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FROM *PORTUS* TO ROME

A FEW REMARKS ON CORN SUPPLY OF THE ETERNAL CITY AND ADMINISTRATORS OF *PORTUS* AND THE BANKS OF THE TIBER IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Like other great ancient empires, starting from Assyria and Persia, Rome had a network of roads which crossed the Empire in all directions. Thus inland transportation in the Roman Empire was not confined to the rivers, but was conducted using roads. It was inexpensive¹. In addition, Emperor Octavian Augustus established the postal service – *cursus publicus*. In the period of late empire, it was used not only to quickly transfer information and transport civil officers (*cursus velox*), but also to transport goods, especially taxes paid in kind and money (*cursus clavularius*) to the praetorian prefect and Count of the Sacred Largesse, respectively². For transferring the

¹ C. Yeo, *Land and Sea Transportation in Imperial Italy*, in: *Transactions and Proceedings of American Philological Association*, 77 (1946), pp. 221–244.

² For more on the public post in the Roman Empire see: E. J. Holmberg, *Zur Geschichte der Cursus Publicus*, (1933); P. Stoffel, *Über die Staatspost, die Ochsenespanne und die requirierten Ochsenespanne. Eine Darstellung der römischen Postwesens auf Grund der Gesetze des Codex Theodosianus und des Codex Iustinianus*, (*Europäische Hochschulschriften*, 3: *Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften* 595, 1994); L. Di Paola, *Viaggi, trasporti e istruzioni. Studi sul cursus publicus*, (*Pelorias* 5, 1999); A. Kolb, *Cursus publicus*, in: *Der Neue Pauly*, 3 (1997), pp. 245–246; A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich*, (*Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Neue Folge*, vol. 2, 2000); L. Lemcke, *Imperial Transportation and Communication from the Third to the Late Fourth Century*, (*Collection Latomus* 353, 2016).

dues for the Count of the Privy Purse a different type of transport – *bastaga privata* – was used³.

The largest basin involved in water transport in Rome was Mediterranean Sea. It was used to transport taxes paid in kind, *annona*, collected in North Africa and Egypt⁴. In the case of Rome, a special role was played by the tax devoted to provisioning the Eternal City: *canon Urbis*, which in the period of late Empire was also used for the needs of Constantinople. In this paper I try to explain how Rome was being supplied and especially how the river transportation of grain and other foodstuffs on Tiber was organized.

SUPPLYING THE ETERNAL CITY – GENERAL INFORMATION

Grain, olive oil and other products collected under that tax were transported to expeditionary ports, where they were loaded onto ships. The number of Roman citizens who were eligible to free bread distribution numbered 120,000⁵, but even those not included into this group made use of *panis fiscalis* or *panis Ostiense*. Feeding the Roman citizens was a matter of primary importance for the emperors, as delays in grain supply, and the resulting increase in prices or food shortages sparked riots in the city. Emperor Valentinian III, when signing a peace treaty with Genseric in 442 and agreeing to hand over some of the African territory to the Vandals

³ On the transport of goods due to *comes sacrarum largitionum* and *comes rei privatae* see: R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata. L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle*, (Coll. de l'École française de Rome 121, 1989), especially. pp. 249–262.

⁴ On the procedure of collecting *annona*, its transport and storing in Africa, and directing them to expeditionary ports, see, among others: E. Tengström, *Bread for the People. Studies of the Corn Supply of Rome during the Late Empire*, (1974), pp. 14–62; P. Herz, *Studien zur römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung. Die Lebensmittelversorgung*, (*Historia Einzelschriften* 55, 1988); idem, *Organisation und Finanzierung der spätantiken annona*, in: *Nourir le plebe. Actes du colloque tenu à Geneve les 28 et 29. IX. 1989 en hommage la Denis van Berchem*, ed. A. Giovanini, (1991), pp. 161–188; S. Olszaniec, *Z Afryki do Rzymu. Prefekt praetorio Italii i annona*, in: *Rzymski Zachód od Augusta do upadku Cesarstwa. Studia poświęcone pamięci Profesora Tadeusza Kotuli w 10 rocznicę śmierci*, ed. M. Pawlak, (2017), pp. 97–107.

⁵ S. Olszaniec, *Prefektura praetorio Italii, Illyrikum i Afryki (312–425 n.e.)*, (2014), pp. 174–176, footnote 174; see also: G. S. Aldrete, D. J. Mattingly, *Feeding the city: the organization, operation and scale of the supply system for Rome*, in: *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. Potter, D. J. Mattingly, (1999), 171–204.

reserved himself further grain deliveries from the territories controlled by the Vandal ruler⁶. The transport of grain from Africa to Rome was managed by the *navicularii* guild, whose members were exempt from other *munera* and state taxes⁷.

Supplying the Eternal City with grain was the responsibility of the *praefectus annonae*, who controlled the whole process, from loading the grain in provinces, to storing it in Roman granaries (*horrea*)⁸. In the 4th century, however, he lost his independence and became subordinate to the city prefect (*praefectus Urbis Romae*)⁹. In addition, during the same century the whole process of collecting taxes in kind, loading, transport and bread distribution was also put under the control of the praetorian prefect of Italy, Illyricum and Africa. He was also the supervisor of *praefectus annonae Africae* and *praefectus fundorum patrimonialium*¹⁰.

⁶ Ibidem, pp. 177–178, further literature on the topic to be found therein.

⁷ For more about *navicularii* see: B. Sirks, *Food for Rome. The Legal Structure of the Transportation and Processing of Supplies for the Imperial Distributions in Rome and Constantinople*, (*Studia Amstelodamiensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius Antiquum et Papyrologicam Pertinentia* 31, 1991); L. De Salvo, *Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell'impero romano. I "corpora naviculariorum"*, (*Kleio* 5, 1992).

⁸ H. Pavis d'Escurac, *La prefecture de l'annone. Service administrative imperial d'Auguste à Constantin*, (*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 226, 1976); Herz, *Organisation*, p. 164.

⁹ The prefect of *annona* answered to the prefect of Rome: *Notitia dignitatum Occidentalis*, IV. 3. Similarly, the prefect of Rome supervised other civil officers involved in transport and supply of the city (*Urbs*), ibidem, IV. 7: *comes portus*; IV. 9: *rationalis vinorum*; IV. 10: *tribunus fori suarii*; IV. 15: *curator horreorum Galbanorum*, IV. 16: *centenarius Portus*; for more about the declining influence of the prefect of *annona* see: A. Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas – Empire*, (*Publications de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines d'Alger* 34, 1962), pp. 297–300; Herz, *Organisation*, pp. 164–167.

