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Abstract: In Roman communities, individuals and groups competed for prestige by materialising themselves with the help of public inscriptions, statues, and buildings. Traders provide a particularly interesting example in this regard as they used their urban environment to make claims on their locality, but also reference to their distinct origin. This paper explores how groups of foreign traders used material and textual dimensions of space to influence the construction of their social identity in Puteoli and Ostia during the Roman empire. For this, I systematically examine Ostian and Puteolian epigraphic sources in their archaeological context. My findings contribute to previous insights by arguing that the vast spatial distribution and function of social sites associated with traders enabled context-dependent representations. As a result, individuals were much more flexible in their expression of social identity, as previously assumed.

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FLEXIBLE SOCIAL SITES

THE SPATIAL REPRESENTATION OF FOREIGNNESS AND LOCALITY IN ROMAN PUTEOLI AND OSTIA

Jakob Jung

This paper analyses inscriptions and built environment related to Ostian and Puteolian traders in their spatial context. The focus of my investigation lies in the expression of locality and connections to the home community of origin. Based on this examination, it is argued that the vast spatial distribution and function of social sites associated with traders enabled fluid context-dependent expression of identities.

In the Roman world, inscriptions and structures monumentalised the urban environment by publicly commemorating the social position of groups and individuals alike. One's social standing was determined by honourable services to the community through acts like benefactions or political offices.¹ Even non-local traders had a profound epigraphic and architectural influence on the physical outlook of the cities both in the harbours of Puteoli and in Ostia. Trade routes connected these two Italian ports closely to the western and eastern provinces of the empire. The epigraphic sources for this paper were found in the *EDCS* database. I combined the geographical filters of Ostia and Puteoli with keywords such as 'negot*', 'statio*', 'schol*', 'corp*', 'colleg*', 'navicu*', 'mercator*' to collect evidence describing traders.

The unique abundance of source material on traders has resulted in an extensive historiography on the topic. A general trend remains that authors have either highlighted the local integration of non-local traders or their supposed segregation. This binary distinction has remained largely intact in the 2020 volume *Roman Port Societies*, which assembles most experts on the field.² Nicholas Purcell summarises the volume's main point according to which 'outsiders, in the ancient view, needed to be controlled and institutionalized.'³ The contributors explain this either by the local position of traders or their distinctiveness. Instead, I argue that traders stressed different facets of origin and locality depending on the social and spatial setting. Consequently, I contend that the exclusivity of foreign traders proved much more flexible and contextual than previously assumed.⁴

Specifically, I ask how foreign traders were able to employ material and textual dimensions of space to influence the construction of their social identity in Roman Puteoli and Ostia. To answer this question, I use the dialectical distinction between 'soft' and 'hard' space. Soft space means perceived space that hasn't materialised yet. Contrarily, hard space describes the manifested physical space in our material

surroundings. Both types of spaces influence each other: perceived space can be transformed into material reality. Likewise, hard space shapes human perception.⁵ Keeping these processes of spatial construction in mind, I utilise the approach of the philosopher T. R. Schatzki to social practice theory. He describes social sites as the ‘specific context of human coexistence: the place where, and as part of which, social life inherently occurs.’⁶ These spaces are created through interconnected (daily) social interaction and practices, organisation, and agency. In the following two sections, I will incorporate these factors in a contextual analysis of inscriptions to examine different social sites in Ostia and Puteoli and their expression of locality and foreignness.⁷

MATERIALISING LOCALITY

Non-local traders have left behind a profound number of sources in Puteoli’s and Ostia’s physical cityscapes. Yet, the trader’s everyday life hardly produced any evidence distinct from local conditions. Instead, this chapter shows that traders consciously represented themselves at specific sites such as trading stations, association houses, joint commemorative monuments and individual grave inscriptions to lay a claim to locality. The centrality of these places underlined the material presence and influence of traders and furthered close connections to local inhabitants. Likewise, inscriptions invoked imagined spaces of locality expressed through acts of services to the local communities and business and patronage connections. These strategies of representation likened references to the traders’ communities of origin and served the same goal of allowing access to local social and commercial life.

