

# LIFE AND DEATH IN A MULTICULTURAL HARBOUR CITY: OSTIA ANTICA FROM THE REPUBLIC THROUGH LATE ANTIQUITY

editor

ARJA KARIVIERI



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## Play and Games in Ostia

VÉRONIQUE DASEN

### A lost cultural heritage?<sup>1</sup>

Just as they are today, play and games were ubiquitous in Roman daily life, in both the private and public spheres. Many pieces of textual, archaeological, and visual evidence evoke ludic activities performed by both children and adults in Roman Ostia. Men and women, citizens, foreigners, and slaves, young and old: everybody played games, but the identity of the players and the type of games varied depending on social status, age, sex and ethnicity. Here we will consider games, *ludi* in Latin, *paidiai* in Greek, as a “voluntary recreational action for enjoyment”,<sup>2</sup> defined by rules, as well as play more broadly involving physical exercise with balls or hoops, as well as ritual performances with dolls.

The reconstruction of ancient gaming rules is methodologically complex because most were never fully described. The main written source is the *Onomasticon* or dictionary of Julius Pollux (2nd century CE), who provides an extensive list of Greek and Roman games, especially in Book 9; each game is named and briefly described, including those with nuts, knucklebones (*omilla*, *pentelitha*, *pleistobolinda*...), or balls (*episkuros*, *ourania*, *phaininda*...), but many practical details remain unclear.<sup>3</sup> Ancient authors also wrote books about dice, gambling and boardgames, but none is preserved.<sup>4</sup> The emperor Claudius was thus “fond of gaming, and published a book on the art of the dice, *alea*. He even used to play as he rode in his carriage, having the board so fitted, that the game was not disturbed by the motion of the carriage.”<sup>5</sup> The regional, local, and even familial variants of games were seldom recorded, as most belonged to an intangible oral heritage. We can only guess that customs in Ostia as concerned play were probably similar to those of the nearby city of Rome.

Some games seem to have been passed down with minor changes through the centuries, such as the Roman *duodecim scripta* and *Alea* belonging to the Trictrac or Backgammon family. A good example of continuity is skimming stones or potsherds over water. Ostia’s beach was a perfect place to enjoy this. Minucius Felix

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is part of the ERC project *Locus Ludi. The Cultural Fabric of Play and Games in Classical Antiquity* (no 741520) funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the research and innovation framework programme Horizon 2020: <https://locusludi.ch/>.

<sup>2</sup> See HUIZINGA (1971[1938]), 35: “Alle Spel is allereerst en bovenal een vrije handeling” (“first and foremost a voluntary activity”). On ancient and modern definitions, see KIDD 2019, 1-9.

<sup>3</sup> Poll. *onom.*; COSTANZA 2019.

<sup>4</sup> Ov. *trist.* 2, 471: “Others have written of the arts of playing at dice.”

<sup>5</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 33 (transl. J. C. Rolfe, modified, Loeb).

(3rd cent. CE) reports that three friends enjoyed watching a group of boys playing on the beach at Ostia. Their game seems to follow timeless rules:<sup>6</sup>

“And when we had reached the place where some boats, supported on oak planking, to save them from ground rot, were lying idle, we saw a party of boys competing eagerly in their game of throwing sherds into the sea. The game is to choose from the shore a flat sherd, one smoothed by the friction of the waves, to catch hold of the sherd by the flat side, and then bending forward and stooping, to send it spinning as far as one can on the top of the waves, so that the missile either skims the surface of the sea and swims on its way, gliding forward with a gentle impulse; or else shaves the tops of the waves, glancing and jumping as it takes its successive leaps. The boy won, whose sherd went furthest, and made most hops.”

