

Chapter 2

Domus

§ 1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the Ostian *domus*. The use of the denomination "*domus*" by archaeologists is based on the antique uses of the word which are not, however, entirely transparent.¹ The denomination is not applied here with a claim to authenticity. *Domus* may be defined as houses inhabited by men of more than average wealth, testifying to the wealth of the owner, in contrast to additional apartments of the wealthy.² The houses must as a rule have been owned by the main inhabitants. In two instances Ostian *domus* are found in blocks of rented apartments, opening up the possibility that they were let out.³

Once a dwelling has been identified it is fairly easy to determine whether it should be called a *domus*, and the label has been attached to a large number of Ostian habitations.⁴ Because in Ostia there is hardly any explicit data concerning the owners and inhabitants of houses, the criteria used for the identification of the *domus* are firstly, the degree of wealth ascertainable by examination of the ruins and secondly, the absence of a standard lay-out, indicating that the house was not a (rented) apartment (Meiggs talks of "independent houses").⁵ It is however not so easy to recognize a dwelling. It may be assumed that many habitations had a distinctive lay-out or set of features. Relatively small rooms, the private rooms, should be present. If the fixtures and fittings in these rooms are not particularly costly we are dealing with either habitations or commercial premises. If the furnishings are relatively more expensive we are dealing with either dwellings (apartments, *domus*), or with buildings of wealthy organizations.

¹ TLL s.v. *domus*; Calza 1922(2) (epigraphical sources); Saller 1984, 342-349.

² On apartments see chapter 3.

³ The Domus di Giove e Ganimede (I,IV,2) and the Domus delle Muse (III,IX,22). They may have been used by the owners of the blocks (see Calza 1920, 331, 350-351, 356 and Packer 1971, 176). See also chapter 3, § 4. That wealthy, rented dwellings could be called "*domus*" in antiquity is suggested by Carcopino (1939, 42).

⁴ On the composition of the group most recently: Pavolini 1986(2), 254-279, Tab. 2, 468 n. 114.

⁵ Meiggs 1973, 252-262.

The differences between the latter buildings - primarily the seats of the guilds - and the wealthier houses are subtle, due to the disappearance of crucial clues such as inscriptions. As a matter of fact the Ostian *domus* cannot be identified in a positive way: they lack the characteristics of guild-seats (discussed in chapter 6)⁶. Therefore one must entertain the possibility that one or two *domus* have been falsely identified in this study.

Many of the Ostian *domus* have been studied by Becatti.⁷ His study is preliminary however and deals with *domus* from later antiquity only. The masonry of many *domus* from the third, fourth, and fifth centuries AD has been studied by Heres.⁸ A complete catalogue and description is available for only two *domus*, the Domus del Protiro (V,II,4-5) and the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria (V,II,8).⁹ The Domus di Giove e Ganimede was studied in some detail by Calza, the Domus di Amore e Psiche (I,XIV,5) by Packer and Heres, and the Domus delle Colonne (IV,III,1) by Heres.¹⁰ The paintings in the Domus delle Muse were studied by Felletti Maj and Moreno.¹¹ The mosaics from the *domus* were studied by Becatti.¹²

§ 2 Conspectus of the Ostian *domus*

In this section the *domus* are listed. A fairly large number has been recognized in trenches dug below the second century AD level. These houses have been included in the conspectus because of the contrast that emerges in the whereabouts of the wealthiest Ostians before and during Ostia's heyday.

The conspectus lists six items per *domus*. The name and location (Regio, Insula) are followed by the dated building periods. Dates put forward by Heres are preferred above other proposals, in view of the detailed nature of Heres' studies.¹³ Next the presence and kind of one or more central areas is dealt with, because the nature of these areas is characteristic for

⁶ Chapter 6, § 2A, cat. A, nrs. 40-42, 70, 72.

⁷ Becatti 1949.

⁸ Heres 1982.

⁹ Boersma 1985. The house was named after a statue in the portico of the courtyard. Whether the statue represents Fortuna Annonaria is uncertain. Meiggs has suggested it is a personification of Ostia, in view of the turreted head (Meiggs 1973, 434).

¹⁰ Calza 1920, 354-375; Packer 1967 and Heres 1991; Heres 1986.

¹¹ Felletti Maj - Moreno 1967.

¹² Becatti 1961.

¹³ Heres 1982; Heres in Boersma 1985, 11-71.

the *domus* in different periods.¹⁴ The next two items, which provide a clue for the social status of the inhabitants, concern the size of the *domus*: the ground floor area is mentioned,¹⁵ and the existence is noted of (part of) a first floor belonging to the nucleus of the *domus*, where the owner lived (such a relation between floors is deduced from the presence of one or more internal staircases). Finally the related catalogue-numbers can be found. If an item is left out, no data is available. The data and dates are from the studies mentioned in § 1 and chapter 1, § 3B. Numbers in italics refer to the conspectus.

01 Domus di Giove e Ganimede ("Insula di Giove e Ganimede") (I,IV,2).

Chronology: c. 128-138 AD. Central areas: courtyard with partial portico. Ground floor: c. 410 m². First floor: ground floor only. Catalogue: A 9.

02 Domus Republicanana ("Casetta Republicanana") (underneath I,IX,1).¹⁶

Chronology: second half of second century BC (underneath Caseggiato dietro la Curia, c. 120 AD). Central areas: *atrium* (and *peristylum*?).

03 and **04**: as 02 (a row of three *domus*).

05 Domus del Tempio Rotondo (I,XI,2).

Chronology: 1. c. 290-300 AD; 2. c. 300-325 AD. Central areas: courtyard with portico. Ground floor: c. 380 m². First floor: including. Catalogue: A 22.

06 Domus dell'Area Sacra ("Domus") (I,XIV,3).

Chronology: end of second century AD?¹⁷ Central areas: courtyard. Ground floor: c. 140 m². First floor: including.

07 Domus di Amore e Psiche (I,XIV,5).

Chronology: c. 325-350 AD. Central areas: corridor. Ground floor: c. 250 m². First floor: including.

08 Domus di Apuleio (II,VIII,5).

Chronology: 1. period of Trajan; 2. c. 150 AD; 3. late antiquity. Central areas: courtyard with colonnade. Ground floor: c. 450 m². First floor: ground floor only.

09 Domus underneath III,I,4.

Chronology: end of first century BC (underneath street and Basilica Cristiana, c. 400-425 AD).

10 Domus underneath III,I,5.

Chronology: first half of first century BC (below Trajanic Caseggiato). Central areas: *peristylum*? (and *atrium*?).

11 Domus del Mitreo delle Pareti Dipinte ("Domus") (III,I,6).

Chronology: 1. second half of second century BC; 2. end of first century BC; alterations c. 50 AD, purpose unknown, but no longer *domus*. Central areas: *peristylum* (and *atrium*?).

12 Domus sul Decumano (III,II,3).

¹⁴ A portico is understood to be an ambulatory with brick piers, a colonnade an ambulatory with columns.

¹⁵ Excluding shops and external staircases. The measurements have been taken from the plan in SO I.

¹⁶ Cf. Rasmus Brandt 1985, 35, figs. 21, 22.

¹⁷ Meiggs 1973, 255-256.

Chronology: late antiquity.¹⁸ Central areas: corridor, not known whether it had a roof.¹⁹ Ground floor: c. 400 m². First floor: including. Catalogue: A 36.

13 Domus del Ninfeo (III,VI,1).

Chronology: 1. c. 325-350 AD; 2. c. 350-400 AD. Central areas: corridor without roof. Ground floor: c. 550 m². First floor: including. Catalogue: A 41.

14 Domus dei Dioscuri (III,IX,1).

Chronology: c. 400-425 AD. Central areas: two corridors; perhaps one room without roof.²⁰ Ground floor: over 1000 m². First floor: including. Catalogue: A 46.

15 Domus delle Muse ("Insula delle Muse") (III,IX,22).

Chronology: c. 128 AD. Central areas: courtyard with portico. Ground floor: c. 500 m². First floor: including. Catalogue: A 47.