In Puteoli, the presence of storage buildings (*horrea*) and living quarters dominated large areas next to the coastline and most parts of the north-western and south-eastern suburbs. In Ostia too, *horrea* occupied large parts of the city. Evidence suggests that at least some of these buildings housed foreign traders. A fictional story by Claudius Aelianus (170 - 235 CE) mentions the existence of a Bateian storage house right next to the harbour. Furthermore, it has been suggested that a *Vicus Tyanianus* – a quarter named after traders from Tyana in Cappadocia – existed close to the seaside. An inscription mentioning a quarter named after the Phoenician city of Tyrus was found outside the city gates. Despite these geographical references, non-local traders are impossible to distinguish and must have lived similarly to their local counterparts.⁸

Sites of stronger distinction were trading stations such as the Tyrian station that a well-known Greek inscription found in Puteoli from 174 CE attests to. As historian T. Terpstra argues, it must have been displayed publicly addressing the inhabitants of Puteoli.⁹ The fragmentary text documents a successful interaction of local Tyrians and their Phoenician mother city in modern Syria to cover and preserve the expenses of the Puteolian trading station. Non-local traders are also well represented in the complex of the so-called *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* in Ostia. This square consists of colonnades divided (possibly once by wooden stalls) into 61 small rooms and aligns directly with a theatre in the south. At the entrance of the small rooms mosaic floors hold the names of different seafarers’ (*navicularii*) associations and depict them together with their products or other symbols related to their origin.¹⁰ Similarly, some inscriptions in Ostia refer to a wine forum. From the inscriptions, it can be deduced that it accommodated an association for wine traders and that auctions were held there. The main market hall (*macellum*) in Puteoli might have hosted a similar representative function as the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* (Figure 1). Such localities offered places to meet and network with non-local traders and local residents while institutionalising the



Figure 1: Puteolian Macellum with imperial (?) temple in the centre. Carole Raddato, 2019. CC BY-SA 2.0 Deed (upscaled)

representations of particular regions of origin.

Much like other non-elite people in Roman towns, the traders expressed themselves through associations that offered the opportunity for architectural portrayal and space for epigraphical dedications.¹¹ Both association buildings (*scholae*), which were the meeting places of professional associations (*collegia*), and the stations could serve the same aim of representing the community of traders. However, associations centred more strongly on internal community life, such as feasts and cult celebrations.¹² In Ostia none of the found association buildings can be clearly identified with specific representations of foreign traders. This indicates that traders made use of local religious and occupational associations. Two inscriptions from Puteoli's suburbia found at the Via Campania suggest further possible locations of other 'foreign' association buildings. They mention both Daphnians (written 1-100 CE), from near Antiochia, located at a crossroad and the worshippers of Heliopolitani (dedicated 101-200 CE), from the city of Berytos, who owned a large stretch of land with cisterns and shops which served as a meeting place near the necropolis.¹³

Similarly, the above-mentioned Tyrian inscription in Puteoli indicates that the Tyrian trading station had a more distinct character, similar to a *scholae*. Nevertheless, these buildings, too, catered to a local audience. The Tyrians mention that much money needed to be spent on the 'restoration of the station' for the imperial festivities. Their station had to pay 'for the bull sacrifice at the games in Puteoli.' These celebrations of (former) emperors' birthdays, rise to power, and important triumphs were accompanied by public theatre performances, games, and religious ceremonies. At the same time, the inscription remarks that the station was 'better than the others both in adornment and in size' – at least 'in the past.' This passage highlights the care traders gave to the outward appearance of their buildings to portray themselves to the urban audience in competition with other local and non-local groups.¹⁴ The built environment of these prominently positioned locations facilitated random encounters between inhabitants of Ostia, as studies on movement possibilities in the spatial layout have shown. This translated the flourishing networks into social practices of everyday life. It explains why, for example, the association of rope makers



Figure 2: Piazzale delle Corporazioni Station 48: black and white mosaic with writing 'M. (auretania C.(aesariensis)' and two date palms, an amphora, and three fish. Wikimedia Commons, 2011. CC BY-SA 2.0 DEED (upscaled).