Many games disappeared over the course of the centuries as a result of changing social norms and expectations. Some games taught skills that were highly prized in antiquity, but less so in other times and places. Girls achieved extraordinary dexterity by playing with knucklebones, as in the *pentelitha* (or “five stones”) game described by Pollux, in which five knucklebones were thrown into the air to be caught on the back of the hand; those that fell to the ground were picked up using the fingers of the same hand without dropping those already on its back.<sup>7</sup> This is the game played by Hilearia and Aglae, the two daughters of Leto, on the marble plaque signed by the painter Alexandros the Athenian, found in 1746 in Herculaneum (**Fig. 1**).<sup>8</sup>



**Figure 1.** Marble plaque (detail), from Herculaneum. Naples, MANN, inv. 9562. Photo: © Wikimedia Public Domain.

Visual representations of play to some extent compensate for the loss of evidence and provide precious information about the identity of the players and the ergonomics of the game. The marble plaque from Herculaneum confirms that *pentelitha* was a game specific to unmarried girls, *parthenoi*, as Pollux asserts. Other images convey the collective dimension of play as part of the socialization process of children.<sup>9</sup> A marble sarcophagus found in Ostia (3rd cent. CE) (**Fig. 2**)<sup>10</sup> belonged to the young Lucius Aemilius Daphnus who died at the age of four. The relief carved on its main side shows four groups of two to five boys interacting in a lively fashion in a variety of attitudes and gestures while playing with nuts, some sit-

<sup>6</sup> Min. Fel. 3 (transl. G. H. Rendall, Loeb). Cf. DASEN 2019b.

<sup>7</sup> Poll. *onom.* 9, 126.

<sup>8</sup> Found on 24.5.1746, possibly in the Casa di Nettuno ed Anfritrite; DARDENAY *et al.* 2016.

<sup>9</sup> On the meaning of the famous inscription “Dum uixi lusi” of Geminia Agathè, DASEN – MATHIEU 2020.

<sup>10</sup> Marble sarcophagus, London, The British Museum, inv. 1865,0103.7. Inscription: “To the spirits of the departed and to Lucius Aemilius Daphnus of the Pomptine. He lived four years and six days. Livia Daphne (had this made) for her dearest son” (CIL XIV 532). See HUSKINSON 1996, cat. 1.12, Pl. 4.



**Figure 2.** Marble sarcophagus from Ostia. H. 30.5 cm. L.109.2 cm. London, The British Museum 1865,0103.7. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

ting, perhaps gambling, others standing in front of piles of four nuts (*nuces castellatae*), carrying them in their tunic.<sup>11</sup> The range of games depicted calls to mind the rules described in the poem *The Walnut-Tree*:

“These, as they stand upright, a boy splits with certain aim, or, as they lie on their side, strikes with his finger once or twice. In four nuts, and no more, is all his hazard, when one is added to the three beneath it. Another bids them roll down a sloping board, and prays that one out of many, whichever it be, may touch his own. Then there is he who guesses whether the number be odd or even, that the augur may bear away the wealth he has divined. Then too there is drawn in chalk a shape such as a heavenly constellation or the fourth Greek letter bears. When this has been marked with degrees, the nut that stops within it gains itself as many nuts as it has touched lines. Often too a hollow vessel is placed at a distance, into which a nut flung by a skilful hand may fall.”<sup>12</sup>

Archaeological traces of games also require careful consideration as they represent only a small proportion of the toys that once existed. Firstly, because of the materials used: the majority are in terracotta or metal, more rarely of wood, bone, ivory or amber, a misleading predominance as many toys have been lost due to their perishable nature. Numerous toys were made of organic materials, such as wicker rattles, leather balls or rag dolls, which do not survive, or out of reused materials, such as coins for “odd and even” games (*artiasmos*, *par/impar*), or hoops made of wheel rims that are impossible to identify as toys.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, many games did not use any physical objects, as in hide and seek, rhymes and riddles which were very popular pastimes.

## Childhood

### *Rattles*

Among the surviving objects, rattles (Greek *platagonion*, Latin *crepitaculum*) reflect the attention paid to babies in a society with a high mortality rate. Their function was to distract and calm young children, en-

<sup>11</sup> Cf. DOLANSKY 2007; TONER 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Ov. *Nux* 73-86 (transl. J.H. Mozley, revised by G. P. Goold, Loeb).