16 Domus del Serapeo (III,XVII,3).

Chronology: end of third or early fourth century AD. Central areas: probably courtyard with portico.²¹ Ground floor: c. 620 m². First floor: including. Catalogue: A 59.

17 Palazzo Imperiale (Regio III, northwest part).

Chronology: 1. c. 145-150 AD; 2. c. 160 AD; 3. Severan. Central areas: two courtyards with portico/colonnade. Ground floor: c. 2000 m². First floor: including. Catalogue: A 60, 61.

18 Domus underneath IV,II,2-3.

Chronology: early first century AD (underneath Portico and Caseggiato dell'Ercole, Marcus Aurelius). Central areas: *atrium* (and *peristylum*?).

19 Domus delle Colonne (IV,III,1).

Chronology: 1. c. 230-240 AD; 2. c. 250 AD; 3. c. 300-350 AD. Central areas: courtyard with portico. Ground floor: c. 850 m² (c. 250 AD). First floor: including (abandoned c. 300-350 AD). Catalogue: A 69.

20 Domus dei Pesci (IV,III,3).

Chronology: 1. c. 240 AD; 2. c. 250 AD; 3. c. 275-300 AD. Central areas: courtyard with portico. Ground floor: c. 520 m². First floor: including.

21 Domus su Via del Hospitium (IV,III,4).

Chronology: c. 270-275 AD. Central areas: corridor, not known whether it had a roof. Ground floor: c. 200 m². First floor: ground floor only.

22 Domus (IV,III,5).²²

Chronology: 1. c. 210-235 AD; 2. late antiquity. Ground floor: c. 600 m².

23 Domus di Giove Fulminatore (first and second period²³) (IV,IV,3).

Chronology: 1. c. 150 BC; 2. early first century AD (Augustan). Central areas: *atrium* and *peristylum*. Ground floor: considerably over c. 370 m². Catalogue: A 71, 72, 74.

24 Domus su Via del Tempio Rotondo ("Domus") (IV,IV,7).

Chronology: Alexander Severus. Central areas: courtyard with portico. Ground floor: c. 800 m². First floor: including. Catalogue: A 73.

25 Domus del Viridario ("Insula del Viridario") (IV,IV,9).

Chronology: fourth or fifth century. Central areas: courtyard with portico/colonnade. Ground

¹⁸ Cf. Boersma 1985, 193, 468 n. 3.

¹⁹ Lay-out atypical according to Pavolini (Pavolini 1986(2), Tab. 2).

²⁰ Room I (Becatti 1949, fig. 12). Measurements of room c. 10.00 x 10.50. Lay-out atypical according to Pavolini (Pavolini 1986(2), Tab. 2).

²¹ Room C (Becatti 1961, fig. 60). Lay-out atypical according to Pavolini (Pavolini 1986(2), Tab. 2).

²² Becatti 1949, 20.

²³ For the building in the third period see chapter 6, § 2A.

floor: c. 425 m²? First floor: ground floor only. Catalogue: A 74.

26 Domus underneath IV,V,1-2.

Chronology: end of first century BC (underneath Taberne dei Pescivendoli and Macellum, early first century AD²⁴).

27 Domus underneath IV,V,7-9.

Chronology: 1. first half of second century BC; 2. first half of first century BC (underneath Hadrianic Caseggiato nr. 7, Domus dell'Aquila and Caseggiato del Dioniso). Central areas: *atrium* and *peristylum*.

28 Domus dell'Aquila ("Insula dell'Aquila") (IV,V,8).

Chronology: c. 250 AD. Central areas: not clear (lay-out atypical). Ground floor: c. 170 m². First floor: ground floor only. Catalogue: A 77.

29 Domus underneath IV,V,15, west part.

Chronology: early first century AD (underneath Schola del Traiano, c. 145-155 AD). Central areas: *peristylum* (and *atrium*?).

30: as 29, but underneath IV,V,15, east part.

31 Domus underneath IV,V,18.

Chronology: early first century BC (underneath Trajanic Caseggiato delle Taberne Finestrate). Central areas: *atrium* (and *peristylum*?).

32 Domus underneath IV,VI,1.

Chronology: end of first century BC (underneath Caseggiato, c. 126 AD). Central areas: *atrium* (and *peristylum*?).

33 Domus del Protiro (V,II,4-5).

Chronology: 1. c. 250 AD; 2. c. 375-425 AD.²⁵ Central areas: courtyard with portico. Ground floor: c. 425 m². First floor: including. Catalogue: A 80.

34 Domus della Fortuna Annonaria (V,II,8).

Chronology: 1. Augustan or late-Flavian,²⁶ 2. c. 150 AD; 3. c. 250 AD; 4. c. 300-325 AD; 5. c. 350-400 AD; 6. sixth century (a bench). Central areas: courtyard with colonnade. Ground floor: c. 560 m². First floor: including. Catalogue: A 81, 82, 83.

35 Domus dei Capitelli di Stucco (V,VII,4).

Chronology: 1. early first century BC; 2. later alterations, function from then on unknown. Central areas: *peristylum* (and *atrium*?). Ground floor: considerably over c. 500 m².

36 Domus del Larario ("Domus") (V,VIII,2).

Chronology: 1. c. 50 AD; 2. Antoninus Pius. Central areas: courtyard with colonnade. Ground floor: c. 560 m². First floor: ground floor only. Catalogue: A 90.

37 Domus underneath V,XI,8.

Chronology: end of first century BC (underneath Trajanic Horrea dell'Artemide). Central areas: *peristylum* (and *atrium*?).

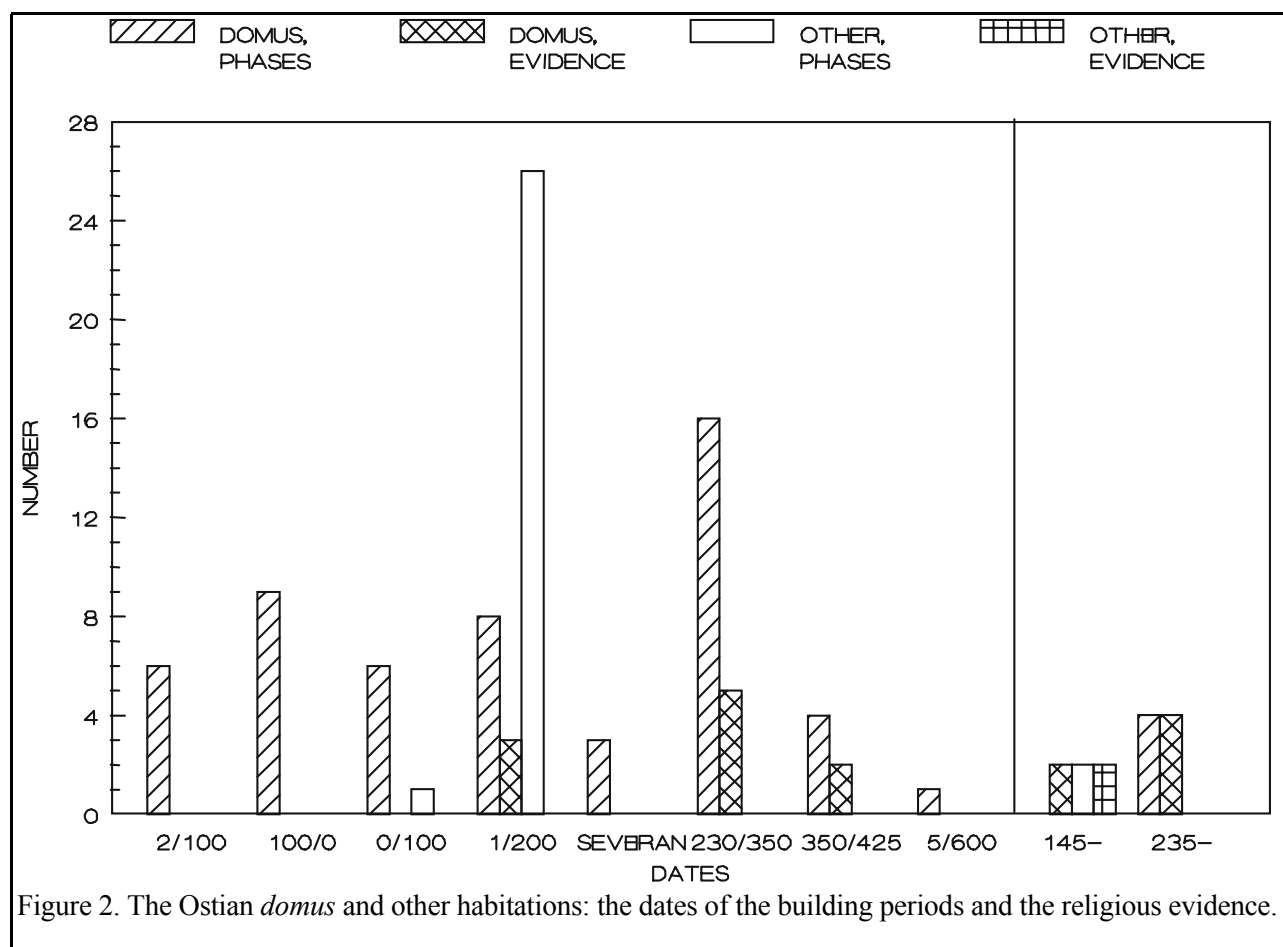
§ 3 Notes on the dates, appearance, lay-out, size and distribution

