

Chapter 5

Shops, bars, markets, and hotels

§ 1 Introduction

In this chapter the retail commercial sector is dealt with. Studied are therefore the shops, bars, markets, and hotels. In the introductory chapter (§ 6) it has already been noted that the letting-out of rooms in hotels (*cauponae*, *deversoria*, *hospitia*, *stabula*) does not really belong in this chapter, but that these buildings may be added because the sale of food and drink was an integral part of the service offered.¹ Food and drink could also be served in brothels.² These are not dealt with as a separate item however, because they have so far not been identified with certainty in Ostia.³ For the same reason restaurants (*popinae*) have been left out of this chapter.⁴

Features restricted to shops (*tabernae*) are wide entrances from the street, with a characteristic threshold and lintel, and a portico running along the street. Bars can be recognized through the presence of a bar-counter. A market has been identified on the basis of inscriptions. Hotels can be identified on the basis of the service offered: a stable, prostitution, food and drink, bathrooms.

To this aspect of the Ostian economy a relatively large amount of attention has been paid, both in the standard text-books and through specialized studies. The shops were studied, albeit mainly listed, by Girri.⁵ Hermansen has paid much attention to the bars, building upon the work of Kleberg.⁶ The shop-signs were studied by Zimmer.⁷ The Taberne dei

¹ Kleberg 1957, 27.

² Herter 1960, 83-84. References in antique literature: Seneca Rhetor, *Controversiae* 1, 2, 10; Plautus, *Bacchides* 373, *Poenulus* 174-180, 600-603, 695-703.

³ For a suggestion see chapter 6, § 2A, cat. A, nrs. 23-25.

⁴ For suggestions see § 2. A restaurant or *popina* is defined by Kleberg as "un local destiné en premier lieu au service et à la vente de nourritures de tout genre mais où l'on sert aussi du vin" (Kleberg 1957, 29).

⁵ Girri 1956; see also, in general, Pavolini 1986(1), 110-117.

⁶ Kleberg 1957; Hermansen 1974; Hermansen 1982(1), 125-205; see also, in general, Pavolini 1986(1), 227-233.

⁷ Zimmer 1982, see "Register", p. 242.

Pescivendoli and the adjacent Macellum (meat- and fish-market) (IV,V,1-2) are dealt with in De Ruyt's study of Roman *macella*.⁸ As to the hotels, the Domus di Giove e Ganimede (I,IV,2) was studied by Calza,⁹ the Casa delle Volte Dipinte (III,V) by Felletti Maj,¹⁰ the Caupona del Pavone (IV,II,6) by Gasparri.¹¹

§ 2 Conspectus of the Ostian shops, bars, markets, and hotels

A conspectus of the Ostian shops can be found in Girri's study.¹² A conspectus of 38 bars was drawn up by Hermansen,¹³ who has overlooked one, in the southeast part of the Terme dell'Invidioso (V,V,2).¹⁴ Unlike Kleberg he regards the bars in the Caseggiato del Termopolio (I,II,5) and in the Caupona di Alexander e Helix (IV,VII,4) as part of restaurants (*popinae*).¹⁵ Hermansen points out that both places are spacious, that in the Caseggiato del Termopolio a *focus* and a painting of food were found, and that the Caupona di Alexander e Helix has a *focus*. It is however difficult to establish whether the primary reason to visit the two places was to have a meal. It may be noted that the word *thermopolium* or *thermipolium*, meaning "wine-bar", was not used in the Imperial period and that a *caupona* was a hotel,¹⁶ so that it would be better to call the two establishments, for example, Caseggiato del Bar and Bar di Alexander e Helix. A *macellum* (IV,V,2) was identified on the basis of inscriptions.¹⁷ In the preceding chapter it has already been pointed out that buildings with large halls, of which the ceiling was often supported by brick piers, may have been markets.¹⁸

It has been argued convincingly that the Domus di Giove e Ganimede (I,IV,2), the Casa delle Volte Dipinte (III,V) and the Caupona del Pavone (IV,II,6) have been hotels, and that the Caseggiato Trapezoidale (III,IV)

⁸ De Ruyt 1983, 115-124.

⁹ Calza 1920, 354-375.

¹⁰ Felletti Maj 1960 and 1961.

¹¹ Gasparri 1970.

¹² Girri 1956, 7-36.

¹³ Hermansen 1982(1), 127-183.

¹⁴ Pavolini 1983, 211.

¹⁵ Kleberg 1957, 47-48; Hermansen 1982(1), 195.

¹⁶ Kleberg 1957, 24-25, 27; Hermansen 1982(1), 192.

¹⁷ De Ruyt 1983, 122-124.

¹⁸ Chapter 2, § 2.

was a *stabulum*, related to the Volte Dipinte, and possibly not just a stable, but a simple hotel as well, where further guests stayed, or the slaves of those sleeping in the Volte Dipinte.¹⁹ It has been suggested that hotels were also installed in the Caseggiato dei Triclini (I,XII,1),²⁰ Caseggiato III,I,9,²¹ the Caseggiato di Diana (I,III,3), and the Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana (I,VIII,3),²² but decisive evidence is lacking. The Casa delle Volte Dipinte and the Caupona del Pavone cannot have been cheap, as can be deduced from the quality of the paintings and the presence of kitchens and bathrooms in the former,²³ and from the presence of a bar with an adjacent courtyard with bench, for the guests, in the latter. These two buildings may therefore be called *hospitia*, because a *hospitium* was a more expensive, a *caupona* a simpler hotel.²⁴

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

A detailed survey of the dates of construction and of the later history of the Ostian shops has not yet been drawn up. Most were built during the first half of the second century AD.

Typologies of the shops have been proposed by various authors. These however do not deal with shops alone, but also with the architectural environment of the sales rooms and with the linkages between various functions, such as sale, manufacture and habitation.²⁵ The actual shops consist of rooms which are almost always large and rectangular.²⁶ They

¹⁹ Domus di Giove e Ganimede: Calza 1920, 354-375. Casa delle Volte Dipinte: Hermansen 1982(1), 151-157, 193; Pavolini 1986(1), 233-237; cf. Felletti Maj 1960 and 1961, and on the kitchens in the building Kleberg 1957, 98-99. Caupona del Pavone: Gasparri 1970; Hermansen 1982(1), 167-168, 193; Pavolini 1986(1), 236.

²⁰ Kleberg 1957, 45; Pavolini 1986(1), 233. The building has provisions for meals. It was at one time a guild-seat, and in such buildings banquets were held regularly (Hermansen 1982(1), 60).