<sup>13</sup> CRAWFORD 2013; DASEN 2019b.



couraging a peaceful sleep that ensured harmonious growth.<sup>14</sup> Their noise also warded off malevolent influences. A terracotta piglet found in Ostia (see figure on p. 263; **Cat. no. 71**) could have served as a rattle if pebbles were put inside its body through the small opening on the top of the figurine.<sup>15</sup> The animal's back is decorated with fragments of glass paste in added clay 'barbotine', possibly to imitate the adornment of animals for sacrifice. Piglets were often presented to deities watching over fecundity and children's welfare.<sup>16</sup> Ovid tells the story of the nymph Cranae who wards off *striges*, monstrous greedy birds believed to devour new-born babies by night.<sup>17</sup> She offers them the entrails of a piglet as a substitute victim. Such stories may shed light on the prophylactic significance of piglet rattles.

### Dolls

Nearly two hundred dolls with articulated limbs, made of bone or more rarely of ivory, are preserved in the western part of the Roman world.<sup>18</sup> The figurines represent an adult woman with marked sexual features, like a modern Barbie doll, introducing girls to their physical transformations at puberty. In the Roman imperial period, as in ancient Greece, they seem to have taken on a specific function in rites of passage to adulthood. Two commentators on the poet Persius (1st century CE) report that girls gave them as votive offerings on the eve of their wedding.<sup>19</sup> Most dolls come from the graves of young girls who died before marriage; they were buried with miniature accessories evoking the activities and seductiveness of the future bride (comb, mirror, gold or silver jewellery). Their attire may be lavish, with hairstyles imitating those of empresses, and garments sometimes interwoven with gold thread. The high cost of the more elaborate dolls, some of which are made of amber, suggests that they were not mere toys.

The specimens from Ostia (see figures on p. 267), with movable arms and legs, now lost, belong to the schematic type characteristic of Late Antiquity (4th-5th cent. CE). Similar dolls come from tombs of children, like those stuck on the plaque closing the *loculus* or niche in Roman catacombs. Their religious role seems to fade away in Christianized societies. In a letter from Jerome to Gaudentius (413 CE) on the education of the young Pacatula, the doll is no longer used in a ritual but represents a pleasurable reward among others.<sup>20</sup>

### Games in urban spaces

Many ludic activities took place in Roman towns – in the open air in the forum, in porticoes, theatres, as well as inside baths, taverns, palaestra... Athletic training comprised hoop rolling, reserved for young men,

<sup>14</sup> On rattles, babies' health and sleep, DASEN 2017. Cf. Poll. *onom.* 9, 127.

<sup>15</sup> The mouth is also pierced, as is the case with similar piglets found in children's tombs near Rome. See MESSINEO 1991-1992, on the piglet from a tomb in Settecimini (148-149 CE) as a possible souvenir of pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Hercules Victor in the Forum Boarium.

<sup>16</sup> In ancient Sparta, nurses sacrificed piglets at the feast of Tithenidia or "feast of nannies" to Artemis Corythalia, for the protection of their nurslings; Ath. 4, 139a.

<sup>17</sup> Ov. *fast.* 6, 156-164: "She held the raw inwards of a sow just two months old. And thus she spoke: 'Ye birds of night, spare the child's inwards: a small victim falls for a small child. Take, I pray ye, a heart for a heart, entrails for entrails. This life we give you for a better life'" (transl. James G. Frazer, revised by G. P. Goold, Loeb).

<sup>18</sup> PIZZAMIGLIO 2008; BIANCHI 2019. The research of Ch. Bianchi is funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (2020-2024, PI V. Dasen).

<sup>19</sup> Schol. Pers. 2, 69-70.

<sup>20</sup> "She will do her work quickly if she is going to receive as reward some sweetmeat, or bright flower, or glittering bauble, or pretty doll, *pupa*" (transl. F.A. Wright, Loeb).