¹⁰ *Praefectus annonae Africae: Notitia Dignitatum Occidentalis*, II. 41; *praefectus fundorum patrimonialium*: ibidem, II. 42. *Tabularii* of the prefect of Africa controlled the weight of grain before loading the ships: Olszaniec, *Prefektura praetorio*, p. 179. Africa's prefect of *annona* had his *officium*, which meant numerous lower-rank civil officers: Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture*, p. 102. The first Africa's prefect of *annona* known by name was Amabilianus in 314, after him in the 4th century three other prefects known by name are encountered, see: Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture*, p. 142. The emergence of Africa's prefecture of *annona* is related to the administrative changes introduced by Diocletian and Maximianus in the years 294–305, namely separating Byzacena and Tripolitania from the proconsular province (Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture*, p. 144). The whole process of transporting grain to Rome: Olszaniec, *Prefektura praetorio*, pp. 180–183.

Due to their location, the ports of Rome were Ostia¹¹ and Puteoli, located in Campania at the Gulf of Naples¹². The arriving grain was stored in the local granaries (*horrea*). They were constructed during the reign of Claudius, and later of Trajan and Hadrian. During the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, a reconstruction of *Grandi horrea* was conducted, with new granaries constructed during Commodus's reign¹³. They were under the emperor's control, with only some of them, such as *horrea Epagathiana* and *horrea Epaphroditiana* being privately owned¹⁴.

THE GRAIN ARRIVES AT *PORTUS*

During the Late Antiquity period, Ostia was no longer Rome's most important port. What is more, Rutilius Namatianus writes that the local harbour at the Tiber was out of order, due to the silting of the river's southern arm¹⁵. Another harbour was *Portus Uterque*, which consisted of *Portus Augusti Ostiensis*, constructed by Claudius and Nero (also called *Portus Claudii*), and located further inland *Portus Traiani Felicis*¹⁶. The latter, according to Russel Meiggs, took over the role of of Puteoli harbour¹⁷. During the reign of Constantine, *Portus* became a city: *Civitas Flavia Constantiniana*

¹¹ R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, (1960). On Ostia Antica see also numerous articles by Christer Bruun.

¹² Yeo, *Land and Sea Transportation*, pp. 240–241; De Salvo, *Economia privata*, pp. 43–47; Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 252. In 394/395 the port in Puteoli was renovated by Fabius Pasiphilius, *agens vicem praefectorum praetorio et praefectus Urbis Romae: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, X, 1, ed. Th. Mommsen, (1883), 1690–1692, see: *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, 1: 260–395, (1971), p. 669: *Fabius Pasiphilius*. In the 4th century Puteoli remained a major trading port in contacts with the East.

¹³ Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture*, p. 244.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 243. *Horrea* in Ostia, Rome and *Portus* were the jurisdiction of the prefect of *annona* (p. 245).

¹⁵ Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu suo*, I. 181; Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, pp. 54–58. In the 4th century, according to Procopius (*Procopius, De Bellis*, V. 26. 6), both forks of the Tiber were fit for sailing. Procopius also writes about sailing via the Tiber in *De Bellis*, VI. 7. 6–9.

¹⁶ Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, pp. 54–62, Tengström, *Bread for the people*, p. 48; about *Portus Traiani* see also: De Salvo, *Economia privata*, pp. 47–52. In Polish literature on *Portus Uterque* see for instance: J. Jundziłł, *Rzymianie a morze*, (1991), pp. 31–32.

¹⁷ Meiggs *Roman Ostia*, pp. 57, 60.

*Portuensium*¹⁸. The history of *Portus Uterque* was not significantly affected even by the fact of being captured by Alaric in 408¹⁹, as it remained in use until the 8th century²⁰.

The person in charge of the port was, since the times of the Severi, an equestrian *procurator portus utrisque*²¹, who in the Late Empire period was replaced by the *comes portus*²². Also after the disappearance of *procurator portus utriusque* from the epigraphic material in the mid-3rd century in the times of Constantine²³ we encounter *consularis molium, fari atque purgaturae* L. Crepereius Madalianus as the person responsible for repairing and maintaining the harbour infrastructure²⁴.

Ships with grain coming to the port were welcomed by *comes portus*, and later unloaded by the *saccarii* guild²⁵. Grain was inspected (for frauds) by the *mensores Portuenses* and later stored in granaries: *horrea*²⁶. New *horrea* appeared in *Portus* during the reign of Severi²⁷. In the Late Empire, all *horrea* placed under the emperor's supervision are referred to as

¹⁸ Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 254.

¹⁹ Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, p. 169

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 171.

²¹ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, p. 50; Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, p. 299.

²² *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentalis*, IV. 7; Cassiodorus, *Variae*, VII. 9; see: Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, p. 309; Herz, *Studien*, p. 263: the successor of *procurator annonae* for *Portus* and *Ostia*, *comes portus* appeared shortly before 370 with reference to *Corpus Inscriptio-num Latinarum*, X, 1, 6441 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, I (1962), 1250. Cassiodorus, *Variae*, VII. 23 talks about the port vicar (*vicarius portus*).

²³ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, pp. 52–53 suggests the period after 331.

²⁴ *Corpus Inscriptio-num Latinarum*, XIV (*Supplementum Ostiense*), ed. L. Wickert, (1930), 4449.

²⁵ The organization of the *saccarii* in a guild with their own *Genius* is confirmed by inscriptions. See for instance *Corpus Inscriptio-num Latinarum*, XIV (*Suppl. Ostiense*), 4285 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, II, 1 (1962), 6187, see: Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 258. *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 22. 1 from 8 June 364 addressed to *praefectus Urbis Romae* Symmachus (*The Prosopography*, I, pp. 863–865: *L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus signo Phosphorius* 3) indicates that Valentinianus awarded the *saccarii* from *Portus Uterque* and all others who would join the guild with a monopoly on unloading private cargos coming to *Portus*, for more about that law, see: Herz, *Studien*, p. 265.

²⁶ Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 257; Olszaniec, *Prefektura praetorio*, p. 184.

²⁷ Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture*, p. 244.

*horrea publica*²⁸. Two laws²⁹, show that *horrea portuensia* were managed by *patroni*. The first constitution indicates that they were nominated for a one-year term: “patronos horreorum Portuensium singulis tantum annis praeesse decernimus”. 17 years later the term was extended to 5 years. *Patroni* were nominated from among the *mensores portuenses*, or *codicarii* patrons, in order to avoid fraud committed by members of both guilds: “Ad excludendas patronum caudicariorum fraudes et Portuensium furta mensorum unus a patronis totius corporis eligitur”³⁰. The appearance of *patroni* was also the result of rivalry between guilds. The inscription from the Tiber Island³¹ indicates that the 389 AD *annona prefect*, Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, was trying to end the conflict:

Hinc etami fatum est, ut mensores nos Portuenses, / quib. vetus fuit cum
caudicariis diuturnumq./ luctamen, voti conpotes abiremus. ut. utrumq. /
Corpus et beneficie se et victoria gratuletur / adfectum.