²¹ Hermansen 1982(1), 193. The building consists of three long, narrow halls around a courtyard (cf. Blake 1973, 153).

²² Caseggiato di Diana: see the literature cited in chapter 6, § 2A, n. 35. Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana: Packer 1971, 152. Both buildings have a long row of rooms on part of the first floor.

²³ On the paintings see Felletti Maj 1961.

²⁴ Kleberg 1957, 28; Hermansen 1982(1), 192.

²⁵ Boëthius, Girri, Packer, Gassner; Gassner 1986, 45-49, 95-96. Cf. Riemann's criticism: Riemann 1975, 187-189.

²⁶ On the appearance, lay-out, and size of shops: Girri 1956, 3-6; Gassner 1986, 26-45 (on the Pompeian shops).

were accessible from the street or from the interior of a building. The former are often behind a portico, especially along the city's main streets. Such a portico is found only in relation to shops.²⁷ The entrances to the shops are wide, with a characteristic threshold and lintel, having a groove for vertical shutters and a depression with a pivot-hole for a door. In the facade may be a shop-sign. In an unknown number of instances a light partition-wall may have set apart a dwelling, working area, or depot in the sales room.²⁸ Annexes on the ground floor must have been used for these purposes as well. Many shops have a *pergula* or mezzanine. This is a floor above the shop, usually at a height of three-and-a-half to four metres, accessible along a wooden ladder resting on a brick or travertine podium with a few treads, usually in a corner of the shop. The *pergula* was lit through a window above the entrance to the shop and most likely used as dwelling. In Ostia 806 shops have been counted, 577 have been found in Pompeii.²⁹ The Ostian shops are found throughout the city, but an analysis of their distribution is still to be made.³⁰ It is mostly not known which goods were sold.

Most bars are simply shops in which food and drink were served. Their main characteristic today is the bar counter.³¹ The bar or restaurant in the Caseggiato del Bar consisted of more than one room and offered the customers the opportunity to take a seat in an attractive little courtyard.³² The Bar di Alexander e Helix had a back room, which may have been used for prostitution, in view of mosaic depictions of a naked Venus and two dancing figures, one with a large phallus.³³

Without doubt many bar counters, some of wood, have collapsed and disappeared during the later stages of Ostia's existence. Thirty-nine bars can still be identified. Because so many are lost, not much can be said about their distribution. Hermansen has noted that a relatively large number (nine) is to be found along one of Ostia's main roads, the western Decumanus Maximus. The proximity of the sea-shore may be relevant. Eight out of thirty-eight are at intersections, the busiest parts of the

²⁷ Packer 1971, 32.

²⁸ A groove in which a wooden partition was presumably inserted is found in a back room of the Caseggiato del Sole (V,VI,1), discussed in chapter 6, § 2A.

²⁹ Girri 1956, 36; Gassner 1986, 83.

³⁰ On the distribution of shops in Rome: Morel 1987; Andraeu 1987.

³¹ Hermansen 1982(1), 187.

³² Hermansen 1982(1), 130-132 nr. 3.

³³ Meiggs 1973, 430; Pavolini 1986(1), 237. Venus was the protective deity of the prostitutes (Wissowa 1912, 291; Herter 1957, 1177-1178). The threshold between the two rooms has one or two pivot-holes. For the mosaic see Becatti 1961, 205-207 nr. 391, Tavv. CXI, CXII.

streets.³⁴

The Macellum is at least as old as the first half of the first century BC, but most of the remains are from the later second century AD. Restorations took place as late as 418-420 AD, witness an inscription.³⁵ Most of the building is taken up by a courtyard - an area found in all *macella* -, to the north of which are shops. Exceptional are a long podium behind the courtyard, and a large room in the southwest part.³⁶ In shops in the north facade - installed in the first half of the third century - fish was sold. Shops in the Caseggiato del Mosaico del Porto (I,XIV,2), across the street, probably served the same purpose.³⁷ Both in the market and in the shops marble was used extensively. Lavish decoration was not unusual in *macella*.³⁸ The complex is on a major intersection - Bivio del Castrum -, and not far away from the Forum. This is the most popular location for Roman markets. *Macella* also often adjoin the Forum. Sometimes they are at some distance from the centre of town.³⁹

The hotel in the Domus di Giove e Ganimede was installed in a Hadrianic house at an unknown point in time. It occupied the ground floor, the first floor and perhaps one or more further floors. A number of graffiti and the painting after which the building was named indicate that two rooms at the back were used for prostitution, leading to the identification of the hotel.⁴⁰

The hypothesis that the Hospitium delle Volte Dipinte was from its first Hadrianic building period a hotel explains many features of the building. It stands isolated on a square and was therefore well-lit. Each floor is made up of rooms on either side of a corridor, running the length of the building. Four interconnected rooms in the northwest part of the ground floor and to the southwest of a bar in the northern corner probably formed the hotel-keeper's apartment. The remainder of the ground floor and at least two upper floors had rooms for guests. Each floor had a kitchen and bathroom. A room on the ground floor was possibly used for prostitution, witness an erotic painting. In the adjacent *stabulum* a manure pit and a solid floor, of basalt blocks, are found.

³⁴ Hermansen 1982(1), 185-187.

³⁵ Some masonry of the courtyard has been dated by Heres to the last quarter of the fourth or the early fifth century AD (Heres 1982, 516-518).

³⁶ De Ruyt 1983, 284-303.

³⁷ See § 5A, cat. A, nrs. 26, 27.

³⁸ De Ruyt 1983, 306-310, 322-325.

³⁹ De Ruyt 1983, 326-330.

⁴⁰ CIL XIV S, 5291; Calza 1920, 369-375; Van Buren 1923; Clarke 1991.

The building history of the Hospitium del Pavone is most complicated. That it was at one time a hotel can be deduced from the position of a bar, which was in the back of the building and not generally accessible. The bar is a later addition to the Hadrianic building and is perhaps to be dated to c. 250 AD. Both the masonry and the lay-out of the building are still in need of a detailed description, analysis and interpretation.

§ 4 Notes on the owners and personnel

The owners and personnel of the Ostian shops, bars, and hotels remain largely anonymous.⁴¹ The relation of the shops to habitations, workshops, etcetera has not yet been analyzed systematically and cannot be as long as so few buildings have been studied.