had their own association building but still settled in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni too.¹⁵ The stations functioned as physical contact points for both business partners and merchants from the same association or place of origin, as well as local patrons and partners. Economically, acceptance by their host environment held essential importance for the traders. The connection with a powerful local individual promised political influence. Patrons provided important contact with local traders and resellers while vouching for the trustworthiness and honour of a foreign individual or group.¹⁶ Examples of dedications are plentiful: seamen from Africa and Sardinia dedicated a statue to their patron Marcus Junius Faustus (dedicated in 173 CE). Other statues in the garden of the Piazzale are related to non-trading associations, honouring prestigious individuals – many of them imperial priests. In a similar vein, in Puteoli seamen and traders appear as dedicants to their patrons. For example, ‘the merchants who trade in Alexandria, Asia, and Syria’ honoured members of the local elite, the Calpurni family, who were responsible for building the Puteolian capitol.¹⁷

These links to patronage could materialise into political influence. Non-local traders were normal citizens of their home town and often lacked the means to pursue a political career in their host societies and had to turn to patrons for representation instead. The conspicuous presence of trade associations on public ground attests to such connections.¹⁸ For example, most of the statues in the garden of the Piazzale carry a mark meaning that public officials had agreed to dedications symbolising the traders’ connection to local benefactors on public ground. Similarly, an inscription from Puteoli describes the renovation of the temple of the Egyptian-Hellenistic god Serapis in detail. The local city officials were heavily involved in the financing of this building and oversaw the building phase.

Similarly, the trade associations of the Piazzale very likely involved themselves in the renovation of the Ostian theatre. Older levels of mosaics depicting natural scenes and animals suppose a gradual shift towards a full use by the associations. Probably, the building first served as a shelter for theatre-goers to gather during bad weather or breaks. It is likely that groups of traders either helped finance the upkeep of the theatre or the shows themselves. As a reward, they were allowed to claim spaces in the Piazzale. This shift was completed under Hadrian (r. 117–138 CE) when the main entrance towards the Tiber was blocked off. The newer levels of mosaic were created between 191 and 200 CE.¹⁹ Indeed, other associations of traders also involved

themselves in the organisation of festivities. Seafarers along with local associations are linked to a lodge in the Puteolian amphitheatre, which was located in a central node of the urban lay-out.

Overall, the stations found in Ostia and Puteoli are located in close vicinity to the two locations for social festivities, namely the theatre and the amphitheatre. This facilitated the traders to display their local social position through sponsorship, and physical presence at games.²⁰ The inscriptions proudly reflect the traders' and their patrons' engagement in constructing and shaping the local space. The centrality in the urban context equalled to materialised locality which is also consciously invoked in the mosaic inscriptions of the stations at the Piazzale delle Corporazioni by the word 'hic' (here) and 'de suo' (at own expense).²¹ Hence, 'foreigners' held a prominent place – far from marginalisation – in the urban landscape that was facilitated by the institutions of stations and associations. As demonstrated through these building activities, *euergetism* – the public expression of benefaction towards the community – substantiated the claim to locality and changed the local environment.

In contrast, the individual member had much fewer possibilities to present themselves in the public space. Burial inscriptions found in the graveyards outside of the city offered a unique space for individual commemoration of locals and foreigners alike. The very act of remaining physically in the host city even after one's death attested to the presence and local history of foreign communities shaping a trans-communal memory. Located next to major roads they were visible to bypassers and mourners alike. Both in Puteoli and Ostia, Latin and Greek commemorative inscriptions have been found that either highlight the origin of an individual or their profession as a trader or seaman, respectively *navicularii*, or 'ναύληρον/ ναύκληρος' (naukleroi).²² The inscription by Gaius Octavious Agathopus (dedicated 41 CE) provides another telling example: '(...) tired from east to west, (he) and Regilla, his daughter, rest here (...).'²³ The inscription contrasts this mobility from 'east to west' with the current state of rest 'here' in Puteoli. Thus, it infers locality to Gaius and his daughter after living a highly mobile life, very possibly as a trader. The lack of segregation of locals and foreigners in the burial sites and the monumentality of the funerary inscriptions displays further locality.