**Figure 3.** Mosaic floor of the *apodyterium*, Baths of Porta Marina, Ostia IV, X, 1-2, *in situ* (120-130 CE). Photo: J.-P. Thuillier.

and various sorts of ball games (*episkuros*, *ourania*, *phaininda*...). Galen and Antyllus, two medical doctors (2nd cent. CE), recommended such games for honing a balanced, agile, body, as well as encouraging moral virtues.<sup>21</sup> Galen adds that balls are suitable for all ages, and that “even the poorest person is not without the means for it”.<sup>22</sup> The mosaic floor of the changing room in the bath complex of Porta Marina in Ostia depicts the standard range of physical activities in the palaestra: wrestling, boxing, discus throwing, and weight lifting. A hoop is placed against a herm (**Fig. 3**), near a large ball with a hexagonal pattern resembling our modern ones.<sup>23</sup> Young men also trained in the open air, as in the Campus Martius in Rome, attracting spectators, as Gaius Calpurnius Piso allegedly did: “No less is your nimbleness, if mayhap it is your pleasure to return the flying ball, or recover it when falling to the ground, and by a surprising movement get it within bounds again in its flight. To watch such play the populace remains stockstill, and the whole crowd, sweating with exertion, suddenly abandons its own games”.<sup>24</sup>

Gambling and boardgames were another familiar part of the urban landscape. Besides bone counters, cubic dice (**Fig. 4; Cat. nos. 130-133, 135**),<sup>25</sup> and marbles in clay, stone or glass, boards carved into stone

<sup>21</sup> On the small ball, Galen. γαληνου περι του δια της μικρας σφαιρας γυμνασιου (Kühn V 901). On the hoop, Antyllus ap. Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, 6, 26 (ed. J. Raeder, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* VI.1.1, Leipzig/Berlin, Teubner, 1928); DASEN 2019c; PIETROBELLI 2020.

<sup>22</sup> Transl. I. Johnston, Loeb.

<sup>23</sup> NEWBY 2005, 51-56, fig. 3.3.

<sup>24</sup> *Laus Pis.* 185-187 (transl. J. Wight Duff, Loeb).

<sup>25</sup> On dice, e.g. MANNIEZ 2019. On *tesserae lusoriae*, BARATTA 2019.





**Figure 4.** Bone items. Ostia Nuovi depositi, inv. 4308, 4309, 4310, 4324, 4326, 4320, 4327. Photos: Saana Säilynoja, Vapriikki Photo archive. Bone dice. Bone counter (?) in the shape of a plucked chicken l. 5.9, w. 1.6, d. 0.7 cm. On the back: XV. Bone counter (?) in the shape of a fish l. 3.7, w. 0.9. On the back: no number. Bone tessera. l. 6.3, w. 1.5. Inscription: Tertullis. On the back: no number. Bone disk with theatrical mask. On the back: no number.

floors are evidence of play in open spaces. They preserve the structure of the boardgames made of wood which do not survive.<sup>26</sup> About 150 boards engraved with the *duodecim scripta* game (or game of the Twelve lines or Twelve inscriptions), the ancestor of our backgammon, played with two or three dice, are recorded in the Roman west.<sup>27</sup> The board has three rows of twelve cells (**Fig. 5**), often replaced by letters forming hexagrams that make up sentences referring to play.<sup>28</sup> A board found in Ostia thus mocks



**Figure 5.** Marble table with *XII Scripta* board (48 × 39.5 cm). Ephesus, House of the Peristyle 38b, *in situ*. Photo: Ulrich Schädler.

the loser: “Idiot, withdraw. You don’t know how to play, Loser, get up !” (*idiota recede / ludere nescis / victus lebate*).<sup>29</sup> The *ludus latrunculorum*, a famous game of capture, has a different structure consisting of a grid, usually 8 × 8 squares, on which counters symbolise two “armies” whose aim is to capture the opponent’s “mercenaries”, *latrones*.<sup>30</sup> Various depictions in wall paintings and mosaics suggest that these games were mostly played by men in public spaces.<sup>31</sup> Rectangular marble plaques carved with uneven rows of cavities are found in Ostia, for example on the staircase of a nymphaeum (**Fig. 6**). These may have been used as marble runs.<sup>32</sup> A few texts mention this game; according to Suetonius, the emperor Augustus “sometimes

<sup>26</sup> SCHÄDLER 2013, fig. on p. 39; SCHÄDLER 2016, pl. 251.