Shops are often encountered in the facade of *domus*. It is generally assumed that those which are connected with the interior of the house through a door were run by slaves or freedmen of the owner.⁴² It has been suggested that in these shops products from land outside the city, in the hands of the owner of the house, were sold.⁴³ In only three cases are shops connected with the interior of *medianum*-apartments: two shops to the east of the Casa dell'Ercole Bambino (II,VI,3); two shops to the west of the Casa del Soffitto Dipinto (II,VI,6);⁴⁴ one shop in the southern corner of Casa III,IX,10.⁴⁵ Casa III,IX,10 is the apartment with the largest ground floor area in the Case a Giardino and in Ostia: c. 330 m². To the apartment belonged at least (part of) one floor. The shop was connected with the interior from the first building period onwards. Apparently the builder of the block expected the inhabitants of this apartment to have reached a point on the social ladder on which it was desirable to have slaves running a shop connected with the dwelling. Hermansen has noted that rows of shops connected by internal doorways were regularly owned by guilds.⁴⁶ It may be assumed that in intercon-

⁴¹ There is no detailed analysis of the owners and personnel of the Pompeian shops (cf. Gassner 1986, 8-13).

⁴² Gassner 1986, 11-12; Pavolini 1986(1), 260-261; Pavolini 1986(2), 261-265.

⁴³ Pavolini 1986(2), 261-264. Possibly paintings from the vestibule of the Domus del Ninfeo show *vilici* taking such products to the house (Becatti 1949, 12-13, 39-40; Calza - Floriani Squarciarapino 1962, 107-108 nr. 10; Helbig 1972, 143-144 nr. 3180; fourth century AD).

⁴⁴ II,VI,3 and 6: Vaglieri 1913(1), 121-124.

⁴⁵ The Casa della Cantina (V,III,3) was connected with a room in V,III,5, in between a staircase and a row of shops (Hermansen 1982(1), 113-115).

⁴⁶ Hermansen 1982(1), 110-111, 121.

nected shops the same goods were sold. Perhaps they were run by the same shop-keeper as well. The doors may have been installed for the convenience of the shop-keeper, or in order to facilitate the circulation of the customers.

The owners and personnel of bars and hotels in general have been discussed by Kleberg, who remarks however that not enough data is available to sketch a clear picture.⁴⁷ The personnel surely consisted of humble folk, if only because the cheaper bars and restaurants had a bad reputation.⁴⁸ About Ostian bars Juvenal wrote: *Mitte Ostia, Caesar, mitte sed in magna legatum quaere popina. Invenies aliquo cum percussore iacentem, permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitivis, inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum et resupinati cessantia tympana galli.*⁴⁹ Cut-throats, sailors, thieves, runaway slaves, hangmen, coffin-makers, and eunuch priests of the Magna Mater were apparently regular visitors. The Bar di Fortunato (II,VI,1) received its name because of the text [*Hospes? inquit/dicit?*] *Fortunatus | [Vinum e cr]atera quod sitis bibe*, around the depiction of a chalice.⁵⁰ The owner or manager of the hotel annex brothel in the Domus di Giove e Ganimede was apparently one Callinicus, in view of the graffito *Hic ad Callinicum futui ...* found here.⁵¹ His Greek name suggests that he was a slave or freedman.

The building of *macella* was financed by local benefactors, the city, or the Emperor, but the markets always belonged to the city: they were public buildings.⁵² The Republican Macellum in Ostia was built by one Lucius Storax. It was restored under Augustus by one Nymphodotus, probably a freedman of Augustus, and his own freedman C. Iulius Pothus. It is not known who was responsible for the second and third century alterations. Modifications in the early fifth century were the work of Aurelius Anicius Symmachus, *praefectus Urbi*.⁵³ Epigraphy and antique literature furnish

⁴⁷ Kleberg 1957, 74-97.

⁴⁸ Hermansen 1974; Hermansen 1982(1), 194-203.

⁴⁹ Juvenalis, *Saturae* 8, 171-176.

⁵⁰ Hermansen 1982(1), 146-147 nr. 15, fig. 79.

⁵¹ CIL XIV S, 5291.3.c.1. Wickert in his commentary in the CIL suggests that Callinicus refers to a nearby statue of Hercules. The text however is in Latin and does not read *ad Invictum*. Furthermore the TLL lists no examples of the Greek form Callinicus as an *epitheton* of Hercules. Callinicus as a proper name in Ostia: CIL XIV, 930 (A. Egrilius Callinicus); CIL XIV S, 4310.4311.4312 (M. Lollianus Callinicus; in the *mithraeum* in the Caseggiato di Diana (I,III,3-4)).

⁵² De Ruyt 1983, 351-355.

⁵³ De Ruyt 1983, 122-124; Meiggs 1973, 47-48.

little information about the personnel of the markets.⁵⁴

§ 5 Religion in the shops, bars, markets, and hotels

5A The evidence

Of the 95 items in catalogue A 27 are found in relation to shops, bars, and hotels. However, eight of these items are not inside a shop, bar, or hotel, but in the facade, a portico or a courtyard, behind or around which are shops or bars, whereas the remainder of the building was taken up by workshops, apartments on the upper floors etcetera.⁵⁵ As to the participants and beneficiaries involved with these eight items three situations are conceivable. If the owner or manager of the building had the items installed it may be assumed that this was done in order to put the building and the people inside under divine care. These items would then be meaningful to all using the building. If the shop-keepers had it installed this was done either for the protection of the whole building, or for their own benefit. In the latter case others in the building may have been fairly indifferent to the items. Finally, if people on the ground floor other than the shop-keepers, or people living in apartments on the upper floors were the initiators, it is the protection of the whole building one must think of, because the items were installed in front of or amongst rooms used by others than the initiators. In short: a relation must have existed between the eight items and shop-keepers, to which others in the building are perhaps to be added.

The evidence inside shops and bars is dealt with first, then the eight items discussed above, and finally the evidence in hotels.

The evidence in shops and bars

The **Caseggiato del Portico delle Mura del Castrum** had shops from a very early date.⁵⁶ In the shop at the intersection of Via dei Molini and the Decumanus a small wall-niche was hacked out, for which no date at all can be obtained (catalogue A, nr. 1). The niche is near a mezzanine-staircase. It was plastered. At some point in time it was partially or

⁵⁴ De Ruyt 1983, 362-367.

⁵⁵ Nr. 3: accessible from a courtyard used by the visitors to a bar. Nr. 10: in the facade of a portico in front of shops. Nr. 21: in a courtyard surrounded by shops. Nr. 53: in a courtyard surrounded by shops. Nr. 56: in a facade in front of a bar. Nr. 58: from a portico in front of shops. Nr. 63: from a portico in front of shops. Nr. 64: in the main entrance of a square surrounded by shops.