The rivalry was a result of mutual accusations of grain-related frauds. That was the reason why patrons were nominated³². The personnel of the granaries were, on the other hand, *horrearii*, *custodes*, *cellarii*³³. Both in *Portus* and in Rome itself there were also *horrea* and other storehouses, *cellulae*, which were under direct jurisdiction of the *pistores* guild: “horreis cellulisve, quae intra urbem Romam adque in Portu constitutae pistorio

²⁸ *Codex Theodosianus*, XI. 14, *titulus*. *Codex Theodosianus*, XI. 14. 1 from 5 April 365 addressed to *praefectus Urbis Romae* Volusianus (*The Prosopography*, I, pp. 978–980: C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus signo Lampadius 5) mentions “sub praefectura tua urbis horreis”, it also concerns the granaries of Rome; but for example *Codex Theodosianus*, XI. 14. 3 from 9 July 397 addressed *praefectus praetorio Illyrici* Anatolius (*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. J. R. Martindale, II: A.D. 395–527 (1980), p. 83: Anatolius 1), it thus refers to the *horrea* within that prefect’s jurisdiction.

²⁹ *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 23.1 from 27 January 400 addressed to *praefectus praetorio* of Italy and Africa Messala and *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 4. 9 from 26 December 417 addressed to *praefectus praetorio* of Italy and Africa Palladius.

³⁰ Similarly to *praepositi horreorum* mentioned in: *Codex Theodosianus*, XII. 6. 24 from 15 April 397.

³¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 1, ed. E. Bormann, G. Henzen, (1876), 1759 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 1272.

³² Sirks, *Food for Rome*, pp. 283–284.

³³ Pavis d’Escurac, *La préfecture*, 248–249; *horrearii*: Cassiodorus, *Variae*, X. 28.1. The letter is dated to 535/536.

iure retinetur”³⁴. Unloaded ships returned to their ports filled with ballast. In the case of Ostia and *Portus*, sand, *saburra*, delivered by the *saburrarii* guild, was used for that purpose³⁵.

THE WAY TO ROME. HOW THE GRAIN REACHED THE ROMAN EMPORIUM

At least some of the grain which had reached Ostia, and later *Portus Uterque*, was transported further, this time via the Tiber to Rome. From that moment on, it again fell under the supervision of those in charge of technical operations, transport, storing and inspection until the moment of consumption.

It is worth emphasizing that the load of grain handed over for further transport via the Tiber was measured, which was also done after delivering the grain to Rome, before giving a certificate to a member of the guild transporting the load. Throughout the whole road from Africa, the process was repeated a number of times, as when the grain changed its middle-man another measurement was conducted. And so, the constitution placed in the *Theodosian Code* addressed to Julian, the prefect of *annona*³⁶, informs that measurements were conducted after the arrival of *canon urbis* upon the Tiber, and later at the *Portus*. A relevant document was to be submitted to the prefect of *annona*:

Imppp. Val(entini)anus, Valens et Gr(ati)anus AAA. ad Iulianum p(rae)f(ec-
tum) anno(onae). Nautici apud curatorum vel magistratuum acta fateantur
incorruptas sese species suscepisse eorumque, apud quos deponitur ista
testatio, praesens aspectus probet nihil in his esse vitii. Quod eo tempore,
quo ad sacrae urbis Portum pervenit, praefecturam iugiter observare prae-
ceptum est. Dat. XVIII kal. iul. Remis Gratiano A I et Dagalaifo cons.

³⁴ *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 15. 4 from 12 April 398 to *praefectus praetorio Illyrici, Italiae et Africae* Theodorus (*The Prosopography*, vol. I, pp. 900–902: *Flavius Mallius Theodorus* 27).

³⁵ Sirks, *Food for Rome*, pp. 264–265.

³⁶ *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 15. 2 from 14 June 366.

The *mensores* who conducted the measurements were organized in *corpora*. Due to the fact that the grain was checked a number of times, we encounter *mensores frumentarii* in Ostia, *mensores Portuenses* in *Portus Uterque* and *mensores machinarii* in Rome³⁷. In the 4th and 5th century, the dominant group were *mensores Portuenses*, which was a consequence of the increased importance of *Portus Uterque*. The law in *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 14. 1 from 8 April 364 addressed to the prefect of Rome, Volusianus, allowed *mensores* to mix grain from the previous year with the present one, and distribute the grain thus mixed. In this way, the tax losses were to be avoided³⁸. On the other hand, the law in *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 15. 1 from 8 June 364 addressed to L. Avianius Symmachus allowed *mensores* and the previously mentioned *caudicarii* guild to sell 200 thousand *modii* of high-quality grain at a low price³⁹.

It was the responsibility of river sailors' guilds to deliver grain from *Portus* to Rome. The ships transporting grain from Africa to Ostia / *Portus Uterque* were too big to sail along the Tiber. The hiring of their services (*locatio – conductio*) was conducted by the prefect of *annona*⁴⁰. The traffic on the Tiber was very intense, with many boats and barges of different types: rowing or sailing ones⁴¹. Procopius also writes about ox-pulled barges, since due to the river's winding stream it was impossible to use neither oars nor sails⁴². However, in another fragment of *De Bellis* we find information about sales being used⁴³, "for the oxen could hold out no longer, but all lay half-dead"⁴⁴. The distance

³⁷ Pavis d'Escurac, *La prefecture de l'annone, 234–235*. Sirks, *Food for Rome*, pp. 261–262 claims that, for example, *mensores frumentarii* must have functioned in Ostia and *Portus* already in the 2nd century.

³⁸ Tengström, *Bread for the people*, pp. 63–64 and after him Herz, *Studien*, pp. 228–229 and Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 264 emphasize that the 200, 000 *modii* is 2% of the 10 million *modii* delivered yearly to Rome, and suggests that it is a payment for the services of *mensores* and *codicarii*: *sola ducentena milia* from the already quoted *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 15. 1.

³⁹ For more about the law see: Tengström, *Bread for the People*, p. 63; Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 264.

⁴⁰ Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 267.

⁴¹ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 145.

⁴² Procopius, *De Bellis*, V. 26. 11–12.

⁴³ Ibidem, VI. 7. 9; see: Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, p. 290.

