Strangers in Towns

A socio-economic study on the visibility of collegia and trading communities within port cities

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Content

Introduction

With the unification of the Mediterranean by Augustus in 31 BC an unprecedented event occurred: the entire Mediterranean was governed by an emperor, who started to instigate different institutions to ensure political stability. The main elements of this development were: the imposition of a single political structure; the emergence of networks based on the movement of goods, people and information; the creation and diffusion of institutions such as the law and coinage; the improvement of transportation infrastructure including roads, ports and canals; and the development of a more active and increasingly integrated system of trade and exchange.[1] These new developments were highly beneficial for traders as the Mediterranean became better connected, which made the movements of goods easier. Therefore, products from all over the Mediterranean were more readily available to its inhabitants.

From early on, merchants saw Rome and other major cities as an important consumer market for surplus food wares. The increasing growth of Rome and other cities in the Mediterranean created demand for more food than could be locally produced. Therefore, food and luxury items from all over the Mediterranean were shipped to the major cities in the empire to be sold by local vendors. An important question that arises in research is how these long-distance traders coordinated their trade, considering that they lacked the modern means of communicating with people on the other side of the Mediterranean. Many scholars have tried to answer this question, together with questions about the nature of trade in the Roman Empire.

However, a lacuna appears in the literature in regard to the visibility of *collegia* and trading communities that facilitated long-distance trade. Instead of researching geographical and social issues related to these groups, scholars have focussed on the purpose of *collegia* and trading communities, their internal hierarchy and their status in society. Furthermore, considerable research into urban planning in Ancient Rome has been carried out in which researchers paid attention to the urban planning of towns. However, these scholars tended to focus on urban life, with an emphasis on baths, fora, basilica, walls, streets and temples

[1] N. Morley, 'Globalisation and the Roman economy' In: M. Pitts and M. Versluys ed., *Globalisation and the Roman World: World History, Connectivity and Material Culture* (Cambridge 2014) 54.

and have not focussed themselves on the locations in town that were used by merchants.[2]

Scholars have not so far considered using their findings in these fields to investigate how trading communities and *collegia* became visible within port cities. Further research in this field might prove valuable to gain better knowledge of the socio-economic position of long-distance traders in port cities. Port cities are of interest, because they were the first to encounter the merchants with the wares they shipped throughout the Mediterranean.

To fill the lacuna in this field of research, the focus of this thesis has been on how trading communities and *collegia* became visible to the inhabitants of port cities. This was researched by assessing the methods and locations both groups utilised to increase their visibility.

Visibility is a broad definition. It refers to the state of being able to see and be seen. Being seen was important in Roman history as it was a way to display your social position within town. *Collegia* and trading communities needed to earn a place in the social life of their new host city. This was deemed important as proper public display alluded to status and provided new mercantile opportunities for *collegia* and trading communities.

The visibility of both groups is researched in port cities because the evidence on *collegia* and trading communities is most abundant in these locations and because research on this topic has not been conducted concerning port cities.

The arguments presented in this thesis are supported by ancient literary sources, archaeological evidence and inscriptions, because these fields of research have yielded a considerable amount of information on *collegia* and trading communities. The scope of research in inscriptions is limited to port cities in Italy and France, because the epigraphic remains excavated in these two countries bear similarities. If the emphasis was on other regions — such as the Nile valley, where papyri were more important, or the region around London, where wooden tablets were used to communicate — the various forms of evidence would differ too much to allow for a good comparison.

Combining the existing discourse on *collegia* and trading communities and supplement it with additional epigraphic material, archaeological evidence ancient and

[2] R. Laurence, S. Esmonde Cleary and G. Sears, *The City in the Roman West, c.250 BC-c.AD 250* (Cambridge 2011).

modern literature provides a more complete understanding of the socio-economic and urban context in which *collegia* and trading communities were active.

The aim in conducting three case studies of different port cities is to clarify how *collegia* and trading communities became visible, where inhabitants of the port cities could encounter them and whether a general pattern for this interaction can be reconstructed.

The port cities examined in this thesis are Ostia, Puteoli, Lugdunum and Arelate. They were chosen for several reasons: firstly, a great deal of epigraphic evidence exists for these cities; and secondly, this evidence dates to roughly the same period (31 BC to the late second century). The first case study is on Ostia because it functioned as the primary harbour of Rome. The second case study investigates Puteoli as it was one of the major port cities on the western side of Italy, as well as the largest transit port for grain ships from all over the empire. In the third case study Lugdunum and Arelate will be discussed together. These ports cannot be dealt with separately as they were both connected to the same valuable network of rivers to the hinterland, consisting of land which is now in France, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. By examining ports with differing natures, such as riverine or maritime, and compare them to each other, this thesis seeks to discover how *collegia* and trading became visible in port cities and if there were any differences in the methods and locations both groups utilised to become visible.

1.1 Debate: The nature of trade and its participants

In this section, the debates on the nature of the Roman economy and the purpose of *collegia* and trading communities are outlined. This discussion is necessary to contextualise the study and to understand the gap this research will fill.

In the late nineteenth century, scholars started to investigate the nature of the Roman economy and of trade, more particular long-distance trade. The main issue in this discussion is the type of economy that drove long-distance trade in the Roman Empire.[3] Scholars who have studied this matter have debated about the way goods were distributed in the empire, since an absolute divide did not necessarily exist between different forms of distribution.[4] Other debates concern the integration of the market and the extent of long-distance trade.

[3] N. Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 2007) 4.
[4] P. Erdkamp, 'A Forum on Trade' in: W. Scheidel ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy* (Cambridge 2012) 310.

Two distinctive arguments can be found in this regard. Some scholars, following the primitivistic view of the economy, have argued that there was a qualitative difference between the ancient economy and the modern world.[5] The lack of high demand, coupled with the high costs of transport and inconsistent information, meant that the only goods worth trading were those which were high in value.[6] These so-called primitivists (or substantivists) believe that many goods were not traded but redistributed by agents of the state or by the Roman elite.[7]

Other scholars, who follow the modernistic view, have suggested that there is only a quantitative difference between the ancient economy and the modern economy.[8] These 'modernists' stress the structural similarities between ancient and modern economies by emphasising the role of price-setting markets, comparative advantage and capitalist ventures.[9]

Neville Morley, whose work shows features of both modernism and primitivism, proposes a model in which Rome, the army, and the largest cities in the Roman Empire were responsible for the growth of long-distance trade.[10] Goods moved between almost every part of the system but the supplies were not always consistent. Morley argues that in a more fully integrated world economy, changes in one part of the system would have affected every other part of the same system.[11] He argues that in the Roman Empire, 'events at a local and regional level might have had little effect, but changes in Rome or at the frontiers could shake the entire structure'.[12] Morley acknowledges the importance of long-distance trade, but connects it primarily to conspicuous consumption of the elite in major cities, along with the demand for *annona* (free food given to poorer inhabitants) for Rome and its inhabitants who did not work in agriculture. In this analysis, Morley argues that most of the supply was controlled by the state, leaving out a large group of merchants involved in trade

[5] Among others; M.I Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (University of California Press 1973); M. Weber, *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations*, translated by R. I. Frank (London 1976).
[6] Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 4.
[7] Idem, 4.
[8] Among others; M.I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1957); E. Meyer, *Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums* (Halle 1924).
[9] W. Scheidel, 'Approaching the Roman Economy' in: W. Scheidel ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy* (Cambridge 2007) 1-25, 8.
[10] N. Morley, 'The Early Roman Empire: Distribution' In: W. Scheidel, I. Morris and R. Saller ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge 2007) 570-591, 575-578.
[11] Idem, 591.
[12] Morley, 'The Early Roman Empire: Distribution', 591.

to gain a certain amount of wealth and status. Therefore, Morley's study does not acknowledge that there might have been a form of market economy driven by individuals looking for profit.

To bring the two opposing perspectives together, scholars have started to focus on new ideas concerning trade. A recent development within this field is the focus on institution. It is argued that institutions such as law, market supervision and regulation, and state investment were partly responsible for a further increase in growth.[13]

Wilson states that from the Augustan period onwards (31 BC), 'all the regions surrounding the Mediterranean were controlled either directly by Rome or indirectly through its client kings'.[14] Furthermore, he argues that the strengthening of trade was accomplished through state intervention: 'best exemplified by creating a handful of canals and the construction of the empire's extensive road system'.[15] Additionally, Wilson suggests that state intervention to facilitate trade went well beyond the creation of transport and infrastructure, and in fact even extended to systems of food supply. The political need to secure the food supply for Rome was one of the key reasons to increase building activities by the state.

Paul Erdkamp agrees with this theory and starts his paper with an idea widely accepted among scholars, namely that 'the Roman world saw more trade in the first centuries of the common era than at any other time'.[16] However, he emphasises that this peak does not mean that scholars should exaggerate the amount of market integration in Roman trade.[17] The real problem, according to Erdkamp, was gaining recent and reliable information, which mostly circulated among the most active shipping lanes that connected the larger markets and suppliers. As such, some parts of the Mediterranean would remain isolated because of their distance from the important trading routes.[18] Large commercial centres were probably the favoured destinations for an overseas merchant, since one would have reliable contacts there, news travelled quickly in these places, and their markets were more stable. However, Erdkamp argues that real integration failed due to the lack of

[13] A. Wilson, 'A Forum on Trade' in: W. Scheidel ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy* (Cambridge 2012) 287.
[14] Idem, 288.
[15] Idem, 289.
[16] P. Erdkamp, 'A Forum on Trade' in: W. Scheidel ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy* (Cambridge 2012) 304.
[17] Erdkamp, 'A Forum on Trade', 304.
[18] Idem, 306.

trustworthy information, which made trade expensive. If communication and information were better organised, the costs would have been reduced, resulting in more profitable trade.[19] As Erdkamp points out, news and up-to-date information travelled faster in large commercial centres. The question, however, remains how did traders make sure that they would receive reliable information? This was achieved by erecting diaspora *collegia* and trading communities in the major commercial centres around the Mediterranean.

1.1.2 *Collegia*, trading communities and trade

The purpose of *collegia* and trading communities was a much-debated topic in the 1980s and 1990s due to a renewed interest in the study of professional associations. The first major publications relating to this matter were by H.L. Royden, on the magistrates of professional *collegia,* and by J. Patterson, on the social roles of *collegia*.[20]

Before these publications, it was suggested that *collegia* 'only played a social and religious role in the life of traders and was specifically for people from the lower classes as *collegia* sometimes performed benevolent functions, such as the finance of burials'.[21] Finley has argued that: 'in no sense were guilds (*collegia*) trying to foster or protect the economic interests of their members', and that 'they never became regulatory or protective agencies in their respective trades compared to the mediaeval guilds'.[22] The advantage of *collegia* was therefore mainly social. The current scholarly opinion is that all associations or *collegia* might have had a funerary dimension, but that they comprised more than that.

Before assessing the character of *collegia* involved in long-distance trade*,* it is important to first define the term. *Collegia* were groups in which the members shared a common interest or were joined together for mutual benefit.[23] They are mostly made up of members who were native to a certain town, unifying themselves to facilitate every aspect of social life. Liu defines *collegia* as an association of some durability, with formal structural features such as collegial magistrates, member lists, a common treasury and patrons.[24] *Collegia* and communities can be broadly categorised by religion, profession, ethnicity, youth

[19] Erdkamp, 'A Forum on Trade', 306.
[20] H.L Royden, *The Professional Magistrates of the Roman Professional Collegia in Italy from the First to the Third Century A.D*. (Pisa 1988); J. Patterson, 'Patronage, Collegia and Burial in Imperial Rome' in: S. Bassett ed., *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (Leicester 1993) 15-27.
[21] M.I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (University of California Press 1973) 138.
[22] Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 81, 138.
[23] J. Liu, 'Professional Associations' in: P. Erdkamp ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rome* (Cambridge 2013) 352.
[24] Idem, 352.

groups and social clubs.[25] In addition, Rives argues that a number of foreign groups often functioned as *collegia* or trading communities as well.[26] Associations played a dynamic role in structuring the social and economic world of the sub-elite in the imperial period. The significance of *collegia* involved in long-distance trade lay in social integration, as well as in increasing status and social credibility among artisans and tradesmen.[27]

Scholars such as Verboven have investigated how *collegia* were organised, as well as what kind of benefits could be derived from being part of a *collegium*.

According to Verboven, the community aspect of *collegia* rested on three separate sections, namely cult, commemoration and conviviality. 'Especially in the case of clubs of foreign residents and trans local merchants in port cities, it was important to affirm the community's cultural identity through the performance of common cult practices'.[28] The religious aspect was important, but not the most important aspect of *collegia* and trading communities. The main aspect was to protect the business interests of the members. Therefore, resident aliens and translocal businessmen needed to forge and strengthen social relations between persons sharing the same background, customs and profession.[29] A *collegium* proved to be the best place to strengthen these bonds.

The purpose and actual essence of *collegia* remains uncertain as member lists, archives, and epigraphic evidence for them are scarce. Therefore, Wim Broekaert has explored what potential advantages being part of a *collegium* could have for a member. By implementing a comparative strategy to attempt to identify parallels with the mediaeval world, he systematically tries to explain the nature of *collegia* by starting off with basic questions such as, 'Who were part of a *collegium*?' and 'Who was allowed to join?', as well as further exploring the benefits an association might have had.[30]

Collegia were not the only associations related to long-distance trade. Trading communities were just as important in this respect. No clear definition on trading communities exists, but Terpstra and Rice formulate one implicitly. Trading communities

[25] J. Rives, 'Civic and Religious Life' in: J. Bodel ed., *Epigraphic Evidence, Ancient History from Inscriptions* (London and New York 2001) 118-137, 132.
[26] Idem, 132.
[27] Liu, 'Professional Associations', 352.
[28] K. Verboven, 'Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire' in: O. Hekster and T. Kaizer ed., *Frontiers in the Roman World. Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire* (Durham, 16-19 April 2009) (Leiden 2011) 335-348, 342.
[29] Verboven, 'Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire', 341.
[30] Broekaert, 'Partners in Business', 221-256.

were primarily made up of 'outsiders' from other cities in the Mediterranean. Merchants settled in a host city to establish a direct line of communication with the hometown in order to do their business. The significance of such a diaspora community lay in social integration, as well as in building the status and social credibility of community members.[31] The settling merchants exploited certain characteristics from their hometown to distinguish themselves from other inhabitants. Additionally, links with the hometown remained strong, and the city would have had moral and legal authority over the overseas settlers, as these settlers were regarded as the representatives of their city. Therefore, misbehaviour that would reduce the city's reputation would have been penalised by the city council or the trading community.

A recent monograph by Taco Terpstra assesses how trading communities functioned in other port cities. Terpstra argues that long-distance trade in the Roman Empire was conducted mainly through members of foreign trading communities who were living overseas. Terpstra describes trading communities using an definition formulated by Curtin, which is that 'diaspora merchants needed the contact with their hosts, but also needed to keep their distance and preserve enough of their original culture to serve as brokers for the travelling merchants from the original homeland'.[32]

Following a microeconomic and institutional approach, Terpstra assesses how trade operated in the Roman Empire under conditions of imperfect government enforcement and limited information. According to Terpstra, the Roman legal system was unable to ensure safe trade. Therefore, trading communities were a way to ensure reliable business partners with up-to-date information, which minimised the risk of losses.[33]

Rice argues that communities can be seen as small social hubs for meeting new and trustworthy business partners, which aided the coordination of various stages of the trading process. According to Rice, the Romans therefore created trading communities in major centres across the Roman Mediterranean.[34] To become a member of such a community, it was crucial for traders to acquire a good reputation. The reputation of a foreign group was based on its collective past behaviour and thus conditioned the prevailing behaviour of

[31] Liu, 'Professional Associations', 352.
[32] P.D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge 1984) 38.
[33] T. Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman world: A Micro-economic and Institutional Perspective* (Leiden 2013) 1.
[34] C. Rice, 'Mercantile Specialization and Trading Communities: Economic Strategies in Roman Maritime Trade' in: M. Flohr and A. Wilson ed.*, Urban Craftsman and Traders in the Roman World* (Oxford 2016) 97-114, 104.

members as well. Furthermore, the individual incentives and actions of such a group were affected by how the group was perceived in their host environment.[35]

1.1.3 *Collegia*, trading communities and urban society

The consideration of the nature of *collegia* and trading communities has stirred up other questions as well. One that has caused a significant debate is whether or not *collegia* and trading communities might represent a wealthy business class. Literary sources and legal texts all state that the status of professional traders and manufacturers was relatively low throughout Roman history and that there were no traces of hierarchal pattern in this respect.[36] Scholars such as Royden have criticised this idea; he argues that there was a hierarchal pattern in *collegia* and that magistrates were certainly a part of *collegia.* This idea is supported by the epigraphic evidence in which magistrates are mentioned in relation to several *collegia* and trading communities throughout the empire.

Tran's approach resembles Royden's, since he draws attention to the melting pot of the plebeian elite as well as the hierarchical nature of *corpora* (*collegia*). Tran argues that the primary goals of *collegia* and trading communities were not to organise economic life in the strict sense of the word, but to give the plebeian elite a place among the urban elite by integrating its members into Roman society. Tran's research uncovered valuable information on patrons and other officials in Arelate. However, his research focussed solely on the social hierarchy within the trading communities and *collegia* in Arelate. Tran's research does not compare the evidence discovered on hierarchy within *collegia* in Arelate to other port cities. Comparing the evidence could have uncovered valuable information regarding the social position of officials from *collegia* and trading communities throughout the empire.

Another debate centres on the connection of cities with trade. Scholars such as Holleran have conducted research regarding such connection by assessing the participants involved in trade.[37] However, Holleran's study focussed specifically on Rome and its retailers, not on port cities. Extending this research towards port cities could provide a broader understanding of the specific circumstances retailers operated under and the locations they utilised while involved in long-distance trade.

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[35] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 79.
[36] Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 60.
[37] C. Holleran, *Shopping in Ancient Rome: The Retail Trade in the Late Republic and the Principate* (Oxford 2012).

Besides this, research into the integration of foreigners is an ongoing debate as well. Rohde, for example, focussed specifically on the integration of foreigners into towns. According to Rohde, showing a corporate identity to the rest of the town was a way for traders to assimilate into the new host society and to display the importance of the *collegium*.[38] Rohde exploits Ostia, Perinthos and Ephesos as case studies to demonstrate the methods *collegia* adopted to integrate. However, Rohde does not discuss trading communities and therefore does not offer a robust understanding on integration by foreigners.

As can be concluded from this section, much research on the connection of *collegia* and trading communities with trade has been conducted, in which the nature of *collegia* and trading communities was discussed. Scholars dispute the social hierarchy of *collegia* and trading communities, their purpose, their integration into society or their social standing within society. No scholar has tried to apply a more practical approach by using epigraphic and archaeological remains to compare these remains to the urban planning of cities in order to assess how *collegia* and trading communities became visible inside port cities. By examining the epigraphic and archaeological remains and compare the evidence to the towns' urban grid, much information about the status of both groups can be obtained such as how the *collegia* and trading communities were perceived by the inhabitants, and how *collegia* and trading communities increased their visibility within the port cities.

1.2 Theoretical framework, methodology and data collection

This section outlines this thesis's theoretical framework, methodology and data collection. The arguments in this thesis are based mostly on epigraphical sources, which are put into their archaeological context when possible.

Since the 1980s, the perspective on Roman inscriptions has changed; while inscriptions used to be seen as merely sources of historical information, they are now interpreted as cultural phenomena.[39] Beltran argues that this 'change in perspective, as well as the realisation that there was an indissoluble bond between text and monument, represents the most productive shift in approach in recent epigraphic scholarship'.[40] Before

[38] D. Rohde, *Zwischen Individuum und Stadtgemeinde, die Integration von Collegia in Hafenstädten* (Mainz 2012) 48.
[39] F. Beltrán Lloris, 'The "Epigraphic Habit" in the Roman World' in: C. Bruun and J. Edmondson eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy* (Oxford 2015) 131-153, 131.
[40] Beltrán Lloris, 'The "Epigraphic Habit" in the Roman World', 131.

this shift, epigraphers were viewed as narrow technicians whose conceptual view prevented them from seeing beyond their texts.[41] However, most scholars nowadays would argue that the history of classical antiquity could not be written without epigraphy. The job description of an epigrapher includes therefore not only editing inscribed texts, but also trying to place the evidence garnered from the inscriptions in its cultural context.[42] This shift has enabled scholars to appreciate the importance of inscriptions to history.