⁵⁶ SO I, 233.

completely filled in.

An adjacent shop was divided in two parts in late antiquity. In a lateral wall of one of the two halves three wall-niches were installed (A 2; pl. 30). The small size of this half (c. 11 m²) and the relatively large number of niches suggest that this was a cult-room.

A shop in the facade of the **Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana** was from the first building period onwards connected with the first vestibule of the depot. Next to the connecting doorway is wall-niche, belonging to the first building period, dated to c. 145-150 AD (A 14; pls. 31, 32). The niche was plastered and had an *aedicula*-facade.

Five wall-niches can be found in four consecutive shops in **Caseggiato I,VIII,5** (A 16-20; pl. 33). The shops are at least as old as the Trajanic period. During the reign of Antoninus Pius their back walls (tufa blocks of the Castrum, the oldest Ostia, built in the fourth century BC)⁵⁷ were demolished and replaced by a new wall with four niches, one per shop.⁵⁸ The first and second one are in the central part of the back wall, the third and fourth one in the north part. The first three are identical, the fourth one, with an *aedicula*-facade, is of a different kind, but its size and general appearance fit in well with the other three. The conscious use of red and yellow bricks suggests, that the niches were not meant to be plastered. A further wall-niche was installed in the filling of a doorway in the back wall of the third shop, a filling perhaps to be dated to the end of the second century.

Two identical wall-niches are found in two adjacent shops in the **Caseggiato del Mosaico del Porto** (A 26, 27; pls. 34, 35). It has been suggested that this was a house with *atrium* and *impluvium*.⁵⁹ The wide entrances to the rooms and the presence of shop-thresholds and porticos clearly indicate however that the ground floor was taken up by shops.⁶⁰ They are all interconnected. The mosaic which gave the building its name shows a harbour (probably Portus), with a statue of Neptunus on a column, a lighthouse, people in boats, fish, people fishing etcetera.⁶¹ In the same room is a square, marble basin. The room to the north had a masonry and a marble basin. Both the mosaic and the basins suggest that fish was sold here, as in the Taberne dei Pescivendoli (IV,V,1) across the street, and the Caseggiato dell'Invidioso (V,V,1), containing a similar mosaic and a

⁵⁷ On the Castrum: SO I, 63-77.

⁵⁸ SO I, 234, 237; Blake 1973, 145.

⁵⁹ Calza - Nash 1959, 31.

⁶⁰ Cf. Blake 1973, 233.

⁶¹ Becatti 1961, 25-27 nr. 45, Tavv. CLXI, CLXII.

basin.⁶²

One of the niches is in the shop with the harbour-mosaic. The entrance from the portico to this room has a threshold for two doors. From the room one door leads to a corridor, one door to the room with the other niche, and two doors, both with a smooth threshold, to a room with shop-threshold. From the thresholds can be deduced that the room with the mosaic ended its occupation as an annex to another shop. Originally it was a shop which could be entered from the portico through a wide passage, from where the mosaic should be looked at.

Both niches are in the back wall. The niche in the room with the mosaic replaced a wall-niche in the reverse side of the wall, in the corridor, which may have been a religious niche or a drinking fountain.⁶³ All three niches were hacked out in the masonry of the first building period, dated to the reign of Commodus, and all three are next to doors.

A simple, plastered wall-niche is in the back part of a bar in the **Terme dei Cisiarii**, in a lateral wall (A 30; pl. 36). It is perhaps to be dated to the first half of the second century. The bar counter is in vittatum B and most likely later than the niche. According to an old plan the floor of the back part of the shop differed from that of the front part.⁶⁴

A shop in **Caseggiato II,IX,2** has a wall-niche belonging to the first, Hadrianic building period (A 32; pl. 37). Part of a threshold with a pivot-hole, in the centre of the entrance from the street, indicates that the room was assigned a different function at some point in time, possibly when the Aula del Gruppo di Marte e Venere (II,IX,3) was installed, in the middle of the fourth century.⁶⁵ The niche is in the centre of the back wall, albeit not exactly, and next to a door. A low, marble bench ran along part of the back wall and a lateral wall.⁶⁶

A wall-niche can be found in a shop in the facade of the **Domus delle Muse** (A 47; pls. 38, 39). The niche was hacked out at an unknown point in time in the mixtum of the first building period (c. 128-130 AD). The shop is not connected with the interior of the house. The niche is in a lateral wall, opposite the centre of a secondary doorway in the opposite wall, leading to another shop. In the centre of the vault a figure was painted, perhaps a Lar.

A curious, shallow and low floor-niche is to be found in a lateral wall

⁶² Cf. Becatti 1961, 344-345.

⁶³ Cf. chapter 3, n. 19.

⁶⁴ Paribeni 1920, plan on p. 158. On the bar: Hermansen 1982(1), 139-142 nr. 10.

⁶⁵ Heres 1982, 458-463, fig. 81.

⁶⁶ Vaglieri 1913(3), 399 and fig. 5; Moretti 1920, 57 and fig. 2.