The Ostian *domus* were built from the second century BC to the fifth AD (fig. 2). They cover most of the city's history, from the humble beginnings of the commercial port, through the summit of prosperity, to late antiquity.

²⁴ For the chronology of this spot see De Ruyt 1983, 122-124.

²⁵ On Severan masonry in the east part: Boersma 1985, 100-101.

²⁶ Boersma 1985, 156.



Most of the older Ostian *domus* are known fragmentarily only. They are either incorporated in later buildings, or have been found in trenches dug below the second century AD level. Apart from the Palazzo Imperiale (17), two or perhaps three new *domus* were built during the summit of prosperity, that is during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: the Domus di Giove e Ganimede, Domus di Apuleio, and Domus delle Muse (1, 8, 15).²⁷ Four more *domus* were kept in use (18, 23, 34, 36). The large majority of the visible remains of *domus* has been dated to after c. 235 AD. After the first quarter of the fifth century only some negligible activity is documented.

Elsewhere *domus* have been found especially in Rome, Pompeii and Herculaneum, and North Africa, providing data from the Republican period to late antiquity. A detailed comparison between *domus* from different places and different periods has not yet been made. If the group is taken as a whole, the following set of features found often or always in the

²⁷ It has recently been suggested by Coarelli that the Domus di Apuleio dates back to the Republican period (see § 4). The other two may have been let out (see § 1).

domus can be compiled:²⁸

Exterior: shops; staircase; no or few windows; accentuated main entrance (especially by a porch); two or three doors in the main entrance ("main gate", and one or two minor doors).

Interior, lay-out: axial lay-out (axis running through main entrances, or at right angles to it).

Interior, front part: vestibule (often large, often with benches); door-keeper's rooms.

Interior, organizing areas: one or more areas without roof (often with ambulatory, often the central rooms); garden in area without roof (or flower-boxes, fish-pond).

Interior, rooms around organizing areas: rooms of special importance, in view of their size, decoration, wide entrance (often tripartite), level (often at a somewhat higher level), and height (often two stories high) (often on axis, often at right angles to axis, sometimes apsidal); small bedrooms (sometimes behind an added corridor); kitchen; latrine; one or more stairs.

Interior, furnishing: expensive decoration of floors, walls, and ceilings; statues; *nymphaeum*, fountain, well.

One important change which took place in the *domus* in the course of time and can be witnessed in Ostia as well concerns the central rooms. The earliest *domus* are of the well-known "Pompeian" kind, with *atrium* and *peristylum*. In Ostia most of the houses of this kind were demolished later and built over. In the course of the first century AD the *atrium* and *peristylum* as organizing rooms in the building were abandoned. Instead a courtyard with ambulatory is found, around which the rooms are arranged. Most of the later *domus* in Ostia have this feature.²⁹ Different solutions are found in the Domus di Amore e Psiche (7) - a corridor -, the Domus sul Decumano (12) - a corridor, unknown whether it had a roof -, the Domus del Ninfeo (13) - a corridor without roof -, the Domus dei Dioscuri (14) - two corridors and perhaps one area without roof, but without ambulatory -, and finally the Domus su Via del Hospitium (21) - a corridor -. The choice of a corridor may be restricted to late antiquity.³⁰

Domus may be extremely large, having a ground floor surface of over

²⁸ Features of *domus* in Ostia: Becatti 1949, 26-30; Boersma 1985, 192-195; Pavolini 1986(2), 254-279, Tab. 2. In Rome: Guidobaldi 1986 (built from second half of third century AD to first half of fifth). Cf. also Van den Abeele 1990. In Pompeii: Thédenat 1927, 59-112. In North Africa: Thébert 1985 with Rebuffat 1969 (second century AD and later).

²⁹ Meiggs 1973, 252-253.

³⁰ Pavolini 1986(2), 255-259. Following Heres' dates he suggests that the corridor was introduced c. 325-350 AD. The presence of a corridor in the earlier Domus su Via del Hospitium is perhaps explained by the small size of the house.

2000 m²,³¹ but also quite small (in Ostia nrs. 6, 21, 28). Virtually all Ostian *domus* from the second century AD and later have a ground floor area of less than 1000 m². No clear, fundamental contrast has ever been found between the large and small *domus*: they are apparently on a gradually increasing scale of wealth.

As to the distribution of the *domus* in Ostia, in late antiquity two parts of town were preferred for their erection. In the southwest part of the excavated area three *domus* (12, 13, 14) were constructed, to the southwest of the Forum eight (5, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28). In the southwest part of Regio V a *domus* (33) was built not far away from two older ones (34, 36). All three groups are to the south of the commercial area along the Tiber. The first group links up with the Case a Giardino (III,IX,1-22), a wealthy residential district from the Hadrianic period containing the Domus delle Muse (15).³² Five *domus* are found in the northern part of Ostia (1, 6, 7, 8, 16). It has recently been argued by Coarelli that one of these, the Domus di Apuleio (8), was related to adjacent temples.³³ It may be significant that three of the other houses are near temples as well: The Templi Repubblicani (I,XV) (comprising the Tempio d'Ercole (I,XV,5), restored in the late fourth century AD³⁴), and the Serapeo (III,XVII,4).

§ 4 Notes on the inhabitants and visitors

In the *domus* lived first of all the owners with their wives and children. There were apparently no rooms set apart for the women and children.³⁵ The family was attended to by slaves, about whom Pliny the Younger remarks: *servis res publica quaedam et quasi civitas domus est*.³⁶ Servants' quarters on the ground floor were rare. If they can be located there, they are always found to have been set apart, through their position or the choice of decoration.³⁷ In the *domus* the well-to-do with their servants were shielded from the outside world: the houses had their own kitchens, latrines, water-supply, and light-source.

³¹ Guidobaldi 1986, 218, 226-228.

³² See chapter 3.

³³ See § 4.

³⁴ Bloch 1945.

³⁵ Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 50-52.

³⁶ Plinius Junior, Epistulae 8, 16, 2. On the *familia*: Saller 1984, 337-342.

³⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 79-80. Slaves sleeping in the basement (Rome, north slope of Palatine): Carandini 1986, 264.