The high presence of epigraphy following local customs associated with foreign traders evocates their claims to perceived spaces of locality in the form of networks. In this sense, being local meant being a trustworthy group within the civic community. Likewise, this underlined the traders' economic and social participation in the public sphere. Association buildings and stations connected to the traders enabled an impressive and prominent representation of the groups in the urban layout. The benefaction facilitated further involvement and prestige--gainin the local community.

EXPRESSION OF ORIGIN

This section turns to the inscriptions and spatial environment expressing foreignness connected to traders in Puteoli and Ostia. Notably, the places representing the places of origin equal the sites analysed for the expression of locality: origins were most frequently articulated through funerary inscriptions and the built environment of trading stations. In these cases, origin helped to define and strengthened social networks of kin, information, and trust. Especially, the commercial spaces created a soft space where depictions of typical goods represented particular communities of origin and facilitated commercial exchange. Finally, religious associations could denote exclusive group representation and limited exclusivity in both private and

public life but often actually integrated well into the local fabric. Thus, traders stressed these different facets of origin depending on the social and spatial setting.

Individual tombstones provided the most important space for representing origin. Located along the main roads outside of Puteoli and Ostia, the tombstones and their inscriptions were broadly accessible. In Puteoli, inscriptions of Greek traders often follow the same pattern as in the inscription (dedicated 31-150 CE) of 'Tholomaios, son of Thaimallos, also known as Maximus, from Petra, lived for 33 years'.²⁴ Some of these inscriptions identify the deceased directly as seamen such as 'Enipeus of Sakerdotos, a seaman from Korykos of 22 years' (dedicated 151-250 CE).²⁵ The material expressions of origin monumentalised the social relations of traders. Several grave inscriptions highlight the social network within the diaspora and to the host community: 'For Diodotus, son of Menodotus, from Korykius. Hyginus made this for his sweetest grandson'.²⁶ The grandfather Hyginus seems to have set up the gravestone (dedicated 101-250 CE) marking a long family lineage that connects three generations of Greeks in Puteoli. This way, trans-local familial connections or the presence of diaspora groups in case the relatives also lived in the host community could be highlighted.

Stations offered spaces where these personal contacts to the home community were reinforced and institutionalised. The already mentioned inscription on the Tyrian station from 174 CE states that 'no income accrues either from shippers or from merchants to our station, as is the case with the station in royal Rome.' This passage probably refers to non-resident Tyrians or locals who must have used the services of the station when in Puteoli. The support of traders through stations hints towards a large informal network of trade communities based on origins.²⁷ For diaspora residents in Puteoli and Ostia, such an exchange must have guaranteed a constant connection to their home town and helped to preserve the feeling of community and belonging. The fact that the services of the Tyrian station remained free of charge in Puteoli and that the city council of Tyros agreed to give financial support shows the commitment of both sides to this imagined community.²⁸

The Piazzale delle Corporazioni offered a similar meeting point for non-resident traders while representing their connection to Ostia locally. The inscriptions naming the individual stations are located at the entrance facing the visitor. Foreign merchants could then easily find their respective representation.²⁹ Similarly, the Puteolian macellum remained a rather distinct building and its vicinity to the harbour would have made it easy to find as well. All these places are characterised by a degree of visibility that left little room for semi-private seclusion of groups.