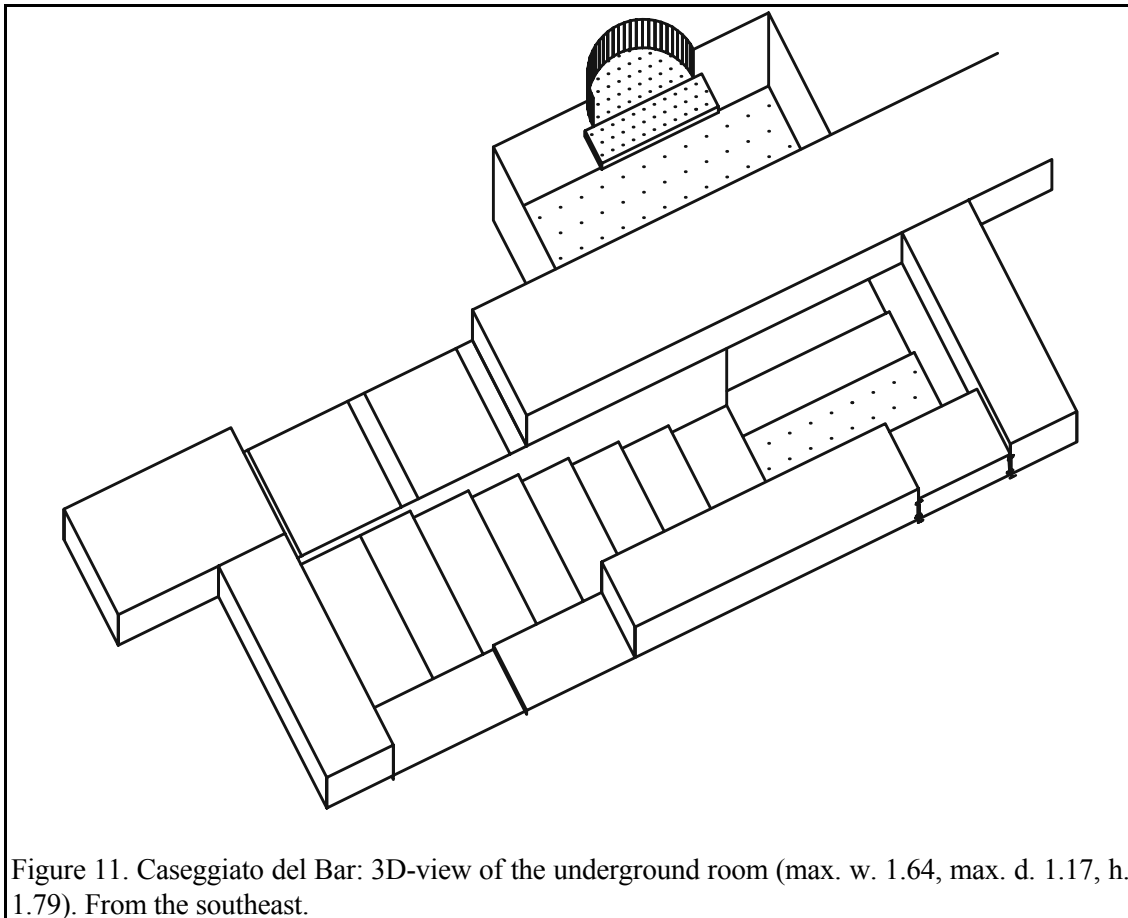


Figure 11. Caseggiato del Bar: 3D-view of the underground room (max. w. 1.64, max. d. 1.17, h. 1.79). From the southeast.

of a shop in **Caseggiato III,IX,25**, belonging to the first, Trajanic building period (A 48).

A very low, plastered floor-niche is found in a shop in the facade of the **Terme del Faro** (A 62; pl. 40). The niche belongs to the first, Trajanic building period. The shop is next to the entrance-corridor of the baths. The niche is in a lateral wall.

In a bar next to the entrance-corridor of the **Terme delle Sei Colonne** is a wall-niche with a podium in front (A 78; pls. 41, 42).⁶⁷ It is in a lateral wall and forms an entity with the blocking, perhaps from the second half of the third century, of a doorway in the Trajanic wall.

The evidence in communal parts of buildings and related to shops

From the eastern courtyard in the **Caseggiato del Bar** an underground room is accessible, with a wall-niche opposite the entrance (A 3; fig. 11; pls. 43, 44). Both the room and the staircase leading to it belong to the first, Trajanic building period. The Trajanic plan of the part of the building

⁶⁷ On the bar: Hermansen 1982(1), 170-172 nr. 31.

with the underground room is not known. In the Hadrianic period the courtyard in its present form was built, amidst large halls, shops, or workshops. In the first half of the third century the roof of the staircase was built, and in the same period a bar was installed in the building, the visitors of which could enter the courtyard to sit down on a bench and enjoy their wine.⁶⁸

Painted on the inside of the stairwell were vegetation and birds. The roof of the underground room has a hole providing light and was finished with terracotta discs. The niche has an elaborate shelf. The room is of latericium, the back of the niche of mixtum, indicating that the niche was not meant to be plastered (it was at one time). The room is regarded as a cult-room by Paribeni and Calza,⁶⁹ and as a cellar for the cold storage of foodstuffs by Hermansen.⁷⁰ The latter possibility was rightly discarded by Paribeni in view of the small size of the room (area c. 2 m²).

The partially excavated **Caseggiato dei Misuratori del Grano** is at the intersection of two roads, one named after the building, the other Via della Fortuna, named after an intarsio with a depiction of Fortuna (A 10; pls. 45, 46).⁷¹ The intarsio belongs to the first building period, dated to c. 120 AD. It was inserted at the intersection, high up in the centre of the corner-pier of a portico running in front of a number of shops. Fortuna is painted red and depicted in the most common way: with *cornucopiae* and rudder.⁷²

There is a large wall-niche in the courtyard of the **Caseggiato della Nicchia Policroma** ("del Larario") (A 21; pls. 47, 48). It belongs to the first building period, dated to c. 117-120 AD. The ground floor of the building has shops around the courtyard and lining the street. The niche is in the centre of a wall between two shops. It is more or less in the centre of the back wall of the courtyard, and opposite the main entrance to the courtyard, albeit not opposite the centre. It has an *aedicula*-facade, and its back is made of variously coloured pieces of stone, obviously not meant to be plastered.

The **Caseggiato del Serapide** has a cult-room (c. 4 m²) with a stucco relief of the enthroned Serapis, which gave the building its name (A 53; figs. 12, 13; pls. 49, 50). The shrine is an addition from the period of

⁶⁸ Paribeni 1916, 427-428, plan after p. 428.

⁶⁹ Paribeni 1916, 402-403; Calza 1929, 119-120.

⁷⁰ Hermansen 1982(1), 117.

⁷¹ On the iconography of Fortuna see chapter 9, § 4C. For the possible function of the central part of the ground floor see chapter 4, § 2.

⁷² On Fortuna see chapter 9, § 4C.