A variety of mediums are known for bearing inscriptions read by an epigrapher, such as stone, bronze, lead and coins. Other mediums, such as inscriptions written in wax, are excluded from the task of the epigrapher. However, studying inscriptions poses some problems. Firstly, Roman inscriptions are not evenly and chronologically distributed throughout Roman history.[43] Therefore, only a period of about 300 years can be analysed. Another problem is that many of these inscribed texts are terse, highly formulaic and geared towards an advertising end, which makes it hard to understand the meaning of an inscription.[44]

An additional twofold problem arises. Even though inscriptions provide much information about Roman life, it remains a challenge to place them in the proper context, due to the circulation of the material on which they were written. J.E. Sandys notes that few inscriptions have remained in their original context, because scholars have removed ancient artefacts from their social or urban contexts, making it difficult for other scholars to reconstruct the context of the inscriptions. Luckily, some inscriptions did remain in their original contexts: for example, the inscriptions at the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* at Ostia. These inscriptions are directly linked to the archaeological remains as they are still visible in the floor of the structure.

Sometimes the objects on which the inscriptions were carved were reused and relocated as building materials or were cut up for other purposes. Gravestones at Ostia, for instance, were cut up and served as toilets seats.[45] In addition, much epigraphic evidence

[41] J. Bodel, 'Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian' in: J. Bodel ed., *Epigraphic Evidence, Ancient History from Inscriptions* (London and New York 2001) 1.
[42] Idem, 1.
[43] Beltrán Lloris, 'The "Epigraphic Habit" in the Roman World', 131.
[44] Liu, 'Professional Associations', 357.
[45] L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Baltimore 1991) 30.

has been removed and placed in private collections or museums without any documentation of the inscription, making it difficult to trace its original location.[46]

Thirdly, interpretations of inscriptions can be unreliable for a multitude of reasons: words can be lost and inscriptions are sometimes incomplete due to reuse of materials or physical damage to the inscription.[47] Only a few words or lines might survive. Information can therefore be lost forever, unless there is enough left to allow for a restoration of the text. The restorations of texts indicate that caution is needed when using epigraphic evidence that has been restored by guessing. On the other hand, restoration is the job of the epigrapher. It requires knowledge of parallel or similar texts to be able to provide a proper restoration.[48] These problems, and solutions, also count for the use of inscriptions in an economic context.

1.2.1 Inscriptions and the economy

This section will assess the use of inscriptions for the ancient economy. Inscriptions offer valuable information on economic life, although studies of the Roman economy have varied significantly in the role they accorded to epigraphic evidence.[49] Edmondson asserts that 'many types of economic inscriptions are revealing on numerous aspects of production, distribution and consumption'.[50] Inscriptions can provide details of events not reported by the Roman historians about the activities and careers of officials, officers and ordinary Romans, which would otherwise be completely unknown to modern scholars.[51] Economic inscriptions cover a wide socio-economic spectrum of the community and provide scholars with information about individuals who have little or no place in the extant record.[52] Examples of such individuals include members of *collegia* and trading communities.

A problem posed by inscriptions in relation to the economy is that occupational titles can be a-specific. It is often unclear from occupational titles alone whether the person was involved in both the manufacture and the sale of the product or whether these tasks were

[46] C.W. Hedrick*, Ancient History, Monuments and Documents* (Wiley-Blackwell Publishing 2006) 120.
[47] Hedrick*, Ancient History, Monuments and Documents*, 21.
[48] Idem, 22.
[49] J. Edmondson, 'Economic Life in the Roman Empire' in: C. Bruun and J. Edmondson ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy* (Oxford 2015) 671-699, 671.
[50] Idem, 672.
[51] L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Baltimore 1991) 9.
[52] Idem, 9.

separate.[53] Long-distance traders are easier to discover in the epigraphic remains as their professions can be determined from certain terms such as *negotiator*, *navicularius* or *mercator*. However, the determination of professions regards only their occupations, not whether traders were involved in business as well. These are all questions that can rarely be answered by looking at inscriptions alone.

Even though using economic inscriptions poses some problems and leaves some questions unanswered, it remains the most valuable source on *collegia* and trading communities available, as is indicated by the use of inscriptions in recent literature from scholars such as Broekaert, Tran, Terpstra and Verboven.

Ancient literary sources only occasionally mention *collegia* and trading communities, therefore, combining economic inscriptions with literary sources and archaeological evidence provides an even broader spectrum to work with. It might enhance our understanding of the connection between *collegia* and trading communities and port cities.

The variety of *collegia* and trading communities mentioned in inscriptions confirms that both groups played an important role in the life of the inhabitant of the ancient Roman world. This conclusion can be drawn from the many different *collegia* and trading communities attested in epigraphy. These inscriptions are vital for this research because they contain information about *collegia* and trading communities' social hierarchy, their activities and important places within the city. Epigraphy reveals a part of history that can rarely be traced in literary and archaeology sources alone.

1.2.2 Methodology

This study sought out, analysed and interpreted relevant data in order to create a contextual picture of the locations in which evidence was discovered in relation to the visibility of *collegia* and trading communities within ancient port cities.

This thesis departs from the existing discourse on *collegia* and trading communities written by, among others, Broekaert, Terpstra, Verboven, Rice and Tran. The majority of the evidence for this thesis consists of economic inscriptions, but in order to provide a more complete account of how *collegia* and trading communities became visible in port cities, evidence mentioning *collegia* and trading communities in ancient and modern literary sources and archaeological evidence is included in this research as well. Adding primary

[53] Edmondson, 'Economic Life in the Roman Empire', 673.

sources and archaeological remains gives scholars the opportunity to gain a broader understanding on the socio-economic position of *collegia* and communities within port cities.

The inscriptions exploited in this thesis originate from Ostia, Puteoli, Lugdunum and Arelate. Evidence from the surrounding regions which is considered important for this thesis is included. When possible, the inscriptions are debated together with their urban contexts to gain a broader understanding of the urban and social context they belonged to.

Studying inscriptions comes with limitations. Most of the inscriptions date to 31 BC – 285 AD.[54] Following this period of time, a decline appears in extant epigraphic evidence; therefore, the period of research regarding Roman economic history derived from epigraphic remains is narrower than the full history of the Roman Empire.[55] It should be noted that only the rich *collegia* and communities were able to leave traces in society that remain available today. Still, scholars have to evaluate the wealthy *collegia* and trading communities because of the sheer quantity of them. Despite these limitations, the epigraphic remains provide more information on the socio-economic positions of traders than any other sort of evidence available to scholars and are therefore crucial for this research.

1.2.3 Data collection

The data collected for this research consists of ancient literary sources, archaeological evidence and inscriptions. Primary sources portraying how the Romans perceived trade are incorporated, as they are more reliable than the perspectives of contemporary historians. The ancient authors exploited in this thesis are, among others, Seneca, Cicero and Strabo. These authors were supplemented by other ancient authors who wrote about the economy or a particular city. The sources were read in translation and all the translations came from the Loeb Classical Library.

Archaeological evidence was gathered mostly from secondary literature. Examples for this are the Tyrian forum and the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni*. Other places within the city were traced through maps and supplemented by literature on the specific topic. The evidence for urban planning came from maps drawn up by historians. In the case of Ostia, the evidence for the urban grid of the city came from Johanna Stöger, who assesses the

[54] Beltrán Lloris, 'The "Epigraphic Habit" in the Roman World', 131.
[55] Idem, 131.

planning of the town extensively.[56] For Puteoli, the map drawn by Dubois was exploited.[57] Lugdunum's urban grid is assessed through Chenavard's map.[58] Arelate was assessed through the hypothetical map of Rivet.[59] Additional locations in this research were examined through secondary literature on the specific buildings. Examples of these locations include the *horrea*, *macella* and the harbours.

The inscriptions were analysed one by one in order to assess whether they were essential for this thesis. The bulk of the analysed inscriptions are in Latin. However, Greek inscriptions are employed when they provide crucial information for one of the case-studies. Aside from the inscriptions found in the existing discourse, additional inscriptions were sought in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL), the Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss – Slaby (EDCS) and the L'Année Épigraphique (AE). Additional inscriptions from the CIL were acquired using the index of the books and a search for specific terms (see Appendix 1). With respect to the EDCS, this search was made by entering the specific city into the EDCS, and by supplementing this search with a more specific term from Appendix 1 to narrow down the number of inscriptions available in the EDCS. Afterwards, the inscriptions were hand filtered. The epigraphical base of this thesis consists of the amount of inscriptions catalogued in Appendix 1, together with the epigraphy from the existing literature.

1.3 Outline

The framework of this thesis is as follows: Chapter One assesses the problems, aim, literature review and sources for this thesis. Chapters Two, Three and Four comprise a discussion of the port cities. Each chapter starts with a brief history and geographical outline of the city which is supplemented by a map. This outline is followed by a discussion of the epigraphic evidence regarding *collegia* and trading communities within that city, with the aim of determining the methods *collegia* and trading communities exploited to become visible in port cities.

The following sections consist of a reconstruction of the places that might have accommodated foreign *collegia* and trading communities. The focus of these sections is on the locations both groups utilised to become visible among the inhabitants of port cities.

[56] J. Stöger, *Rethinking Ostia: A Spatial Enquiry into the Urban Society of Rome's Imperial Port-Town* (Leiden University Press 2011) V.
[57] C. Dubois, *Pouzzoles Antique* (*Histoire et Topographie*) (Paris 1907).
[58] V. Duruy, *History of Rome and of the Roman People, from its Origin to the Invasion of the Barbarians* (1883).
[59] A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis: Southern Gaul in Roman Times* (London 1988) 192.

This question is answered by assessing archaeological and epigraphic evidence and by comparing these finds to the urban topography. This approach will provide more knowledge about the influence of the locations on the prestige and integration of *collegia* and trading communities within the port cities, and will in turn provide an outline to assess how both groups became visible inside port cities.

The concluding chapter synthesises the findings regarding all the port cities of this thesis, provides a conclusion on the research and presents recommendations for further research.

Chapter Two: Ostia

This chapter analyses the visibility of *collegia* and trading communities in Ostia. The epigraphic remains that mention *collegia* and trading communities in Ostia are numerous and provide useful insight into the economic and social life of both groups in this port city. This chapter focusses mainly on the inscriptions dedicated to the local elite and on the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni*, a square containing the offices of merchants involved in commerce. The *Piazzale* is one of the best-preserved sites that unearthed evidence for long-distance traders in Ostia.

The last section of this chapter will determine the areas that accommodated *collegia* and trading communities in Ostia. To understand the location of certain places in the city, it is essential to understand Ostia's geographical outline and history before assessing the specific locations traders exploited. The next section will provide this outline.

2.1 A brief history of Ostia

In the first half of the second century AD Ostia commemorated its establishment as the first Roman colony by Ancus Marcius (640 – 616 BC), the fourth king of Rome.[60] According to Livy and Ennius, Ancus Marcius defeated the Veii and established a colony to secure the salt beds at the mouth of the Tiber River.[61] Ostia had a long history before the early empire, but until the second Punic War (218 – 201 BC), Ostia was still primarily a naval base. A century later it became Rome's primary commercial harbour.[62] The site on which Ostia was built can be described as quite flat. The city itself was located at the mouth of the Tiber but nowadays it is situated three kilometres from the sea due to silting.

The population of Rome reached a critical point between the establishment of the Republic and the rise of the Roman Empire (509 – 27 BC). The hinterland could no longer support the population of this enlarging city and Rome had to look for its supplies elsewhere. It therefore required a harbour that was equipped to meet the quantities of produce shipped to and from Italy. The river harbour present at Ostia at that time was

[60] R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Clarendon Press Oxford 1973) 16.
[61] B.O. Foster, *Livy, History of Rome* (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge 1919) I.33.9; E.H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin, Volume I: Ennius. Caecilius* (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge 1935) II.22.
[62] Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 27.

insufficient to handle the massive corn ships on the Tiber. This limitation made it difficult for ships to unload their cargo quickly.[63]

However, from Augustus onwards, the emperors expressed an interest in improving the situation in Ostia, either by administrative measures or by investing in infrastructure.[64] The urban development of Ostia became significantly more dynamic in the Julio-Claudian period (44 BC until 69 AD), and the urbanised area expanded towards the seacoast. At the same time, important measures were taken inside the city that are at least partly attributable to the direct involvement of the imperial authorities. The city of Ostia was further developed during the first century AD under the influence of Tiberius (14 – 37 AD), who ordered the construction of the city's first forum. Other constructions consist of the theatre built by Agrippa, the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni*, the first enlargement of the forum and the construction of the temple of Roma and Augustus.[65] However, it is only during the reign of Claudius (41 - 54 AD) that the first improvements of the harbour infrastructure can be observed.[66] An important improvement was the creation of a large harbour basin inside the Tiber mouth to the west of the city, which was about 100 by 80 metres.[67]

Shortly afterwards, a new harbour on the northern bank of the Tiber was constructed. This harbour, called Portus, was excavated from the ground up by order of the Emperor Claudius. However, it silted and needed to be complemented by a new harbour that allowed for more produce to be shipped directly towards Ostia. The new harbour was built by Trajan (53 –117 AD) and was finished 113 AD. The basin was built in a hexagonal form and could be entered either by a narrow canal from the outer harbour or by a canal from the Fiumicino branch of the Tiber.[68] For the next two centuries Portus acted as the main harbour of Ostia and contributed substantially to welfare and enrichment of the city.

Under Hadrian (117 – 138 AD) the city grew considerably; new granaries and warehouses of gigantic proportions, docks, and blocks of flats were built, and Ostia

[63] Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 29.
[64] M. Heinzelmann, 'Supplier of Rome or Mediterranean Marketplace? The Changing Economic Role of Ostia after the Construction of Portus in the Light of New Archaeological Evidence', *Bollettino di Archeologia* 2 (2010) 6.
[65] Idem, 6.
[66] W. Rollo, 'Ostia', *Greece and Rome* 4, 10 (1934) 40-53, 48.
[67] M. Heinzelmann and A. Martin, 'River Port, Navalia and Harbour Temple at Ostia: New Results of a DAIAAR Project', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15 (2002) 5-19.
[68] F. H. Wilson, 'Studies in the Social and Economic History of Ostia: Part I' in: *Papers of the British School at Rome* 13 (1935) 41-68, 57.

developed itself into an important centre of transit trade, supplying the population of Rome with all the necessities of life.[69]

Merchants involved in long-distance trade settled in Ostia and grouped together for mutual benefits and to protect their interests. Evidence for this is attested on the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni*.[70] This structure can be exploited as a source to discover the presence and visibility of long-distance traders inside Ostia.

[69] Rollo, 'Ostia', 51.
[70] Fig. 1 no. 9.

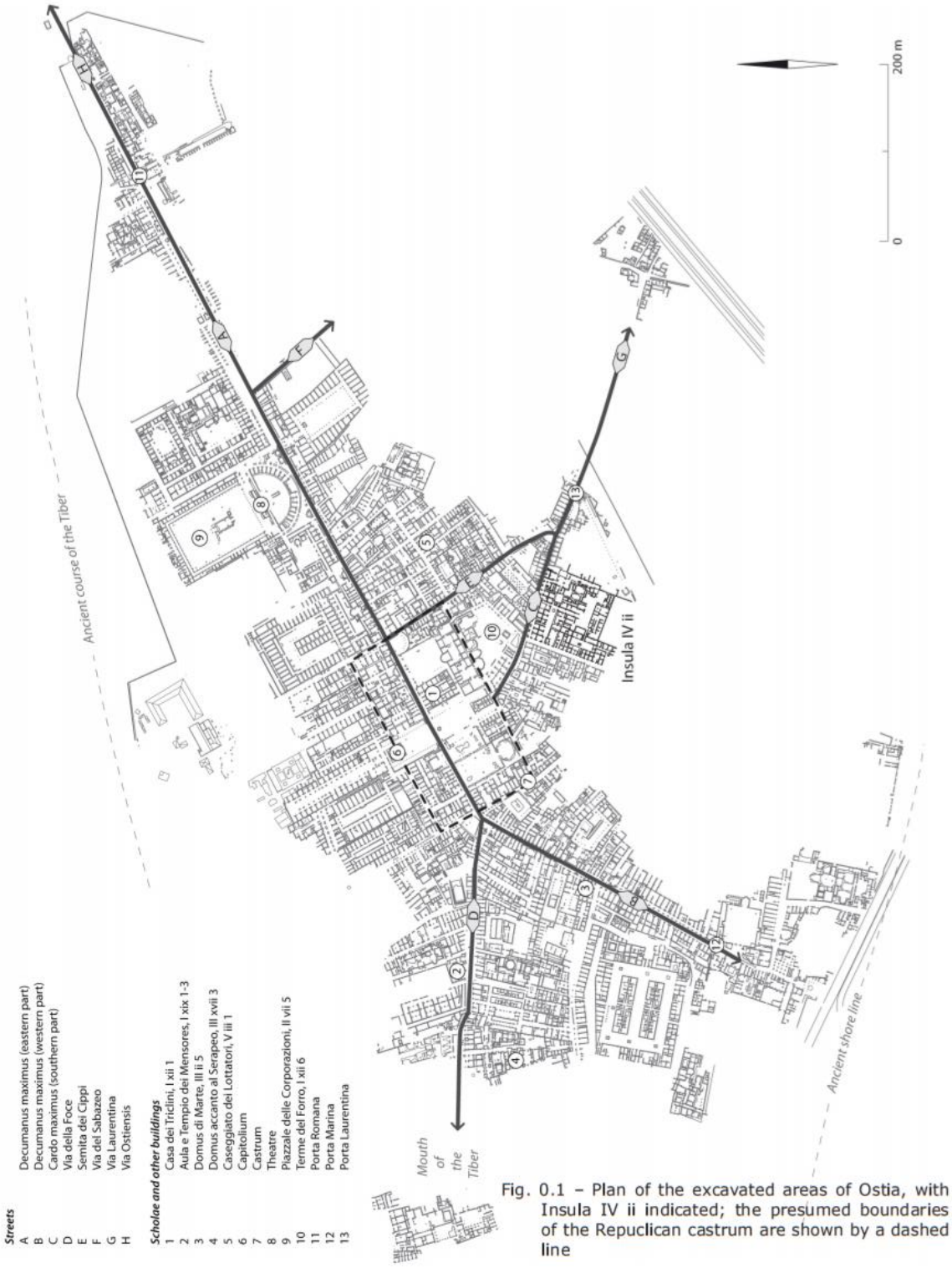

Fig. 1: Excavation plan of Ostia.[71]

[71] Source: J. Stöger, *Rethinking Ostia: A Spatial Enquiry into the Urban Society of Rome's Imperial Port Town* (Leiden University Press 2011) V.

2.2 The *Piazzale delle Corporazioni*

The *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* is a unique structure that provides valuable information concerning the commercial organisation of foreign merchants in Ostia. It is the only location in the city where an abundant amount of epigraphic information on long-distance traders was discovered. Aside from their relation to the *Piazzale,* the foreign merchants tend to disappear into the city as little other epigraphic evidence on long-distance traders has been found around town. The absence of epigraphic information within the city does not necessarily imply that traders were solely present at the *Piazzale*, although it was probably a favoured place due to the amount of foreigners visiting the square. Therefore, the *Piazzale* was the perfect location for foreign merchants to erect their commemorations of magistrates and officials in the city.

The *Piazzale* itself consists of a U-shaped double colonnade that was connected to the back of the Ostian theatre at its southern end.[72] The square in the middle of the portico was adorned with a temple.[73] The colonnade surrounding the square was divided into sixty-one small rooms, often thought to be used as commercial offices (*stationes*).[74] The pavement in front of these offices was decorated with mosaics, about half of which have been preserved. It is through these mosaics that scholars learned about overseas trading coalitions in Ostia as the pavement mosaics mention the names of several *collegia* and trading communities.[75] Therefore, it can be argued that the *Piazzale* was a place designed for strangers.