⁴⁴ Procopius, *De Bellis*, VI. 7. 5 (English translation: Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 3: V–VI. 15, with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, (*Loeb Classical Library* 107, 2006), p. 349.

between the *Portus* and Rome was about 35 kilometres. The river ships covered the distance in three days⁴⁵. River transport was conducted by a number of guilds, such as: *lenuncularii*, the previously mentioned *codicarii*, *scapharii*, *lyntrarii*. According to Seeck, it was the *codicarii* who were the sailors on the Tiber whose barges were pulled by oxen⁴⁶. All these names basically mean an owner of a small ship or boat⁴⁷. They formed *corpora traiectus*. In the opinion of Sirks, the origins of those guilds should be traced back to the reign of Trajan and the attempts of Roman administration to extend the operations of *navicularii* to the provinces, in order to swiftly transport the *onus fiscale*. Sirks emphasizes a sudden emergence of the said *corpora* in the early 2nd century, as well as their presence mainly in the normative *sources* of the period⁴⁸. In extraordinary circumstances, members of those *corpora* could transport cargo even using the ships of the *navicularii*, with the state being also able to seize ships for the purpose of river transport⁴⁹. The law in *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 21.1 addressed to *praefectus Urbis Romae* Symmachus from 8 October 364 taxes all river ships with *onus*, regardless of *dignitas aut privilegia*.

THE GUILDS OF TIBER SAILORS

A. THE *LENUNCULARII*

According to De Salvo⁵⁰, the first guild of sailors of the Tiber which was in contact with the arriving grain were the *lenuncularii*⁵¹. They were oarsmen

⁴⁵ Tengström, *Bread for the People*, p. 59.

⁴⁶ O. Seeck, *Codicarii*, in: *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, IV, 1 (1900), col. 173.

⁴⁷ Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 268.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 281.

⁴⁹ *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 21.1 from 8 October 364.

⁵⁰ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 147.

⁵¹ J.-P. Waltzig, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident*, 2 (1896), 73; S. Accame, *Lenuncularius*, in: *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane*, IV, 1, ed. E. De Ruggiero, (1964), p. 637; Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, p. 296; L. Casson, *Harbour and River Boats of Ancient Rome*, in: *Journal of Roman Studies*, 55 (1965), pp. 32–33.

who operated when ships entered the harbour of Ostia⁵², in epigraphic material *lenuncularii traiectus Luculli* appear around the turn of the 1st and 2nd century⁵³. The *lenunculi* were “agili e veloci batelli”⁵⁴. They also appear in the work by Ammianus Marcellinus in the context of battles with the Isaurians during the reign of Constantius⁵⁵. In Ostia the *lenuncularii* formed 5 guilds⁵⁶, which, according to some authors, were specialized in particular elements of ship servicing. However, apart from the *lenuncularii traiectus Luculli* only two others – the *lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii*⁵⁷ and *lenuncularii pleromarii auxiliarii*⁵⁸ – are present in epigraphic materials. Marquardt⁵⁹, Accame⁶⁰ and nowadays Nicolas Tran⁶¹ believed that they dealt with the loading and unloading of ships. According to Meiggs, they were the owners of tug boats⁶². However, as noticed by De Salvo the *tabularii* were rather associated with supervision, which is probably the function which the *lenuncularii tabularii* performed. In the opinion of De Salvo the *lenuncularii tabularii* could have thus been in charge of issuing permits for entering the port, designating the pier fragments where ships were allowed to moor, as well as towing⁶³. At the same time, the author notices

⁵² N. Tran, C. *Veturius Testius Amandus, les cinq corps de lénunculaires d'Ostie et la batellerie tibérine au début du IIIe siècle*, in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité*, 126 (2014), p. 136.

⁵³ *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 40. 9; Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 269.

⁵⁴ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 147; see also: Jundziłł, *Rzymianie a morze*, p. 39.

⁵⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, XIV. 2. 10.

⁵⁶ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, ed. H. Dessau, (1887), 352 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, II, 1, 6149: “naviculario V corpor. / lenunculariorum Ost.”; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV (Suppl. Ostiense) 4144 from 147 AD.: “G(aio) Veturio G(ai) f(ilio) tertio/ amando,/ eq(uiti) R(omano), patrono et / defensori (quinque) corporum / lenuncularior(um) Ostiens(ium)”, see: Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 271; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV. 170 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 1433 mention “codicarii navicularii et / quinq. corp. navigantes”.

⁵⁷ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 250 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, II, 1, 6174; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 251 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, II, 1, 6175.

⁵⁸ *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 252.

⁵⁹ J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, 2 (1980), p. 410 n. 8.

⁶⁰ S. Accame, *Lenuncularius*, p. 637.

⁶¹ N. Tran, *Les membres de associations romaines. Le rang social des Collegiati en Italie et en Gaules sous le Haut – Empire*, (Collection de l'École française de Rome 367, 2006), p. 409.

⁶² Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, p. 297.

⁶³ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 151.

the relation between the *tabularii* and the *annona* coming to Rome, and believes, following the opinion of Henriette Pavis d'Escurac, that they were in charge of the archives of the prefecture of *annona* and issued receipts (*apochai*) confirming the delivery of the loaded grain⁶⁴. However, they were not able to do so until the transport had been delivered to Rome, although the author admits that it was not always a rule. Since the *tabularii* were financial officers who dealt with keeping tax records, as well as controlling the *annona*, I share the opinion of Pavis d'Escurac. The *tabularii* could have also assisted in the measuring of the delivered grain⁶⁵.

B. THE *PLEROMARII*

The *pleromarii*, on the other hand, according to De Salvo, were in charge of piloting and anchoring the ships that entered the port⁶⁶, and may have also been involved in unloading them⁶⁷. De Salvo claims that a *pleromarius* might have been identical with the *levamentarius*, which appeared in the *Digesta* and in the constitution issued by Constantine in 314⁶⁸. The name

⁶⁴ Ibidem, pp. 151–152; Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture*, p. 97. According to Pavis d'Escurac *litterae dimissoriae/apochai* were issued after the transport had come to Rome, not to Ostia. The author quotes an inscription confirming *tabularii* at the central office of the prefect of *annona* (ibidem, p. 98, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 2, ed. E. Bormann, G. Henzen, Ch. Huelsen, (1882), 8403). In addition, she believes (ibidem, p. 123) that the inscription published in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 2, 8450 about *tabularius Ostis ad annona* confirms the existence of *annona* administration personnel in Ostia. Which *tabularii* controlled the grain coming to Ostia is, however, unclear, Pavis d'Escurac herself, *La préfecture d'annone*, p. 125 notices the existence of *tabularius portus Augusti* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV (Suppl. Ostiense), 4482–4483). Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 274: *tabularii* helped the ships sailing against the stream by unloading their goods.

