

buildings under the Baths of the Swimmer. If further probes on this south side of the Decumanus produce similar results we can admire the foresight which allowed so much room for expansion when the line of the 'Sullan' walls was drawn.

The most unexpected addition to our evidence for republican Ostia comes from a limited but fruitful excavation in the temple area west of the Castrum off the Via della Foce. In this triangular area dominated by the large temple of Hercules there were two other temples, the smaller of which stands beside the Via della Foce. The investigation of a small undisturbed area of the pronaos of this temple has clarified the history of the temple and strengthened the case for a pre-Sullan date, not necessarily later than the temple of Hercules (Zevi 8). A more surprising result was the discovery of three inscribed travertine blocks, carefully placed around the remains of a round peperino altar to serve as foundation for a new rectangular altar which was to replace it. The three blocks are of the same size and inscribed in Greek by the same hand. They record the titles of portrait statues and of their sculptors: 'Plato, poet of the old comedy, Lysicles was the sculptor; Antisthenes the philosopher, Phyromachus was the sculptor; Charite, priestess at Delphi, Phradmon of Argos was the sculptor.' Zevi gives good, if not decisive, arguments for dating the lettering of the inscriptions between Sulla and the end of the first quarter of the first century, A.D.: the archaeological context, he thinks, for their use as foundation blocks is probably Augustan.

There is no natural link between the three portraits nor between the three sculptors. Phradmon is the well-known contemporary of Phidias and Polyclitus; Phyromachus was an Athenian who was remembered for his work at the Court of Attalus I of Pergamum in the late third century B.C. Lysicles is not even a known name but Athens would be the most likely place for a statue of a poet of the old comedy: Lysicles was probably an Athenian. These statues must have been presented to the temple (or, possibly, to the neighbouring temple of Hercules) as artistic treasures and not for their association with the temple's cult. But were the statues Greek originals, and why were the bases buried? Zevi's conclusion is that they were in fact Greek originals brought back by Sulla or some other Roman noble from Greece and that the inscriptions are copies from the original bases. They were used as foundation for a new altar because they had been replaced by marble

bases which the standards of the Augustan age demanded. These bold inferences may at first reading seem highly improbable, but they are a coherent explanation of the evidence. If the statues were forgeries this was not known to the donor. They are good evidence for the impressive patronage that Ostian temples could attract in the late Republic, and they show that the increasing influence of Hellenism in art and architecture was felt at Ostia as well as Rome. The tetrastyle temple to the north of the area may supply further evidence of this Hellenic current if Zevi and P. Zanker are right in seeing in the fine head of Asclepius, which was found at the foot of the stairs leading up to the temple, a Greek work of c. 100 B.C., probably the temple's cult statue (Zevi 8, p. 96).

But the wealthiest of the three temples was the temple of Hercules, and to the many fine dedications already known can now be added another statue, the base of which has been recently published (M. Cébeillac). The lettering of the inscription on the base is certainly earlier than 50 B.C. and probably earlier than Sulla, and it is made of Greek marble, a considerable luxury at such an early date: no earlier inscription on marble has yet been found at Ostia. It is particularly interesting therefore that the man who dedicated the statue was a freedman, P. Livius. To make such a dedication he must have been wealthy and it is partly for this reason that M. Cébeillac, in a discussion of the various inscriptions associated with the temple, suggests that P. Livius was celebrating his success in trade and that the Ostian Hercules may be primarily associated with trade.

The history of imperial Ostia has gained considerably more from recent excavation. Belief in the importance of Domitian's years in the rebuilding of Ostia has been strengthened. The Hadrianic plan of the Baths of Neptune is now securely known to repeat almost exactly the plan of baths built under Domitian (a provisional note by Zevi in *FA* 18-19 (1963-4) 7429). More evidence has been recovered of a Domitianic phase under the barracks of the Vigiles. Zevi (7), who was able to make a restricted investigation when the mosaic in the chapel was temporarily raised, found fragments of two inscriptions honouring emperors. The first almost certainly concerned Trajan, and, according to a convincing restoration, it was set up by the seven cohorts of the Vigiles: the emperor of the second inscription may have been Hadrian in the first half of his reign. It seems that here too Hadrian was following where Domitian had led, and such little evidence as is available is

at least compatible with the adoption of the Domitianic plan by Hadrian's builders.

To the buildings of Domitian's reign can now also be added the Baths of the Swimmer (*Terme del Nuotatore*), so called from the mosaic figure of a swimming man on one of the pavements. These baths were built on the south side of the Decumanus, not far from the Baths of Neptune, and they can be firmly dated to the last years of Domitian (Becatti 5). They do not match the imperial baths in size or in the quality of their decoration, but in addition to the normal sequence of rooms they had a large palaestra.