From the mosaics, it can be deduced that there were merchants present from Sabratha, Carthage, Misua, Musluvium, Hippo Diarrytus, Syllectum and Curubis. All these cities are situated in the province of *Mauretania Caesariensis*, on the north coast of Africa.[76] The cities of Porto Torres (situated in Sardinia) and Cagliari (situated in Corsica) were also represented on the *Piazzale*, just like Narbonne and Arles from Gaul.[77]

The mosaics indicate that trading communities and *collegia* still had close ties with their homelands, since some reveal the characteristics of certain countries. For instance, Sabratha's mosaic depicted an elephant. L.B. van der Meer argues that this depiction could

[72] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 101.
[73] H. Schaal, *Ostia der Welthafen Roms* (Bremen, Frankfurt, Main 1957) 56.
[74] L.B. van der Meer, *Ostia Speaks, Inscriptions, Buildings and Spaces in Rome's Main Port* (Leuven, Paris, Walpole 2012) 31.
[75] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 10; CIL 14.4549.
[76] Schaal, *Ostia der Welthafen Roms*, 59.
[77] Idem, 59.

mean that the Sabrathans were dealers in wild animals used for the spectacles in the Colosseum,[78] but it could also have been exploited as a characteristic of their hometown. Elephants were known to the Romans through Hannibal (from Carthage, Africa) who employed them for warfare. Therefore, the use of elephants on a mosaic could indicate African descent. These depictions probably had a dual meaning. On the one hand, the mosaics showed the inhabitants who could not read from which province the merchants came. On the other hand, and more importantly, the mosaics were used to identify the merchants and the trade they were involved in.

There is an important note upon these *stationes,* though. It appears from the mosaics that traders were engaged in trade with only one other particular port city or region. This portrayal indicates, following the logic of Candice Rice and Taco Terpstra, that trading communities were created inside Ostia to facilitate trade between Ostia and their hometowns.[79] However, Terpstra argues that the people who visited the *Piazzale* seem not to have been settlers living permanently in Ostia.[80] Some of the settlers, especially the *negotiantes*, might have lived in Ostia for some weeks or months, or perhaps even longer. He argues that the combination of *navicularii* and the names of foreign cities mentioned on the *Piazzale* suggest that they were mainly travelling merchants. However, bearing in mind that these merchants worked within their own network, it seems more plausible that they had permanent agents from their hometown present in Ostia. These agents were able to identify other traders from their city, and could confirm their group alliance. The permanent settlers in Ostia were likely able to furnish a trader with proper information about the seas and maybe even arrange a return cargo for the merchant to work with. Presuming that the level of trust and inter-community interaction was important to traders, there had to be some element of local permanence.

Although little evidence is available on permanent settlers, some inscriptions do suggest a more permanent settlement of foreigners in Ostia. The first piece of evidence is provided in the form of a statue erected on the *Piazzale* by the Sardinian and African shipmasters

[78] Van der Meer, *Ostia Speaks*, 34.
[79] Rice, 'Mercantile Specialization and Trading Communities: Economic Strategies in Roman Maritime Trade', 104.
[80] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 112.

dedicated to a M. Iunius Faustus, an Ostian *duumvir*, grain merchant, and patron of the curators of shipping.[81]

Another example comes from the grave monument of a L. Caelius Aprilis Valerianus. The inscription describes him as a curator of the Carthaginian ships and he must have originated from Carthage because he was registered in the Carthaginian Arnensis tribe.[82] Terpstra suggests that Valerianus held some sort of official commercial post, since other inscriptions clarify that there were guilds of curators of shipping in Ostia.[83] Terpstra therefore reasons that this could imply that the Carthaginians could count on some form of support from a local organisation in Ostia. Other inscriptions attested on the *Piazzale* referring to Carthage reinforce this idea.[84]

An additional inscription that suggests a relationship with traders from Africa is the grave stele of a P. Caesilius Felix, erected in Ostia by his wife. The inscription narrates that Felix came from Sullecthum.[85]

Moreover, P. Aufidius Fortis, who came from the region of Hippo Regius, managed to become a high-ranking member of Ostian society. Additionally, an African, whose name is unknown, came to Ostia from Uluzibbira, where he was a *decurio* and *duumvir*. In Ostia, he appeared to be involved in the wine trade.[86]

Additional data for six men with Egyptian names has been discovered. One of them was a Valerius Serenus Xiphidus, who was manager of the whole Alexandrian fleet. Terpstra argues that Xiphidus might have been recruited locally, but since he was the custodian of the temple of Serapis at Portus, he deems it more likely that he was a native Egyptian who moved to Ostia.[87]

In a similar manner, inscriptions were set up by the Gauls. In Vienna, an inscription was created by the sons of L. Maecius Maelo to commemorate their father. It recounts that their father died in Ostia at the age of fifty.[88] Evidence for *collegia* that were established by

[81] CIL 14.4142.
[82] CIL 14.4626. Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 118.
[83] CIL 14.363, 364, 409, 4142. Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 118.
[84] CIL 14.99; CIL 14. 4549, 18: This is the mosaic on the *Piazzale* of the shippers from Carthage shows us three ships, a fish and a lighthouse.
[85] CIL 14.477.
[86] Epigraph 1 (1939) 37-40.
[87] L.Porto nrs. 2, 3; Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 120.
[88] CIL 12.2211.

natives from Ostia is attested as well. On the *Piazzale* two mosaics depicting ships that were erected by the *navicularii* and *negotiantes* were discovered.[89]

M. Aemilius Saturnus had an inscription carved that was dedicated to Q. Calpurnius Modestus who was *procurator annonae* (procurator of the grain-supply). This inscription is dated to approximately 161-180 AD and was unearthed near the theatre on the northern part of the square near the temple. Saturnus himself was a magister of the grain merchants. P. Aufidius P.l. Faustianus, together with M. Aemilius Saturnus, supervised the carving of an inscription for Q. Calpurnius Modestus by decree of the *collegium* of the grain traders.[90] It seems plausible that these two men cooperated on this particular matter and that Faustianus and Saturnus both carried out the will of the *collegium* when the inscription to the *procurator annonae* was carved.

P. Aufidius P.l. Faustianus was also responsible for inscriptions dedicated to P. Aufidius Fortis and his son. Faustianus was a freedman of Fortis, and considering the position Fortis held as patron of the colony and as a high-ranking citizen in Ostia, it was an excellent way to commemorate his patron. P. Aufidius Fortis himself erected silver statues to honour the goddess Victoria when he was elected patron of the colony of Ostia in 146 AD.[91]

Furthermore, Verboven argues that the oil traders had a *statio* in Rome or Ostia, however, no further evidence to support or refute this claim has been found.[92] A different mosaic on the floor of the *Piazzale* mentions the guild of grain traders. The inscription reads: 'Here is the office of the guild of the grain traders, office of the guild. Good luck'.[93]

A sufficient amount of data that confirms the presence of foreign *collegia* and trading communities has been discovered in Ostia. However, the evidence consists of some ambiguity, since the *collegia* and trading communities indicated on the *Piazzale* did not specify themselves as such and did not distinguish themselves according to trade. The differences between the groups can be recognised only when they identified themselves according to geographic origin. Just a few differentiations according to trade can be detected on the *Piazzale*. However, the lack of evidence for these differentiations in trade may arise from the fact that most merchants seem to have been involved in the *annona,* and therefore

[89] CIL 14.4549, 15 and 16.
[90] CIL 14.161.
[91] Insc. It 8.5, 28.5-7.
[92] Verboven, 'Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire', 340.
[93] Van der Meer, *Ostia Speaks*, 36.

transported only under the supervision of the state. Therefore, it was not necessary to distinguish your *collegium* or trading communities from other merchants when it came to the wares transported.

Besides evidence for the presence of foreign merchants, a variety of evidence was excavated at the *Piazzale* mentioning certain officials belonging to these *collegia* and trading communities. Assessing the evidence might uncover information about the social position and esteem of both groups in Ostia.

2.3 Emperors, magistrates and officials

This section will explore the evidence available for the officials of *collegia* and trading communities in Ostia. Aside from this, the section will outline what benefits appointing an official could have for a *collegium* or trading community.

A variety of epigraphic evidence is available on the officials of *collegia* and trading communities inside Ostia. Most of the evidence can be attributed to about sixty different *collegia* and communities present within the city.[94] According to Stöger, these *collegia* and trading communities were mainly connected to Ostia's port activities.[95] Not all of the *collegia* and trading communities were involved in long-distance trade, but the variety of associations present provides an impression of the diversity of the town.

The evidence discussed in this section concerns inscriptions on statues and epitaphs. The inscriptions were mainly discovered at, or in close proximity to, the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* and concern the emperors, magistrates and the officials of the town.[96] Multiple inscriptions mention two important officials and provide valuable information on the esteem of officials affiliated to *collegia* and trading communities. These important officials, P. Aufidius Fortis and Aulus Caedicius Successus, are assessed in this section.

Five inscriptions attest P. Aufidius Fortis. Fortis became *quinquennalis* of the grain traders. Additionally, Fortis was named *decurio*, treasurer of the public treasury five times, prefect of the carpenters' guild, and patron of the colony of Ostia.[97] Fortis originated from the African city of Hippo Regius, where he was elected a *duovir*.[98] He appears to have left his native city and settled permanently in Ostia to organise his trade.

[94] Stöger, *Rethinking Ostia,* 229.
[95] Idem, 229.
[96] Other officials discovered in Ostia are mentioned in Appendix 2.
[97] CIL 14.4620, 14.4621, 14.4622, Insc. It. 13.5, 28.5-7.
[98] CIL 14.4620.

Another man mentioned in the evidence is Aulus Caedicius Successus.[99] The two inscriptions that mention Successus were carved on an unknown substance, and dated to the beginning of the second century AD. Caedicius Successus is mentioned as a member of the *Sevir Augustalis* (Augustan priesthood), and curator of the shippers of the Adriatic Sea.[100] Broekaert argues that the second inscription must have been erected in a later period as Successus was promoted to *quinquennalis* for both associations.[101] It is argued that the last name Caedicius was rare in Rome and Ostia, so Successus must have been a freedman. His involvement in the Augustan priesthood further corroborates this idea, as the Augustan priesthood was composed of wealthy freedman.

These two examples indicate the importance and influence of *collegia* and trading communities within Ostian society, but also provide insight into the habit of carving inscriptions to increase the *collegium's* or trading community's esteem and visibility. Dedicating inscriptions in public offered social cohesion, which made a *collegia* or community's very existence meaningful to the rest of the city.[102] Sociability, conviviality, legal privileges and interactions with benefactors were among the popular subjects in the epigraphic media.[103] Inscriptions were employed to immortalise a person and his or her deeds, and were able to display how well integrated and established a *collegium* or trading community was in the city.

Beyond writing dedications, *collegia* and trading communities could appoint patrons. Both groups usually chose a person with certain political influence or wealth. Patrons were often of equestrian or senatorial rank.[104] For *navicularii*, patrons were mostly persons involved in the supply of Rome or a *procurator annonae*.[105] Appointing a patron enhanced the esteem of the *collegium* or trading community and created a position from which one could defend *collegium* or trading community members from the state and other institutions, or look after their interests.[106]

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[99] AE 1959, 149; AE 1987, 191.
[100] AE 1959, 149.
[101] AE 1987, 191; W. Broekaert, *De Romeinse navicularii: een onderzoek naar de sociale, economische en juridische positie van de reders in de Keizertijd* (Gent 2005) 209.
[102] Beltrán Lloris, 'The "Epigraphic Habit" in the Roman World', 144.
[103] Liu, 'Professional Associations', 357.
[104] Royden, *The Professional Magistrates of the Roman Professional Collegia in Italy*, 16.
[105] R.E. Ljast*, '*The composition and political role of the corporations connected with the annona service in Ostia', *VDI* 112 (1970) 149-161, 161.
[106]A. Gräber, '*Untersuchungen zum spätrömischen Korporationswese* (Frankfurt – Bern - New York 1983) 11; L. De Salvo, *Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell' impero romano: i corpora naviculariorum* (Messina 1992) 266.

Patrons were expected to bestow further benefactions upon the *collegium* or trading community in the form of money or new buildings.[107] In Ostia eighteen club buildings have been identified, spread out over forty hectares of contiguous excavated ground. The majority is prominently situated on the main street of the city, the *Decumanus Maximus*.[108] These buildings offered a way to emphasise the prestige and influence of a *collegium* or trading community in the city.[109] Unfortunately, only one building dedicated and built around the needs of long-distance traders has been discovered inside Ostia.

The habit of carving inscriptions , the appointment of patrons and the establishment of clubhouses can be seen as methods to enhance the *collegium* or trading community's esteem and hence their visibility. Besides the *Piazzale* and clubhouses, other locations within Ostia could have accommodated *collegia* and trading communities as well.

2.4 The visibility of *collegia* and trading communities in Ostia

This section investigates other potential locations and attempts to identify the venues that could have increased the visibility of *collegia* and trading communities inside Ostia. By combining the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, it becomes possible to compile an impression of how foreign merchants became visible in Ostia.

The first place to encounter foreign merchants was the port. The harbour of Ostia was full of activity. When a ship came into the port it needed to be unloaded and reloaded. Since the Romans did not possess the same facilities as modern ports do, this must have taken considerably more time. In the meantime, passers-by could notice foreign merchants in and around the port area, where their representatives in Ostia were able to sell their wares and handle their business. Foreign merchants might have attracted attention due to the way they dressed, their skin tone and probably the language they spoke. The sails of the ships were adorned with certain characteristics of the *collegia* or community to attract the attention of the dock workers, their counterparts living in Ostia and the inhabitants of Ostia.[110] However, no archaeological evidence has been unearthed to support this theory.

[107] J.P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident* (Louvain 1895-1900) 431-32.
[108] M. Trümper, 'Where the Non-Delians met in Delos. The Meeting-places of Foreign Associations and Ethnic Communities in Late Hellenistic Delos' in: O.M. van Nijf and R. Alston ed., *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (Leuven 2011) 49-101, 71.
[109] Idem, 71.
[110] R.M. Gummere, *Seneca, Epistles* (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge 1917) 169.

The second location to encounter foreign merchants on a stroll around the city is the *macellum* (market hall). Here, various food items were sold. According to Holleran, the *macellum* 'was not an area or building set aside to house periodic markets, but was a structure designed to serve the needs of a town or city on a more permanent basis'.[111] A *macellum* was a rather specific type of market building, which appears to have followed a fairly standard architectural design across the Roman world.[112] *Macella* typically consisted of an enclosed courtyard, often with an internal colonnade, surrounded on some sides by *tabernae* (single-room shops). In the centre, there was very often a round building or *tholos*, made up of an open colonnade with a pitched or domed roof, and a basin, a fountain or, on rare occasions, a statue.[113]

The structure traditionally identified as the Ostian *macellum* is located close to the forum.[114] Archaeological evidence points towards the sale of fish, meat and other foodstuffs.[115] It seems likely that the foodstuff sold in the *macellum* originated from foreign merchants. Therefore, it can be argued that *collegia* and trading communities living in Ostia had a representative present at the *macellum* to resell food wares for profit. Jaschke argues that especially the smaller *collegia* and trading communities, whose *statio* was not close to the port, used the *macellum* as a space to resell their wares.[116]

The third place to find foreign merchants were the *horrea* and the office of the grain measurers. The first category, *horrea,* was ubiquitous in Ostia. According to Rickman, the eastern section of the *Decumanus Maximus*, which ran from east to west parallel to the ancient course of the Tiber, accommodated the most important *horrea* in Ostia.[117] Most excavated *horrea* lie to the north of the *Decumanus Maximus* reducing transit times as the *horrea* were close to the main road and the Tiber.

Most *horrea* in Ostia were equipped to store the incoming grain, but *horrea* with other purposes have been discovered as well.[118] The presence of specialised warehouses indicates that different wares came into Ostia in vast quantities. The specialised warehouses

[111] Holleran, *Shopping in Ancient Rome*, 160.
[112] Idem, 160.
[113] Idem, 160.
[114] Idem, 170-171.
[115] Idem, 171.
[116] K. Jaschke, *Die Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des antiken Puteoli* (Rahden/Westfalen 2010) 61.
[117] G. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge University Press 1971) 76.
[118] These were the *Horrea Piperataria*, *Horrea Chartaria* and *Horrea Candelaria* who were excavated in Rome. See: Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings*, 1, 104.

could be exploited as an office by the members of the *collegia* and trading communities who resided in the port city.

The second category, the office of the grain measurers, was the place that measured the incoming grain after it entered the port of Ostia. Merchants were willing to have their cargo measured to prove that they were trustworthy business partners and did not commit fraud with their cargo.

The fourth place to encounter *collegia* and trading communities was at their *stationes* or *scholae.* These buildings can be seen as the headquarters of a *collegium* or community. Stöger argues that there was no clustering of *collegia* of community buildings in Ostia.[119] Not one particular area of the city was reserved or well known for these types of buildings as *scholae* tended to be located along the main roads of Ostia.[120] Bollmann describes this practice as alluding to status and striving for association with the public buildings in the forum area.[121] A few *collegia* were located in the proximity of their professional fields. An example of this is the clubhouse of the grain measures, which was located next to the storage facilities in Ostia.[122]

[119] Stöger, *Rethinking Ostia*, 251.
[120] See fig. 2.
[121] B. Bollmann, Römische Vereinhäuser: Unterschuchungen zu den scholae der römischen Berufs-. Kult- und Augustalen-Kollegien in Italien (Mainz, Philip von Zabern 1998) 195-199.
[122] Stöger, *Rethinking Ostia*, 252.

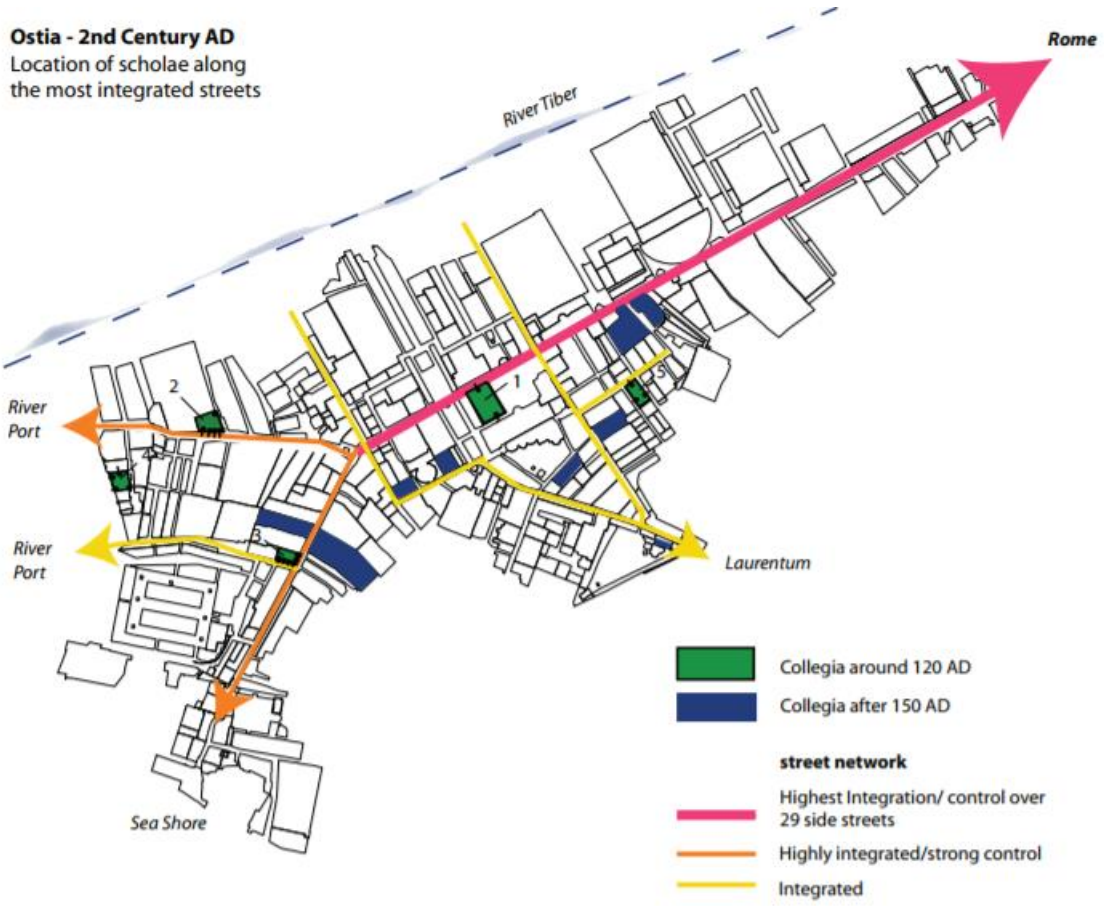

Fig. 2: Location of *scholae* along the most integrated streets in the second century AD.[123]

Most buildings were used for commensality, conviviality and religious practices.[124] Verboven argues that collegiate life revolved around social gatherings for communal eating and drinking, since *collegia* and trading communities also dealt with the social and religious needs of the local community.[125]

Scholae or *stationes* were confined to members only, although their strategic placement within the urban grid suggests that they would benefit from the intense general circulation of people.[126] This circulation would have facilitated 'accidental' interactions between people heading for different places;[127] therefore the members were able to spread

[123] Source: J. Stöger, *Rethinking Ostia: A Spatial Enquiry into the Urban Society of Rome's Imperial Port Town* (Leiden University Press 2011) 231.
[124] Verboven, 'Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire', 342.
[125] Verboven, 'Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire', 347; Stöger, *Rethinking Ostia,* 229.
[126] Stöger, *Rethinking Ostia*, 255.
[127] Idem, 255.

their names among the inhabitants by indicating that this building was restricted to members of, for instance, the grain traders' *collegium.*

The *Piazzale* demonstrates that numerous foreigners settled in Ostia. This abundance of settlers might imply that these merchants possessed *stationes* or *scholae* of their own. However, only eighteen buildings have been archaeologically identified as being *scholae*,[128] of which only one has been classified as possibly belonging to *collegia* of long-distance traders, namely the *Schola del Traiano*. The *Schola del Traiano* was one of the largest *collegia* buildings unearthed and was located on the southern stretch of the *Decumanus*. Two possible guilds were seated there. The first possibility is that the building was owned by the ship-carpenters, who had a temple across the street.[129] The second option is that the premises were used by the shippers of Ostia, who are mentioned in a fragment of an older inscription from the period of Augustus. The inscription reads: *'To Pacceius, son of Lucius, quaestor with praetorian authority, the ship owners of Ostia, because he was the first […]'.*[130] Hermansen argues that the ship-carpenters probably did not possess such a large building because it would have cost too much. The shippers of Ostia, on the other hand, 'were involved in the lucrative business of long-distance trade and would therefore have been wealthy enough to own such a large building'.[131]

[128] Stöger, *Rethinking Ostia*, 230.
[129] Hermansen, *Ostia*, 72.
[130] AE 1955, nr. 178. Translation by G. Hermansen in: G. Hermansen, *Ostia: Aspects of Roman City Life* (Edmonton Alberta, The University of Alberta Press 1982) 72.
[131] Hermansen, *Ostia*, 73.