⁶⁵ For more about *tabularii* see: Olszaniec, *Prefektura praetorio*, p. 150 footnotes 33 and pp. 153–154 footnote 47.

⁶⁶ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 154.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, p. 154, 157.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, p. 155; see: *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, ed. Th. Mommsen, vol. 1 (1870), 14. 2.4. pr.: “Navis onustae levandae causa, quia intrare flumen vel portum non potuerat cum onere, si quaedam merces in scapham traiectae sunt, ne aut extra flumen periclitetur aut in ipso ostio vel portu, eaque scapha summersa est, ratio haberi debet inter eos, qui in nave merces salvas habent, cum his qui in scapha perdiderunt, proinde tamquam si iactura facta esset: idque Sabinus quoque libro secundo responsorum probat. Contra si scapha cum parte mercium salva est, navis periit, ratio haberi non debet eorum, qui in nave perdiderunt, quia iactus in tributum nave salva venit”; *Codex Theodosianus*, XIII. 5.1: “Imp.

suggests that *pleromarii* operated in the sea. Perhaps they reloaded goods from ships into boats there⁶⁹. The goods which were transported further were dealt with by other *corporata*, jointly referred to as *corporata traiectus*⁷⁰. It should be noted that not only grain, but also olive oil was transported from Africa. It was also often transported further from Ostia / *Portus* to Rome⁷¹.

C. THE SCAPHARII

Scaphae were small sickle-shaped boats used both at sea and on rivers. They were an integral part of a ship's equipment. In case of a catastrophe at sea, they functioned as lifeboats, but their primary purpose was to help the ship manoeuvre while entering a port⁷². Their activity was not, however, limited to coming into a port, as they operated along the whole Tiber⁷³. According

Constantinus a. ad Volusianum. Si navicularius originalis levamentarius fuerit, nihilo minus apud eosdem, apud quos et parentes eius fuisse videntur, firmiter permanebit. Dat. XIII kal. april. Volusiano et Anniano cons". H. Mor, *The Socio – Economic Implications for Ship Construction: Evidence from the Underwater Archaeology and the Codex Theodosianus*, in: *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean. Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, eds. R. Gertwagen, E. Jeffreys, (2016), p. 53–54: *levamentarius* is the owner of a smaller ship. *Navicularii* constructed smaller ships, in order to avoid *munera* (*Codex Theodosianus*, XIII. 5. 28 from 16 February 399 addressed to the *praefectus praetorio* Messala orders them to build ships of certain size and storage capacity– S.O.); the second translation of the term comes from the word *levamentum*, which means a relief, removing a burden, and refers to a *navicularius* who obtained a temporary exempt. Finally, it means *qui levat naves*, which is a port carrier. According to Mor, the third version is the least probable, as the port carriers were *saccarii*.

The addressee of the constitution from *Codex Theodosianus*, XIII. 5.1. was *praefectus Urbis Romae* Volusianus, see: *The Prosopography*, I, 976–978: C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus 4; S. Olszaniec, *Eine Art. Talleyrand. Gajusz Cejoniusz Rufiusz Woluzjan i meandry polityki personalnej rzymskich imperatorów przełomu III i IV w.n.e.*, in: *Byzantina Europaea. Księga Jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waldemarowi Ceranowi*, ed. M. Kokoszko, M. J. Leszka, (*Byzantina Lodziensia* XI, 2007), pp. 457–468.

⁶⁹ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 156.

⁷⁰ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV. 409 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, II, 1, 6146: *traiectus Luculli*.

⁷¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 4, 3, ed. M. Bang, (1933), 36954 with a carving of *navis caudicaria* filled with amphoras, see: Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture d'annone*, p. 196.

⁷² De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 167; see also: Jundziłł, *Rzymianie a morze*, p. 39: a see – river boat equipped with 12 oars.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, 168.

to Sirks, *scaphae* were used in the 4th century by *piscatores corporati* transporting goods for the Roman administration⁷⁴. In the opinion of Meiggs *scapharii* is another term referring to *lenuncularii*⁷⁵. It can be indicated by the already mentioned here fragment of the *Digesta Iustiniani* (14.2.4.pr.) but according to De Salvo in this case this is a separate *corpus*⁷⁶, as they worked on the river and the Tiber's canals⁷⁷.

D. THE *LYNTRARII* (*LINTRARII*)

As noticed by De Salvo, they are epigraphically confirmed for Ostia and Rome⁷⁸ as well as the rivers of Italy, Gaul and Spain⁷⁹. The name comes from the type of boat: *lyntres*⁸⁰. As once again noted by De Salvo, they appear in *Digesta*, as well as, probably, in the *Theodosian Code*⁸¹. *Lyntres* were used almost exclusively for sailing on rivers and lakes. It was originally believed that they were small boats made of a tree trunk⁸², but at present it is claimed that there was another type of the boat, larger, meant for at least six people and longer journeys. It may have had an oblong, narrow and deep shape.

⁷⁴ Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 278.

⁷⁵ Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, p. 297; Accame, *Lenuncularius*, p. 637 referring to inscription in: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 409 (“*corpus scaphariorum et lenunculariorum traiectus Luculli*”), and similarly Tran, *C. Veturius Testus Amandus*, p. 133; 146: “*lenuncularii et scapharii* were responsible for the unloading of ships coming to Ostia”.

⁷⁶ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 161.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 162–163.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 168 with footnotes 523 and 524.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 168–169.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 168.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 169, see: *Digesta Iustiniani*, 4. 9. 1. 4: “*De exercitoribus rarium, item lyntrariis nihil cavetur: sed idem constitui oportere Labeo scribit, et hoc iure utimur*”; *Codex Theodosianus*, XIII. 5. 13 from 2 December 369: “*Idem aa. ad Olybrium praefectum Urbi. Sicut olim de linteonibus et naviculariis divus Constantinus instituit, ita nunc ex omnibus sexaginta ad praesentis necessitatis teneantur impensas, quos tamen idoneos et communis delectus adseruit et facultatum inspectio comprobavit et sententia tuae sublimitatis adstruxit. Quibus, si quem aut necessitas fatalis aut inopia repentina aut aliquis casus inviderit, ex vocationibus obnoxii oportebit idoneum subrogari. Sed sollicita inspectione prospiciatur, ne a quoquam amplius postuletur quam necessitas exegit lavacrorum vel instituta iam dudum forma praescrisit. Dat. IIII non. dec. Treviris Valentiniano n. p. et victore cons*”.

⁸² De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 169.