Is it possible to be more specific about the social status of the owners of the Ostian *domus*? As its name indicates, the Palazzo Imperiale (17) - built during the reign of Antoninus Pius - has been thought to have been an Imperial residence.³⁸ Most specialists on Ostia are inclined to agree.³⁹ As to the regular *domus*, those from the Republican and early Imperial period (of which little remains) must have been inhabited by the town's notables. An interesting hypothesis has been proposed by Coarelli with regard to the Domus di Apuleio (8).⁴⁰ He argues that a structural tie existed between the Domus and the adjacent Quattro Tempietti (II,VIII,2), that the Domus was built together with the temples in the first century BC, and that it was owned by P. Lucilius Gamala, builder of the temples. He then suggests that the house was sold around 150 AD and rebuilt by the famous author Apuleius of Madaura. The latter hypothesis is based on three arguments. First of all, the name L. Apuleius Marcellus is written on lead water-pipes found near the house. The *cognomen* of Apuleius is not known, but there are good reasons to suppose that he was called Lucius. Secondly, in front of the Quattro Tempietti an honorary inscription for Q. Asinius Marcellus, *patronus coloniae*, was found. In book 11 of the *Metamorphoseon*, at a point where Apuleius is clearly writing about himself, a priest is mentioned called Asinius Marcellus, *reformationis meae non alienum nomen* (the central figure in the book had been transformed into an *asinus*).⁴¹ Thirdly, from the house the Mitreo delle Sette Sfere (II,VIII,6) is accessible, and depictions in this shrine concur with descriptions in two philosophical treatises of Apuleius.⁴²

It has been suggested by Meiggs that the Domus dei Dioscuri (14) was used by the *praefectus Urbi* of 365-366 AD, C. Caeionius Rufus Volusianus Lampadius. Inscriptions from the neighbourhood of the house document a Volusianus *v(ir) c(larissimus)*. An inscription in mosaic in the house (*plura faciatis meliora dedicetis*) indicates that the owner came from North Africa (because parallels for the text have been found only in North Africa), and that is where Lampadius came from. Another mosaic in the house depicts the Dioscures, and in late antiquity the *praefectus Urbi* was in charge of the Ostian feast of the Dioscures.⁴³ However, the Dioscures are not necessarily to be related to the *praefectus Urbi*. In Ostia they were

³⁸ Carcopino 1911(1), 219-220 n. 3.

³⁹ See for example Becatti 1961, 195 and Pavolini 1986(1), 160.

⁴⁰ Coarelli 1989(2).

⁴¹ Apuleius, *Metamorphoseon* 11, 27, 6.

⁴² See also chapter 7, § 2C.

⁴³ Meiggs 1973, 212, 398-399, 474 n. I. Cf. Fuhrmann 1941.

worshipped as deities protecting navigation,⁴⁴ and that is why Becatti has suggested, that the owner of the house was some wealthy North African corn merchant.⁴⁵ Furthermore according to Heres the masonry used in the *domus* is to be dated to the first quarter of the fifth century.⁴⁶ Perhaps then we have to look for another Volusianus. Over the main entrance to the Domus del Protiro (33) is an inscription which probably contained the name of the owner. Unfortunately part of the inscription is missing, and so far nobody has succeeded in supplementing the text.⁴⁷

In the absence of explicit data one can only guess as to the identity of the inhabitants of the later *domus*. After the Severan period Portus gradually took over Ostia's services to Rome, eventually leading to the official separation of the old and new harbours.⁴⁸ From the second half of the third century Ostia was governed directly from Rome.⁴⁹ The most obvious hypothesis is then that the larger *domus* were used by aristocrats, who had interests in Portus through trade or offices, the smaller ones by minor officials and less wealthy merchants.⁵⁰

Many *domus* have external staircases, that is staircases accessible directly from the street. The staircases obviously led to separate habitations, not forming part of the nucleus of the *domus*.⁵¹ These dwellings may have been rented apartments,⁵² but they may also have been put at the disposal of freedmen or *clientes*.⁵³ That *domus* could have apartments for hire is shown by a passage from Apuleius' Apology: *Testimonium ex libello legi audisti gumiae cuiusdam et desperati lurconis Iuni Crassi, me in eius domo nocturna sacra cum Appio Quintiano amico meo factitasse, qui ibi mercede*

⁴⁴ Meiggs 1973, 343-344.

⁴⁵ Becatti 1949, 49-50.

⁴⁶ Cf. Pavolini 1986(2), 259.

⁴⁷ Becatti 1949, 53 nr. 11; Meiggs 1973, 553; Boersma 1985, 312, fig. 91; S.L. Wynia in Boersma 1985, 293. Fourth or early fifth century AD.

⁴⁸ For this period see most recently Pavolini 1986(2).

⁴⁹ After 251 AD no local magistrates are documented. Meiggs 1973, 186; Pavolini 1986(2), 274.

⁵⁰ Pavolini 1986(2), 276-279.

⁵¹ Separate apartments could also form part of the ground floor. Thébert mentions one example in North Africa (Volubilis, House of the Golden Coins). A well-known example in Pompeii is the Insula Arriana Polliana (VI 6), which has three separate apartments on the ground floor (Mau 1908, 369-370, fig. 197; cf. De Albentis 1989, 77-82 on CIL IV, 138).

⁵² This is suggested by Thébert (hesitating) and Pavolini (Thébert 1985, 342; Pavolini 1986(2), 268).

⁵³ Cf. Digesta 9.3.5.1: *Si quis gratuitas habitationes dederit libertis et clientibus vel suis vel uxoris* ... (the full text: chapter 3, n. 1).

*deversabatur.*⁵⁴

The importance of visitors is shown by both texts and the ruins of the *domus*. The subject has in recent years received most attention from Thébert, focusing on the North African *domus*, and Wallace-Hadrill.⁵⁵ The following account makes extensive use of their analyses.

An elaborate discussion of the reception of visitors can be found in Vitruvius' *De Architectura*: *Cum ad regiones caeli ita ea fuerint disposita, tunc etiam animadvertendum est, quibus rationibus privatis aedificiis propria loca patribus familiarum et quemadmodum communia cum extraneis aedificari debeant. Namque ex his quae propria sunt, in ea non est potestas omnibus intro eundi nisi invitatis, quemadmodum sunt cubicula, triclinia, balneae ceteraque, quae easdem habent usus rationes. Communia autem sunt, quibus etiam invocati suo iure de populo possunt venire, id est vestibula, cava aedium, peristylia, quaeque eundem habere possunt usum. ... Item feneratoribus et publicanis commodiora et speciosiora et ab insidiis tuta, forensibus autem et disertis elegantiora et spatiosiora ad conventos excipiundos, nobiles vero, qui honores magistratusque gerendo praestare debent officia civibus, faciunda sunt vestibula regalia alta, atria et peristylia amplissima, silvae ambulationesque laxiores ad decorem maiestatis perfectae; praeterea bybliotheas, basilicas non dissimili modo quam publicorum operum magnificentia comparatas, quod in domibus eorum saepius et publica consilia et privata iudicia arbitriaque conficiuntur.*⁵⁶

Vitruvius' words *publica consilia* show that part of the public life could take place in the *domus*. The people who could call upon the *dominus* uninvited (*invocati de populo*) were given the *privata iudicia arbitriaque*.⁵⁷ Recurring receptions were that of the *clientela* in the morning (*salutatio*) and of guests for dinner (*cena*).⁵⁸ As examples of rooms and areas meant for visitors Vitruvius mentions large vestibules (*vestibula*), halls (*atria*), courtyards (*cava aedium*), courtyards with colonnades (*peristylia*), plantations (*silvae*), promenades (*ambulationes*), libraries (*bybliotheas*) and large roofed halls (*basilicas*).

Thébert makes the following comments on the various kinds of rooms in

⁵⁴ Apuleius, *Apologia* 57.

⁵⁵ Thébert 1985, 343-375; Wallace-Hadrill 1988. See also Coarelli 1983(2); Saller 1984, 349-355; Wiseman 1987; Coarelli 1989(1).

⁵⁶ Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 6, 5, 1.2. Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis* 1, 39, 138.139.140.

⁵⁷ On the nature of the *privata iudicia arbitriaque* and *publica consilia*: Lange 1885, 245-248; Wiseman 1985, 14-16. Cf. Horstmannshoff - Pleket 1988, 192-193 on Dio 69, 6, 4.