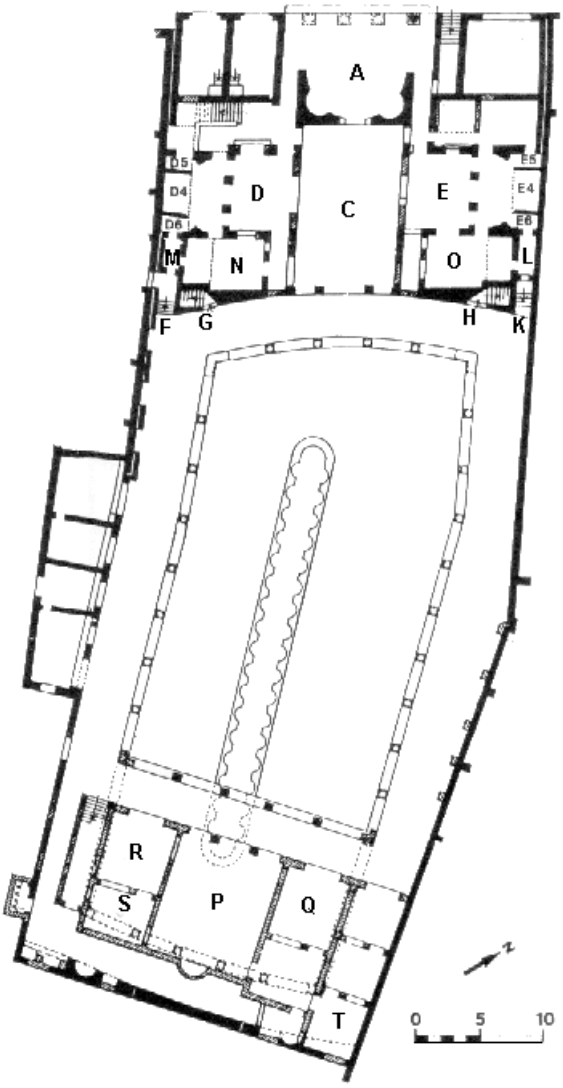

Fig. 3: Layout of the *Schola del Traiano*.[132]

Possessing such a large building on the most important road in town could create a vast amount of exposure. The *Schola del Traiano* was located at the end of the *Decumanus Maximus* with the forum of Ostia in close proximity. This location offered a very public place to have *scholae*. Every inhabitant walking from the *Porta Marina* to the forum, or the other way around, would have passed the building.[133] The *schola* would therefore have been highly visible to the residents of Ostia. The inside of the building was decorated with a water basin running through nearly the whole length of the courtyard.[134] An apse held the statue of Fortuna, and the pattern of mosaic in this apse indicates that a formal dining room was

[132] Source: B. Bollmann, *Römische Vereinhäuser: Unterschuchungen zu den scholae der römischen Berufs-, Kult- und Augustalen-Kollegien in Italien* (Mainz, Philip von Zabern 1998).
[133] See fig. 1, no 12.
[134] Fig. 3.

located here, used for banquets of the *collegium*.[135] The building had several shops, and Bollmann attests a staircase to the second floor.[136]

Altogether, this was an impressive building that would have drawn the attention of the inhabitants of Ostia. Unfortunately, it is not known whether or how the outside of this building was decorated.

Oddly enough, of the eighteen buildings attributed to *collegia* and trading communities only one is identified as being owned by merchants involved in long-distance trade. Furthermore, eighteen identified buildings out of sixty different *collegia* and trading communities is not much compared to the amount of attested *collegia* (thirty percent). This number suggests that more buildings of *collegia* and trading communities were probably present in Ostia, especially considering that every association must have had a place to gather. The lack of evidence does not necessarily illustrate that other *collegia* and trading communities were not in possession of a *scholae.* It might imply that these buildings have not been excavated yet or that the smaller *collegia* and trading communities used temporary offices in town.

The fifth place where contact with foreign merchants might have been possible was the forum of the wine merchants. Meiggs argues that this forum would have been located in Ostia, since a dedication to its patron, L. Ceacilius Aemilianus, was excavated there.[137] According to him, the forum of the wine traders probably resembled a smaller *Piazzale delle Corporazioni*.[138] Unwin acknowledges Meiggs' idea and asserts that at the beginning of the second century AD a large forum for the wine traders was established and that it accommodated two *collegia* involved in the wine trade, namely the negotiators of the wine forum and the traders and royal importers of the wine (*corpus splendidissimum importantium et negotiantium*).[139] One official of the negotiators of the wine forum is commemorated in an inscription, which suggests that there was indeed a specific area for the wine traders.[140] However, the forum itself has not yet been discovered, therefore,

[135] Hermansen, *Ostia*, 72 and P on fig. 3.
[136] North of D on fig. 3.
[137] Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 288.
[138] Idem, 288.
[139] T. Unwin, *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* (Routledge 1996) 123.
[140] CIL 14.430: Valerius Threptus, *magister* and *quinquennalis* of the Ostian carpenters, curator of the wine traders from the wine forum and *quinquennalis* of the *collegium* of the wine traders from the wine forum. For a discussion about Valerius Threptus see; Rohde, *Zwischen Individuum und Stadtgemeinde*, 122.

Hermansen argues that the forum of the wine traders may have been another name for what scholars call the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni*.[141]

The last location that accommodated *collegia* and trading communities was the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni*. The *Piazzale* was located on the far side of the *Decumanus Maximus,* near the *Piazzale della Vittoria*. The back of the *Piazzale* was near the Tiber. The square was surrounded by granaries and the baths of Neptune. Walking down the *Decumanus Maximus,* the *Piazzale* was not visible in plain sight because it was located behind the Ostian theatre.[142] To access the *Piazzale*, the visitor had to walk down a narrow street past the theatre.[143] It is conceivable that the residents would only encounter the *Piazzale* when visiting the theatre, which did not happen on a daily basis.

On the other hand, the *Piazzale* was surrounded by buildings that were essential for everyday Roman city life. It appears therefore highly likely that the inhabitants of Ostia would have known of the Piazzale due to the importance of the surrounding buildings as commerce was one of the main focal points of Ostia. The number of *collegia* and trading communities present on the *Piazzale* might signify a steady flow of visitors who wanted to conduct business there, except in the winter, when there was less traffic on the seas. Despite the steady flow of visitors, it is comprehensible that the inhabitants who were not involved in trade and had no business to conduct on the *Piazzale* never entered the premises, except when going to the theatre.

2.5 Conclusion

Collegia and trading communities in Ostia implemented several methods to increase their visibility among the inhabitants of the port city. First of all, foreign *collegia* and trading communities erected statues to local notables, carved inscriptions and utilised characteristics from their hometown to increase their visibility.

Secondly, buildings were one of key indicators of the presence of *collegia* and trading communities within society. According to Rohde, *collegia* and trading communities who built *scholae* and *stationes* and their own temples became more visible in their new host cities. It was part of the process of integration within the community.[144] Therefore, positioning their

[141] Hermansen, *Ostia*, 85.
[142] Fig. 1, no. 8.
[143] See fig. 1.
[144] Rohde, *Zwischen Individuum und Stadtgemeinde*, 52.

buildings along major roads or near their professions was a conscious choice. It increased the esteem and visibility of the *collegia* or community. Stöger argues that the outward focus of the *collegia* and trading community buildings suggests that the buildings had a high potential for promoting contact and communication through the interface of public space.[145] Visibility was therefore important to enhance social standing. Integration into the community was a way for newcomers to show their commitment to the new city and to gain trust as a business partner.

[145] Stöger, *Rethinking Ostia*, 254.

Chapter Three: Puteoli

This chapter will examine the visibility of *collegia* and trading communities in Puteoli. There is abundant epigraphic material available for the city, but much evidence classified as belonging to Puteoli comes from its immediate surroundings.[146] This ambiguity makes it difficult to determine the source of certain inscriptions. Therefore, caution is required when handling this material. However, if an inscription from the immediate surroundings of Puteoli mentions long-distance traders and is relevant to this research, it is included in this chapter. This chapter also analyses at length a letter sent by the Tyrians, since it holds important clues to the visibility of trading communities in Puteoli. Afterwards, specific locations that accommodated *collegia* and trading communities will be assessed. However, to assess the visibility of both groups within Puteoli, it is important to first understand the city's history and geography.

3.1 A brief history of Puteoli

Puteoli was one of the leading commercial cities of Roman Italy. Its harbour enjoyed a favourable position between the territories of Cumae and Neapolis (Naples), and was bounded to the north by Capua.[147] Its harbour district was established in the lowest part of the city, while the surrounding region was characterised by hills and inactive volcanoes. The city centre of Puteoli was located behind the harbour on a slight hill. The city itself was built in a chequered pattern, not unusual for cities of Greek origin. After the second Punic war (218 – 204 BC), the city began to gradually expand in size, but the amount of hills surrounding the town made unrestrained growth impossible.

The period of high prosperity in Roman Puteoli extended from the late Republic until the early years of the second century AD.[148] Conquest in the east and west by the Roman Empire stimulated trade and Puteoli was regarded as one of the foremost harbours in the Mediterranean. The men seizing these new mercantile opportunities were for the most part not Roman citizens, but Italians and Greeks from Campania and the south of Italy. These merchants had an eye on the Roman market, where there was a growing demand for the

[146] R.M. Peterson, *The Cults of Campania* (Rome 1919) 102.
[147] Idem, 99.
[148] J.H. D'Arms, 'Puteoli in the Second Century of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 64 (1974) 104-124, 104.

refined products of the Hellenistic world and specialties that could be found in Spain and Gaul.

In 194 BC Puteoli became a Roman colony and increased in size rapidly. It developed a vibrant economic role, linking Italy to the Greek East (notably Delos).[149] The various branches of commerce brought all kinds of merchants from the east and west to Puteoli, who took up abode there, bringing their own customs and religions with them.[150] This influx led to Puteoli becoming a bustling cosmopolitan trade centre from the beginning of the first century BC.

Products such as papyrus, glass and linen from Egypt, sculptures and jewellery from Sicily and countless other products from all over the Mediterranean arrived in Puteoli and were carried to Rome via the roads or by smaller river-faring ships.[151] From the extant evidence, it appears that Puteoli was the main port for goods imported from the east, whereas goods imported from the west came to Rome via Ostia. Meiggs argues that bulk supplies of corn were different. According to him, one could assume that the corn from Sicily, Africa and Sardinia came to Rome through Ostia, not through Puteoli.[152] Moreover, Fellmeth argues that the new harbour basins built in Ostia were an enormous blow to trade in Puteoli and that the harbour declined quickly afterwards.[153] D'Arms, however, challenges these ideas and argues that this decline was not as rapid as is assumed, and that epigraphic remains indicate a continued link between Puteoli and the *annona*.[154] D'Arms concludes — after analysing the upper class, their building activities, their level of wealth and the continuation of dedications to the emperors — that the hypothesis of the quick deterioration of Puteoli cannot be upheld.[155] It remains possible that some corn was still brought to Puteoli when the harbour at Ostia was newly built. It was easier to transport the cargo to Puteoli as it was closer to the regions from which the corn came. Furthermore, the harbour was better equipped and its employees possessed the knowledge of how to handle large amounts of cargo. However, it seems likely that the supply shifted gradually from

[149] A. Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy* (Cambridge 2012) 1.
[150] Peterson, *The Cults of Campania*, 100.
[151] Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 29-30.
[152] Idem, 29-30.
[153] U. Fellmeth, Die Häfen von Ostia und ihre wirtschaftliche Bedeutung für die Stadt Rom, *MBAH* 10, 1 (1991) 1-32, 4.
[154] D'Arms, 'Puteoli in the Second Century of the Roman Empire', 105; H. Fischer, 'Zur Entwicklung Ostias und Puteolis vom 1. Jahrhundert bis zum 3. Jahrhundert', *MBAH* 5, 1 (1986) 3-16, 8-10.
[155] D'Arms, 'Puteoli in the Second Century of the Roman Empire', 120.

Puteoli to Ostia once the harbours of Ostia and Portus became better equipped to handle the amounts of corn entering the harbour.[156]

However, the amount of grain shipped to Italy came in such great quantities that it seems highly likely that Puteoli and Ostia worked together to handle the amount of cargo. For example, one part of the *annona* went straight to Ostia, while the other part was shipped to Puteoli and was transported to Ostia over land or via rivers by smaller ships.

During the reign of Commodus (177 – 192 AD) the grain fleet was permanently moved to Ostia. However, Puteoli continued to supply Rome and the other cities in the Mediterranean with other vital resources, such as the Puteolian sand which was essential for mixing *pozzolana* (cement) and other precious wares that came in from the east, maintaining its importance as a harbour. [157]

[156] Broekaert, *De Romeinse navicularii*, 42.
[157] Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, 1.

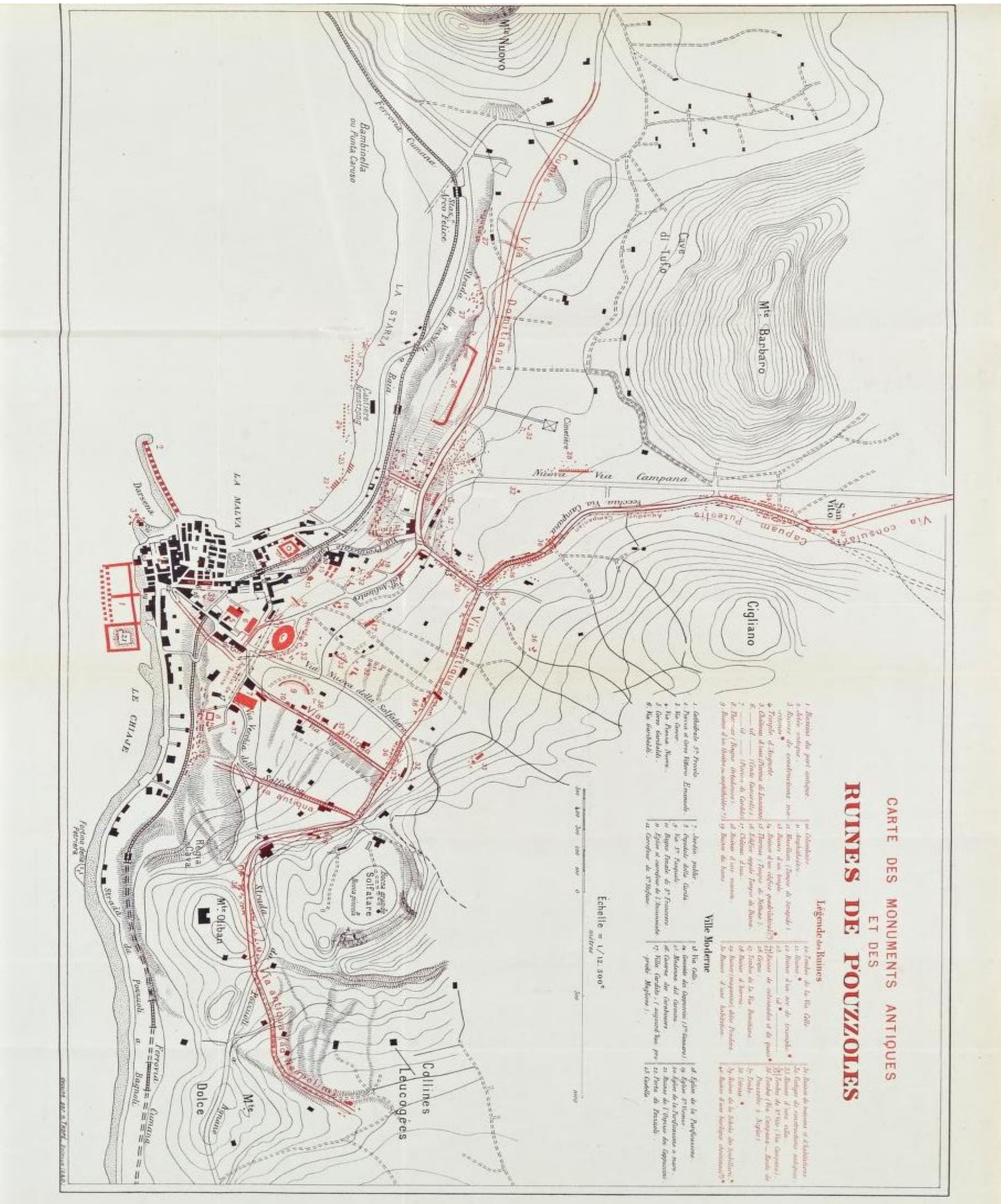

Fig. 4: Map of Puteoli containing the locations of ancient Roman monuments.[158]

[158] Source: C. Dubois, *Pouzzoles Antique (Histoire et Topographie)* (Paris 1907).

3.2 Foreigners in Puteoli

The importance of the harbour attracted a lot of merchants who wanted to organise their business in Puteoli. This section assesses the large amounts of epigraphic material that mentions *collegia* and trading communities in the city.

Multiple sources attest to the presence of foreign merchants in Puteoli. The amount of evidence discovered contains information of the products and people that moved around the Roman Empire. Therefore, the inscriptions testify to economic migration in order to facilitate trade.[159] For instance, a *graffito* attests to the existence of traders from Antiochia,[160] while people from Berytus (modern Beirut), Heliopolitanenses (Baalbek), Germellenses and Nabataenses (on the Arabian Peninsula) are mentioned in the epigraphic record as well.[161]

The inscriptions that mention Nabataeans mostly concern religion. A marble plaque in Aramaic indicates that in around 50 or 49 BC a sanctuary was constructed by Bahnobal.[162] In 5 AD this structure was enlarged.[163] In 11 AD the Nabataeans erected a plaque in Aramaic to commemorate the sacrifice of two camels to Dushara by Zaidu and Abdelge and the first century AD (no exact dates are known) the Nabataeans set up bases with *betyls* of sloths consecrated to Dushara.[164]

Evidence that suggests the presence of citizens from Berytus residing in Puteoli has been discovered as well. They described themselves as *cultores Iovis Heliopolitani Berytenses qui Puteolis consistent.*[165] In 116 AD the group erected a statue of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, on which the inscription names Berytus as their native city. Furthermore, the statue was dedicated to the Emperor Trajan, giving a full list of his honorary titles.[166] Herewith, the citizens from Berytus demonstrated direct allegiance to the emperor while still emphasising the ties that connected them to a foreign hometown.