<sup>27</sup> See *Ludus. A database of Ancient Boardgames*: <https://elearning.unifr.ch/ludus/>.

<sup>28</sup> See PURCELL 2007. On the inscriptions referring to luck, circus, gambling attitudes, see FERRUA 2001; SCHAMBLER 2009.

<sup>29</sup> FERRUA 2001, 77, no. 51. SCHAMBLER 2009, 34, Appendix B79.

<sup>30</sup> SCHÄDLER 1994.

<sup>31</sup> SCHÄDLER 2013.

<sup>32</sup> Some plaques carved for a marble run also bear inscriptions relating to play, SCHÄDLER 2019 (Baths of Caracalla: *vincis gaudes, perdis ploras*, “If you lose, you cry”).



**Figure 6.** Marble run, steps of the Aula del Gruppo di Marte e Venere (*nymphaeum*), Ostia, Regio II, insula IX. Photo: Arja Karivieri.

played at dice, marbles, and nuts with little boys” as a diversion.<sup>33</sup> Other designs are currently being reconsidered, such as the “roundmerel” carved on the floor of Ostia’s Forum Baths, which may not be a boardgame, as long assumed, but may have served a different ludic purposes, such as shoving counters, pucks or coins.<sup>34</sup>

The ludic use of small bone or ivory objects is still much debated. Were the *tesserae* in the shape of chickens (**Fig. 4**) or fish (**Fig. 4**) counters belonging to a lost game? A number is often engraved on the reverse, ranging between I and XVI; these might be countermarks, like the rectangular pierced bone devices with ludic inscriptions or names (**Fig. 4**).<sup>35</sup> These items may be *pittacia* or tickets used in lotteries, such as that organized by Trimalchio to entertain his guests,<sup>36</sup> symbolically representing a gift, or like the *missilia* or *symbola* offered by the emperor to the crowd at festivals.<sup>37</sup> The function of the small bone or ivory disks with theatrical masks (**Fig. 4**) or the terracotta disk with the face of a child (see figure on p. 264), is similarly debated. The counters carved with fingers showing numbers (I–XV), or with the monuments of Alexandria and portraits of deities

or emperors, also with numbers on the back (I–XV), seem to make up coherent series which may have been part of a game.<sup>38</sup>

The variety of Ostia’s play and games thus mirrors the social dynamics of an urban culture shared by children and adults, ordinary people and the élite. Their wealth suggests the importance of further research on the distribution of games in public or private spaces, as well as on game devices revealing the different ethnic origins of the population who lived in the port of Rome.

<sup>33</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 83 (transl. J. C. Rolfe, Loeb).

<sup>34</sup> STÖGER 2016, fig. 2.5. For a reconsideration, see SCHÄDLER 2018.

<sup>35</sup> LAMBRUGO 2015; BARATTA 2019.

<sup>36</sup> Petron. 56.

<sup>37</sup> Suet. *Cal.* 18, 2; Cass. Dio 49, 43, 4.

<sup>38</sup> BIANCHI 2015; GAVIN – SCHÄRLIG 2019.





## Bibliography

### Abbreviations

For the ancient Latin authors, the abbreviations of the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae, Index*, Leipzig 1990, are used; for the Greek authors, see *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1996, 3. ed. Titles of periodicals are abbreviated as in *l'Année philologique*.

*AE* = *L'Année Epigraphique* (Paris, 1888–).

*BGU* = *Berliner griechische Urkunden (Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin)*.

*CIL* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1863–).

*Fast. triumph.* = *Fasti triumphales*

*Liber Coloniarum* = F. BLUME – K. LACHMANN – A. RUDORFF (eds.), *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, 2 vol., Berlin: [s.n.], 1848-1852.

*Liber Pontificalis* = L. DUCHESNE, *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire, I*, Paris: E. De Boccard, 1886.

*P. Mich.* = *Michigan papyri* (1931–).

*P. Dura* = *The Excavations at Dura-Europos conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters Final Report pt. 1: The Parchments and Papyri*, ed. C.B. Welles and others (1959).

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