To the new buildings already assigned to the Severan period can now be added a richly decorated arch in honour of Caracalla, one of two arches over the Decumanus in front of the theatre, to be identified with the arch by which Christian soldiers were executed at the time of the martyrdom of S. Aurea (p. 390. For the identification and reconstruction see Zevi (14) and Pensabene). The end of the Severan dynasty is followed by a bleak period at Ostia, and the decline is strikingly illustrated by the Baths of the Swimmer in the south-east quarter of the town. These baths, built under Domitian, were considerably modified under Hadrian, and remained in use into the third century. But the evidence of coins and pottery makes it certain that they were abandoned towards the middle of the third century (Becatti 5). What is even more surprising, all usable material was taken away, and there was no further building on the site, which became a rubbish dump. Zevi has brought together evidence, including a new inscription which was probably a handsome dedication to Diocletian, for a building revival under the first Tetrarchy (Zevi 13, pp. 468-72), but it is still too early to attempt more than a broad outline from the fourth to the ninth centuries.

The continuing study of all the unpublished inscriptions will eventually provide enough new material to encourage a deeper and more detailed social analysis of the population of Ostia; meanwhile important new light has been thrown on some of the town's most distinguished families. Perhaps the most interesting revision now needed concerns Marcus Acilius Egrilius A. f(ilius) Plarianus, adopted from the Egrilii into another leading Ostian family, by M. Acilius Priscus. Raised to the senatorial order by the Flavians with his elder brother A. Egrilius Plarianus, he remained a loyal benefactor of his native town, accepting the high office of *pontifex Volcani* and honoured as a

patron. From the *Fasti* it was known that he had already been appointed to the military treasury, *praefectus aerarii militaris*, when he was made *pontifex Volcani* in 105. An inscription was set up by him when he was *praefectus aerarii Saturni* in honour of an emperor in the tenth year of his tribunician power. Bloch's restoration of Trajan's name seemed inevitable, requiring the date 106, and quick promotion from the junior to the senior treasury. Zevi's discovery of a new fragment of the inscription shows that the emperor was Hadrian not Trajan, and the year 126, implying a very long gap indeed between the two treasury posts. We can accept the inference that Zevi draws. The Egrilii were typical of Flavian appointments; Trajan preferred military men to businessmen, but the civil virtues of the Egrilii could be appreciated by Hadrian (Zevi 6). With the knowledge that M. Acilius Plarianus was alive in 126 the tentative suggestion that Suetonius may have been *pontifex Volcani* at Ostia before his fall in 122 must be abandoned. That the Egrilii drew their wealth from trade and commerce rather than land receives support from the addition in unpublished inscriptions of two bankers, *coactores argentarii*, among the freedmen of the family in addition to the one already known.

The very different family of the Lucilii Gamalae also have new inscriptions to add to their total. A P. Lucilius Gamala f(ilius) is one of the duoviri for A.D. 69 or 72, in a new fragment of the *Fasti* (p. 517) and, more important, a Gamala of the late Republic was married to a senatorial Octavia, who was associated with the cult of Bona Dea in Ostia. My inference that the P. Lucilius Gamala of the lost inscription lived into the time of Augustus and that the family's fortunes were based on land (p. 493) may have to be reconsidered in the light of discussion with Zevi who has attractive arguments for a rather earlier dating, an eastern origin, and trading interests. I suspend judgement until I have seen the full development of his view.

In 1960 it was not possible to trace any descendant in high office of C. Cartilius Poplicola, eight times duovir, whose monumental tomb stands outside the Porta Marina. The combination by Zevi of thirty-one fragments found at different times, some near the theatre, but others as far away as the Casette-tipo may fill the gap. The result is a monumental inscription in large letters (15.7-16.1 cm. high) recording the setting up at his own expense of a public building, probably a portico, by C. Cartilius C. f(ilius) Pal(atina) S[a]binus p(atronus) c(oloniae) omnibus hono[ribus] fu[nct]us. The lettering suggests a date in the

first or early second century A.D. (Zevi 4, p. 88). It would be interesting to know whether Poplicola whose tribe is not recorded on his tomb inscription, also belonged to Palatina. We also now know more of the Terentii, another distinguished Ostian family. The *Fasti* mention the restoration of a *crypta Terentiana* in A.D. 94. A new inscription records the gift of a *cryptam et chalcidicum* by Terentia A. f(ilia) in A.D. 6 (Zevi, 'Il calcidico della Curia Iulia', *Rend. Linc.* 26 (1971) 2). This will be the Terentia who also dedicated a well-head in the sanctuary of the Augustan temple of Bona Dea (p. 194).