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[159] C. Holleran, 'Labour Mobility in the Roman World: A Case Study of Mines in Iberia' in: L. de Ligt and L.E Tacoma ed., *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire* (Leiden 2015) 126-151, 129.
[160] AE 1932, 0071 = HD025203.
[161] G. Camodeca, 'Communità di "peregrini" a Puteoli nei primi due secoli dell'impero' in: M. Bertinelli and A. Donati ed., *Le vie della storia. Migrazioni di popoli, viaggi di individui, circolazione di idee nel Mediterraneo antico* (Genova 2004) 269-287.
[162] T. Terpstra 'Roman Trade with the Far East: Evidence for Nabataean Middlemen in Puteoli' in: F. de Romanis and M. Maiuro ed., *Across the Ocean: Nine Essays on Indo-Mediterranean* Trade (Leiden - Boston 2015) 73-97, 81.
[163] CIsem 2.1.158; Terpstra 'Roman Trade with the Far East', 81.
[164] CIsem 2.1.157; Terpstra 'Roman Trade with the Far East', 81; ILS 435ob, ILS 435OC.
[165] CIL 10.1679.
[166] CIL 10.1634. See: Peterson, *The Cults of Campania*, 146 – 150 for evidence of Syrian deities in Puteoli.

Furthermore, Verboven argues that the shippers from Heliopolis owned seven *iugera* of land (about 497 metres by 248.5 metres[167]), with a cistern and workshops, and that this large complex was intended for commemorative rituals practised by the *corpus*.[168] However, no archaeological remains of this building were excavated and Verboven gives no implication of how he collected this data. This decreases the reliability of Verbovens' statement as there is no additional evidence to support his theory. Therefore, the exact location of the complex remains unknown.

Other trading communities have dedicated statues to the imperial family as well. The city of Cibyra in Turkey had an inscription carved on the base of such a statue in which they stated that they were old friends of the Romans and had received high honours from the Emperor Hadrian.[169]

Some grave inscriptions indicate the presence of Greeks from Asia Minor living in Puteoli.[170] Four epitaphs reveal that people from the city of Corycus (also in Turkey) were present in the city. From the inscription can be deduced that the settlers were involved in trade, because two of the four texts mention that the deceased was a *naukleros* (a ship-owner).[171] Other grave inscriptions suggest a Nicomedian presence in Puteoli. One epitaph is from a husband to his wife, who died at the age of fifteen.[172] The other epitaph was dedicated by a brother to his sister.[173] Other evidence of the presence of Nicomedian merchants and a strongly established trading community in Puteoli is a grave inscription set up in Nicomedia. The inscription was dedicated to Deios, who lived in Puteoli and died there at the age of 28.[174] This particular inscription could signify the presence of Nicomedian merchants, since this man is commemorated by the inhabitants of his hometown as a member of that society, but actually lived in Puteoli.

Merchants from African descent are represented in Puteoli as well. Three inscriptions mention the cult of Venus Caelestis, who was originally a Phoenician goddess, so her cult

[167] http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/iugerum-e529650 [accessed on 23-05-2017].
[168] Verboven, 'Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire', 343.
[169] OGIS 497 (= IGGR 418).
[170] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 88.
[171] IG XIV 841; 854.
[172] IG XIV 837.
[173] CIL 10.1970.
[174] CIG 3780.

probably came to Puteoli via North-Africa.[175] Caelestis had a dedicated temple with richly decorated *ex votos* made of silver and gold and other precious stones. In 134 AD, a bull was sacrificed to the same goddess. Terpstra argues that this was a regular sacrifice, which implies that the cult's activity dated back to earlier times.[176] However, no further inscriptions or other archaeological evidence has been excavated that can confirm the presence of this particular group in Puteoli or is able to indicate from which city the merchants came.

Another indicator of the importance of *collegia*, trading communities and trade in the Roman Empire is the fact that the emperors usurped the role of the God Mercury as patron of trade and of the profits of commerce.[177] With the advent of the Principate in 30 BC, Augustus became the patron of the *collegium mercatorum* (the association of traders).[178] By becoming the patron of the merchants, Augustus aligned himself directly with trade and its merchants all over the empire. In addition, the *Mercuriales*, who were initially responsible for the worship of Mercury as the patron of commerce, underwent an institutional change. They became closely connected to the imperial cult and to the Emperor Augustus.[179] A fragment of text written by Suetonius narrates that in the last days of Augustus' life, the emperor was praised by some Alexandrian merchants at Puteoli during their arrival sacrifice.[180] This indicates two things: firstly, the institutional change had worked; secondly, it demonstrates the presence of Alexandrians in Puteoli and the importance of this cult. By sacrificing to this cult, the Alexandrians were hoping to obtain the good health of the emperor and prosperous trade.

Evidence attested in the epigraphic record of Puteoli suggests that more people from the east were present in Puteoli than, for instance, in Ostia. However, proof of a connection with the west has been ascertained as well. Strabo mentions that large merchant ships sailed from Baetica (Spain) to Puteoli.[181] In addition, multiple pottery shards of Puteolian ceramics have been excavated in Narbonensis (Narbonne, France) and Tarragona (Spain), indicating

[175] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 90.
[176] Idem, 90.
[177] S.L. Tuck, *Creating Roman Imperial Identity and Authority: The Role of Roman Imperial Harbour Monuments* (Michigan 1997) 106.
[178] Idem, 106.
[179] B. Combet Famoux, 'Mercure remain, les 'Mercuriales' et l'institution du culte imperial sous le Principat augustden', *ANRWTL* 17, 1 (1984) 457-501; K. Scott, 'Mercur-Augustus und Horaz C. I, 2.' *Hermes* 63 (1928) 15-33.
[180] J.C. Rolfe, *Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars, Volume I: Julius. Augustus. Tiberius. Gaius. Caligula* (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge 1914) 299.
[181] H.L. Jones, *Strabo, Geographika* (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge 1929) 3.2.61.

that trade between Puteoli and the west definitely occurred.[182] However, no signs of an established community from the west have been discovered so far.

A different group to be discussed in this section are the *collegia*, more specifically whether there is textual or archaeological evidence of their presence in Puteoli. The secondary literature does not mention *negotiatores*, *navicularii* or *mercatores* in Puteoli, though the epigraphic record attest a few — for instance a Lucius Calpurnius, who was a shipper and negotiator in Alexandria, Asia and Syria.[183] A grave inscription commemorates Publius Caulius Coeranus who was a trader in iron and wine.[184] These two inscriptions are the only reference to *negotiatores*, but this does not necessarily imply that they were not present in Puteoli.

3.2.1 The Tyrian letter

Exceptional evidence regarding the presence and purpose of trading communities was discovered in Puteoli. The evidence consists of a letter from a Tyrian trading station written in 174 AD. It is the richest document available regarding trading communities. The letter starts with greeting the chief magistrates and the city council of Tyre, but also honours Marcus Aurelius, who was emperor at that time. In the letter the Tyrians ask Tyre, their hometown in modern Lebanon, for money for the maintenance of their trading station, which, according to them, excelled above the others in both adornment and size.[185] The letter mentions that the Tyrians were once numerous and wealthy, but that the association decreased in size. The Tyrians requested money from the council because they were paying for the sacrifices and services to their ancestral gods, but were also burdened with the costs of the Ox-Sacrifice Games in Puteoli. For this reason, the Tyrians revenues were too low to pay for their *statio* and begged the city of Tyre to pay the rent of 250 denarii a year.

[182] Found in Narbonne: CIL 10.8056; 17; 56; 97; 142; 165; 229; 286; 337; 365; 385. Found in Tarragona: CIL 2.4970; 190; 226; 405.
[183] CIL 10.01797 = D 07273.
[184] CIL 10.01588 = D 07338.
[185] *OGIS*, 595 (= *IG* xIV 830 = *IGRR*, I, 421). I used the translation by N. Lewis and M. Reinhold. Translation of lines 1-19 is to be found in: N. Lewis and M. Reinhold, *Roman Civilization, Selected Readings, vol. 2, The Empire* (New York 1990). The letter is also discussed in: J.D. Sosin, 'Tyrian Stationarii at Puteoli', *Tyche* 14 (1999) 275-285 and T. Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-economic and Institutional Perspective* (Leiden 2013); See also J.H. D'Arms, 'Puteoli in the Second Century of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 64 (1974) 104-124.

The letter mentions that their sister *statio* in Rome received income from ship owners and merchants, whereas they did not.[186] The answer of the Tyrian city council declared the *statio* in Rome was to pay the rent for its Puteolian counterparts.

The letter was converted into an inscription commemorating the decision of the Tyrian city council. It is suggested by scholars such as Terpstra that the slab on which the inscription was discovered might have been placed in the Tyrian quarters for maximum exposure to the public.[187] Terpstra draws this conclusion from an unpublished inscription. However, no evident archaeological evidence of such a quarter has been excavated.

The Tyrian letter contains several hints regarding the visibility of trading communities in Puteoli. For instance, it reveals that the *statio* and community were not only involved in trade, but also comprised a cult association. It portrays the relationship between its home and host city, its relation to a sister association, and its relationship with other shippers and merchants.[188]

The plaque was written in Greek, a language still commonly spoken in the East. A large community of people from the east inhabited the southern part of Italy; therefore, the inhabitants of Puteoli and its surrounding region would have been able to read the inscription.[189]

The letter assesses that the Tyrians living in Puteoli were once numerous, which implies that their number had declined by 174 AD, resulting in the inability of the members to pay for the annual rent of the building. Therefore, scholars argue that the letter illustrates a decline of Puteoli's importance as a port.[190] Regardless of whether the city was in decline or not, it can be argued that the community from Tyre was firmly established in Puteolian society because they possessed a spacious and excessively decorated *statio* and were both socially and materially involved.

The letter illustrates the involvement of the Tyrians in the worship of the emperor by paying for the bull sacrifice at the games in Puteoli. The letter addresses both the emperor

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[186] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 110.
[187] G. Camodeca, 'Per una riedizione dell' archivo puteolano dei Sulpicii', *Puteoli* 6 (1982) 3-53, 27; Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 77.
[188] Verboven, 'Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire', 336-337.
[189] Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, 4.
[190] Some scholars suggest a decline of the Puteolian harbour and see the letter of the Tyrians as evidence of this decline. For further discussion, see: R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1973). For counterarguments see: J.H. D'Arms, 'Puteoli in the Second Century of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 64 (1974) 104-124.

and the Tyrian city council with an equal amount of respect. By doing this, the Tyrians showed indirect allegiance to the Roman emperor as their sovereign, while still affirming Tyre's moral and legal authority.[191] Through this allegiance, some form of integration from the Tyrians becomes visible in Puteoli, even while they were separate in society. The integration of the Tyrians becomes apparent from their participation in the games held in the city; separation becomes clear by their preservation of their own distinctive cultural identity.[192] This custom probably applied to all foreign merchant communities within Puteoli.

The evidence argues for the presence of multiple *collegia* and trading communities in Puteoli. Yet, from the epigraphic remains it must be concluded that trading communities appear to be more firmly established in Puteolian society than the *collegia* and independent *negotiatores* involved in the same branch of trade.

The merchants settling into Puteoli can be seen as a bridge between businessmen in Puteoli and their hometowns. Terpstra argues that both Puteolian merchants and their business partners overseas could trust their foreign agents to be loyal because the agents lived permanently in Puteoli and operated in a group with restricted membership.[193] According to Broekaert, close screening of the applicant was standard before allowing one to enter the community or *collegia*.[194] By settling in Puteoli, agents of foreign traders made an investment in the city, both socially and materially. They invested in becoming acquainted with their host city through participating in important festivities and erecting statues to the local elite. Therefore, the permanent settlers had a social position to uphold in the local community. A decrease in respect and trust could have had implications on the credibility of the foreign merchants they represented.

3.3 Visibility of foreign communities and *collegia* in Puteoli

The epigraphic remains reveal a firmly established foreign community in Puteoli. This section will assess the locations where trading communities could be encountered by inhabitants.

The first place to experience the presence of long-distance traders was, once again, the harbour. Seneca writes about the excitement of the inhabitants of Puteoli when the Alexandrian grain ships arrived in the harbour and assesses that the whole of Puteoli was

[191] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 81.
[192] Idem, 81.
[193] Idem, 80.
[194] Broekaert, 'Partners in Business', 226.

present on the docks when the Alexandrian ships came in.[195] Seneca points out that the Alexandrians were recognisable by a specific sail; therefore everybody present on the docks knew it was the Alexandrians entering the harbour.[196] No other evidence of specific sails attributed to foreign long-distance traders has been found, but it is assumed that every *collegium* or trading community had its own specific set of sails to enhance their recognition.

The second location in Puteoli where foreign *collegia* and trading communities were visible was the district immediately behind the harbour, known as the emporium.[197] Cicero calls the emporium a business quarter where traders met, bargains were struck and commodities were received, stored or exported.[198] Wares entering and leaving Puteoli might have been checked by an agent from the foreign community at the time of arrival. Since the emporium was the main area to conduct business in Puteoli, it might have been a good location to encounter foreign merchants. Foreign merchants would likely be recognised by their skin-tone, speech, and maybe their clothing. These different markers would have assured the visibility of the merchants at the emporium and among the other inhabitants of Puteoli.

The third place that could have accommodated a foreign presence was the *horrea*. *Horrea* in Puteoli are mentioned in both literary and epigraphical sources. Cicero discusses privately-owned granaries of great value at Puteoli,[199] while wax tablets from Pompeii dated to 40 AD and 37 AD respectively, mention the *horreum vicesimum sextum quod est in praedis Domitiae Liviae* and *horrea Bassiana publica Puteolanorum media*, both of which held Alexandrian wheat.[200] Some *horrea* were not used only for the storage of grain. *Horrea* excavated in Rome, for instance, were named after their owners, while others appear to have specialised in the storage of particular items, such as pepper and spices (*horrea piperataria*), paper (*horrea chartaria*) or candles (*horrea candelaria*).[201]

Tuck argues that there is little doubt that large, spacious and conspicuous *horrea* were built in Puteoli to store the food that arrived in the city in transit to Rome. These *horrea* in Puteoli were not placed along the edge of the harbour, as was usual in other port

[195] Gummere, *Seneca, Epistles*, 169.
[196] Idem, 169.
[197] J.M. Frayn, *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy* (Oxford 1993) 89. See fig. 4.
[198] D.R. Shackleton Baily, *Cicero, Letters to Atticus* (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge 1999) 5.2.2.; Frayn, *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy*, 89.
[199] H. Rackham, *Cicero, De finibus bonorum et malorum* (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge 1914) II.26.84.
[200] Tuck, *Creating Roman Imperial Identity and Authority*, 171.
[201] Holleran, *Shopping in Ancient Rome*, 72.

cities, but Tuck argues that 'the *horrea* were made conform to the needs of the schematic layout of the city'.[202] Dubois attests the Puteolian *horrea* close to the *Nuova via Campana*, since some ruins were found there. This placement confirms Tuck's theory of *horrea* being adjusted to the urban grid, as these ruins are far out of town.[203] Unfortunately, these are the only *horrea* found in Puteoli. Further on-site archaeological evidence of them is non-existent, which makes it difficult to determine their exact placement.[204] Nevertheless, if the *horrea* were distributed throughout the city they should have been visible for each inhabitant of Puteoli. Grain would have been transported to the buildings to be stored, making it likely that an office was in place to control the incoming grain. It seems logical that a representative of the cargo was present to ensure the cargo's arrival at the right *horrea.*

It is conceivable that *horrea* were exploited as market spaces as well. Wares such as spices or wine might have been sold by a representative of the foreign merchants who brought the wares to the city. However, the resale of grain might have gone a little differently as it was part of the *annona*, and was therefore overseen by an official of the emperor.

The fourth place to encounter *collegia* and trading communities is the *macellum*. The *macellum* in Puteoli was excavated in the eighteenth century. The discovery of a statue of Serapis led to the building being initially misidentified as the city's Serapeum (Temple of Serapis). The structure was built between the late first and early second century AD and consisted of an arcaded square courtyard, surrounded by two-storey buildings.[205] Restorations to the building were made during the third century AD under the Severan dynasty.[206]

The *macellum* is positioned in the proximity of the harbour; therefore, food could be easily transported to the market hall. The space itself was exploited as a place where all kinds of different foodstuffs were sold.

There are two ways in which the visibility of a foreign presence in the *macellum* became apparent. On the one hand, it is possible that representatives of *collegia* and trading communities were present to sell their wares, which would have allowed for direct contact

[202] Tuck, *Creating Roman Imperial Identity and Authority*, 172.
[203] See fig. 4, number 28 on the map.
[204] Tuck, *Creating Roman Imperial Identity and Authority*, 172.
[205] C. Dubois, *Pouzzoles Antique,* 306; Tuck, *Creating Roman Imperial Identity and Authority* 289.
[206] Idem, 289.

with the inhabitants of Puteoli. On the other hand, the goods may have been sold by an independent vendor from Puteoli. If so, the inhabitants would only encounter the wares of the foreign merchants. Either way, the presence of a foreign influence on the market is clear. Additionally, the statues of foreign gods in the *macellum* (such as the Egyptian *Serapis*) could indicate the importance of the presence of foreigners in the city.

Aside from these public buildings, there is mention of the *Pagus Tyrianus,* a specific location within the city occupied by the Tyrians. A specific forum built for one specific group is the fourth place where inhabitants could encounter foreign *collegia* and trading communities in the city. Unfortunately, the exact location of the *Pagus* has not been identified. Dubois tentatively identified the ruins of a four-sided building in *opus reticulatum* along the northwest side of Via Celle as the Tyrians' *statio*, since the inscription of the letter was discovered on the eastern side of this building.[207] According to Dubois, it is therefore possible to identify this structure as part of the *Pagus Tyrianus.*

Unlike Ostia, Puteoli has not unearthed any evidence of a specific location where all the foreign merchants were clustered or had their offices. Therefore, it can be argued that the *Pagus Tyrianus* was the main area to conduct business with the Tyrians. However, the *Pagus* itself was not in the direct proximity of the harbour or the city centre, thereby decreasing its visibility. Terpstra argues that, since the inscription of the letter concerning the finance of their trading station might have been displayed in here, the *Pagus* must have been a public place that many people passed. By placing the inscription here, the Tyrians would have wanted to uphold their good name and to emphasise their presence in the city.[208] Nevertheless, it remains questionable how visible this inscription was as its location was far removed from the city centre.

The Tyrian letter mentions that 'there is many a station in Puteoli'. This indicates the presence of more *stationes* in Puteoli. Ostrow, who assesses the topography of Puteoli from archaeological evidence, argues 'that several establishments belonging to the foreign merchant communities of Puteoli were probably situated along the *Via Consularis Campana*'.[209] This is the fifth where inhabitants could encounter trading communities and *collegia* in Puteoli. The *Via Consularis Campana* was the main road that connected Puteoli to

[207] Dubois, *Pouzzoles Antique*, 358.
[208] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World*, 77.
[209] S.E. Ostrow, *Problems in the Topography of Roman Puteoli* (Michigan 1977) 28.

Capua and was the harbour city's most important highway. It was through Capua that Puteoli enjoyed secure overland communication with Rome.[210] Ostrow argues that the natural interest of these groups was to facilitate the commercial link with Capua and Rome on the assumption that the trading companies chose to build their *stationes* here.[211]

The *collegia* and trading communities along this route mentioned by Ostrow include the *Daphnenses* (from Antiochia), whom he locates at a crossroads near San Vito. Ostrow also argues that there is evidence for a cemetery of the *Heliopolitani* in the same area. According to him the cemetery might have been located in the Quarto Plain; therefore their *statio* may have been located in this area.[212] The discovery of an alabaster canopic urn in a simple burial pit at the *Croce Campana* suggests that an Egyptian community may have had a cemetery along the *Via Consularis Campana* as well.[213]

However, the *Via Consularis Campana* is far removed from the port itself. Presuming that trading communities and *collegia* built their *stationes* to increase their visibility and to show other merchants and inhabitants of Puteoli where originated from, it can be argued that these locations are too far off from the port and city centre for proper exposure. *Scholae* discovered in Ostia were mainly located close to the city's harbour, main roads and forum as these places increased their visibility and esteem within town. Therefore, it can be argued that Puteolian merchants would have wanted their *scholae* or *stationes* to be close to these locations as well. One source from Claudius Aelianus confirms that the *statio* of the Baetican merchants was located close to the waterfront.[214] Therefore, Ostrow's positioning of the *stationes* along the *Via Consularis Campana* is incorrect as the structures identified are not classified as *stationes* or *scholae* by Dubois. However, one of these structures, according to Dubois, is a tomb, which could correspond with Ostrow's idea that the cemetery of the *Heliopolitani* and Egyptians was located there.