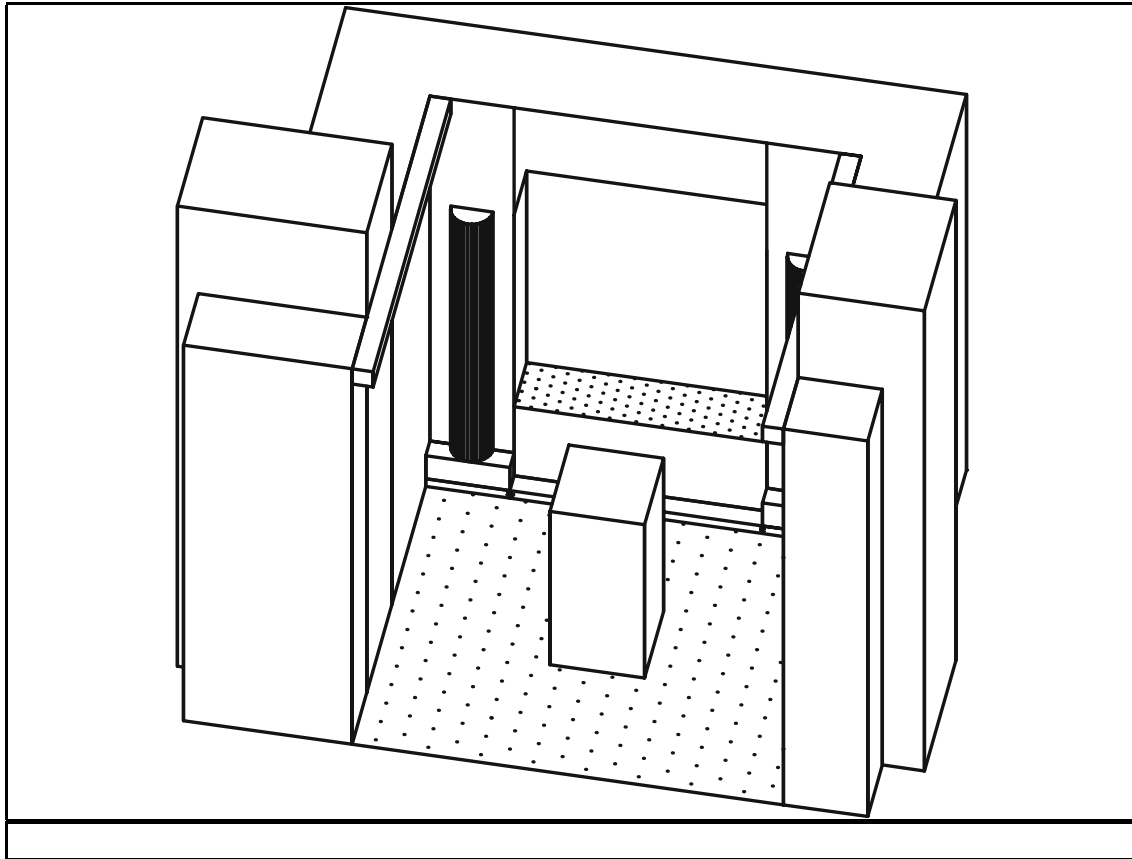


Figure 12. Caseggiato del Serapide: 3D-view of the cult-room (max. w. 2.06, max. d. 1.91). From the north.

Septimius Severus to the Hadrianic building. It was erected in the portico of the courtyard, near the main passage to the Terme dei Sette Sapienti, and opens onto the courtyard, around which are shops. The stucco relief is in a wall-niche in the back wall. The depiction of the Egyptian god Serapis goes back to a model ascribed to Bryaxis, one of the important Athenian sculptors from the fourth century BC. This model showed Serapis enthroned, wearing *chiton* and *himation*, with a *modius* with corn-ears and olive-branches on his head, in one hand a sceptre, the other stretched out to the three-headed Cerberus at his feet.⁷³ On the lateral walls of the shrine are the vague remains of two veiled figures: Serapis' wife Isis, with *sistrum*, and Isis-Fortuna, with *cornucopiae* and rudder (fig. 13).⁷⁴ In the centre of the room is a masonry altar.

The **Caseggiato di Annio** is at the corner of two roads, Via degli Aurighi and Via di Annio. At the intersection, high up in the centre of one

⁷³ Malaise 1972(2), 192-193; Tran Tam Tinh 1984, 1713-1722.

⁷⁴ On the iconography of Isis and Isis-Fortuna: Malaise 1972(2), 176-181; Tran Tam Tinh 1984, 1722-1730.

side of the corner-pier, is a plastered wall-niche (A 56; pls. 51, 52). It belongs to the first building period (c. 128-129 AD). It faces Via degli Aurighi, a much more important road than Via di Annio. The room behind the niche was a bar.⁷⁵

An intarsio with a depiction of the Egyptian deity Apis, the sacred bull, was found in a collapsed part of the portico of **Caseggiato III,XVI,6**, behind which are shops (A 58; pl. 53). The building is Hadrianic, the intarsio has been dated to the second century AD.

A relief of Hercules, with club and lion-skin, was apparently found amongst the rubble of the collapsed **Portico dell'Ercole**, behind which are shops (A 63; pl. 54). It is now protruding from modern masonry in the inside of one of the piers of the portico.

The **Caseggiato dell'Ercole** was built around a square, paved with basalt blocks, and with a public water-basin. The ground floor is made up of shops. The main entrance to the square is a room, a vestibule, which could be closed off, witness a threshold for doors. In one of the lateral walls of the vestibule is a plastered wall-niche, belonging to the first building period, dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A 64).

The evidence in hotels

In the facade of the **Hospitium delle Volte Dipinte**, over the centre of the entrance to a stairwell, was a female head, a protome (A 38; pl. 55). Climbing the first flight one faced a large floor-niche with a masonry altar on the first landing (A 39; pl. 56). Both the protome and the niche belong to the first building period, dated to c. 120 AD.

The **Hospitium del Pavone** had a courtyard where guests could sit down on a bench and drink their wine, purchased in a bar in the back of the building. In a corner of the courtyard is a pseudo-*aedicula*, resting on a large base (A 67; pls. 57, 58). The building was a hotel for certain when

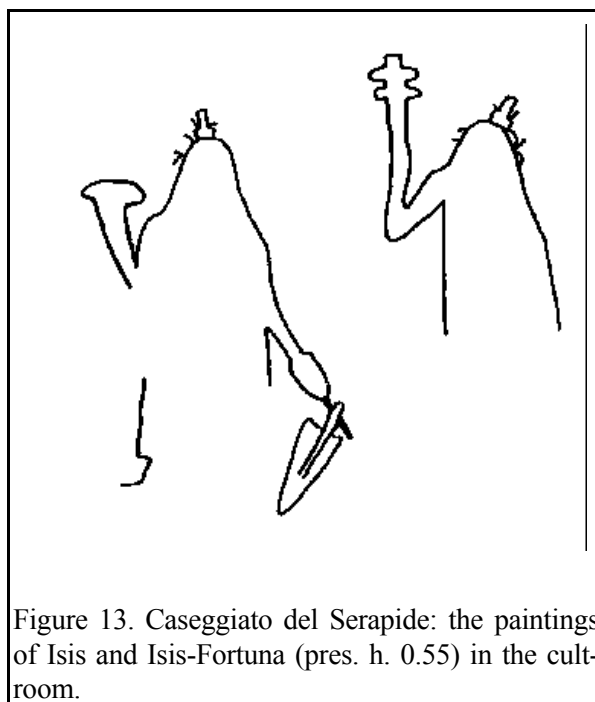


Figure 13. Caseggiato del Serapide: the paintings of Isis and Isis-Fortuna (pres. h. 0.55) in the cult-room.