For the study of Ostian housing Calza's basic articles are still fundamental, but there remains much to be done. With few exceptions, such as the Insula del Serapide and its partner the Insula degli Aurighi, and the excellent analysis of the *domus* of the late Empire by Becatti, the description of the blocks uncovered in the grand campaign of 1938-42 has remained somewhat summary. A detailed description has now been added of the interesting House of the Painted Vaults (B. M. Felletti Maj (1)), and J. E. Packer (1) has reconstructed in detail the building that was later transformed into the House of Amor and Psyche. More recently the continuation of the excavation of the Garden Houses has revealed an apartment which increases our respect for the architect who was responsible for the development of that large area (p. 139). In an apartment which basically follows his standard apartment plan he has introduced an individual touch. By prefacing the *tablinum* with two columns he has given emphasis and elegance to the main room in a way that recalls the arcaded entrance to the *tablinum* in his House of the Muses. In this he is anticipating the style of the House of the Round Temple and other houses of the late Empire (M. L. Veloccia Rinaldi).

More general questions are raised in a detailed survey of housing conditions by J. E. Packer (4 and 2). Drawing a sharp distinction between apartment blocks and blocks whose ground floor is occupied by shops he assumes that the great majority of the upper storeys of the second category were confined to single rooms or two-room apartments. From this it would follow that only a small minority of Ostian households had more than two rooms. This is probably an oversimplification, for where the shops were long there is no architectural difficulty in providing apartments of five or more rooms above them. The five ground-floor rooms of the House of the Painted Ceiling could for instance be fitted comfortably over the row of shops behind them (p. 145, fig. 13). But though Packer's survey may be too schematic

it is an excellent base for further discussion and one of the most elusive problems that emerges concerns the accommodation for slaves. The very common formula in tomb inscriptions providing not only for the family but also for the freedmen and freedwomen of the family, *libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum*, suggests a large slave population widely spread, especially as it is found in small and presumably inexpensive tombs (e.g. *CIL* XIV S. 4821, 4865) as well as in large tombs. We can be certain that families who lived in apartments with rooms on two floors, and this applies to the majority of those who had ground-floor apartments, possessed several slaves: where did they sleep? In his calculation of the population total Packer allows one person for each *cubiculum* in large apartments and assumes that when the apartment is divided between two floors the upper floor will repeat the plan of the lower. This gives a total of eight persons for each of the two-floor apartments in the Garden Houses, with the further assumption that the third and fourth floors will repeat the two-floor plan of the first and second floors. But is it not more probable that the slaves would be crowded together on the upper floor? Packer's text also reminds me that I paid too little attention to domestic sanitation. The number of buildings that have toilets connected with the public drainage system is very limited indeed and this helps to explain the very generous supply of public accommodation. A detailed study of the types, location, and distribution of private toilets would be a useful contribution to a social analysis. Another and very different inquiry would, I think, repay more detailed study. How far did architects build to meet known demands? Did the architect who planned the block between the Via dei Vigili and the Via delle Corporazioni have a specific client in mind when he provided for such large industrial premises at the north end of his block and why were changes made elsewhere in the block in the course of building?

There is more also to be added to the account of Ostian trade. The more detailed and exacting study of pottery is providing a more realistic picture of important aspects of the overseas trade of Ostia, and therefore also of Rome. The excavation of the Baths of the Swimmer by members of the Archaeological Seminar of Rome University under the general guidance of Professor Becatti and the direction of Dr. A. Carandini has provided an admirable opportunity for classifying what is misleadingly called *terra sigillata* (and sometimes, even more misleadingly, Samian) and what can for convenience be called table

as opposed to kitchen ware. Firmly stratified levels provide a guide to typological sequences and coins add a chronological framework. In the late Republic the highly skilled potters of Arretium had dominated the market inside Italy and outside, but for some reason that has never been satisfactorily explained this production centre flourished for little more than two generations. The tradition was carried on at Puteoli and elsewhere in Italy, but by the time of the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 Italian decorated ware was no longer being used at Pompeii. When the Baths of the Swimmer were built under Domitian Gallic decorated pottery had replaced Italian but undecorated ware still came mainly from Italy. In the Republic a significant proportion of Ostian table ware came from the East; by Domitian's reign there is only a thin trickle, from Asia Minor. From the first phase of the baths there were a few fragments of African ware; in the Hadrianic level there were more, and by the end of the second century Africa had virtually driven Italy, Spain, and Gaul from the Roman market and was the largest supplier throughout the Mediterranean coast-lands.