⁵⁸ Carcopino 1939, 203-205, 304-318.

the *domus*. Reception-rooms determined the lay-out of the *domus*, that is, they formed the axis. The vestibule was used as a reception-room for the humbler protégé's of the master of the house. The courtyard had various purposes and uses: it was a light-source; the conformity of elements of the courtyard (such as a basin) to the axial lay-out shows that here the presence of visitors was kept in mind; a well in the courtyard was used by the servants. The dining-room, where guests were received for dinner, showed in its decoration and size the importance of the *dominus*, who was at the head of the table. Next to the dining-room was a second, minor accentuated room, used as an office, as reception-room for friends, and for cultural activities. The most private rooms were the *cubicula* (although these too could be used for the reception of intimate friends and business associates⁵⁹). They are in a subordinate position, their privacy sometimes being stressed by an ante-room.

§ 5 Religion in the *domus*

5A The evidence

Of the 95 items in catalogue A, 16 are found in *domus*.

The **Domus del Tempio Rotondo** (5) has a wall-niche, built in the early second century AD for a building which was almost completely demolished (catalogue A, nr. 22; pl. 1). It was apparently kept in use in the *domus*, which itself was erected in the years c. 290-300 AD. The niche is now in a small room, built in the first quarter of the fourth century AD. The room is to the right of the courtyard and not on the axis of the house. Its walls were plastered. The niche is opposite a door in the west wall of the room, albeit not opposite the centre. It was plastered. Set against the wall with the niche is a bench. Benches are a characteristic feature of cult-rooms,⁶⁰ and therefore the whole room may have had a religious function.⁶¹

The **Domus del Ninfeo** (13) has a floor-niche which was in use in the *domus*, and may already have existed in the building in which the *domus* was installed, c. 325-350 AD (A 41; pl. 2). The room with the niche is

⁵⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 59.

⁶⁰ See chapter 1, § 5A.

⁶¹ Another bench was set against the west wall of room E (rubble masonry; h. 0.70 (north part)/0.30 (south part), dated by Heres to c. 300-325 AD. According to Becatti there was a niche in the north part of the west wall of this room (Becatti 1949, 4). He is referring to a blocked door (partly collapsed, partly modern). The lower part of this door was filled in completely, whether the upper half was also filled in completely or only partly, leaving a niche, can no longer be established.

one of the largest in the house. It has a floor of opus sectile. The lower part of the walls had marble revetment, the upper part was plastered. The room is lit from a corridor without a roof through three large windows. Clearly this was one of the most important rooms in the house, perhaps a dining-room.⁶² The niche is in the centre of the wall with the windows and has marble revetment. A statue in the niche may have been higher than the niche and risen above the sill of the central window.

The **Domus dei Dioscuri** (14) has a row of three wall-niches, built when the *domus* was installed, probably c. 400-425 AD (A 46; pl. 3). The niches are in a large room in the central part of the building. The function of the room is not known. It may or may not have had a roof. The niches were plastered, but remains of mortar in one of them suggest that at some point of time they received marble revetment.

The **Domus del Serapeo** (16) has a wall-niche, built in the late third or early fourth century AD (A 59). The room with the niche is in a corner of the *domus*. On the walls remains of marble revetment were found. On the floor is a polychrome mosaic. The niche is near the entrance to the room. It was plastered. Some structure was set against one of the walls of the room, perhaps a bench, so that this may have been a cult-room.⁶³

In the **Palazzo Imperiale** (17) was a painted relief of Silvanus, from the period of Commodus or later (A 60). It was in the south wall of the southern courtyard, next to a vestibule. A *lararium* is reported to have been found nearby.

Also in the **Palazzo Imperiale** a wall-niche, made c. 145-150 AD or later, can be found in a room accessible from the northern courtyard (A 61). It is curious that a shop-threshold is found in the door in the north wall and in the door in the north wall of the adjacent room to the east. A mosaic-niche with a depiction of Silvanus, dated to the period of Commodus or early third century, has been found in the room to the south. This room had to be crossed in order to reach a *mithraeum* and that is why the mosaic-niche has been thought to belong to that shrine.⁶⁴ The room with our niche did not necessarily have to be traversed to reach the *mithraeum*,⁶⁵ but there is a door leading to the room with the mosaic-niche, so that here as well there might be a relation with the shrine of Mithras. The niche is near the latter door. It has traces of plaster.

In the **Domus delle Colonne** (19) is a podium, perhaps of an *aedicula*,

⁶² Becatti 1949, 27.

⁶³ See chapter 1, § 5A.

⁶⁴ See catalogue A, appendix.

⁶⁵ There is a door in the east wall of the room with the mosaic-niche.

built after the erection of the *domus*, that is after c. 230-240 AD (A 69; pl. 4). On top are two marble altars. Their place of discovery is not known, and the excavators' suggestion that this was a shrine is open to doubt.⁶⁶ The podium is in a corner of the portico of the courtyard, near the main entrance to the house. Two *aediculae* in Pompeian houses are in the same position.⁶⁷

In the **Domus di Giove Fulminatore** (23) a black-and-white mosaic with the depiction of an apotropaic phallus is found in the vestibule (A 71; pl. 79). The phallus has been dated to the second century AD.

In the **Domus su Via del Tempio Rotondo** (24) is a wall-niche, built in the second half of the third or in the fourth century AD (A 73; pl. 5). It is in the centre of the back wall of the largest room in the house, perhaps a dining-room.⁶⁸ The niche had either plaster or marble revetment.

The **Domus del Viridario** (25) has a pseudo-*aedicula* (A 74; pls. 6, 7). It may have been built in the first half of the second century AD. If that is so, it originally formed part of the Domus di Giove Fulminatore, in which the Domus del Viridario was installed in the fourth or fifth century. The pseudo-*aedicula* is in the courtyard of the latter *domus* and was possibly in the portico of the *peristylum* of the former.⁶⁹ Because the pseudo-*aedicula* was built with extraordinary care (it is made of thin bricks separated by narrow joints) and is partly polychrome, it was not meant to be plastered.

The **Domus dell'Aquila** (28) has a wall-niche, built c. 250 AD or later (A 77; pl. 8). The function of the room with the niche is unknown, mainly due to the atypical lay-out of the house.⁷⁰ The room has an opus sectile-floor,⁷¹ and on the southeast wall the remains of marble revetment can be seen. The niche is in the centre of one of the walls. The bottom is made of a marble slab. The niche contains a travertine object (an altar?) the place of discovery of which is unknown.

In the **Domus del Protiro** (33), in an underground complex built around 250 AD, are two or perhaps three niches: a floor-niche and one or two

⁶⁶ In the same house a niche is reported to have been found in room S, along the courtyard (Becatti 1949, 18). It cannot now be found and has obviously collapsed. It may have been a partially blocked door.

⁶⁷ Boyce 1937, nrs. 48, 67.

⁶⁸ The room is called *tablinum* in SO I and perhaps overlooked an (unexcavated) *peristylum* (SO I, 153).

⁶⁹ Becatti 1961, 185-191.

⁷⁰ Packer calls the room a *cubiculum* (Packer 1971, 192).