In these spaces, symbolisms and personifications worked to represent or characterise certain places of origin. In the Ostian Piazzale delle Corporazioni introduced in the previous section, the mosaics before the stalls highlight certain geographical features. For example, the Nile in station 27 or the lighthouse of Portus in station 46. Furthermore, the ships' depictions also differ slightly due to local peculiarities. Wild animals at the station of Sabratha refer to the local fauna and perhaps the import of animals for games in Rome. Two date trees and an amphora at the station with the inscription of 'M(auretania?) C(aesariensis?)' might refer to the date and wine trade from that region (Figure 2).³⁰ Hence, some of the traders represent themselves by referencing particular commercial products or local characteristics. Economically, this helped to build up a collective representation and integrate non-residential and settled foreign traders into such networks of trust and information. It incentivised communities to control their fellow members to upkeep a good

reputation. Grouping traders according to their origin aided in identifying the traders that were otherwise invisible in the city layout, which made acquiring their products or services easier.³¹

Associations and religious cults expressed a more exclusive group identity physically. Their presence was marked by lavish façades or through inscriptions, such as the above-cited cult of Heliopolitani that proudly announced ownership over local land. In annual processions, these groups expressed their exclusivity more publicly, while also highlighting their connections to the host community.³² This switch between inclusivity and exclusivity of a foreign identity is perfectly exemplified by another Tyrian votive lettering (dedicated between 81-200 CE) found close to Puteoli's necropolis. It highlights the status of Tyros as a formally independent ally to Rome (*foederata* in Latin). It then switches to Greek, accentuating its Phoenician tradition, along with the city's holy and prosperous condition. Thus, when celebrating Tyrian traditions and history the inscription turns to a more exclusive readership.³³

Similarly, patron deities and their cults could signify larger social collectives such as associations, cities, and regions. Foreign cults formed an essential part of the religious life in Ostia and Puteoli. A connection between a cult of a certain god and its location of origin was easily made. For example, the Egyptian cult of Isis is well-attested in both cities and used clearly identifiable imagery linked to Egypt. These and other Greek or Egyptian gods of sea trade occupied prominent places in Puteoli at the harbour and in the central quarter of Rione Terra and were also found in Ostia. Still, other eastern temples, i.e., for Iuppiter Heliopolitanus, were positioned throughout the city. Furthermore, cults from Anatolia and Syria are attested in Ostia and Puteoli. They often carry the origin in their name, such as Iupiter Damascenus from Damascus, Iupiter Heliopolitanus from Heliopolis in modern Libanon, Iupiter Dolichenus from Doliche in Thessaly, Dea Syria, and Venus Caelestis both from Syria.³⁴ Furthermore, the Tyrian station paid 'for sacrifices and services (...) in temples' established in Puteoli. Here, the plural form of temples refers to the prominence of Tyrian deities in Puteoli. The upkeep of such sanctuaries satisfied genuine religious needs but also integrated non-resident members adhering to the same gods in local structures.³⁵

Moreover, while religious cults could be used to express a distinct geographical origin, religious spaces often actually allowed for the interaction of locals and non-local traders. An important feature of the ancient religious mentality was the integration of foreign gods into one's belief system. For example, the cult of the magna mater originally from Asia Minor was introduced in the Roman Empire in the third century B.C.E. The cult quickly became popular and gained a patriotic meaning connected to the Roman state.³⁶ In Ostia, this cult was practised at a large campus area in the centre, but dedications to the magna mater are also found in Puteoli. A statue of the god Serapis seated on a throne was found close to the central temple of the multicultural Piazzale delle Corporazioni complex. A Puteolian inscription from the first century also describes the travel of the god Serapis from Tyrus to Puteoli accompanied by the priest Eliem. The travel justified the temples and worship of the Tyrian god in Puteoli and literally made Serapis a local. Similarly, other foreign cults quickly found local meanings and followers; their membership was voluntary, after all.³⁷ All the more, local gods of the western provinces remained less distinct from the Roman gods and lacked cults almost completely. Thus, the religious activity of these associations would have been almost indistinguishable from their Roman counterparts.³⁸

The commercial spaces within the city remained rather inclusive spaces. The diversity of organisations in close vicinity promoted the adherence to integrative cults such as the imperial cult, the Magna Mater cult, or the cult of the gods Liber and Libera at the Forum Vinarium.³⁹ On the other hand, the harbour district and areas outside the city housed more exclusive manifestations of origin. Overall, the expression of origin in Ostia centred more strongly around commercial representation while Puteoli hosted a more prominent scene of eastern cults. Still, both cities offered the traders diverse social sites allowing for greater fluidity in expressing or concealing their origin.