It remains possible that some *scholae* or *stationes* were located around the *Via Cella* and *Via Consularis Campana* but that their offices were located somewhere along the waterfront. This implicates that the most important buildings for *collegia* and trading communities would have been less visible to inhabitants. However, the *statio* of the Tyrians

[210] Ostrow, *Problems in the Topography of Roman Puteoli*, 23.
[211] Idem, 28.
[212] CIL 10.1579.
[213] A. Maiuri, 'Pozzuoli— Scoperte varie di antichitá', *NS* (1927) 316-333, 330-332.
[214] A.F. Scholfield, *Aelian, On Animals* (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge 1959) 1958-9.

appears to have been grand, and Jaschke therefore argues that the larger *stationes* needed more space than the smaller ones, which is why the *scholae* or *stationes* were moved to the edge of town.[215] Still, building the *scholae* or *stationes* along the edge of town would have decreased their visibility. Therefore, it seems more likely that foreign merchants, who wanted to be noticed by businessmen, would have had their *stationes* closer to the city centre. If new evidence is excavated and confirms that the *stationes* were indeed placed along the edge of town, it is conceivable that the *collegia* and trading communities with the larger *stationes* or *scholae* utilised other facilities near the harbour to conduct business, such as the port itself, the *horrea* and the *macellum*. These locations would have put the merchants closer to the civic centre, and made them more visible and accessible than they would have been if their *scholae* and *stationes* were located along the *Via Consularis Campana*. Unfortunately, no further archaeological evidence has been excavated yet to support this idea.

3.4 Conclusion

From the evidence it appears that trading communities were more established than *collegia* in Puteoli. This is concluded through the amount of excavated epigraphic evidence that mentions eastern traders. This was the result of the long economic history that linked Puteoli to trade with the east. However, evidence for exchange with the west has been excavated as well.

Collegia and trading communities in Puteoli also erected statues to local notables, carved inscriptions and utilised characteristics from their hometown to increase their visibility. Foreigners became visible in Puteoli in locations that were connected to their trade. Other places such as *scholae* and *stationes* were, according to Ostrow, placed on the edge of town, which made them less visible to the inhabitants.

Therefore, another possibility is that the *stationes* were closer to the port. Claudius Aelianus mentions that the Baetican merchants had an office close to the waterfront. It therefore remains possible that the larger *collegia* and *trading communities* possessed a building along the edge of town, but that actual business in Puteoli was conducted near the harbour, where members of *collegia* and trading communities were easier to address and

[215] Jaschke, *Die Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des antiken Puteoli*, 61.

more informed about the current status of supply and demand in other cities around the Mediterranean.

Chapter Four: Lugdunum and Arelate

This chapter assesses how *collegia* and trading communities became visible in Lugdunum and Arelate (currently known as modern Lyon and Arles) and what methods and locations increased their visibility. These port cities are discussed together because their harbours were connected to each other, even though the two ports had differing functions within the regional system of trade. Both were equally important within the trading system and the Rhône was their main connection.

Furthermore, Lugdunum was the administrative capital of Gaul and the traders living there were the main distributers of wares to the hinterland and back, whereas Arelate was the main transit port for goods from the hinterland to the rest of the Roman Empire and vice versa.

The evidence for this case study dates roughly from the beginning of the Principate until the end of the second century AD. The material for both cities is scarcer compared to Ostia and Puteoli, due to the continuous inhabitation of both cities since their foundation. To understand the connection and importance of both cities for the trade system, a concise history and geographical outline of both towns is required. The next section provides such an outline.

4.1 A brief history of Lugdunum and Arelate

The first city to be discussed in this section is Lugdunum. Lugdunum was one of the major commercial centres in the economic network of the Roman Empire. A quote by Strabo shows his appreciation for the site on which Lugdunum was built:

> *'Lugdunum is the centre of the country – an acropolis as it were, not only because the rivers meet there, but also because it is near all parts of the country. And it was on this account, also, that Agrippa began at Lugdunum when he cut his roads [...]'*[216]

This quotation is used by many ancient historians to explain the prominence of the city in the early Empire.[217] Lugdunum was founded in 43 BC by Lucius Munatius Plancus. It served as the capital of the Roman province of *Gallia Lugdunensis* and was an influential city in the

[216] Jones, *Strabo, Geographika*, 288-291.
[217] J.F. Drinkwater, 'Lugdunum: 'Natural Capital' of Gaul?', *Brittania* 6 (1976) 133.

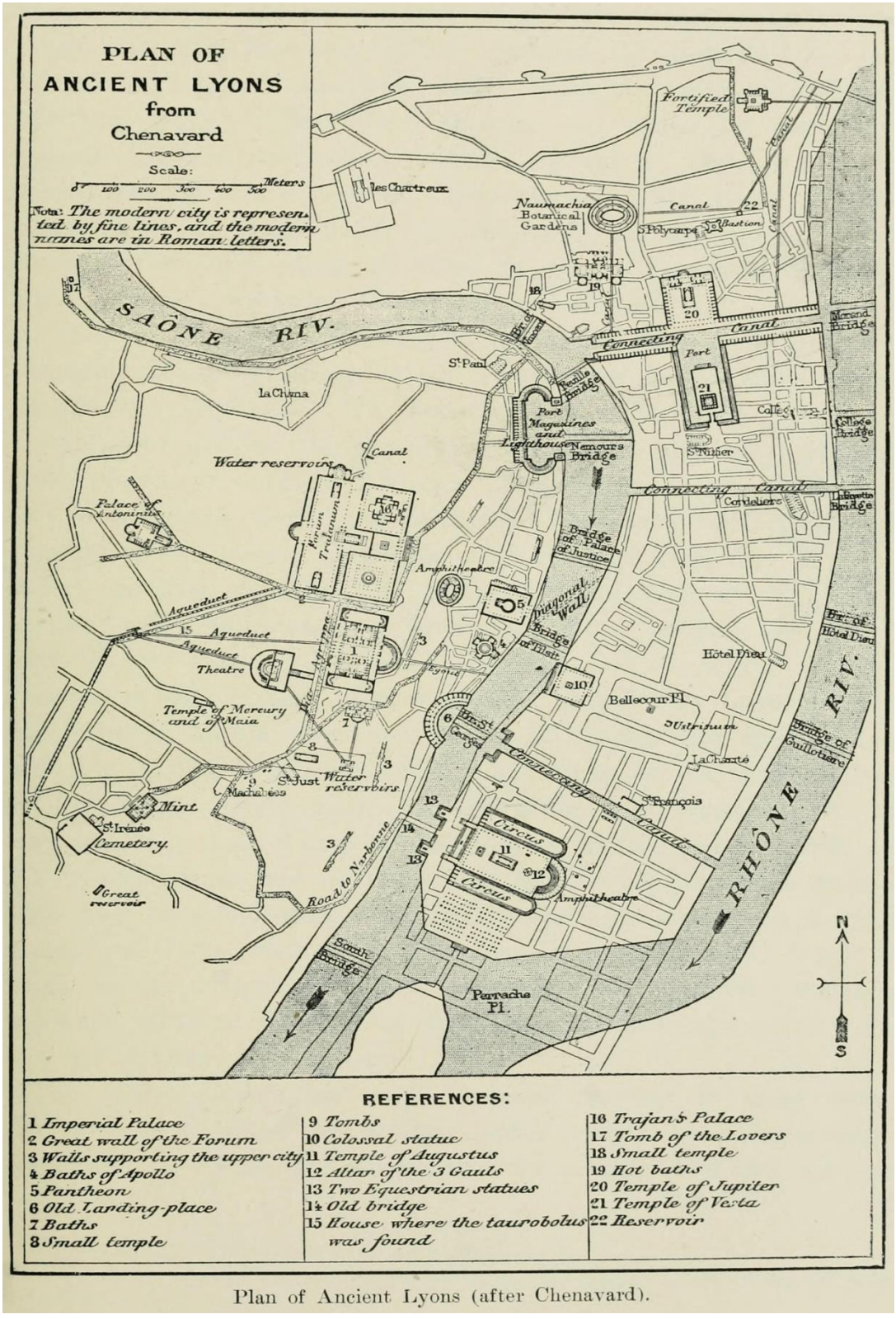
western half of the Roman Empire for centuries. Both the emperors Claudius and Caracalla were born in Lugdunum which enhanced the esteem of the city.[218]

However, virtually no evidence was discovered that can account for a pre-Roman settlement on the site of Lugdunum, although some loose prehistoric pots and pans are attested in the collection of the *Musee Gallo Romain*.

The earliest accounts written on Lugdunum seem to indicate that the town was inhabited by Italian traders from Vienna, who fled during the revolt of Catugnatus in 62/61 BC.[219] The settlement was established at the hills of the Fourvière, where multiple theatres were built, along with villas for the elite. The hills of the Fourvière made it impossible to use the Roman chequered street plan and therefore the outline of Lugdunum is different from other cities. The rest of the land surrounding the Fourvière was lower; therefore much building activity took place along the riverbanks of the confluence. The constant shifts of the rivers below the hills caused for flooded land, and were therefore contained by massive quays and dykes.[220] Major aqueducts were built to supply the hills of the Fourvière with water and the road network was extended with new roads linking Lugdunum directly to Rome.

Lugdunum became the guardian of the altar of Rome and Augustus, which raised the city's prestige above all other cities in the province. The city's favourable position between the confluence of the Rhône and Saône rivers led Lugdunum to become the centre of Agrippa's road system in Gaul, the capital of the province of *Lugdunensis* and the financial centre of *Gallia Comata*.[221] As a result of Agrippa's road system and the provision of a well-structured river transport system by local guilds of shippers, Lugdunum quickly attracted an active commercial population and developed into one of the major commercial cities in the west of the Roman Empire.[222]

[218] C. Goudineau, 'Gaul' in: A. Bowman, P. Garnsey and D. Rathbone ed., *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 462-495, 464.
[219] Idem, 134.
[220] A. Audin, *Essai sur la topographie de Lugdunum* (Lyon 1956).
[221] A.L.F. Rivet, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 2 (1970), s.v. Lugdunum.
[222] Drinkwater, 'Lugdunum', 135.



Plan of Ancient Lyons (after Chenavard).

Fig. 5: Map of Ancient Lugdunum after Chenavard.[223]

[223] Source: V. Duruy, *History of Rome and of the Roman people, From its Origin to the Invasion of the Barbarians* (1883).

4.1.1 Arelate

Lugdunum was not the only thriving town with its roots on the Rhône. Arelate was just as important for the Roman trading system. Arelate, or as Ausonius calls it 'Little Rome of Gaul', was located at the mouth of the Rhône.[224] Evidence discovered here indicates that Arelate was inhabited by Greek traders before it was converted to a Roman colony. The city was occupied in the republican period by Caesar as a base for his operations against *Massalia* (Marseilles) in 49 BC.[225] As a token of gratitude to the inhabitants, he founded Arelate and called it *Colonia Julia Paterna Arelate Sexterum* in 46 BC.[226]

Strabo refers to Arelate as a grand emporium.[227] Arelate owed its success to its convenient location for transferring goods from river crafts to seagoing vessels, and vice versa. The river port of Arelate was connected to the sea through canals such as the *Fossae Marianae*.[228] Arelate's street plan reveals the well-known chequered pattern the Romans preferred to use for their urban planning. However, the street plan of Arelate originated with the previous Greek inhabitants who also tended to use chequered grids for their urban planning. The civic centre of Arelate was located in the western part of the city and was built on a large tract of flat land. In this area the forum, baths and theatres were built in close proximity to each other.[229] Across the river was a suburb where warehouses and pottery kilns have been excavated.[230] Brogan argues that the people involved in fishing and trade lived along the riverbanks.[231] However, no archaeological proof that could support Brogan's theory has been excavated so far.

The harbour society of Arelate was, according to Nicolas Tran, no homogeneous ensemble, and the *collegia* and trading communities that arose from it were in no way equal in dignity or prestige.[232] The *navicularii*, for instance, belonged to the top of the social hierarchy in Arelate.[233] This implicates that traders were deemed important in Arelate.

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[224] H.G. Evelyn-White, *Ausonius, The Order of Famous Cities* (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge 1919) 277.
[225] O. Brogan, *Roman Gaul* (London 1953) 90.
[226] J.C. Anderson, *Roman Architecture in Provence* (Cambridge University Press 2013) 41.
[227] Jones, *Strabo, Geographika*, 182-183.
[228] Anderson, *Roman Architecture in Provence*, 41.
[229] See fig. 6.
[230] Brogan, *Roman Gaul*, 92.
[231] Idem, 92.
[232] M. Christol and N. Tran, Tituli et signa collegiorum en Gaule méridionale et ailleurs: Réflexions sur le décor des sièges de collèges à partir du cas arlésien', *École antique de Nîmes* 31 (2014) 15-31.
[233] Tran, 'The Social Organization of Commerce and Crafts in Ancient Arles', 258.

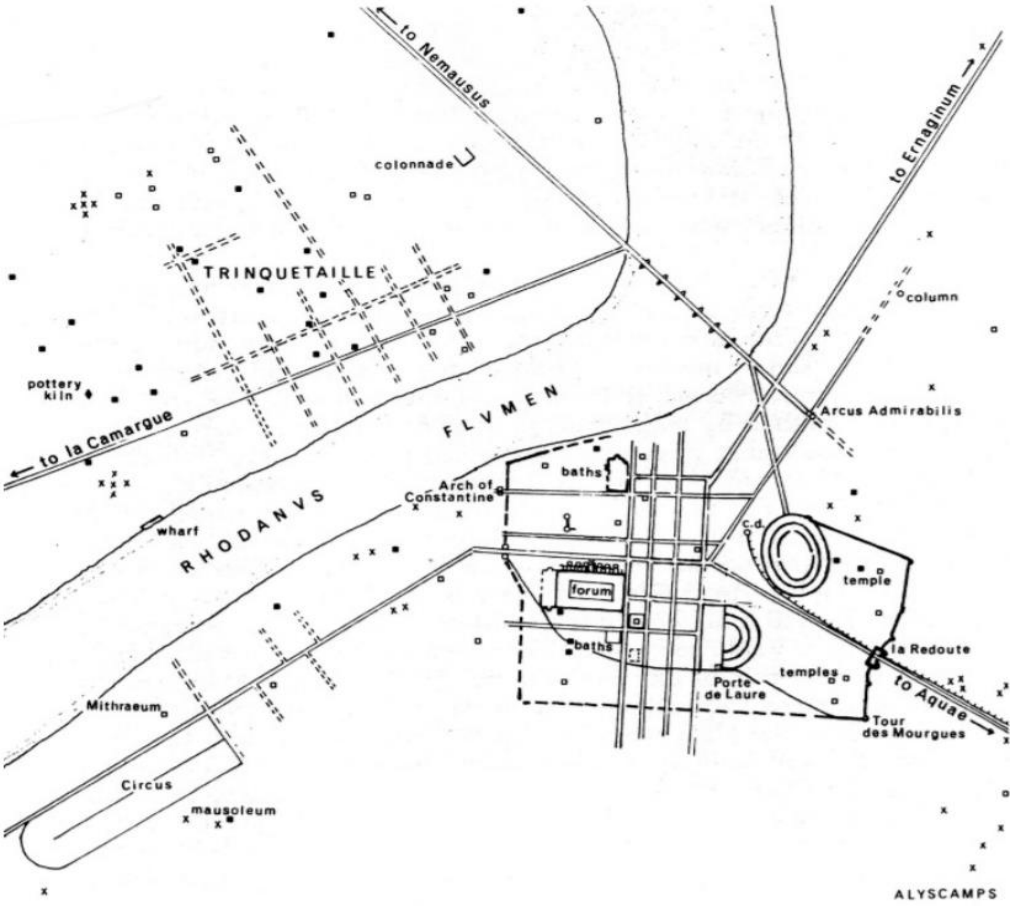


Fig. 6: Hypothetical map of ancient Arelate.[234]

4.1.2 The connection between the two port cities

The ports of Lugdunum and Arelate were connected through the Rhône, which made them indispensable for trade within Gaul and the rest of the Mediterranean. The Rhône had tributaries that were navigable in the ancient world, namely the *Isara* (Isère) and the *Druentia* (Durance) rivers.[235] These branches facilitated direct access to central Gaul. Lugdunum was the main distributer of wares among the hinterland. These wares were mostly transported towards the Rhine frontier. Merchandise transported from the hinterland to Italy had to be reloaded into seagoing vessels fit to sail the Mediterranean. It seems probable that trans-shipment happened at Arelate, as it was the last stop before entering the Mediterranean Sea and the first stop when entering the Rhône. Arelate, therefore, played a crucial role in mediating exchange between the Mediterranean and the Rhine frontier.[236]

[234] Source: A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis: Southern Gaul in Roman Times* (London 1988) 192.
[235] B. Campbell, *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome* (The University of North Carolina Press 2012) 263.
[236] S.T. Loseby, 'Reconfiguring the 'Little Rome of Gaul', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 20 (2007) 673-678, 674.

Although the ports specialised in different types of trade (riverine and maritime), they must be seen as intrinsically linked. The relationship between these two cities was mutually beneficial as they required each other's knowledge of demand for the successful distribution of their wares throughout the hinterland of Gaul. Multiple sources, such as inscriptions and archaeological evidence, on *collegia* and trading communities have been discovered for both cities. The next section assesses the most important epigraphic remains from Lugdunum and Arelate.

4.2 The epigraphic evidence on *collegia* and trading communities in Lugdunum and Arelate

The nature of the epigraphic and archaeological evidence in Lugdunum and Arelate differs from the evidence acquired on Ostia and Puteoli. It is not supplemented by a *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* or a rich document such as the letter of the Tyrian trading station. Virtually no archaeological evidence of buildings used by foreign merchants has been preserved in either city. Luckily, other remains have been discovered that provide a better understanding of the socio-economic position of the long-distance traders who lived in Lugdunum and Arelate.

4.2.1 Lugdunum

In contrast to Ostia and Puteoli, large quantities of evidence concerning long-distance traders united in *collegia* or *corpora* were discovered in Lugdunum. The most prestigious and best preserved *collegia* were all firmly based in Lugdunum. These were: shippers of the Saône and Rhône, who shipped wares over the rivers; and the *viniarii Lugduni consistentes* (wine traders). Beyond these *collegia,* a large cluster of merchants who were *in canabis consistentes* were present at Lugdunum. Merchants used this term to declare their foreign descent.[237] Merchants who claimed to be *in canabis consistentes* were closely linked to other major centres of trade throughout the empire. Some of these *consistentes* might have been permanent residents, but probably not all of them.[238] Evidence for trading communities calling themselves *in consistentes* is also attested in Puteoli where the Heliopolitani described themselves as *cultores Iovis Heliopolitani Berytenses qui Puteolis consistent*.

Merchants who settled in Lugdunum to facilitate long-distance trade are well represented in epigraphy. Caius Apronius Raptor is a good example. Raptor was a wine merchant and barge shipper who was honoured in Lugdunum by the *corpora* of the shippers

[237] G. Jacobsen, *Primitiver Austausch oder Freier Markt? Untersuchungen zum Handel in den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen während der römischen Kaiserzeit* (St. Katharinen 1995) 118.
[238] Verboven, 'Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire', 441.

of the Saône and the wine traders who were *in consistentes*, but was also a citizen and council member of the city of Treverorum (Trier).[239]

Evidence of two other *negotiatores* from Treverorum has been attested in the epigraphic remains. The first example is a Marcus Sennius Metilus, who was member of the *Corpus splendissimum mercatorum Cisalpinorum et Transalpinorum*, the merchants who dominated the trade routes through the Alps.[240] Metilus was a member of the fire brigade in Lugdunum, which suggests that he was indeed living in Lugdunum and that he was taking care of his civic duties. Metilus epitaph was engraved in the second century AD. The second *negotiator* was a Marcus Murrianus Verus, member of the tribe of the *Treveri*, who was a *negotiator* in wine and ceramics and settled himself in Lugdunum.[241] His epitaph was dedicated to him by his brother in the second or third century AD.

