Acknowledgements

This book is the final result of a project that began in 1985. In that year, after finishing my master’s thesis at Leiden University, I asked Dr. T.L. Heres to join me in drawing up a description of the Caseggiato dei Molini. For that purpose we received grants for a stay in Rome (two weeks and five weeks, in February, March and April of 1986) from the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research and the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. The Soprintendente of Ostia, Prof. Dr. V. Santa Maria Scrinari, gave permission for our research. Up to November 1996 the Caseggiato dei Molini and the other bakeries were visited by Dr. Heres and myself on many occasions, when we visited Ostia for other research or on holiday. At Leiden University I received valuable advice from Prof. Dr. H.W. Pleket, Prof. Dr. H. Geertman and Dr. L.B. van der Meer.

As early as 1985 I had my first discussions about the Roman bakers and legal aspects with Dr. B. Sirks. He drew up a first document in February 1986. At a later stage, when the idea of this volume slowly materialised, I asked Dr. Sirks to contribute to it. He kindly agreed to submit an article, which was originally destined for his study “Food for Rome”.

The inclusion of other bakeries in this collection became possible after Dr. Heres’ appointment as Head of the Archaeological Department of the Dutch Institute in Rome, in 1987. Dr. Heres and I invited Drs. J.H. van Dalen and Drs. B. Meijlink to join the project. The Institute awarded grants to them, for a period of three months (September to November 1989). They studied the Caseggiato delle Fornaci and Molino I.XIII.4. The Soprintendente, Prof. Dr. A.G. Zevi, kindly gave permission. They too have returned to Ostia for other research, and could on these occasions carry out final checks. At Amsterdam University Drs. Meijlink was supported with advice by Dr. M. Gnade, Prof. Dr. J.S. Boersma and Dr. S.L. Wynia.

By the end of 1991 much work had been done. Unfortunately I have not been able to prepare the final version until now. I would like to thank the contributors and Han Gieben for their incredible patience.

Mr. Eamon Heskin corrected the English text of most of this volume. Dr. Sirks wishes to thank Mr. Andrew Lewis for the correction of his English text.

I would like to thank Prof. Dr. A.G. Zevi and Prof. Dr. F. Zevi for their encouragement and support during the Ostia-seminar, held at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome, in November 1996.

Special thanks are due to Ank ten Bosch, my “Roman friend”: for her assistance in Ostia, but mainly for her understanding and support during many years of research. I know that our children, Simon Bernard and Leonard Romano, are glad it is over.

Jan Theo Bakker
Leiderdorp
September 1998
## Chapter 1: Introduction

**Jan Theo Bakker - Bernard Meijlink**

| § 1 | Subject-matter and aims of the study - Jan Theo Bakker | 1 |
| § 2 | The functioning of Roman bakeries - Jan Theo Bakker, Bernard Meijlink | 4 |
|     | 2A Mills-bakeries using animal power | 4 |
|     | 2B Watermills | 9 |
|     | 2C The mills-bakeries in Pompeii | 11 |
|     | 2D The mills-bakeries in Rome and Constantinople | 13 |
|     | 2E The output of the mills-bakeries | 13 |

## Chapter 2: The Caseggiato dei Molini

**Thea Heres**

**Part I: The building history**

| § 1 | Introduction | 16 |
| § 2 | The Hadrianic period | 16 |
|     | 2A General | 16 |
|     | 2B Outer walls | 17 |
|     | 2C Inner walls | 17 |
|     | 2D Staircases | 19 |
|     | 2E Beamholes | 19 |
|     | 2F Doorways | 19 |
|     | 2G Windows | 19 |
|     | 2H Summary | 20 |
| § 3 | The Antonine period | 20 |
|     | 3A General | 20 |
|     | 3B Inner walls | 21 |
|     | South-east corner of the building | 21 |
|     | Room 3, north-east pier and west wall | 21 |
|     | Room 6, west | 21 |
|     | Room 8, east and north-east | 22 |
|     | Room 12, south-east and north-west | 22 |
|     | Rooms 15 and 16 | 22 |
|     | Rooms 17-21 | 22 |
|     | Rooms 19-21 | 23 |
|     | Room 21, north | 23 |
|     | Rooms 21 and 22, east | 23 |
|     | Room 22, north and 23, south | 23 |
|     | Room 23, north | 23 |
|     | Room 24 | 24 |
|     | Room 25 | 24 |
|     | Room 26, west | 24 |
|     | Room 27, north-east | 24 |
| 3C Staircases | 25 |
|     | Room 4 | 25 |
|     | Room 9 | 25 |
| 3D Doorways | 25 |
|     | Room 3, west | 25 |
| 3E Windows | 25 |
|     | Room 8 | 25 |
|     | Room 26, west | 25 |
| 3F Summary | 25 |
| § 4 | The Severan period: 193-211 AD | 26 |
PART II: THE HISTORY OF THE EXCAVATIONS

Chapter 3: Molino I, XIII, 4

Bernard Meijlink

§ 1 Introduction

§ 2 General description of the building

§ 3 The building periods

3A Period 1: 80-100 AD

Chapter 4: Molino I, XIII, 4

Jan Theo Bakker

§ 1 The early building periods

1A The Hadrianic building period: ground floor

1B The Antonine building period: ground floor

1C Staircases, ceilings, upper floors and roof

§ 2 The Severan alterations

2A Septimius Severus

2B Caracalla to Alexander Severus (late-Severan)