⁷¹ Becatti 1961, 193-194.

wall-niches (A 80; fig. 3; pls. 9, 10, 11). The underground complex was accessible not only to the inhabitants of the nucleus of the *domus*, but also to those living elsewhere in the building.⁷² It is entered by descending the stairs in the portico of the courtyard. It has plaster throughout and brick floors. Opposite and at the foot of the staircase is a plastered wall-niche.⁷³ To the right a corridor leads to a room below the courtyard, with a well surrounded by three niches. To the left one enters

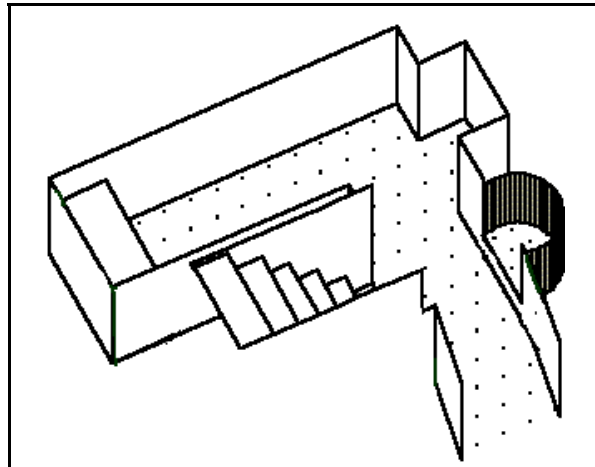


Figure 3. Domus del Protiro: 3D-view of the underground room (max. w. 0.89, max. d. 2.54; h. 1.33). From the northeast.

a low room below the portico, with a plastered floor-niche at the west end and a podium at the east end (creating a wall-niche if one so wishes). The podium is covered by a marble slab. The room is regarded by Neuerburg as a shrine, by Hermansen as a cellar for cold storage of foodstuffs.⁷⁴ It is difficult to make a choice here. From the kind of niches can be deduced that a religious aspect was present.⁷⁵ The marble slab on the podium suggests, that this was more than a simple depository.

The **Domus della Fortuna Annonaria** (34) has a pseudo-*aedicula*, built after c. 250 AD (A 81; pl. 12). The pseudo-*aedicula* is in the courtyard, and almost exactly opposite the centre of the main entrance to the house. It had marble revetment on the outside and inside. In the niche a statue of Juno or Ceres is reported to have been found.

Also in the **Domus della Fortuna Annonaria** is a wall-niche, built c.

⁷² The nucleus of the Domus del Protiro was separated from the rest of the ground floor by doors. From the position of these doors Boersma deduces, that people living in separate apartments in the front part of the building could enter the courtyard to use the well with the three niches (Boersma 1985, 82, 84).

⁷³ From this niche may come a marble statue of a Genius with *cornucopiae* and snake, found in the northeast corner of room 14, in the southeast part of the building. Detailed description: Boersma 1985, 288-289, 472 n. 23, figs. 289-290 (dated to the end of the third century; preserved h. 0.52, not 0.72; st.-r. IV, inv. nr. 413). The Genius, Lares and snakes in an underground shrine in Pompeii: Boyce 1937, nr. 253.

⁷⁴ Neuerburg 1965, 193-194; Hermansen 1982(1), 117. For underground cult-rooms in Pompeii and Herculaneum: Di Capua 1950, 61-67

⁷⁵ See chapter 1, § 5C.

300-325 AD (A 82; pl. 13). The niche is in an apsidal room overlooking the courtyard, perhaps a dining-room with a semicircular dining-couch (*stibadium*). The room has a floor of opus sectile, the walls have marble revetment. In one of the lateral walls is a *nymphaeum*. The apsidal part of the room is at a slightly higher level.⁷⁶ The niche is in the centre of the apsidal back wall. Inside it had marble revetment.

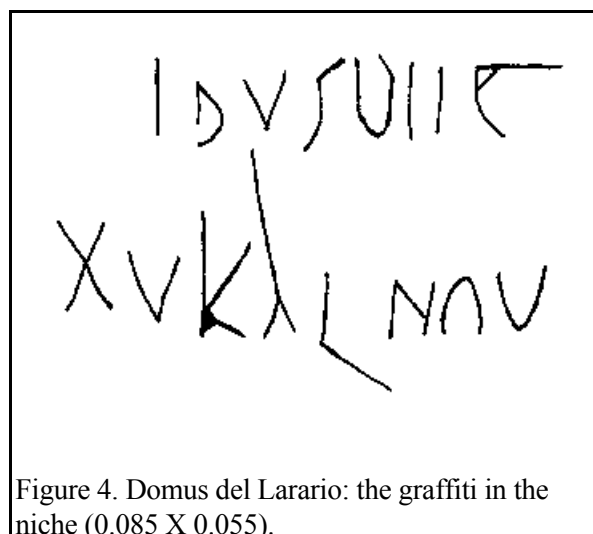


Figure 4. Domus del Larario: the graffiti in the niche (0.085 X 0.055).

A third piece of evidence in the **Domus della Fortuna Annonaria** is another wall-niche, built c. 350-400 AD (A 83; pl. 14). The niche is in a room along the courtyard. This room and the adjacent room 2 with which it was connected had a black-and-white mosaic floor and paintings imitating marble. Boersma regards the two rooms as a functional entity, as rooms showing fairly great wealth and "evidently more than mere *cubicula*".⁷⁷ Elsewhere he calls room 2 a *cubiculum*, room 3 merely "room".⁷⁸ The niche is near the entrance to the room from the courtyard. It was installed in a blocked door, which led to an understairs. Boersma comments: "This niche was apparently so greatly desired that its presence compensated for the loss of the annex".⁷⁹ This is not convincing, because it is easy to hack out a niche in a wall. A better explanation is that the understairs, probably used as a store room, was regarded as a degradation of the status of the room with the niche. The niche had paintings imitating marble.

The **Domus del Larario** (36) has a wall-niche with *aedicula*-facade, from the Antonine period (A 90; fig. 4; pl. 15), in a corner of the courtyard. It had two wooden doors and may have had a wooden tympanum. On the plaster of the back of the niche two dates have been scratched, which were for unknown reasons important to the inhabitants:

⁷⁶ Becatti 1949, 27; Boersma 1985, 149. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 68 and Tamm 1963, 147-188.

⁷⁷ Boersma 1985, 146.

⁷⁸ Boersma 1985, 412.

⁷⁹ Boersma 1985, 159.

AREA	TOTAL	CULT- ROOMS	MOSAICS	RELIEFS	NICHES	(PSEUDO-) AEDICULAE
VESTIBULE	1		1			
COURTYARD- PORTICO	4 OR 5			1	1 (1)	2 OR 3
ACCENTUATED	3				3	
UNDERGROUND	2 OR 3	1?			2 OR 3	
OTHER	6	2?			6	

Figure 5. The Ostian *domus*: the position and appearance of the evidence. In brackets: with *aedicula*-facade.

October 18th and, possibly, December 13th.⁸⁰ The arch over the niche was painted red and white, in imitation of red bricks and narrow white joints.⁸¹

5B Dates, position, appearance, deities

The evidence stretches from the second to the early fifth century AD (fig. 2). Most of it is spread out evenly over the post-Severan period (11 items). Three items are dated to the second century AD.

The position and appearance of the Ostian evidence are presented in figure 5. Most of it is found in the courtyards or their porticos and in accentuated rooms, respectively four or five and three items. One piece of evidence is found in a vestibule. One *domus* has underground evidence, accessible from a portico. Finally six items are in rooms of which the function is unknown. Five or all of these rooms had a roof. It is certain that these were not service-rooms, as can be deduced from their size, decoration, or central location.

As to the precise position, four pieces of evidence, all later than c. 250 AD, are in the centre of a wall: in the Domus su Via del Tempio Rotondo,

⁸⁰ Cf. the graffito *Oliva condita XVII K. Novembres* on the edge of the projecting shelf of a Pompeian niche (Boyce 1973, nr. 63).

⁸¹ The same phenomenon can be seen on the facade of a cult-room in the Caseggiato del Sacello (A 75), on one row of bricks in the lateral walls of the shrine for the cult of the Emperors in the Caserma dei Vigili (II,V,1), and on two relieving arches in corridor 20 behind the Portico dell'Ercole (IV,II,2) (Packer 1971, plan 31, fig. 224). It was also seen, at the time of the excavation, on relieving arches in the Caseggiato di Diana (I,III,3-4) (see also Packer 1971, 40-41; Riemann 1975, 193).