The name of a certain Marcus Inthatius Vitalis, a wine-trader who settled in the *canabae* (the island between the Rhône and Saône), also appears in the epigraphic evidence. He was appointed curator of the wine traders who were *in consistentes,* as well as patron of the shippers of the Saône. He appeared to have been of equestrian status.[242] Wierschowski suspects that Vitalis had a strong connection to Alba as well, although the inscription reveals no such correlation.[243] Vitalis' statue was engraved in the second or third century AD and was dedicated by the wine traders, for whom he was the curator.

Multiple lead labels were excavated in the harbour of the Soâne with the letters *DIFF* carved on them, which can be allocated to the Baetican oil traders.[244] Therefore, it is arguable that a community of merchants from Baetica (Spain) resided in Lugdunum. Aside from the labels, epigraphic evidence reveals a Sentius Regulianus, a native of Lugdunum who became patron of the Baetican oil traders. This evidence might imply the importance and the firm establishment of this *collegium* in Lugdunum. Unfortunately, no further epigraphic evidence has been attested to support this idea.

[239] AE 1904, 176 = CIL 13.1911; Verboven, 'Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire', 442.
[240] CIL 13.2029.
[241] CIL 13.2033.
[242] CIL 13.1954.
[243] L. Wierschowski, *Fremde in Gallien - "Gallier" in der Fremde, die epigrapische bezeugte Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien vom 1. Bis. 3. Jh. n. Chr*. (Stuttgart 2001) 328.
[244] Jacobsen, *Primitiver Austausch oder Freier Markt?*, 116.

A funerary epigram written in Greek was discovered in Lugdunum. The subject of the epigram is Julianus Euteknios, who came from Laodicea in Syria. The inscription states the following:

> *'If you desire to know what mortal lies here, this writing will conceal nothing, but will tell all. Euteknios by surname, Julianus was his name, Laodicea his ancestral city, the admired ornament of Syria; honourable on his father's side and his mother had equal renown, good and upright, a man beloved by all, from whose tongue as he spoke to the Celts persuasion flowed. Various the races that he visited and many the peoples he came to know, and exercised the virtue of his soul among them. Constantly he gave himself over to waves and sea, bearing to the Celts and the lands of the Occident all the gifts that god has bidden the all-bearing land of the Orient to bear; wherefore the threefold tribes of the Celts loved the man. He sailed (?)...'*[245]

The inscription makes evident that Julianus was a Syrian in Lugdunum. It mentions him being involved in trade between the Celts and the Orient. According to Jones, Lugdunum hosted large groups of eastern traders.[246] Julianus is not the only eastern trader attested in Lugdunum. An inscription mentions a certain Thaim Julianus, a native of the Syrian village of Athele and *decurio* of Septimianum Canotha, located in present day Hauran. Julianus settled in Lugdunum and traded in the products of Aquitania.[247] Another engraving mentions a L. Privatus Eutyches, whom Rougé believes came from the orient, but was a *negotiator Lugudunensis.*[248] The engraving does not specify the trade Eutyches was involved in. These three inscriptions indicate the potential presence of traders from various regions from the East in Lugdunum. However, two of the three inscriptions mention traders from the east transporting wares from the west. Therefore, compared to the amount of evidence attesting traders from the East in Puteoli, it can be argued that the traders in Lugdunum were more of an exception. Furthermore, it could indicate that they were shippers who were not members of a particular *collegia* or trading community with ties to their homeland, but that they

[245] Translated by C.P. Jones, 'A Syrian in Lyon', *AJP* 99, 3 (1978) 336-353, 338.
[246] Jones, 'A Syrian in Lyon', 345.
[247] CIL 13.1998.
[248] CIL 13.2025.

moved to Lugdunum for their own benefit. Therefore, no conclusions can be drawn concerning their alliance with a particular *collegium* or trading community. However, it does implicate that Lugdunum was a commercial centre that was also interesting for eastern traders who sought new mercantile opportunities.

Other epigraphic remains reveal natives of Lugdunum who were active in various parts of the Roman Empire for the sake of trade, one example being Quintus Capitonius Probatus Senior. He was a maritime trader who most likely originated from Gaul as his last name was common there. Probatus Senior was in possession of *domo Roma*, which indicates that he was a Roman citizen. He was involved in the *Sevir Augustalis* in both Lugdunum and Puteoli.[249] Probatus Senior's involvement in the *Sevir Augustalis* in both cities indicates that he was an important official and suggests a strong involvement in long-distance trade. Rougé argues that Quintus Capitonius Probatus Senior was an independent merchant who was not connected to a *corpus* or *collegium*, although his involvement in long-distance trade is clear from the wares he traded.[250]

Another merchant active in multiple regions in the empire was a certain Sentius Regulianus. He initially started as a wine merchant in Lugdunum, but began dealing in Baetican olive oil shortly after. He was elected president of the Baetican oil traders, which took him to Rome, where he became *diffusor olearius* (distributor of oil into smaller containers) and received the rank of Roman knight.[251]

The epigraphic remains in Lugdunum reveal an exchange between merchants from all over the empire who settled in Lugdunum for the sake of trade. Epigraphic remains also attest officials native to Lugdunum and affiliated to *collegia* that moved away from the city to seize new mercantile opportunities for the *collegium* elsewhere. No other similar evidence emerged in the other case-study on Ostia and Puteoli that explicitly indicate the voyages of patrons from *collegia* or trading communities between regions for the benefit of trade.

[249] CIL 13.1942= D 7029 = AE 1965, 9 = AE 1987, 770.
[250] J. Rouge, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Mediterranee* (Paris 1966) 252.
[251] CIL 6.29722. The discovery of an honorary inscription mentioning a '*diffusori olei ad annon[am]*' has led Étienne to believe that a *diffusor* was a high official supplying the imperial annona. See R. Étienne, 'Diffusor olei ad annonam Vrbis' in: M. Garrido-Hory and A. Gonzalès ed. *Histoire, espaces et marges de l'antiquité: Hommages à Monique Clavel-Lévêque*, vol. 2 (Besançon 2003) 245–253.

4.2.2 Arelate

The epigraphic evidence discovered in Arelate differs in nature from the evidence from Lugdunum. It appears that none of the inscriptions in Arelate mention merchants as being *in canabis consistentes* or as being affiliated to a *collegium*. Instead, the merchants refer to themselves as *navicularii* or as being connected to *corpora*. In contrast, *collegia* and trading communities in Ostia and Puteoli hardly referred to themselves as just *navicularii* but rather distinguished themselves by their geographic origin.

Inscriptions from Arelate employ different terms for associations conducting long-distance trade. Epigraphic evidence mentions the shippers of Arelate, the maritime shippers of Arelate and the maritime traders of the five *corpora* of Arelate. The appellation of the last *corpus* has been a subject of debate. *Quinque* means five, which led Rougé to believe that this *corpus* consisted of five different *corpora*. The five different *corpora* were the initial phase of the *corpus,* after which they merged into one to obtain more power and benefits.[252] Christol challenges Rougé's theory, believing instead that *quinque* indicates that five *corpora* of separate families were collaborating under one name, serving the *annona*.[253] De Salvo, who generally agrees with Rougé theorises that the *corpus* started out with five *societates*, which could have had a familial bond, but that they operated as one when necessary.[254] Broekaert agrees with this statement and argues that *corpora* in Arelate were not typical traditional *corpora* or *collegia* but that they were composed of quasi-independent traders who joined forces only for important business. For instance, when problems occurred with the *annona* administration or when the *corpora* had to appoint a patron.[255] This theory can explain why only one official of this *quinque corpora* is mentioned.[256]

The term *corpus* is mainly attested in the epigraphic material in Arelate and sporadically appears in material in Puteoli. Why did the merchants in Arelate choose to adopt the word *corpus* instead of *collegium*? Tran believes this choice was made due to the city's involvement with the *annona*. It is argued that *corpora* were groups of merchants who

[252] Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Mediterranee*, 253.
[253] M. Christol, 'Les naviculaires d' Arles et les structures du grand commerce maritime sous l' Empire romain', *PH* 32 (1982) 5-14, 11-13.
[254] L. De Salvo L. *Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell' impero romano: i corpora navicolariorum* (Messina 1992) 252-253; 258; 403.
[255] CIL 3.14165; Broekaert, *De Romeinse navicularii*, 70.
[256] CIL 3.14165.

stood under contract and supervision of the state and therefore only supplied the *annona*. Their name, therefore, gradually changed from *collegia*, private groups who organised and facilitated trade, to *corpora,* who worked solely for the state. Since the epigraphic evidence from Arelate dated to a later period (second century AD) compared to the evidence discovered in Ostia and Puteoli, many *collegia* might have changed into *corpora*.

Epigraphic remains reveal much about the presence of *corpora* and trading communities within Arelate. Sometime in the first or second century AD, the maritime shippers erected a statue of Cnaeus Cornelius Optatus, who was a *duumvir* and priest of the colony.[257] Broekaert argues that Optatus was more at home in the municipal sphere of Arelate and was probably not the patron of the maritime shippers of the five corpora*,* but rather the patron of an independent group of long-distance traders from Arelate.[258] At the end of the second century AD the *quinque corpora* honoured Cominius Bo[---] Agricola Aurelius Aper with a statue. Aper oversaw the *annona* for the province of *Gallia Narbonensis* and Liguria.[259] His high-ranking position made Aper the ideal candidate to protect and defend the interests of the *corpus*. The statue base was discovered in the courtyard in of the Jesuit College on the location of the former *Forum Adiectum,* which was built next to the original forum of Arelate.[260]

Epigraphic evidence from Arelate indicates that members of the *navicularii* were involved in the *Sevir Augustalis*.[261] Marcus Frontonius, for instance, was a member of Arelate's maritime shippers*,* for which he became a curator.[262] Frontonius advanced to a level of prestige close to that of the colonial elite and must therefore be regarded as a representative of the harbour elite, who had ties to the powerful families of the hinterland.[263]

Another inscription from Arelate mentions a Marcius Atinius Saturninus, who was called public servant (*apparitor*) of the shippers' office.[264] According to Rougé, Saturninus must have been an employee of the *statio* of the maritime shippers, where contracts

[257] Tran, 'The Social Organization of Commerce and Crafts in Ancient Arles', 259; CIL 12.692.
[258] Broekaert, *De Romeinse navicularii*, 73.
[259] CIL 12.672.
[260] Anderson, *Roman Architecture in Provence*, 43.
[261] Tran, 'The Social Organization of Commerce and Crafts in Ancient Arles', 261. CIL 12.704; CIL 12.982
[262] CIL 12.982.
[263] Tran, 'The Social Organization of Commerce and Crafts in Ancient Arles', 258.
[264] CIL 12.718.

regarding the *annona* were drawn up.[265] Sirks agrees with Rougé's theory and assesses that Saturninus might have been an employee of the curator from the *corpus* in Arelate.[266]

Assuming that this was Saturninus' function, it can be surmised that he used a private office or acted as a *statio* for this particular *corpus*. However, Sirks points out that Saturninus might as well have been the assistant of the official *procurator*, who was in charge of the contacts between the *corpus* and the official bureau of the *procurator* of Gaul.[267] The inscription does not explain the exact status of Saturninus. It is therefore unknown whether Saturninus was an independent contractor who was trusted by both the *statio* and the *procurator* to oversee the agreements; or whether Saturninus was an assistant or was part of the *corpus* and served as a broker for their interests.

Regardless of the interpretation, this inscription is important to scholars who investigate the functioning of *collegia* and trading communities because it is one of the few fragments which mention an employment function relevant to long-distance trade. Whether the function was connected to a *collegium* or *corpora* or not, it still involves a person who was associated with trade.

4.2.3 A strange lacuna in the epigraphic evidence?

Something unusual emerges from the epigraphic evidence that mentions *collegia* and trading communities in Lugdunum and Arelate. Virtually no inscription mentions foreign merchants in Arelate compared to the amount of foreign influence affirmed in Lugdunum, Ostia and Puteoli.

Only one non-local merchant is mentioned in the epigraphic evidence in Arelate, whereas in Lugdunum information has been discovered on merchants arriving from Syria. The foreign merchant living in Arelate came from Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence).[268] One could argue that this place of origin does not qualify this person as a foreigner, since this city was still in close proximity to Arelate. No additional epigraphic evidence of merchants from further away has been attested in Arelate. This absence of additional evidence is unexpected because it seems logical that foreign merchants would settle in Arelate for the same reasons

[265] Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'empire romain*, 252, note 10.
[266] A.J.B. Sirks, *Qui annonae urbis serviunt. De juridische regelingen in het Romeinse keizerrijk inzake het vervoer van onus fiscale, met name voor de annona, over zee en over de Tiber* (Amsterdam 1984) 130.
[267] Sirks, *Qui annonae urbis serviunt*, 130.
[268] CIL 12.982.

they did in Ostia, Puteoli and Lugdunum, namely to establish a direct line of communication with other port cities or their hometown. Furthermore, epigraphic evidence clearly demonstrates that there was a local and regional community of traders present in Arelate, and that trade was an important aspect of the town. Naturally, the question remains how this absence of evidence needs to be interpreted.

One theory is that all the shippers from Arelate were involved in the *annona*.[269] Since they were under contract with the state, it seems reasonable that local *navicularii* from Arelate were involved, because they did not have to rely on a network of people from their diaspora community or *collegia* to provide them with proper information. This information would have been supplied by the state. This supposition can explain the presence of a *statio* of the *navicularii* from Arelate in Ostia. Archaeological evidence on the *Piazzale* attests a mosaic in front of the office, depicting the pontoon bridge, which was a landmark for Arelate.[270]

It seems probable that the inhabitants of Arelate living in Ostia were there to ensure that the contracts between the maritime traders of the five *corpora* of Arelate and the *annona* were met and that a member of the *corpus* was present once the contracts were divided among the traders.

An alternative account might reference that Arelate served as a transfer point for goods and that the community of local shippers could take care of the cargo in Arelate. Therefore, it might have been more beneficial for foreign merchants to live in Lugdunum, the commercial knot in the trade network, where they could await the arrival of their goods. Additionally, information might have been more readily available in Lugdunum and the city itself might have been more alluring to those who wanted to obtain prestige among the elite of Gaul.

Other explanations for the absence of evidence for trading communities in Arelate might be the continued inhabitation of the city, or might be due to the coastline that has shifted several kilometres and no archaeological excavation has been yet conducted at the former site of the harbour.

[269] Jacobsen, P*rimitiver Austausch oder Freier Markt?,* 105; Tran, 'The Social Organization of Commerce and Crafts in Ancient Arles', 260.
[270] N. Rudd, *Horace, Odes and Epodes* (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge 2004) 3.13.2-8.

4.3 Visibility of foreign *collegia* and trading communities in Lugdunum and Arelate

This section examines the locations that could have accommodated foreign *collegia* and trading communities in Lugdunum and Arelate. As mentioned above, little archaeological evidence for buildings has been preserved in either city, and neither port is fully excavated. Therefore, a certain amount of speculation is necessary with regard to the places foreign *collegia* and trading communities exploited to become visible in Lugdunum and Arelate. This speculation, however, is based upon the evidence accumulated on Ostia and Puteoli.

The ports of Lugdunum and Arelate differed in comparison to the ones in Ostia and Puteoli. They were both ports on rivers or river mouths. In the case of Lugdunum, this location meant that it was not connected to the sea, as Ostia and Puteoli were. Arelate's position and purpose was comparable to that of Ostia, although Arelate's port lay ten kilometres inland, whereas Ostia was closer to the Mediterranean Sea.

4.3.1 Lugdunum

The city of Lugdunum bears some similarities with the city of Arelate with respect to its river ports. The port of Lugdunum is mentioned by ancient authors, but no archaeological remains have been excavated to pinpoint its exact location. A map drawn by Antoine Chenavard in 1834 is the only existing map that displays the locations of several ports in Lugdunum.[271] Unfortunately, the basis for this map is not known, so caution when using this map is required. Still it is the only available map on ancient Lugdunum, and it will therefore be included in this research, albeit with reservations.

According to Chenavards' map, one port was located in the Saône, on the foot of the Fourvière hills, close to the modern Nemours Bridge. This harbour was equipped with a lighthouse and warehouses. Close to this port were two canals connecting the Saône with the Rhône. One of these canals (called the 'connecting canal' on the map) was equipped with another port that hosted the temple of Vestia.[272] However, no remains of ports have been excavated on the Rhône side of the river.

The ships would have docked in the ports in order to be unloaded and reloaded with new cargo. The unloading of the cargo could have taken a few days, so there was plenty of time to meet foreign merchants to conduct business or to have been updated on the latest

[271] See fig. 5. To be found in: V. Duruy, *History of Rome and of the Roman People, from its Origin to the Invasion of the Barbarians* (1883).
[272] See fig. 5.

news. Furthermore, most ships had markers such as the emblems of the *corpora* to which they belonged, or as Seneca mentions, sails of a certain colour to distinguish them from other traders.[273] Therefore, the ships entering the ports would have contributed to the visibility of foreign merchants involved in long-distance trade.

The second location where long-distance traders became visible to the inhabitants of Lugdunum was near the *horrea* in the harbour. Just as in Ostia and Puteoli, inhabitants might expect to find traders or members of different *corpora* there selling their wares from out of their warehouses.

The third location that accommodated foreign merchants in Lugdunum was the island between the Rhône and Soâne. This island was called *canabae,* a word usually employed to refer to a place where military camps or civil settlements were established.[274] In the case of Lugdunum, it refers to the location that accommodated foreign merchants and that might have hosted their *stationes* or *scholae*. The island was probably favoured by merchants as its inhabitants did not have to pay city customs. This made the island an excellent location to organise trade.[275] The *canabae* was mostly inhabited by the wine traders. Archaeological excavations on the southern part of the island unearthed structures of substantial villas that were decorated with mosaics.[276] The island was easily accessible and was close to Lugdunum's civic centre, forming a bridge between the right and left banks. Therefore, the foreign merchants living on the *canabae* would have been easy to notice as they were clustered on one island. Living on the island enhanced their visibility towards merchants seeking to conduct business.

Most of the wine merchants (and perhaps merchants participating in other types of trade) living on the island did not come from Lugdunum itself but were *in canabis consistentes* and came from Treverorum (Trier) or other parts of the Roman Empire. Unfortunately, no evidence of *stationes* or *scholae* of these *collegia*, *corpora* and trading communities has been found in Lugdunum, but it is possible that offices were established close to the port to conducted business. These buildings were probably exploited to show off their grandeur and prestige, and to increase their visibility among the inhabitants of Lugdunum.

[273] Gummere, *Seneca, Epistles*, 169.
[274] Jacobsen, *Primitiver Austausch oder Freier Markt?*, 118.
[275] Idem, 119.
[276] Idem, 119.

4.3.2 Arelate

When an inhabitant of Arelate wanted to interact with foreign merchants involved in long-distance trade, the port was yet again the first natural point of contact. According to Jacobsen, Arelate was in possession of two ports. He argues that the marine port was located on the contemporary Fos-sur-Mer,[277] which is about forty-two kilometres away from Arelate, located on the Mediterranean.[278] Assuming that this location held the marine harbour of Arelate would mean that the location was used as a transfer point where wares would have been reloaded onto smaller ships. However, it seems more likely that the ships were able to reach the river port located in the city of Arelate via the *Fossae Marianae,* connecting Arelate with the Mediterranean, or via the Rhône itself, without the necessity of reloading, since the mouth of the Rhône was wide enough for ships to enter.

Campbell and Rivet argue that the river port of Arelate was located on the right bank of the river at *Trinquetaille*.[279] Campbell argues that this port was in possession of several port facilities, however, the port itself is not excavated and his arguments are therefore hypothetical. Campbell does not specify what kind of port facilities were present, but from evidence accumulated on Ostia and Puteoli it could be argued that the harbour of Arelate probably possessed a lighthouse and storage facilities as well. The river port was close to the civic centre of Arelate, which was located on the left bank of the river and was lower than the surrounding area. One could cross the river by bridge. If an inhabitant of Arelate wanted to encounter foreign merchants he or she could cross the bridge to *Trinquetaille*. Assuming the port facilities there were *horrea,* indicates that the merchants stored their wares there or loaded their ships for their next venture. The port therefore seems to have been an ideal place to come into contact with non-local merchants.