§ 3 The later third century alterations

§ 4 Further alterations

§ 5 The fire and the finds

§ 6 The furnishing and functions of the building

6A The masonry

The Hadrianic and Antonine building periods

The Severan alterations

The later third century alterations

6B The finds

6C The dates of the installation and abandonment of the mill-bakery and carpenters’ workshop

6D The functioning of the mill-bakery

PART III: INTERPRETATION

Jan Theo Bakker

§ 1 The early building periods

1A The Hadrianic building period: ground floor

1B The Antonine building period: ground floor

1C Staircases, ceilings, upper floors and roof

§ 2 The Severan alterations

2A Septimius Severus

2B Caracalla to Alexander Severus (late-Severan)

§ 3 The later third century alterations

§ 4 Further alterations

§ 5 The fire and the finds

§ 6 The furnishing and functions of the building

6A The masonry

The Hadrianic and Antonine building periods

The Severan alterations

The later third century alterations

6B The finds

6C The dates of the installation and abandonment of the mill-bakery and carpenters’ workshop

6D The functioning of the mill-bakery

CONTENTS - iii
CONTENTS - iv

3B Period 2: 100-125 AD 65
   The west rooms 65
   The central rooms 66
   The east rooms 67
   Date 67
3C Period 3: 175-200 AD 69
3D Period 4: 210-235 AD 69
3E Period 5: c. 250 AD 70
3F Period 6: 250-300 AD 70
3G Period 7: 370-440 AD 71
3H The corridor north of the Molino 71
§ 4 Reconstruction 72
   4A Period 1: 80-100 AD 72
   4B Period 2: 100-125 AD 72
   4C Period 3: 175-200 AD 73
   4D Period 4: 210-235 AD 74
   4E Period 5: c. 250 AD 74
   4F Period 6: 250-300 AD 74
   4G Period 7: 370-440 AD 75
   4H Reconstruction of the upper floors and roof 75
      The west rooms 75
      The central part 75
      The east rooms 77
§ 5 Objects in the Molino 77
   5A Various objects 77
   5B The mills and kneading-machines 78
§ 6 The bakery 78
   6A The installation of the bakery and the alterations 78
   6B The functioning of the bakery 79

Chapter 4: The Caseggiato delle Fornaci
Jan van Dalen - Jan Theo Bakker - Thea Heres
§ 1 Introduction 80
§ 2 The Hadrianic period 80
   2A General 80
   2B Outer walls 81
   2C Inner walls 84
      2D Ceilings, staircases and upper floors 84
§ 3 Antoninus Pius to Marcus Aurelius 85
§ 4 Commodus to Septimius Severus 86
§ 5 The Severan Emperors 86
§ 6 The later third and fourth century 86
   6A The middle of the third century 86
   6B The second half of the third century 87
   6C The later third and early fourth century 87
§ 7 Interpretation 87
   7A The Hadrianic building 87
   7B The installation of the bakery 87
   7C Later repairs and modifications 88
   7D The functioning of the bakery 89

Chapter 5: Further evidence
Jan Theo Bakker
§ 1 Further bakeries 90
   1A Caseggiato del Balcone Ligneo and Caseggiato del
      Pantomimo Apolausto (I,II,2.6) 90
      Description 90
      Interpretation 93
   1B A bakery near the Caseggiato dei Dolii (I,IV,5) 94
   1C Caseggiato I,IX,2 95
      Description 95
CONTENTS - v

Interpretation 96
1D Caseggiato della Cisterna (I, XII, 4) 98
  Description 98
  Interpretation 99
1E Building II, VIII, 9 99
§ 2 Millstones and kneading-machines 99
§ 3 Reliefs 100
§ 4 Inscriptions and graffiti 100
  Inscriptions 100
  Graffiti 101

Chapter 6: On the Emperor’s service. The corpus pistorum of Ostia and Portus Uterque from the juridical perspective
Boudewijn Sirks
§ 1 Introduction 102
§ 2 The free distributions of grain and bread 102
  2A The administration of the Annona 103
  2B The corpus pistorum in Rome 103
  2C The collegia artificum 104
  2D Corpora pistorum outside Rome 105
§ 3 The corpus pistorum in Ostia 106
§ 4 The privilege of the corpus 106
§ 5 The functions of the corpus 108
§ 6 Conclusions 109

Chapter 7: Conclusions
Jan Theo Bakker
§ 1 The functioning of the mills-bakeries 110
§ 2 The dates and distribution of the mills-bakeries 111
  2A Dates 111
  2B Distribution 113
§ 3 The fisc and the millers-bakers in Ostia, Rome and Constantinople 117
  3A Bread for the vigiles 117
  3B The Grandi Horrea 117
  3C The millers-bakers in Rome and the frumentationes 118
  3D Frumentationes in Ostia? 120

Appendix: The octagonal room in the Caseggiato della Cisterna
Jan Theo Bakker

Catalogues
The Caseggiato dei Molini. Catalogue of the building material - Thea Heres 133
The Caseggiato dei Molini. General catalogue - Jan Theo Bakker 145
Molino LXIII, 4. Catalogue - Bernard Meijlink 165
Caseggiato delle Fornaci. Catalogue - Jan van Dalen 188

List of figures 205
List of plates 206
Bibliography 209
Index 214