CONCLUSION

Foreign traders used many different places in the cityscape of Roman Puteoli and Ostia to express social identities related to locality and foreignness. The trader's presence was felt the strongest in spaces of collective representation, such as the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, other trading stations, and religious or origin-based associations. Individually, traders left a noticeable trace outside of the city through funerary inscriptions in the necropolis areas. Residential quarters of non-local traders did not manifest spatially and hint towards little difference in the everyday life between traders and locals.

Interestingly, the same social sites could emphasise both the traders' origin and connections to the community of residence. Stations served as a commercial representation of certain non-local groups, which was underlined by symbolic imagery. The spatial location of the stations at prominent places in the city facilitated contact with locals who in turn could use the imagery to identify desired contacts. Specific associations expressed group-belonging more exclusively within the inner city. However, at least the foreignness of religious cults was overestimated previously and these institutions more likely facilitated close contact between different locals and non-locals. Indeed, non-local individuals and exclusive associations based on origin still emphasised their connection to local patrons in the same way they expressed connections to their hometowns. In Ostia and Puteoli, social networks unfolded spatially and facilitated systems of trust, information, commerce, and reputation. Hence, traders not only used the same spaces but also the same methods to express their social identity.

Despite restraints, the options for expressing different aspects of identity materialised quite literally in a wide range of social sites throughout Ostia and Puteoli and gave traders a greater agency than previously argued. Here, identity functioned as a toolbox. Individually, traders moved in the same spaces as their local peers and could choose to present regional connections and services to participate in the local community as trustworthy individuals. At the same time, the traders could associate themselves with their home community to sell certain products, profit from their reputation, or ask for their support. That said, identity formation in the Roman world was a highly context-dependent, flexible, and goal-orientated process transcending the simple binary of integration and segregation.

Jakob Jung is currently completing his research master's in History at Radboud University. He is interested in ancient and early modern socio-cultural history and particularly fascinated by the relation of material culture and marginal communities.

Eindnoten

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- 4 The role of occupational associations and the imperial cult for a flexible identity of traders will be discussed in my 2025 forthcoming article.
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- 12 Bollmann, *Römische Vereinshäuser*, 12, 209, 211; Steuernagel, 'Stationes and associations', 77.
- 13 AE 1932, 71: '(Co)mpitanis / (Da)phnensisibus uncum / (scripsi) Volumnius (centurio)' (own transl. if not stated otherwise: 'The centurion Volumnius writes (that) the Daphnians (situated at the crossroad (deserve the executioner's) hook'). CIL 10. 1579: 'Hic ager iug(era) VII cum cisterna / et tabernis eius eorum possessorum / iuris est qui in cultu corporis Heliopolita(norum) sunt erunt atque ita ita ac/cessus iusq(ue) esto per ianuas itineraque / eius agri qui nihil adversus legem / et conventionem eius corporis facere / perseveraverint' ('This is a field of VII acres, with a cistern and shops, it is the right of their owners who are in the cult of the body of the Heliopolitans. Those have the right to approach, whoever they might be, through the gates and paths of this land who have persisted in doing nothing against the law and convention of this body.') D. Rohde, 'Roman port societies and their collegia: differences and similarities between the associations of Ostia and Ephesus', in: P. Arnaud and S. Keay (eds.), *Roman port societies: the evidence of inscriptions* (Cambridge 2020) 111; Bollmann, *Römische Vereinshäuser*, 323–327.
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- 16 Terpstra, *Trading Communities*, 24; Steuernagel, "Öffentliche und private Aspekte von Vereinskulturen," 73; Arnaud, and Keay, 'Inscriptions and Port Societies', 39.
- 17 CIL 14. 4142: 'M(arco) Junio M(arci) f(ilio) Pal(atina) / Fausto / decurioni adducto / flamini divi Titi duumviro / mercatori frumentario / q(uaestori) aerari(i) flamini Romae / et Aug(ustorum) patrono cor(porum) / curatorum navium marinari(um) / domini navium Afrarum / universarum item / Sardorum / l(ocus) d(atus) d(creto) d(ecurionum) p(ublice) (...) ('To Marcus Junius Faustus, son of Marcus, of the Palatine tribe, appointed as decurion, merchant of grain, quaestor of the public treasury, priest of Rome and Augustus, patron of the association of shipmasters of mariners, (dedicated by) the owners of all ships from Africa and also from Sardinia. A place granted publicly by decree of the decurions'). CIL 10. 1797: 'L(ucio) Calpurnio L(uci) f(ilio) / Capitoline // C(aio) Calpurnio L(uci) f(ilio) // mercatares qui Alexandr(iae) Asia Syria negotiantur'.
- 18 Jaschke, *Puteoli*, 221. Verboven, 'Resident Aliens', 345.
- 19 Statues with 'l d d d p': CIL 14. 4140; CIL 14. 4620; CIL 14. 4452; CIL 14. 370; CIL 14. 4142; CIL 14. 374; CIL 14. 390; CIL 14. 391; CIL 14. 4143; CIL 14. 4664; CIL 14. 4144; CIL 14. 4148. On the temple of Serapis: CIL 10. 1781. In general, authorities distributed public space equally between foreign and local collegia c.f. Verboven, 'Resident aliens', 347; Bollmann, *Römische Vereinshäuser*, 34. On the Piazzale delle Corporazioni c.f. Rohde, 'Der Piazzale delle Corporazioni', 5; Terpstra, *Trading Communities*, 81, 103, 109.
- 20 AE 1928, 120: 'Divo [?] / navicul(arii ?) / qui ad ur(bem) ? / et copia(m)' (Own transl.: 'Divine (?) seamen who at the city (?) and supply'). Verboven, 'Resident aliens', 345–346; Rohde, 'Der Piazzale delle Corporazioni', 41–42, 48; Bollmann, *Römische Vereinshäuser*, 299, 374–378; Steuernagel, 'Stationes and associations', 63, 66, 68; Rohde, 'Roman port Societies and their collegia', 117.