On the other hand, it is thought that the port in *Trinquetaille* was a river port. It seems illogical that foreign merchants who were not living in the city would go all the way upstream to contact the locals. They probably resided close to the marine port. Arguably, a merchant who permanently settled in the city was to be found in the *Trinquetaille* part of the town for the sake of trade. It is possible that the offices or *scholae* of the *corpora* in Arelate were located in *Trinquetaille*. Assuming this was the case, it can be argued long-

[277] Jacobsen, *Primitiver Austausch oder Freier Markt?*, 104.
[278] As calculated by Google Maps.
[279] Campbell, *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome*, 270; A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis: Southern Gaul in Roman Times* (London 1988) 190-196. See fig. 6 for a hypothetical map of Arelate by A.L.F. Rivet.

distance traders arriving at the marine port would have deemed it worthwhile to travel to the city centre for their social and convivial activities linked to *collegia* and trading communities. Unfortunately, no *scholae* or offices of *corpora* or trading communities have been located in Arelate, due to constant inhabitation since its foundation. However, as Tran argues, traders who settled permanently in Lugdunum and Arelate lived along the riverbanks and on the island between the confluence of the Rhône and Saône. That way, the traders would have been close to the city centre, where they would have wanted to integrate into the local community, while remaining close to the harbours in order to interact with other traders and continued to be updated on news.

In contrast to Ostia and Puteoli, secondary literature does not mention certain fora or places like the *Piazzale* or *Pagus Tyrianus* in Lugdunum or Arelate that were reserved for trade alone. Instead the residents of Lugdunum and Arelate could encounter foreign long-distance traders in the theatres. Verboven argues that seating arrangements in theatres, amphitheatres and stadia were a way of showing 'the publicly acknowledged social positions of foreign merchant groups and important *collegia*'.[280] Not only were both groups able to enjoy a better view of the games; they became highly visible to the public as well. In Lugdunum, evidence of reserved seats for the Macedonians has been attested.[281] The Macedonians were probably not the only group with reserved places, although no further evidence for other foreign groups with reserved seats in theatres in Lugdunum has been found so far. In Arelate, evidence for reserved seats for the oil traders has been attested.[282]

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has yielded less information on the buildings *collegia* and trading communities used than the chapters on Ostia and Puteoli. Luckily, epigraphic remains and a few excavated areas were able to provide information on how *collegia* and trading communities became visible in Lugdunum and Arelate. Epigraphic remains attest the presence of trading communities in Lugdunum whereas in Arelate little to no evidence was found on foreign merchants. This could indicate that the merchants of Arelate mostly originated from Arelate or that no evidence was excavated yet that could confirm the presence of trading

[280] Verboven, 'Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire', 345.
[281] AE 2000, 0904.
[282] CIL 12.714a.

communities in Arelate. Both Arelate and Lugdunum yielded a sufficient amount of information on the officials involved in long-distance trade.

Foreign long-distance *corpora* and trading communities where mostly present near the proximities of their trade. In the case of Lugdunum, inhabitants could encounter merchants on the island between the Rhône and Saône rivers, where evidence of large villas owned by the wine traders has been excavated. In Arelate, residents would have been able to encounter foreign traders in *Trinquetaille*. Unfortunately, there is a lack of archaeological evidence on *scholae* or *stationes* used by the merchants in both cities. Considering the evidence accumulated in Ostia and Puteoli, it seems plausible to assume that Lugdunum and Arelate possessed similar buildings.

The theatre provided evidence for reserved seats allotted to members of *collegia, corpora* or trading communities. The assignment of reserved seats publicly acknowledged the social positions of foreign merchant groups and important *collegia* in Lugdunum and Arelate.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to explore how *collegia* and trading communities became visible in port cities. This was assessed by looking at the methods and locations both groups used to increase their visibility.

The introduction argued that there was a gap in the discourse regarding the investigation of locations used by *collegia* and trading communities and the integration of both groups within port cities, even though both subjects have been thoroughly researched. This thesis combined the existing discourse on *collegia* and trading communities with the approaches used by Rohde and Holleran. Supplementing those research initiatives with a new study that combines the epigraphic and archaeological record with urban topography provides scholars with a better understanding of the degree of integration and visibility of both *collegia* and trading communities within port cities.

The amount of excavated epigraphic material implies that *collegia* and trading communities played an important role in all the discussed port cities. Both groups appear to have been firmly established in their host societies. This can be concluded from excavated remains that belonged to statues, inscriptions and buildings erected and used by *collegia* and trading communities.

The main question of this thesis was answered by investigating the methods *collegia* and trading communities used to increase their visibility and the specific locations they exploited within Ostia, Puteoli, Lugdunum and Arelate. After assessing the evidence, it became apparent that some port cities yielded more epigraphic and archaeological remains than others. Therefore, some speculation had to be applied to certain locations known to have been utilised by traders. However, by combining all the evidence accumulated from the separate port cities, it is possible arrive at a conclusion. This final chapter answers the main question of this thesis: namely, how did *collegia* and trading communities become visible in port cities?

One method used to increase the visibility of *collegia* and trading communities was to carve inscriptions dedicated to local notables, as well as the emperor, on the bases of statues, walls, floors and gravestones. The erection of inscriptions proves that *collegia* and trading communities were prosperous enough to immortalise themselves and the officials they honoured. By honouring local officials and the emperor, foreign merchants settling in

their host cities showed their desire to pledge their allegiance to the city and to the emperor by acknowledging him and other the important officials within the city. Another way to honour the emperor and integrate into the city's social life was by participating in festivities. *Collegia* and trading communities used these festivities as opportunities to integrate into the city's social life by paying for some of the festivities. Both customs can be seen as a step towards partial integration by both groups, demonstrating the local inhabitants that the members of foreign *collegia* and trading communities were willing to adjust to the social rules of their new hometown.

However, *collegia* and trading communities remained separate entities when it came to religion. The foreigners continued to worship their own gods and separated themselves from the rest of the inhabitants by maintaining their own characteristics. Additionally, skin colour and language were indicators of foreign descent. It could be argued that foreign merchants exploited these characteristics for their own benefit. By remaining partially separated and being 'different' from the other inhabitants, *collegia* and trading communities increased their visibility. It is imaginable that it was especially important to stand out in port cities where multiple foreign associations were present. Therefore, using characteristics to illustrate were the *collegium* or trading community originated from was easier than blending in. Not distinguishing themselves from other businessmen from the same region could have caused confusion. Remaining a separate entity was a method to organise business more easily. Utilising certain characteristics to increase the visibility of a group is a practice that continues today. However, further research on this particular topic could be carried out on the sociological aspects relating to the identity and visibility of *collegia* and trading communities, but to achieve this, more archaeological and textual evidence needs to be uncovered.

Asides from the practice of carving inscriptions and utilising characteristics, this thesis focussed on the locations within port cities that might have accommodated these inscriptions, as well as *collegia* and trading communities that carved them. This research has yielded but one specific place with concrete evidence of the presence of *collegia* and trading communities: the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* in Ostia, where a variety of branches of long-distance trade were clustered.

However, the *Piazzale* might have been visible only to visitors who knew where to conduct business, as the square was hidden behind the theatre and was only accessible via a

narrow alley. This thesis argued that even though the *Piazzale* is concealed behind a theatre, the amount of traders with an office present would make a steady flow of visitors highly likely. Moreover, Ostia was a city in which trade was an important feature; therefore, the inhabitants must have known about the *Piazzale*, as every merchant who wanted to negotiate a deal probably did. A question remains: would inhabitants enter the premises without any business to attend there. They probably did not, because there was nothing to for them to gain. Comparatively, people nowadays do not go to business districts unless they wish to carry out business there.

The *Piazzale* might be the only extant archaeological evidence that demonstrates a clustering of merchants involved in trade, but other areas reserved for trade appear in the material as well. Jacobsen argues for a free trade area on the island between the Rhône and Saône in Lugdunum.[283] Houses inhabited by wine traders have been discovered there, but since it was a free trade zone the island was likely populated by other merchants as well. With respect to Ostia and Puteoli, scholars attested certain areas reserved for one branch of trade or for one community. The forum of the wine traders and *Pagus Tyrianus* are examples of this. However, archaeological evidence for these fora is unsubstantial and therefore has to be regarded as nothing more than speculation.

The absence of specific fora does not necessarily imply that *collegia* and trading communities could not be encountered in other places within the port cities. Harbours, *horrea* and *macella* were places frequently visited by foreign merchants. Topographical analysis implies that most of these places were close to the harbour area or close to prominent locations within the city. In Ostia and Puteoli, we find most of the above-mentioned buildings within the proximity of the harbour and the forum. Most of these buildings in Lugdunum and Arelate were close to the harbour as well, but not necessarily in close contact with the forum.

The port was the first location that accommodated foreign merchants. In a passage about Puteoli Seneca states that the inhabitants of Puteoli cheered for the incoming *annona* ships from Egypt. Seneca argued that these ships were recognisable by certain logos or characteristics from the hometown portrayed on the sails of the ship. This passage indicates that trade was important for Puteoli and its people. It is not known whether the inhabitants of Ostia, Lugdunum and Arelate were present on the docks as well, but incoming ships

[283] Jacobsen, *Primitiver Austausch oder Freier Markt?*, 119.

certainly increased the employment opportunities for all the port cities when large shipments of cargo entered the harbour.

After the ships entered the harbour, they had to be unloaded into *horrea* (warehouses). In Ostia as well as in Puteoli, Lugdunum, and Arelate, the *horrea* were close to the harbour. The *horrea* could serve different purposes, such as the storage of food, but it is also likely that inhabitants could buy their food directly from the *horrea*. The *collegia* and trading communities that owned a *horrea* or had a partnership with a certain *horrea* would have been visible to the residents there as vendors.

The *macellum* was another place where inhabitants encountered foreign merchants. There is evidence of a *macellum* in both Ostia and Puteoli. Those of Lugdunum and Arelate have not been excavated yet, probably due to continued inhabitation of the cities. However, since every major city in the Roman Empire possessed a *macellum*, Lugdunum and Arelate likely did as well. Jaschke asserts that some smaller *collegia* or trading communities that did not have the means to build a *scholae* or *statio* used the *macellum* as an office to conduct business and sell their wares. The larger *collegia* and communities that would have wanted a direct market to sell their surpluses probably exploited the *macellum* as well.[284]

Scholae and *stationes* have been identified as the most important buildings for a member of a *collegium* or trading community. However, only one building has been identified as belonging to *navicularii*. This building was located in Ostia, close to the forum. Since the forum was the centre of the city, many inhabitants would have passed the building, thereby becoming acquainted with it. Indiscrete conversations between members of *collegia* or trading communities and inhabitants might have taken place, by which the inhabitants gained knowledge of the purpose of the building. Therefore, it could be argued that wealthy *collegia* and trading communities would want to possess buildings at the prime locations in town as these locations caused a significant amount of circulation of people. Herewith, both groups could not only to increase their visibility, but also boast their prestige and significance to the rest of the city as well.

For Puteoli it is argued that some *scholae* were located along the edge of the city. This thesis has argued that it seems illogical to place a *scholae* along the edge of the town, for this would not have added to the visibility of the *collegia* or trading community. Jaschke argues that they might have been placed along the edge of town because of a lack of space

[284] Jaschke, *Die Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des antiken Puteoli*, 61.

within Puteoli. It could therefore be argued that the larger *stationes* in Puteoli were located along the edge of town and that an office of the *collegium* or trading community was established closer to the port. Having a *schola* or *statio* outside the city does not necessarily imply that the *collegium* or trading community was of lesser status than the *scholae* or *stationes* based near the port. The plots outside the city were larger compared to the plots inside town, resulting in the potential for buildings to be larger, enhancing the *collegium* or trading community's status.

Still, situating these *stationes* or *scholae* on the edge of town would decrease their visibility to the members of the community. Arguably, the buildings served only to gather the members of the trading community or *collegia,* and did not necessarily act as status enhancers. However, this idea contradicts the Tyrian letter, in which the writers explicitly mention the magnitude of their *statio*. This thesis therefore asserts that it seems more compelling to locate the buildings closer to the city centre where they were more exposed to its passers-by. No remains of *scholae* or *stationes* were discovered Lugdunum and Arelate but they appear to have been common in Roman times, so it can be assumed that such buildings were present in Lugdunum and Arelate as well.

The theatre was another location that contributed to the visibility of *collegia* and trading communities. Some groups had reserved seats. The theatre in Lugdunum and Arelate provides evidence for this. Reserved seats were usually the best places in the theatre, earmarked for important people. The city council was responsible for granting certain groups reserved seats. As theatres had a clear hierarchical structure, the status of groups with reserved seats was enhanced, and the inhabitants of the particular city would have known that the *collegium* or trading community sitting there was important.

To conclude this research, assessing epigraphic and archaeological remains and adopting a topographical and urban analysis has proved valuable in trying to assess the degree of visibility of *collegia* and trading communities within port cities. Both groups increased their visibility through the erection of statues and epitaphs, by preserving enough of their original culture and by building *stationes* and *scholae* in close proximity to important places within the city. These methods (erecting statues, carving inscriptions, utilising characteristics from their hometown) and locations (The *Piazzale delle Corporazioni*, the harbour, *horrea*, *macella*, *scholae* and *stationes*) increased the visibility of *collegia* and trading communities, and provided a way to display their wealth and social standing within

the city. Non-local merchants became visible to inhabitants by emphasising characteristics from their homeland and worshipping their own deities. These features were exploited to enhance their visibility among the inhabitants. Skin colour, clothing and speech would have contributed to this as well. Even though the merchants resided permanently in Ostia, Puteoli, Lugdunum and Arelate, they kept preserving certain characteristics from their homeland to indicate that they were brokers for the merchants back home. They served as the first point of contact within the port cities when new bargains were to be struck.

Furthermore, it seems that the nature of the port city (riverine or maritime) did not affect the methods and locations *collegia* and trading communities used to become visible. Both groups presented themselves in the same way. In spite of the fact that *collegia* were defined as natives of the port cities and trading communities were believed to be mainly constituted of outsiders, the differences in how *collegia* and trading communities became visible in port towns appears to be minimal.

The main difference that can be detected lies in the name of the groups. Trading communities in Ostia, Puteoli and Lugdunum used geographical markers, sometimes supplemented by the word *consistentes*, to distinguish their community from *collegia* in town, whereas in Arelate *corpora* were attested who identified themselves as coming from Arelate. *Collegia* simply refer to themselves as *navicularii* or *negotiatores,* supplemented with the particular trade they were active in.

All these various methods of increasing visibility enhanced the groups' social status and the affected the way the *collegium* or trading community was perceived by the inhabitants of its host town. It provided a way to integrate into the cities' social life and presented a way to gain a respectable reputation among the inhabitants. Additionally, settling in a new city and integrating to a certain extent helped increasing the trustworthiness and visibility of the businessmen among other merchants in town.

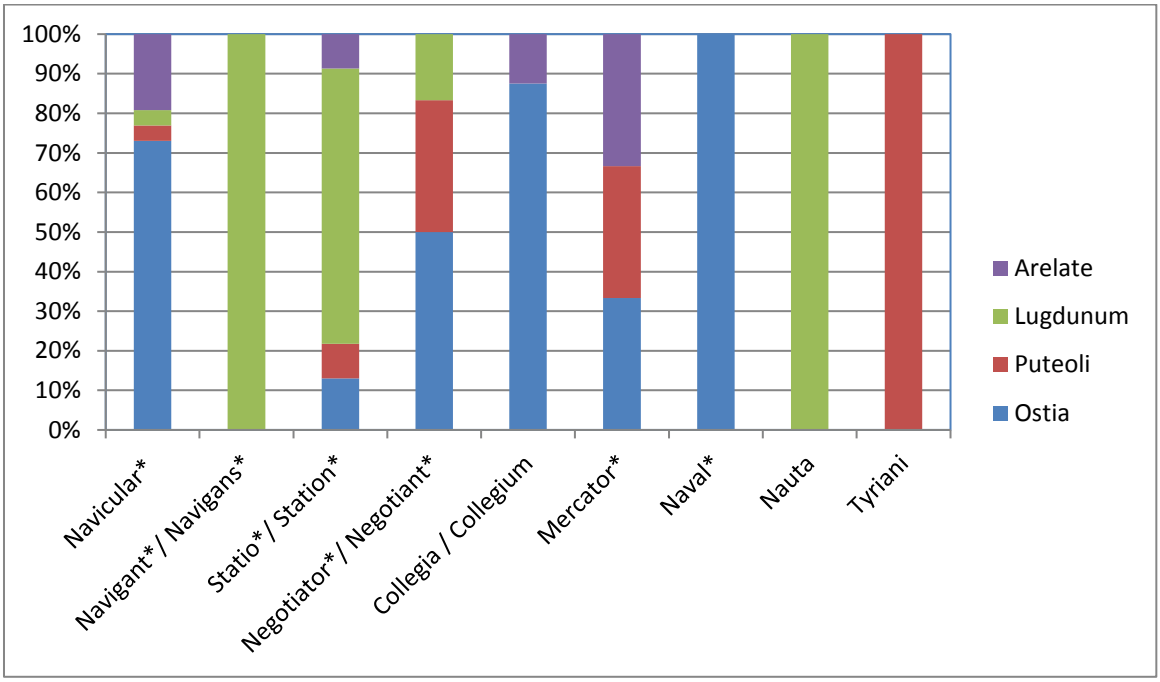
Not every port city in this research yielded the same amount of evidence, but by combing the evidence accumulated from the other port cities it can be concluded that *collegia* and trading communities utilised the same locations and applied the same methods to become visible in port cities throughout the western part of the empire.

The aim of this research has been to investigate how *collegia* and trading communities became visible in port cities in the west of the Roman Empire and where the local inhabitants could encounter them. This study constitutes the first attempt to look

beyond the debates on the nature of *collegia* and trading communities and the nature of trade. Supplementing this discussion with a social and geographical investigation of how collegia and *trading* communities became visible in their host cities and where inhabitants could encounter them could provide more information on the socio-economic position of *collegia* and trading communities within port cities. However, to gain broader knowledge of this subject, I propose a further study that investigates how foreign *collegia* and trading communities increased their visibility in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. A comparison of the outcome of these two studies may reveal whether or not people living in the east utilised the same locations and methods to become visible as in the west. The outcome of this research could, in turn, contribute to a wider understanding of the purpose of diaspora *collegia* and trading communities throughout the empire and their related levels of visibility.

Appendix

1: Number of inscriptions according to search terms, divided by port city.



Ostia

Search term	Number of inscriptions found
*Navicular**	19
Navigant, navigans**	0
Statio, station**	3
Negotiator, negotiant**	3
Collegia, collegium	7
*Mercator**	3
*Naval**	1

Puteoli

Search term	Number of inscriptions found
*Navicular**	1
Navigant, navigans**	0
Statio, station**	2
Negotiator, negotiant**	2
Collegia, collegium	0
*Mercator**	3
*Naval**	0
Tyriani	2

Lugdunum

Search term	Number of inscriptions found
*Navicular**	1
Navigant, navigans**	7
Negotiator, negotiant**	16
Statio, station**	1
Collegia, collegium	0
*Mercator**	0
Nauta	8

Arelate

Search term	Number of inscriptions found
*Navicular**	5
Navigant, navigans**	0
Negotiator, negotiant**	2
Statio, station**	0
Collegia, collegium	1
*Mercator**	3
Nauta	0

2: Overview of officials in Ostia

Official	Function	Inscription
L. Valerius Threptus	*magister* and *quinquennalis* of the Ostian carpenters, guardian of the wine traders and *quinquennalis* of the wine traders from the wine forum.	CIL 14.430
M. Aemilius Saturus	*quinquennalis* of the grain traders.	CIL 14.161
M. Iunius Faustus	*duumvir* of the city and *flamen* in the emperor cult, was co-opted as patron by the corporations of *curatores* of the African and of the Sardinian ships.	CIL 9.14, 4142
Emperor Gordian	This statue can be dated to 238 AD. The honorary inscription was found in Ostia and was erected by order of its ancestral god under supervision of Ti. Claudius Papirius, a native to Ostia who was supervisor of the sanctuary of Marnas at Ostia – Portus.	0 I.Porto 5 = IG 14, 926, see Verboven, 'Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire', 340.
Unknown official	Member of the corporation, *quinquennalis* and *biselliarus* for the wine traders from the wine forum.	Ost. Inv. 6272 + 6273 + 6585.

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