The *lyntrarii* formed guilds⁸³. According to Pavis d'Escurac, whereas *codicarii/caudicarii* allegedly operated on the lower Tiber up Pons Sublicius in Rome, the *lyntrarii* were concentrated on the part of the Tiber from that bridge up⁸⁴.

E. THE CAUDICARII / CODICARII

They were involved in the second stage of river transport from Ostia to Rome. *Codicarii / caudicarii* were one of the major guilds participating in the transport of *annona*⁸⁵. They appear frequently in the epigraphic material coming from Ostia and Rome⁸⁶, as well as from other places⁸⁷. They were the boats which were used to transport goods from Ostia and its granaries to the Roman trade emporium⁸⁸. In epigraphic material they are also referred to as *codicarii navicularii*⁸⁹. Their boats were initially rather primitive in terms of structure, which involved joining several flat planks of wood. Later, they transformed into proper transport ships. Tacitus reports that the fleet of *caudicarii* in the 1st century AD consisted of 300 units⁹⁰, which had a large storage capacity, according to De Salvo⁹¹. They transported *species*

⁸³ Ibidem, p. 170, see: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 2, 9531: *lyntrarius quinquennalis*.

⁸⁴ Pavis d'Escurac, *La prefecture d'annone*, p. 227.

⁸⁵ Inscription in: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 4144 from 147 AD tells about "corpus splendidissimum codicariorum". For Herz, *Organisation*, pp. 179–180) and Tengström, *Bread for the people*, p. 55: "they were the only guild".

⁸⁶ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 171 footnote 543.

⁸⁷ Ibidem, 172 footnote 544.

⁸⁸ Ibidem, *Economia privata*, p. 172; see also: Jundziłł, *Rzymianie a morze*, p. 38,

⁸⁹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 1, 1624 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 1433; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 131 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 687; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 1, 1022 = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 106. According to De Salvo *Economia privata*, p. 176 they formed a special category of *codicarii*, were owners of boat of certain carrying capacity, which made sea cabotage possible. It was thus the second group of *caudicarii*, involved in transport of the Tyrrhenian Sea (De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 177). Earlier, categorical rejection of this option was expressed by Pavis d'Escurac, *La prefecture d'annone*, p. 226.

⁹⁰ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 172 with reference to Tacitus, *Annales*, XV. 18. 3 in the footnote.

⁹¹ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 173; G. E. Rickman, *The Grain Trade under the Roman Empire*, in: *The Seaborne Trade in Ancient Rome: Studies in Archeology and History*, ed.

from Ostia to Rome, but it was not their only form of activity. The guild was headed by a *procurator*⁹².

In epigraphic material we also encounter *codicarii navicularii infernantes*⁹³. Otto Seeck⁹⁴, and after him Henriette Pavis d'Escurac, believed that the name indicates their involvement in sailing along the whole lower Tiber⁹⁵. It is similar to the views of, De Salvo⁹⁶, but the author proposed a number of possibilities:

- since they were *infernantes*, it may mean that they operated within *Mare Infernum*, which was the Tyrrhenian Sea;
- referring to the inscription which contains the words *codicarii navicularii infra Pontem S[ublicium]*⁹⁷, she claimed that they operated down the river from that bridge⁹⁸. It is a reference to the former idea of Dante Vaglieri that they were operating on the lower Tiber⁹⁹;
- the term *infernantes* refers to general operations at sea¹⁰⁰.

Sirks also draws attention to the fact that in the epigraphical material *lenuncularii* and *codicarii* appear together¹⁰¹. This suggests that both types of Tiber sailors were identical¹⁰². On the other hand, an inscription dedicated

J. H. D'Arms, E. C. Kopf, (1980), p. 267 talks about 60–70 tonnes; Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, pp. 295–296 claims they are small boats towed by people, and later by oxen walking along the riverbank.

⁹² *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 309. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 106 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 1022 and *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 131 on the other hand, talk about *curatores*. Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture d'annone*, p. 227 emphasizes that *codicarii* formed only one guild.

⁹³ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 131.

⁹⁴ O. Seeck, *Codicarii*, col. 173.

⁹⁵ Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture d'annone*, p.227.

⁹⁶ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 177.

⁹⁷ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 185.

⁹⁸ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 176.

⁹⁹ D. Vaglieri, *Codicarii*, in: *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane*, II, I, (1961), p. 316.

¹⁰⁰ De Salvo, *Economia privata*, p. 177.

¹⁰¹ See for instance: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 4144 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, II, 6173.

¹⁰² Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 272: "they [*codicarii*] and the *lenuncularii* were the same people"; similarly earlier Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, p. 296, 316. Seeck, *Codicarii*, col. 174 believed that the *codicarii* were only one of the five *corporata lenuncularii*. For Nicolas Tran

to Stilicho from 400 identifies *caudicarii* with *piscatores corporati Urbis Romae*¹⁰³, who were fishermen¹⁰⁴. According to Sirks, *piscatores* used *scaphae* boats¹⁰⁵. He believed that as early as in the 5th century it was the only association of sailors on the Tiber, and survived till at least 534 AD¹⁰⁶.

Belonging to the *codicarii* must have been less troublesome than belonging to other *corporata*, as indicated by the law addressed by Constantius to the city prefect, Orfitus¹⁰⁷. The constitution prohibited *patroni pistoribus* from joining *caudicarii*, as it involved exempting them from their previous *munera*.

STORING AND BREAD MAKING

After the arrival to the Roman trade emporium, grain was unloaded by the guilds of the *saccarii*, i.e. carriers, and weighted by *mensores*¹⁰⁸. Next, they were stored in granaries – *horrea*. *Notitia Dignitatum* informs us that the curator of Galba's granaries located in Rome (*curator horreorum Galbanorum*) answered to the prefect of Rome¹⁰⁹. According to Peter Herz, the *curator horreorum Galbanorum* was responsible for all Roman *horrea*¹¹⁰. *Horrearii* in Galba's *horrea* came from the *vigiles*¹¹¹. During the Principate,

(*Les membres des associations romaines*, p. 418) *lenuncularii, scapharii, lintrarii* are “autres *codicarii*”.

¹⁰³ Tengström, *Bread for the People*, p. 57; Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 277, 281.

¹⁰⁴ Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 282. Transport of cargo was thus only an addition to their standard operations.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 281.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 287 based on *Codex Iustinianus*, XI. 27: *De Nautis Tiberinis*.

¹⁰⁷ *Codex Theodosianus*, XIII. 3. 2 from 6 July 355.

¹⁰⁸ Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 266. *Saccarii*: *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 22. 1 from 8 June 364. Q. Aurelius Symmachus, *Relationes*, XIV. 10 calls them “*frugis et olei baiuli*”.