21 CIL 14. 4549, 2; CIL 14. 4549, 10; CIL 14. 4549, 11; CIL 14. 4549, 15-16; CIL 14. 4549, 17; CIL 14. 4549, 18; CIL 14. 4549, 43-47; CIL 14. 4549, 34-36; Perhaps also CIL 14. 4549, 42; Rohde, 'Der Piazzale delle Corporazioni', 51; Camodeca, Puteoli Romana, 349.

22 Puteoli: AE 1996, 416; CIL 10. 1872; CIL 10. 1931; CIL 10. 2792; IG 14. 840; IG 14. 841; IG 14. 842a; IG 14. 854; IG 14. 848. Ostia: AE 1940, 64; AE 1940, 65; AE 1974, 123a; AE 2018, 174; CIL 14. 397..

23 CIL 10. 2792: 'C(aius) Octavius Agathop(us) min(or) / ab oriente ad occidente(m) fessus / et Regilla» s hic requi-escit f(ilia) / Cn(aeo) Sentio Q(uinto) Pomponio co(n)s(ulibus)'(transl.: 'Ga(ius) Octavius Agathopus, the younger, tired from east to west, and Regilla, his daughter, rest here. In the consulship of Gnaeus Sentius and Quintus Pomponius'). Jaschke, Puteoli, 97.

24 IG 14. 842a: 'Θολο/μαος / Θαμάλ/λου κα / Μάξιμος / Πετραος / ζησεν / τη λγ'. Jaschke, Puteoli, 60.

25 IG 14. 841: 'νειτέα Σα/κέρδωτος ναύ/ληρον Κωρυκι/ώτην τν κρ'.
26 IG 14. 840: 'Διοδότ Μηνοδότου Κωρυκιώτ γενος υων γλυκυτάτ'.
27 IG 14. 830. Verboven, 'Mercantile Communities', 358.

28 IG 14. 830; Verboven, 'Resident Aliens', 335-336; Terpstra, Trading Communities, 82, 113; Jaschke, Puteoli, 223.

29 Rohde, 'Der Piazzale delle Corporazioni', 48, 52; Terpstra, Trading Communities, 112-113; Verboven, 'Resident Aliens', 346.

