectural fragment as the inscription over a *templum divorum*, set up by decree of the council under Antoninus Pius.¹⁰ The names of Hadrian and Trajan survive; the measurements admit the addition of Nerva, Titus, and Vespasian. A combined cult of all the deified emperors is also attested by a *flamen divorum*.¹¹ Fragments of two epistyles come from buildings in honour of emperors. Both were probably set up by the builders, and the very close correspondence in the height of the letters suggests that the buildings were of similar form and function. The first commemorates *divus Pius*,¹² but the second was set up to an emperor, Septimius Severus or possibly Pertinax, in his lifetime.¹³ They were probably not temples.

In view of Hadrian's generous patronage of the colony it is not surprising that his favourite, Antinous, should have been honoured at Ostia. When Antinous died in Egypt in 130 his cult spread widely, with imperial encouragement, through the empire.¹⁴ At Ostia two statues

¹ 292, 298, S 4641, Bloch, 63. ² 400, 4142, S 4622. ³ 390, 391, 14. ⁴ Bloch, 49.

⁵ S 4671, Bloch, 54. ⁶ S 4648, Bloch, 60. ⁷ 11, Bloch, 60. ⁸ 4142. ⁹ 14. ¹⁰ Bloch, 16.

¹¹ Only one instance known, 444. For parallels elsewhere, F. Geiger, 'De sacerdotibus Augustorum municipalibus', (*Diss. Phil. Halenses*, xxiii, 1913) 25. *Flamen* alone occurs three times (301, 332, 341); it may imply *flamen divorum*, as Taylor (47) suggests.

¹² S 4365. The builders also set up a commemorative tablet to *divus Traianus*.

¹³ S 4382.

¹⁴ Dio lxix. 11. 4: 'καὶ ἐκεῖνου ἀνδριάντας ἐν πάσῃ ὡς εἶπεν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγάλματα, ἀνέθηκε'; P. Marconi, 'Antinoo', *MA* 29 (1923) 161-300.

have been found, closely corresponding in measurements and attributes. Antinous is represented as a god of the countryside, possibly Vertumnus, carrying in a fold of his dress the flowers and fruits of the fields. One of these statues was found in the Baths of Porta Marina,¹ in company with heads of Trajan's sister Marciana and another lady of the imperial house, perhaps Sabina;² the other comes from a building near Tor Boacciana, and with it were found heads and busts of emperors and fragments of statues larger than life.³ More puzzling is a head found in the field of Magna Mater.⁴ Antinous is crowned with a diadem on the front of which are two medallions with male busts. Other parallels suggest that Antinous is here represented as a priest in the service of the two male figures of the medallions.⁵ These have been identified as Hadrian and Nerva, the founder of the dynasty,⁶ but this can be little more than a guess, for the features are unrecognizable.

The imperial cult during this period was freely extended to the wives of emperors. Sabina and Iulia Domna are represented as Ceres,⁷ Sabina and the younger Faustina as Venus.⁸ No explicit record of a formal cult survives, but a veiled statue of the elder Faustina points to her deification,⁹ and a statue found in the social headquarters of the *seviri Augustales* may represent the priestess of a dead empress.

The cult of the Lares Augusti, first attested at Ostia under Claudius, has left wider traces in the second century. P. Horatius Chryseros, in whose honour the *seviri Augustales* set up a statue in A.D. 182, is described as *immunis Larum Aug(ustorum)*, exempt from payments in an association of worshippers of the imperial Lares.¹⁰ Another similar association, centred in the estate that had once belonged to the Ostian Rusticellii and had passed to the emperor, has been mentioned in an earlier chapter.¹¹ Other inscriptions record a small shrine, '[aedic]ulam Larum Aug(ustorum)',¹² and a dedication by a certain Primigenia.¹³ The priests of the deified emperors were chosen from men destined for a public career; the worship of the imperial Lares was reserved for humbler folk.

¹ Marconi, op. cit. 194 n. 86.

² p. 408.

³ Paschetto, 490-3; Marconi, op. cit. 170 n. 16; A. Giuliano, *Catalogo dei ritratti Romani del museo profano Lateranense*, 50 n. 55.

⁴ Marconi, op. cit. 171 n. 19; B. M. Felletti Maj, *Museo Nazionale, Romano, i Ritratti*, 100 n. 191.

⁵ G. Blum, *Mélanges*, 33 (1913) 65-80.

⁶ Ibid. 67.

⁷ *Museo*, 25, 21.

⁸ *Museo*, 24 (Sabina); Felletti Maj, op. cit. 119 n. 236 (Faustina).

⁹ *Museo*, 30.

¹⁰ *Museo*, 22.

¹¹ 367.

¹² p. 333.

¹³ 26.

¹⁴ 2041.

There is no trace at Ostia of any cult of the emperor's *genius*, but the *numen domus Augustae* is widely venerated, in the guilds, in the religious associations, and in private dedications. Hispanus, an imperial freedman and *tabularius*, set up a small statue to commemorate his promotion, perhaps to the position of *tabularius*, 'ob processus votum redd(itum)'.¹ Another dedication to the *numen domus Augustae* was made by two slaves and a freedman of the imperial house.² Two dedications also survive to imperial Victory.³

THE SURVIVAL OF TRADITIONAL RELIGION

The imperial cult expressed a recognition of the material advantages brought by imperial rule: the oriental cults appealed to the emotions and held out confident hopes to initiates of a blessed life beyond the tomb. It might be expected that the traditional cults would be eclipsed. This conclusion, however, is not justified by the surviving evidence.

The temple at the north end of the Forum which dominates the ruins of Ostia is almost certainly the Capitulum, centre of the supremely Roman cult of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, whose temple on the Capitoline hill at Rome dated back to the beginning of the Republic and was rebuilt, after its destruction by fire in 69, with great magnificence and imposing ceremony by Vespasian. The direct evidence that this Ostian temple was a Capitulum is not strong. There is no evidence in the building of a triple cult such as is found in almost all Italian Capitolia.⁴ The cella was undivided and there is no means of determining how many statues stood on the podium at the north end. But A. Ostiensis Asclepiades is described as *aeditu(u)s Capitoli* when he presents a statuette of Mars to the guild of public freedmen and slaves.⁵ The inscription was found at Rome, and Asclepiades might have been a servant in the Roman Capitulum; but, since the name recurs in the roll of members of the *familia publica* of Ostia,⁶ and since his dedication was made to them, it is reasonably certain that the Capitulum in question is Ostian. If Ostia had a Capitulum, its natural place was in the Forum.

A further argument can be derived from the earlier history of the area. Recent excavation has revealed that towards the end of the first century B.C. two temples were built on the north side of the Decumanus in the Forum. These temples were destroyed when the Hadrianic

¹ S 4316.

² S 4319.

³ 68, S 5321.

⁴ M. Cagianò de Azevedo, 'I "Capitolia" dell' impero Romano', *Mem. Pont. 5* (1941) 1-36.

⁵ 32.

⁶ 255, col. 1. 5.