⁷⁵ On the bar: Hermansen 1982(1), 160-161 nr. 24.

AREA	TOTAL	CULT-ROOMS	RELIEFS, INTARSIOS	NICHES	(PSEUDO-) <i>AEDICULAE</i>
SHOP, BAR	16	1?		16 (2)	
FACADE- PORTICO	5		4	1	
STAIRCASE	1			1	
VESTIBULE	1			1	
COURTYARD	3	1		1 (1)	1
UNDER- GROUND	1	1			

Figure 14. The Ostian shops, bars, markets, and hotels: the position and appearance of the evidence. Numbers in brackets: with *aedicula*-facade.

the bar was installed. The bar counter was put on top of a mosaic dated to c. 250 AD.⁷⁶ The masonry of the shrine is dated by Gasparri to the Severan period or the first half of the third century, but Heres suggests a date in the first half of the fourth century.

Paintings on the outside of the shrine imitate marble revetment. Apparently the bench was set against these paintings. In the niche the peacock is depicted which gave the building its name, with on one side a round object, possibly a *patera*, and on the other a *rhyton* (a *cornucopiae* according to Gasparri). Gasparri has noted, that the peacock is related to the cult of Dionysus, but for some reason suggests that here the animal had an apotropaic function.⁷⁷ Below the peacock was perhaps a vine. The objects on either side of the peacock are perhaps symbols of the Genius and Lares. At one time the paintings were covered by a thin layer, on which remains of paint can be seen.

5B Dates, position, appearance, deities

Most of the dated evidence is from the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. The evidence from the later second and first half of the third century is scanty. One item is dated to late antiquity (fig. 7).

Figure 14 is a conspectus of the position and appearance of the evidence. Most of it (16 items) is found inside shops and bars. Most of the evidence from communal parts of buildings and related to shops is found in the facade or the portico in front of a building (four instances), and in the

⁷⁶ Becatti 1961, 176-177 nr. 326; cf. Gasparri 1970, 12-14.

⁷⁷ Gasparri 1970, 25-26.

courtyard (two instances). In a vestibule a niche is found, and there is one piece of underground evidence, accessible from a courtyard. Evidence was found in two hotels: in the facade, on the landing of a staircase, and in a courtyard.

Little can be said about the position of the evidence in shops. Out of the group of four niches in Caseggiato I,VIII,5 two are in the central part and two in one end of the back wall. The eccentric position of the niche in the fourth shop can be explained. The back walls of the first three shops and one end of the back wall of the fourth shop are also an outer wall of the Antonine Caseggiato I,VIII,8. All niches are in this wall. Most of the back wall of the fourth shop however forms part of an outer wall of the Hadrianic Caseggiato I,VIII,7,⁷⁸ which is also the back wall of two further shops of building 5. In this wall no niches are found. Apparently then no permission was given to damage the outer wall of building 7 by hacking out niches. The niche in a lateral wall of a shop in the Domus delle Muse is precisely opposite a door leading to a neighbouring shop. Both the niche and the door were hacked out.

As to the evidence in communal parts of buildings, two items on the outside are found in a corner of a building. The niche in the courtyard of the Caseggiato della Nicchia Policroma is as much in the centre of the back wall of the courtyard and opposite the centre of the main entrance as possible.

In a hotel a protome is found in the facade, over the centre of the entrance to a staircase. A niche is on the landing of this staircase, opposite the entrance.

Most of the evidence consists of niches (20 items). No paintings and mosaics have been preserved. In the shops and bars only niches are found. Most are small and simple, two have an *aedicula*-facade. Four niches in adjacent shops have polychrome masonry, not meant to be plastered. In communal parts of buildings reliefs, intarsios, and one niche are documented in the facade or portico. Reliefs and intarsios are found on the outside only. In the courtyard two kinds of evidence are found: a cult-room (with an altar), and a large niche of polychrome masonry with an *aedicula*-facade. In the vestibule a niche is found, and the underground evidence consists of a cult-room with a niche not meant to be plastered. From the hotels come a protome in the facade, a niche with an altar on the landing of a staircase, and a pseudo-*aedicula* with on the outside paintings imitating marble revetment, in a courtyard.

Traditional and oriental gods are documented: Dionysus, Fortuna,

⁷⁸ SO I, 235.

Hercules, perhaps a Lar, and symbols of perhaps the Lares and Genius; Apis, Isis, Isis-Fortuna, and Serapis. Dionysus, the god of wine, is found in the Hospitium del Pavone and may well be related to the bar in this building. Fortuna, the protectress of people and localities, brought good fortune to the shop-keepers in the Caseggiato dei Misuratori del Grano.⁷⁹ Hercules, a guardian of the house and, like Mercurius, a god of trade, is found in front of the shops of the Portico dell'Ercole.⁸⁰ The relief of Hercules was inserted at an unknown point in time in masonry dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Hercules, it may be remembered, played an important role in the religious policy of the second century Emperors, and Commodus even equated himself with the god at the end of his reign.⁸¹ Egyptian gods are found on two spots in the northwestern part of Regio III. In the shrine in the Caseggiato del Serapide Serapis took pride of place. He was a god of the underworld and of fertility, a protector of shipping, and healer of the sick, who was often associated with Jupiter and Sol.⁸² He had his own temples in Ostia and Portus, where he was associated particularly with the corn supply. The Ostian Serapeum (III,XVII,4) had been dedicated to Jupiter-Serapis on January 24th 127 AD, Hadrians *dies natalis*.⁸³ In our shrine he is accompanied by Isis and Isis-Fortuna.⁸⁴ The bull Apis is documented nearby. The Severan date of the shrine of the Egyptian gods in the Caseggiato del Serapide calls to mind that Caracalla was a fervent adherent of the cults of Isis and Serapis.⁸⁵

From the shops and bars in Pompeii and Herculaneum come 104 pieces of evidence, 89 niches (two with *aedicula*-facade), 13 paintings, and 1 stucco relief.⁸⁶ The evidence assigned to restaurants and hotels in the catalogues of Boyce and Orr cannot be used here, because it has not been related to the building periods, and because sometimes it may come from adjoining living quarters.

The deities documented in the bars and shops in Campania are: the Genius, Lares and snakes;⁸⁷ Mars;⁸⁸ Mercurius;⁸⁹ Mercurius and

⁷⁹ On Fortuna see chapter 9, § 4C.