Domus della Fortuna Annonaria and Domus del Ninfeo niches in accentuated rooms; in the Domus dell'Aquila a niche in a room of which the function is unknown. It should be noted that all the evidence in accentuated rooms is in the centre of a wall. The niche in the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria is furthermore opposite the centre of the main entrance to the accentuated room. It is not known what was opposite the niche in the Domus su Via del Tempio Rotondo. The niches in the Domus del Ninfeo and dell'Aquila are not opposite entrances, but in both cases there is no door in the centre of one of the walls.⁸²

The pseudo-*aedicula* in the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria is almost in the centre of the south wall of the courtyard and almost opposite the centre of the main entrance to the building, that is, if we confine ourselves to measurements.⁸³ However, the central pair of columns in the north side of the first-century colonnade of the courtyard is almost, but not exactly, opposite the much later main entrance: it is a little to the east. Because the pseudo-*aedicula* is a little to the east as well, there is an uninterrupted line of view from the entrance through the central pair of columns to the pseudo-*aedicula*.

The precise position in the room of the remaining evidence is difficult to assess. In some cases there may be a relation with an entrance. The relief in the Palazzo Imperiale for example was directly next to the entrance of a vestibule.

The large majority of the evidence consists of niches (12 or 13 items). Paintings have not been preserved. In the courtyards-porticos expensive, monumental evidence is found: two (pseudo-) *aediculae* (one with marble revetment, the other of polychrome masonry), and a niche with *aedicula*-facade (with painted decoration). However, a painted terracotta relief is also encountered. All items from the accentuated rooms are niches (two with marble revetment, whereas the third had plaster or marble revetment). In the vestibule a simple apotropaic mosaic is found. The underground evidence consists of two or three niches (one with a marble bottom), possibly in and near the entrance of a cult-room. In the remaining rooms niches are found (a group of three was originally plastered, but apparently received marble revetment at a later date; one niche has paintings imitating marble revetment), two of which might be in a cult-room.

Hardly anything is known about the gods worshipped in the Ostian

⁸² According to Becatti the three niches in the Domus dei Dioscuri were also opposite the main entrance (Becatti 1949, 14). They seem to have been partly blocked from view however by a wall of which a short stretch remains.

⁸³ Boersma 1985, 419; Becatti 1949, 23.

domus. In the Palazzo Imperiale Silvanus was present at two spots: near a vestibule and near a *mithraeum*. The latter Silvanus is presumably related to the *mithraeum*. From inscriptions it is known that Silvanus was popular especially amongst Imperial slaves and freedmen, and could be regarded as Silvanus Aug.⁸⁴ It is tempting to regard our Silvani as such, but it should be remembered that this deity could be worshipped as the protector of the house and as god of the garden.⁸⁵ In the other *domus* an apotropaic phallus and a traditional deity (Juno or Ceres) are documented.

A large amount of evidence has been found in the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum. From the catalogues cannot always be deduced which of these were *domus*, and it is beyond the scope of this study to go into this problem. For this chapter the evidence has been collected from the wealthier and wealthiest dwellings, called "House", "Casa", and "Domus" in the catalogues. Simpler dwellings connected with a shop, restaurant, hotel, or workshop have been left out of consideration. The selected evidence is presented in figure 6.⁸⁶ In the catalogues of the Campanian evidence the relation between the evidence and the building periods of the houses is not discussed. Therefore some of the evidence may antedate the installation of the house, or have been built when the *domus* had been given a different function. In view of the size of the sample however (281 items) clear fluctuations may be regarded as reliable.

The large majority of the Campanian evidence is found in the kitchens (27.4%), *atria-alae* (25.6%), *peristylia* (18.4%) and *viridaria* (20.2%) (all in all 91.6%). Only a few shrines are documented in the vestibules, bedrooms, accentuated rooms (*oeci*, *tablina*, *triclinia*), corridors, latrines, and stables. Cult-rooms are found especially in the *viridaria*, sometimes in the *atria-alae* and *peristylia*, or underground (two instances, one accessible from the portico surrounding the *peristylum*, the other below a courtyard). In virtually all kinds of rooms paintings can be found. The majority is located in the kitchens (39).⁸⁷ Large amounts of niches are found in the

⁸⁴ Bömer-Herz 1981, 85-86.

⁸⁵ Wissowa 1912, 213; Peter 1915, 850-852. See also chapter 9, § 4C.

⁸⁶ I have made my own counts of the data in the available catalogues (Boyce 1937; Orr 1972, catalogues A and B). The kind of evidence is sometimes unknown. Apotropaic depictions in Pompeii and Herculaneum have not been catalogued by Boyce and Orr. They can be found both on the facades and in the vestibules of *domus* (Kraus - von Matt 1973, fig. 220 and description (VI 5, 16); De Vos -De Vos 1982, 134 (III 4, 2-3), 168-169 (VI 15, 1)). Cf. Dunbabin 1978, 161-164 on apotropaic depictions in the North African *domus*.

⁸⁷ Fröhlich reaches the following totals for paintings with the Genius, Lares and/or Di Penates: 70 in the kitchens and service-areas of the Pompeian houses; 22 in representative rooms of the smaller houses; 24 in representative rooms of the medium-sized houses (Fröhlich 1992, 28-29, 38).

AREA	TOTAL	CULT-ROOMS	PAINTINGS	NICHES	(PSEUDO-) AEDICULAE
<i>FAUCES</i>	7			7 (3)	
<i>ATRIUM-ALAE</i>	71	1	7	39 (8)	15
<i>PERISTYLIUM</i>	51	1	6	26 (6)	12
<i>VIRIDARIUM</i>	56	5	4	29 (3)	13
<i>CUBICULUM</i>	3		2		
<i>TABLINUM</i>	1?				1?
<i>TRICLINIUM</i>	2		1	1	
<i>OECUS</i>	4		1	3	
<i>CULINA</i>	76		39	37 (2)	
CORRIDOR	6		5		
LATRINE	1		1		
<i>STABULUM</i>	1			1	
UNDERGROUND	2	2			

Figure 6. The houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum: the position and appearance of the evidence. In brackets: with *aedicula*-facade.

kitchens, *atria-alae*, *peristylia*, and *viridaria*: 37, 39, 26, and 29 respectively. With one possible exception (in the *tablinum*) *aediculae* and pseudo-*aediculae* are found in the *peristylia*, *viridaria*, and *atria-alae* only.⁸⁸ Unfortunately hardly any attention has been paid in the catalogues to the exact position of the shrines in the room. I do not know examples of evidence in an axial position.⁸⁹

The excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum have yielded much information about the household gods worshipped in the wealthier houses: the Lares, the Genius of the *paterfamilias*, Genii Loci, and the Di Penates. These deities have already been discussed at some length in chapter 1, § 5A. As to the Di Penates, traditional gods were chosen most often, especially Jupiter and Minerva (found eight and nine times), followed by

⁸⁸ *Aediculae* and pseudo-*aediculae*: in the *atria-alae* respectively 12 and 3, in the *peristylia* 5 and 7, in the *viridaria* 5 and 8.

⁸⁹ Cf. Thédenat 1927, 70: "dans un coin ou dans un renforcement de l'atrium ou dans l'une des alae".