¹⁰⁹ *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentalis*, IV. 15; On granaries in Rome and conditions of storage see for instance: G. S. Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome*, (2006), pp. 135–141.

¹¹⁰ Herz, *Organisation*, p. 180.

¹¹¹ This was due to the threat of fire. As claimed by Pavis d'Escurac, (Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture d'Iannone*, pp. 249–250) *horrea* were constructed in the vicinity of *vigiles* stations, the *excubitoria*. In addition, city cohorts were stationed in Ostia. In the times of the Gordians, the *vigils* moved from Ostia to *Portus*.

there was also a separate civil officer in the rank of procurator who supervised the transport of oil from Ostia and *portus Uterque* to Galba's granaries in Rome¹¹².

Next, it was transported to *pistrina* – bakeries by *catabolenses*¹¹³. Members of that guild could be freedmen (*libertini*) if their fortune was worth at least 30 pounds of gold¹¹⁴. Another law¹¹⁵ the *catabolenses* to include those from among the freedmen who were not burdened with with *munus* of *pistor*.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TIBER

In 15 AD Emperor Tiberius established *curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis*, a council¹¹⁶ which was in charge of proper management and administration of the Tiber's banks, bed and flow¹¹⁷. Curators also took care of the water's cleanliness¹¹⁸. Among the reasons for establishing this body, one should mention difficulties with sailing on the Tiber (sitting)¹¹⁹, and so they were responsible for deepening and clearing the riverbed¹²⁰. However, a direct reason, according to sources from the period, was the flood in 15 AD¹²¹.

¹¹² In 175 it was *proc. ad oleum in Galbae Ostiae portus uterque* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, 20 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 372) C. Pomponius Turpilianus, see: Pavis d'Escurac, *La prefecture d'annone*, p. 191.

¹¹³ Herz, *Studien*, pp. 268–269; Herz, *Organisation*, p. 181.

¹¹⁴ *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 3. 9 from 30 March 370 addressed to the urban prefect, Olybrius. On the person see: *The Prosopography*, I, pp. 640–642: Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius 3.

¹¹⁵ *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV. 3. 10 from 7 July (*lecta in Pantheon* 5 November) 370 to Olybrius.

¹¹⁶ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 1, 1237 = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 4, 2, ed. Ch. Huelsen, (1902), 31544a.

¹¹⁷ R. Kamińska, *Organizacja „cura urbis” w Rzymie w początkach pryncypatu*, in: *Zeszyty Prawnicze*, 13, 1 (2013), p. 82; Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber*, pp. 199–100.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 85.

¹¹⁹ Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 266.

¹²⁰ Kamińska, *Organizacja*, p. 85.

¹²¹ Tacitus, *Annales*, I. 76; Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, 57, 14, 7–8; see: R. Kamińska, *Augustus nova officia excogitavit* (*Suet.*, Aug., 37). Oktawian August twórcą cura Urbis?, in: *Miscellanea Historico-Juridica*, 12 (2013), pp. 24–25; R. Kamińska, *W trosce o miasto. „Cura Urbis” w Rzymie okresu republiki i pryncypatu*, (*Arcana Iurisprudentiae* 10, 2015), 189–181;

They also made decisions regarding the mooring and unloading of ships, as well as supervised guilds which were used the Tiber¹²². Perhaps they were also supervising the area limited by *cippi* – stone pillars which marked the border of the riverbanks¹²³. Originally, the council of *curatores* consisted of five senators, a former consul, and four of lower rank, and occupied the top position in the hierarchy of *cura aquarum*¹²⁴. The post of curator could be acquired only after having served three terms as consul¹²⁵. Since the times of Claudius, the council members were nominated, not drawn, as it used to be the case¹²⁶. Since the reign of that emperor, *curatores* also employed their auxiliary personnel, which consisted of *praefectus curatorum alvei Tiberis* and *procurator Caesaris ad ripam Tiberim*, who were members of the *ordo equester*¹²⁷. *Curatores* also made use of lower-rank personnel: scribes, couriers, bookkeepers¹²⁸. The headquarters of the *curatores* was located in Ostia¹²⁹, but ultimately *cura alvei Tiberis et cloacarum* had *statio*

hence the conclusion that the curators' task was also to prevent the Tiber from bursting its banks. Earlier, by abolishing the post of censor, Augustus took over his competences in terms of maintaining the Tiber's banks and cleared the riverbed from debris which got there as a result of construction of houses, as well as widened it (Suet., *Aug.*, 30; 37): R. Kamińska, *Ochrona dróg i rzek publicznych w prawie rzymskim w okresie republiki i pryncypatu*, (*Arcana Iurisprudentiae* 2, 2010), pp. 107–108; Kamińska, *Augustus nova officia excogitavit*, 22–23; Kamińska, *Organizacja*, p. 82; Kamińska, *W trosce o miasto*, p. 178; K. Kapłoniak, *Urzędy kuratorskie administracji miejskiej Rzymu od Augusta do Dioklecjana*, (*Pragmateia* 4, 2013), pp. 31–32; 51–56 (competences: among them: regulation of the traffic on the Tiber and control over the river sailors *collegia*); Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber*, 199 on the basis of Suetonius, *Vita Augusti*, 37, argues that the new office was created by the first Roman Emperor, but in the times of Tiberius was incorporated or superseded by senatorial collegium of five men.

¹²² Kamińska, *Organizacja*, p. 85.

¹²³ Kamińska, *Ochrona dróg i rzek publicznych*, p. 113; Kamińska, *W trosce o miasto*, pp. 185–188; Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber*, p. 200.

¹²⁴ Kamińska, *Ochrona dróg i rzek publicznych*, pp. 112–113; Kamińska, *W trosce o miasto*, p. 182; Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber*, p. 199.

¹²⁵ Kamińska, *W trosce o miasto*, p. 183; Kapłoniak, *Urzędy kuratorskie*, pp. 129–135, table no. 6.

¹²⁶ Kamińska, *Organizacja*, p. 82.

¹²⁷ Ibidem, p. 83; Kapłoniak, *Urzędy kuratorskie*, p. 71.

¹²⁸ Kamińska, *Organizacja*, p. 83; Kapłoniak, *Urzędy kuratorskie*, pp. 77–78.