⁸⁰ Wissowa 1912, 271-284.

⁸¹ Jaczynowska 1981, 636-639; Gagé 1981.

⁸² Malaise 1972(2), 191-198.

⁸³ Bloch 1959; Floriani Squarciapino 1962(1), 19-27; Alföldi 1966, 57-59.

⁸⁴ On these goddesses see chapter 9, § 4C.

⁸⁵ See chapter 9, § 4C. His father, Septimius Severus, may already have been interested in the cult of Serapis (Malaise 1972(2), 437-439; Fishwick 1987(2), 339-340).

⁸⁶ In one case the kind of evidence is unknown. With *aedicula*-facade: Boyce 1937, nr. 402; Orr 1972, cat. A, nr. 27.

⁸⁷ Boyce 1937, nrs. 1, 7, 92, 164, 180, 285, 294, 380, 411, 443, 449, 450; Orr 1972, cat. A, nrs. 3, 8, cat. B, nr. 41.

⁸⁸ Boyce 1937, nr. 294.

Bacchus;⁹⁰ Mercurius, Bacchus and Hercules;⁹¹ Venus.⁹²

No evidence for private religion can be found in the Ostian Macellum.⁹³ Various deities and the Imperial cult are however documented in *macella* in the western half of the Empire, especially in North Africa:⁹⁴ Genii Loci (painting of two serpents in a niche in a vestibule),⁹⁵ the Genius Macelli (2x),⁹⁶ Liber Pater (2x),⁹⁷ Mercurius (2x),⁹⁸ Mercurius Aug. (2x),⁹⁹ Minerva (on a relief in a small niche in an entrance corridor),¹⁰⁰ Neptunus,¹⁰¹ and Neptunus Aug.¹⁰² In the *macellum* at Puteoli statues were found of Jupiter-Serapis, Orestes and Electra, Bacchus and Faunus, and the Dioscures.¹⁰³ Statues and fragments of statues of Emperors and members of their family were found in the *macella* of Aquincum and Pompeii.¹⁰⁴

Neptunus was worshipped by those whose work had to do with water, and is here to be related to the sale of fish.¹⁰⁵ It may be noted that there is a depiction of Neptunus in the mosaic of the Caseggiato del Mosaico del Porto, a building near the Ostian Macellum, where fish was probably sold, as in the market. This depiction may reproduce a statue (in Portus), because Neptunus is standing on a column.¹⁰⁶ Liber Pater, documented twice, is found in North Africa only, where his cult was one of fertility.¹⁰⁷

⁸⁹ Boyce 1937, nr. 449.

⁹⁰ Orr 1972, cat. A, nr. 3.

⁹¹ Orr 1972, cat. B, nr. 41.

⁹² Boyce 1937, nr. 61.

⁹³ In the room to the southwest of the courtyard a large marble hand was found (De Ruyt 1983, 120).

⁹⁴ A conspectus with comments: De Ruyt 1983, 373-375.

⁹⁵ Boyce 1937, nr. 473 (Pompeii).

⁹⁶ CIL II, 2413 with de Ruyt 1973, 47 (Bracara Augusta, Portugal); De Ruyt 1983, 218 (period of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus; Dougga).

⁹⁷ De Ruyt 1983, 103 (first century AD; Leptis Magna); De Ruyt 1983, 107 (Madaura).

⁹⁸ De Ruyt 1973, 52 (Bulla Regia); De Ruyt 1983, 218 (*Mercurio Genio macelli*; period of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus; Dougga).

⁹⁹ De Ruyt 1973, 66 (period of Antoninus Pius; Djemila); De Ruyt 1973, 206 (second century AD; Thibilis).

¹⁰⁰ De Ruyt 1973, 42 (Aquincum).

¹⁰¹ De Ruyt 1973, fig. 66 (depiction on coins of Nero; Macellum Magnum, Rome).

¹⁰² De Ruyt 1973, 375 (Leptis Magna).

¹⁰³ De Ruyt 1973, 157.

¹⁰⁴ De Ruyt 1973, 41-42 (Aquincum); 144-146 (Pompeii).

¹⁰⁵ Wissowa 1912, 228-229; De Ruyt 1983, 375.

¹⁰⁶ See § 5A, cat. A, nrs. 26, 27.

¹⁰⁷ De Ruyt 1983, 375.

Statues of deities and of the Imperial family were located in the centre of the courtyard (in two instances altars were found as well¹⁰⁸), in a portico, or in a large room at the back of the building, opposite the main entrance. The latter kind of room was, according to De Ruyt, usually a shrine, but in one case probably contained a basin. It was sometimes the most lavishly decorated room, and often contained niches.¹⁰⁹ A well-known example of such a room is found in the Pompeian Macellum (VII 9, 7.8.19.52): a room located behind the courtyard and opposite the main entrance, reached by climbing a few steps. On a base against the back wall of the temple-like room and in four niches in the lateral walls were statues. Two statues of members of the Imperial family were found, and fragments of a statue which may represent an Emperor. In the room to the north is an altar.¹¹⁰

As to the hotels, guests could bring their own statuettes of deities. *Nam morem mihi habeo, quoquo eam, simulacrum alicuius dei inter libellos conditum gestare eique diebus festis ture et mero et aliquando victima supplicare*, Apuleius informs us.¹¹¹ Recalling the stable next to the Hospitium delle Volte Dipinte, the description of a shrine in a stable by Apuleius may be mentioned. Here the Celtic deity of stables and horses, Epona, was worshipped: *Respicio pilae mediae, quae stabuli trabes sustinebat, in ipso fere meditullio Eponae deae simulacrum residens aediculae, quod accurate corollis roseis equidem recentibus fuerat ornatum.*¹¹²

5C Participants, beneficiaries, organization

I have not found any inscriptions or antique texts providing information about the participants, beneficiaries, and organization in shops, bars, and hotels. As to the evidence from the *macella*, the dedicators whose social status is known are: a *Illvir macelli*; a *magister pagi*, *flamen Aug.*; local magistrates (in one case the builder of the market).¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ In Djemila and Thibilis (De Ruyt 1973, 374).

¹⁰⁹ De Ruyt 1973, 287-288, 302, 310-312.

¹¹⁰ De Ruyt 1983, 144-146.

¹¹¹ Apuleius, Apologia 63.

¹¹² Apuleius, Metamorphoseon 3, 27, 1. On Epona see Wissowa 1912, 86, 377.

¹¹³ Respectively in: Leptis Magna; Thibilis; Djemila, Dougga, Leptis Magna, Madaura.