Fortuna and Hercules (both seven times), and by Bacchus, Mercurius, and Venus (each five times). Egyptian gods were chosen seven times, and there is one reference to the Imperial cult.⁹⁰

Some scattered data from archaeology and antique literature can be added. If evidence for private religion was found in the North African *domus*, this was almost always in or near the courtyard.⁹¹ A small temple consisting of one room was found in the Domus in Via Giovanni Lanza in Rome.⁹² In a large wall-niche in the back-wall a statue of Isis-Fortuna (h. 1.50) was found. In niches in the side walls busts, herms and statuettes were placed.⁹³ It has been said that the shrine is from the period of Constantine.⁹⁴ The presence of shrines of the Lares in the bedrooms of Domitian and Hadrian is reported. The former shrine also contained a statuette of Domitian's favourite deity Minerva, the latter a statuette of Augustus. Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Septimius Severus had a statue of Fortuna in their bedroom.⁹⁵ Hieronymus condemns the presence of the Lares Domestici and Tutela *post fores domorum* in Rome, in the entrance-hall: *Nullusque fuerit locus, qui non idololatriae sordibus inquinatus sit, in tantum, ut post fores domorum idola ponerent, quos domesticos appellant Lares, et tam publice quam privatim animarum suarum sanguinem funderent. Hoc errore et pessima consuetudine vetustatis multarum provinciarum urbes laborant. Ipsaque Roma, orbis domina, in singulis insulis domibusque, Tutelae simulacrum cereis venerans ac*

⁹⁰ In the *kitchens* are found: Fortuna; Hercules; Sarnus (the personification of the Campanian river); Venus Pompeiana; Vulcanus. In the *atria-alae*: Aesculapius; Apollo; Bacchus (3x); Fortuna (3x); Hercules (4x); Jupiter (3x); Luna; Mercurius (2x); Minerva (3x); Venus (2x); Victoria. In the *peristylia*: Apollo; Fortuna; Hercules; Isis-Fortuna; Jupiter (3x); Juno; Mercurius (2x); Minerva (3x); Venus. In the *viridaria*: Aesculapius; Bacchus (2x); Ceres; Diana; Harpocrates; Jupiter; Isis; Minerva; Osiris; Venus; Sarnus (2x). In *other rooms*: Aesculapius, Fortuna (2x), Harpocrates, Hercules, Isis, Isis-Fortuna, Jupiter, Lares Augusti (graffito; Boyce 1937, nr. 47), Lunus, Mercurius, Minerva (2x), Vesta (2x).

⁹¹ Thébert 1985, 349-350. There is no catalogue of this evidence.

⁹² It was built in opus latericium and set against a wall of an area without roof and without a portico, in the vicinity of a *mithraeum*. Both the inner and outer walls of the shrine were finished with marble slabs and plaster. Its floor was of marble.

⁹³ Of Ariadne or a bacchante, Diana-Hecate, Hercules, Horus (presumably Harpocrates), Jupiter, Jupiter-Serapis, Mars?, and Venus. Furthermore four lamps, an antefix, and three marble bases (possibly of statuettes of the Genius and Lares) were found. On some of the finds traces of fire were seen.

⁹⁴ Visconti 1885; Guidobaldi 1986, 194-198, 212.

⁹⁵ Hadrianus: Suetonius, De Vita Caesarum, Augustus 7, 1. Domitianus: Suetonius, De Vita Caesarum, Domitianus 15, 3 and 17, 2, Dio 67, 16, 1, with Scott 1935, Van Doren 1958, 68, and Girard 1981(2), 241. Fortuna: SHA, Antoninus Pius 12, 5; Marcus Aurelius 7, 3; Septimius Severus 23, 5.6.

*lucernis, quam ad tuitionem aedium isto appellant nomine, ut tam intrantes quam exeuntes domos suas, inoliti semper commoneantur erroris.*⁹⁶

5C Participants, beneficiaries, organization

The religion in the *domus* was, of old, under the supervision of the *dominus* and *domina*.⁹⁷ On the other hand there was also, of old, a relation with the slaves and freedmen through the cult of the Lares Familiares and the Genius of the *paterfamilias*. As to the Lares Familiares, their very name indicates the wide range of their power.⁹⁸ The *vilici* and *vilicae* even had the right to sacrifice to these deities.⁹⁹ In the Imperial period many *collegia* of *cultores Larum* - often called Lares (*domini*) instead of Lares Familiares¹⁰⁰ - are documented, both among Imperial slaves and freedmen, and among those of other *domini*.¹⁰¹ Rarely did free people join these organizations.¹⁰² The worship of the Lares is also documented in the *familiae*, sometimes called *collegia* or *corpora*.¹⁰³ Primarily made up of slaves, a relatively large number of their members consisted of freedmen and even free people.¹⁰⁴ These organizations were

⁹⁶ Hieronymus, In Esaiam 16, 57, 7, 8 (c. 408 AD). That the entrance-hall is meant can be deduced from the last line.

⁹⁷ Sachers 1949, 2140-2141; Cato, De Agri Cultura 143, 1 (*vilicae officia*): *Rem divinam ni faciat neve mandat qui pro ea faciat, iniussu domini aut dominae; scito dominum pro tota familia rem divinam facere.*

⁹⁸ Bömer-Herz 1981, 32-56; see e.g. Plautus, Miles Gloriosus 1339.1340 (*Palaestrio servus*): *Et iam nunc saluto te, Lar Familiaris, prius quam eo. Conservi conservae omnes, bene valetate et vivete!*

⁹⁹ Cato, De Agri Cultura 5, 3 (*vilici officia*): *Rem divinam nisi Compitalibus in compito aut in foco ne faciat*; 143, 2 (*vilicae officia*): *Kalendis, Idibus, Nonis, festus dies cum erit, coronam in focum indat, per eosdemque dies Lari Familiari pro copia supplicet.*

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Columella, De Re Rustica 11, 1, 19 (*de vilico*): *Eorum vero, qui recte valebunt, non minor habenda erit ratio, ut cibus et potio sine fraude a cellariis praebeatur, consuescatque rusticos circa Larem domini focumque familiarem semper epulari, atque ipse in conspectu eorum similiter epuletur sitque frugalitatis exemplum.*

¹⁰¹ The chronology of these organizations and of the *familiae* mentioned below has not yet been investigated in detail.

¹⁰² One of the few exceptions is documented in Ostia: CIL XIV S, 4570.4571 (*cultores Larum et imaginum dominorum nostrorum invictissimorum Augustorum, praediorum Rusticeliano*; 205 A.D). See Calza 1921, 235-241; Meiggs 1973, 195, 333; Bömer-Herz 1981, 49-50, 203-204; Herz 1981. Cf. CIL XIV, 367 with Ross Taylor 1912, 49, documenting an *immunis Larum Augustorum* in 182 AD.

¹⁰³ Bömer-Herz 1981, 57-78. Cf. Fröhlich 1992, 32-33.

¹⁰⁴ A situation documented in Ostia as well. See CIL XIV, 32 and CIL XIV, 255 (documenting the *corpus familiae publicae libertorum et servorum*). About this phenomenon Bömer remarks that apparently "diejenigen, die eben noch Sklaven gewesen waren, ebenso wie die Freien der untersten Bevölkerungsschichten sich eher zu den Unfreien ihres Berufes hingezogen fühlten als zu anderen Freien denen gegenüber der gesellschaftliche Abstand grösser war" (Bömer - Herz 1981, 77-78).

related mostly to towns¹⁰⁵ and *domini* (including the Emperor). The Genius of the *paterfamilias* too was worshipped intensively by the slaves and freedmen, often together with the Lares.¹⁰⁶ We have one dedication made by a *familia*.¹⁰⁷ A particular relation between the slaves and freedmen and the Di Penates is not documented. These gods seem to have been intimately related to the wealthier, free-born people.¹⁰⁸

Inside the *domus* of M. Asinius Rufinus Sabinianus in Acholla, Tunisia, an inscription was set up *ob merita* of Sabinianus by *cultores domus*. The inscription is dated to the years 183-185 AD.¹⁰⁹ The *cultores domus* are similar to the *cultores Larum*.¹¹⁰ There is no evidence from the Ostian *domus* concerning the subject of this section.

¹⁰⁵ So e.g. the Ostian *familia publica* mentioned in the preceding note, the freedmen of which were given the *nomen gentile* Ostiensis.

¹⁰⁶ Otto 1910, 1161.

¹⁰⁷ CIL VI, 259.

¹⁰⁸ Weinstock 1937, 425; Radke 1981, 354.

¹⁰⁹ Picard 1953, 121-132; Rebuffat-Hallier-Marion 1970, 298; Rebuffat 1974, 454 Acholla 2. The inscription was found in a large room, near an entrance to the house, directly to the right of the entrance to the room for those entering it. Perhaps the room was a meeting hall of the *cultores*.

¹¹⁰ Santero 1983, 117.