¹²⁹ Ibidem; Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber*, 201 argues, that in Ostia resided an assistant to the *curator*.

not only there¹³⁰, but also in Rome¹³¹. Probably during the reign of Vespasianus the post was reduced to one person, and since the times of Trajan its competences were extended to include maintenance of canals, which also involved a change in its name to *curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis et cloacarum*. The office also again a council, consisting of a former consul and two *equites*¹³². According to Sirks, in the early 2nd century AD *curator alvei Tiberis et riparum T. Iulius Ferox* controlled the guild of *lenuncularii*¹³³. One *curator*, however, was nominated by Emperor Constantine, who subjected him to the city prefect¹³⁴, while at the same time removing the auxiliary personnel: *praefectus curatorum alvei Tiberis* and *procurator Caesaris ad ripam Tiberis*¹³⁵. C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, having served as *curator alvei Tiberis and cloacarum sacrae Urbis* became the governor of Venetia and Histria: *corrector Venetiae et Histriae*, and later *corrector Tusciae et Umbriae* and *corrector Campaniae*¹³⁶. In the times of Constantine I, the *curator* became a *consularis*, which is evidenced by a number of inscriptions from Puteoli dedicated to a Roman aristocrat Lollianus Mavortius. His career presented in the inscriptions was as follows: *quaestor candidatus – pretor urbanus – augur – consularis albei Tiberis et cloacarum – consularis operum publicorum – consularis aquarum – consularis Campaniae – comes Flavialis – comes Orientis – comes ordinis primi et proconsul Africae*¹³⁷. If we are

¹³⁰ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV (Suppl. Ostiense), 5384.

¹³¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 1, 1224; see: Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture d'annone*, p. 156; Kamińska, *W trosce o miasto*, pp. 183–184. Kapłoniak, *Urzędy kuratorskie*, p. 67 pointed out to the two possibilities of localization: the temple of Castor and Pollux in *circo Flaminio* and any building on the bank of the Tiber or the area of Trastevere.

¹³² Kamińska, *Ochrona dróg i rzek publicznych*, p. 114; Kamińska, *Organizacja*, p. 84; Kamińska, *W trosce o miasto*, p. 184.

¹³³ Sirks, *Food for Rome*, p. 270 based on: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV (Suppl. Ostiense) 5320. The inscription indicates that *lenuncularii* thanked the emperor at the *curator's* permit.

¹³⁴ Kamińska, *Organizacja*, p. 84. A. Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, p. 46: after 312. The process of becoming subordinate to the prefect must have ended before 364, when *praefectus Urbis Romae* Avianus Symmachus constructed *pons Valentiniani* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 4, 2, 31402; *ibidem*, 31403; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVII. 3. 3). For Kapłoniak the collegiality of *curatores alvei Tiberis* disappeared at the end of the IInd century (Kapłoniak, *Urzędy kuratorskie*, p. 33).

¹³⁵ Kamińska, *W trosce o miasto*, p. 185.

¹³⁶ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, X, 1, 5061 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 1217.

¹³⁷ *L'Année Épigraphique*. 1977, ed. A. Chastagnol, J. Gagé, M. Leglay, H.-G. Pflaum,

to accept the dating proposed by *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: consularis Campaniae* 328–334, *comes Flavialis* 329–335, *comes Orientis* 330–336, *proconsul Africae* 342¹³⁸. Lollianus must have become *consularis alvei Tiberis et cloacarum* before 328¹³⁹. The only thing which remained unchanged was the place he occupied in the senatorial *cursus honorum*. Having held the office of *consularis alvei Tiberis*, governorship of province in Italy was obtained, just like it was previously *curators*. In the early 5th century, *consularis alvei Tiberis et cloacarum* obtained the title of count (*comes alvei Tiberis et cloacarum*), which is confirmed by *Notitia dignitatum*¹⁴⁰.

* * *

Tiber was an important route of transportation for Rome even in the late Antiquity. The main harbour of Rome from that period, *Portus Uterque*, was used till the Middle Ages.

Translated by Jacek Wełniak

Z PORTUS DO RZYMU

KILKA UWAG NA TEMAT ZAOPATRZENIA W ZBOŻE WIECZNEGO MIASTA
ORAZ ADMINISTRATORÓW PORTUS I WYBRZEŻY TYBRU W PÓŹNYM ANTYKU

STRESZCZENIE

Rzeka Tyber była w późnym antyku jedną z najważniejszych dróg transportowych do Rzymu. Statki ze zbożem z Afryki przybywały do Ostii oraz, szczególnie w późnej starożytności, do *Portus Uterque*. Przynajmniej część zboża była transportowana z *Portus* do rzymskiego emporium handlowego. Było to zadanie różnych korporacji żeglarzy Tybru. Od początków Wczesnego Cesarstwa istniała administracja rzeki.

(1981), 198; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, X, 1, 1695 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 1224a; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, X, 1, 1696 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 1224c, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 1224b.

¹³⁸ *The Prosopography*, I, pp. 512–514: s.v. *Q. Flavius Maesius Lollianus signo Mavor-tius* 5.

¹³⁹ Kamińska, *W trosce o miasto*, 185.

¹⁴⁰ *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentalis*, IV. 6; see: Kapłoniak, *Urzędy kuratorskie*, p. 39.

VON *PORTUS* NACH ROM

EINIGE BEMERKUNGEN ZUR GETREIDEVERSORGUNG VON DER EWIGEN
STADT UND ZU DEN VERWALTERN VON *PORTUS* BZW. DER TIBERKÜSTE IN DER
SPÄTANTIKE

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Fluss Tiber war in der Spätantike einer der wichtigsten Verkehrswege nach Rom. Afrikanische Schiffe mit Getreide kamen nach Ostia und, vor allem in der Spätantike, nach *Portus Uterque*. Zumindest ein Teil des Getreides wurde von *Portus* zum römischen Emporium weiter transportiert. Dies war die Aufgabe verschiedener Tiberschiffer. Seit dem Beginn des Kaiserreichs gab es eine eigene Flussverwaltung.

Übersetzt von Renata Skowrońska

FROM *PORTUS* TO ROME

A FEW REMARKS ON CORN SUPPLY OF THE ETERNAL CITY AND
ADMINISTRATORS OF *PORTUS* AND THE BANKS OF THE TIBER IN LATE
ANTIQUITY

SUMMARY

The Tiber river was one of the most important routes of transportation to Rome. Ships with grain came from Africa to Ostia and, especially in the late antiquity, to *Portus Uterque*. At least some of the grain was transported from *Portus* to the Roman emporium which was the task of various guilds of the Tiber sailors. The administration of the river existed since the beginnings of the High Empire.

Translated by Jacek Welniak

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE / SCHLAGWORTE / KEYWORDS

- podatki w naturze; transport rzeczny; porty Rzymu; korporacje żeglarzy Tybru; administracja rzeki
- Naturalabgaben; Flusstransport; Roms Häfen; Tibers Seemannsgesellschaften; Flussverwaltung
- taxes in kind; river transportation; the ports of Rome; guilds of the Tiber sailors; administration of the river

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