30 CIL 14. 4549, 26; CIL 14. 4549, 46; CIL 14. 4549, 14; CIL 14. 4549, 11. K. Mustakallio, and A. Karivieri, 'Contacts over the sea: evidence from mosaics decorating the Piazzale delle Corporazioni and the Terme delle Province,' in: A. Karivieri (ed.), Life and death in a multicultural harbour city: Ostia Antica from the Republic through Late Antiquity. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 47 (Rome 2020) 75-76. R. Berg, 'Images of the 'Foreign Other' in Roman Ostia', in: A. Karivieri (ed.), Life and death in a multicultural harbour city: Ostia Antica from the Republic through Late Antiquity. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 47 (Rome 2020) 201.

31 Berg, 'Foreign Other' in Roman Ostia', 202; Terpstra, Trading Communities, 79-81, 115; Verboven, 'Resident aliens', 342.

32 CIL 10. 1579. Bollmann, Römische Vereinshäuser, 209; 324-325.

33 CIL 10. 1601: '(S)acerdos siliginiu(s ?) / Tyros m(etropolis ?) / foede(rata ?) // Τύρος ερ κα συλος κ(α ατόνομος μητρό)/πολις Φοινεικης (? καλλων) / πολέων (?) / [θ]ε γι' (transl.: 'The priest responsible for wheat offerings The metropolis Tyros, allied (to Rome) Holy Tyros, both inviolate and independent metropolis of Phoenicia and of all other cities [dedicated this] to the holy god').

34 A. Pellegrino, 'Eastern cults at Ostia: An example of social, economic and civic integration', in: A. Karivieri (ed.), Life and death in a multicultural harbour city: Ostia Antica from the Republic through Late Antiquity. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 47 (Rome 2020) 366, 369; Jaschke, Puteoli, 222, 225-226, 229, 231-234; Terpstra, Trading Communities, 84-90; 122-14; Terpstra, 'The Imperial Cult', 178; Berg, 'Foreign Other' in Roman Ostia', 199. Verboven, 'Resident Aliens', 337; Camodeca, Puteoli Romana, 330, 332.

35 IG 14. 830. Verboven, 'Resident aliens', 338; Terpstra, Trading communities, 81, 125; Jaschke, Puteoli, 237-238; Verboven, 'Mercantile communities', 358; Steuernagel, 'Öffentliche und private Aspekte von Vereinskulten', 80.

36 C.f. Steuernagel, 'Stationes and associations', 66; Verboven, 'Mercantile communities', 358.

37 AE 1950, 31b: 'πτάτον Λουκιου Καισε(ντιου) κα Ποτλίου Καλονισιου) / κα Τυριοις (τους) σθ μηνς ρ(τεμ)/ιοιον ια κατέπλευσεν (π) / Τύρου ες Ποτι(ό)λους Θες (γ)/ιος (Σ)αρεπτηνό(ς) γαγεν (?)//ηλειμ κατ πιτο(λν το) (?) // Pro salute Imp(e-ratoris) Domitiani (Aug(usti)] / I(ocus) c(oncessus)' (transl.: In the consulship of Lucius Caesennius and Publius Calvisius, in the 204 year among the Tyrians, during the Tyrian month of Artemisius, on the 11th day, the sacred God Serapis sailed from Tyre to Puteoli. Eliem brought him, according to the decree of (?). To the well-being of Emperor Domitian Augustus, (inscription) granted (at this) place'). Jaschke, Puteoli, 226, 231, 265; Terpstra, Trading communities, 123-124; Steuernagel, 'Stationes and associations', 67-68; Terpstra, 'The imperial cult', 180.

38 This process is known as the *interpretatio romana*. Jaschke, Puteoli, 222.

39 Coarelli 'Il forum vinarium', 113; Steuernagel 'Öffentliche und private Aspekte von Vereinskulten', 78; Pellegrino, 'Eastern cults', 363; Terpstra, 'The imperial cult', 184.