Considerable progress has also been made in distinguishing the various types of amphorae, and especially in the identification of African shapes (Zevi (5 and 15) and Tchernia; see also Zevi 3). It seems that in the Flavian period Ostia got most of her wine and oil from Italy, and mainly, one can assume, from Latium and Campania. Spain, which was to dominate Rome's oil supply in the first half of the second century, has only a small share of the market, and the majority of Spanish amphorae imported in the Flavian period carried *garum* or salted fish. By the end of the second century Africa dominated the market for oil as well as table ware (see Carandini, and especially *Stud. Misc.* 16, pp. 122-7).

In the field of religion also much new ground has been won. In 1960 it was reasonable, in the absence of firm evidence, to be sceptical about a Jewish community in Ostia (p. 389), but in 1959 the widening of the road leading to the international airport at Fiumicino uncovered a finely carved column base, a large Corinthian capital, and part of a column, which were found to belong to a synagogue. The building, on a valuable site near the sea-shore, goes back to the first century A.D.; it was made more handsome in the second century, and further modified in the late Empire. The function of the building was made explicit by the seven-branched candelabrum with other Jewish symbols carved on the heads of two consoles, and by an inscription in Greek recording

the gift of an ark for the scriptures, prefaced by an invocation in Latin for the emperor's well-being, *pro salute Augusti* (Squarciapino 4-7). We can now be reasonably certain that the inscription from Castel Porziano (p. 389 n. 4) with its reference to a president of the elders, refers to the Ostian community. By a nice coincidence agricultural operations brought to light a few years later the funerary inscription of an archisynagogus, Plotius Fortunatus (Squarciapino 13). The name helps to explain why the Jews of Ostia were so elusive: I overlooked the fact that it was common Jewish practice to adopt Roman names.

Even more spectacular was the discovery of a hall with Christian associations in the course of following-up operations begun in the campaign of 1938-42 in the area where the Decumanus reaches the sea. The building complex which includes this hall has a monumental entrance and forms two wings, one running south and the other westwards. The original construction was in Hadrianic brick but the westward wing was completely rebuilt in the fourth century in block and brick. It was sited immediately behind a massive sea-wall, 6 m. thick, which had probably been built in the first century A.D. When the hall collapsed the elaborate *opus sectile* decoration of the walls was buried in countless dismembered fragments under a confused mass of roof tiles, bricks, and tufa blocks. Only those who study the photographic records in Becatti's monumental publication (Becatti 4; a summary in 3) can appreciate the triumph of M. A. Ricciardi, who with Becatti recovered the design, and Luigi Bracali, Ostia's senior mosaicist, who, after more than six years of patient struggle, succeeded in finding the right place for all but a negligible number of the pieces in such a gigantic jigsaw puzzle.

The hall was entered through two columns and ended in a rectangular exedra. The two side walls (7 m. long and 8 m. high) had the same scheme of decoration with only minor variations. There were three main registers, of which the second was the most striking, including two large panels showing on the left wall a tiger and on the right wall a lion devouring a deer. The representation of lion or tiger devouring a deer has a long history in both pagan and Christian symbolism, but the Christian reference is explicit in the bust of a bearded Christ with halo in the centre of the top band of the lowest register of the right wall. In the same register lower down and to the right is the bust of a youth in whose name perhaps the hall was dedicated. In the

elaborate design of these walls, a wide range of marble was used with considerable skill and taste, among them *giallo antico*, *serpentino*, *pavonazetto*, *porta santa*, *rosso antico*. The decoration of the exedra (4 m. wide, 7.2 m. high) provided a sharp contrast. Here marble blocks (2.5 cm. square), in rows of yellow, green, red, white, were set in a simple design based on walls of *opus reticulatum* within a brick framework, a standard technique in the early Empire, and including four arched windows in the back wall and two in each of the side walls. Below this design was a pattern of coloured paste-glass tesserae, and the ceiling of the exedra was lined with blue tesserae, thinly threaded with gold. Nothing survives from the main ceiling of the hall; it was probably of timber, perhaps painted.

The history of the building has been most ingeniously reconstructed by Becatti. No decoration survives from 2.50 m. at the bottom of the walls. The work had begun at the top and had not been completed, and the laying of the *opus sectile* pavement with a pattern reminiscent of the pavement of the main room in the House of Amor and Psyche had barely begun. The floor was still being used as a workshop, with miscellaneous material waiting to be sawn to shape, including several small fourth-century columns and two large blocks of *giallo antico* from the imperial quarry at Simitthus in Numidia, cut out much earlier, in the reign of Domitian. There was also a finely decorated architrave which must have once belonged to a building of the first century A.D.; it may have been intended for reuse. The series of coins ends with two of Honorius from the mint of Aquilea (after 393) and a single coin of Eugenius (between 392 and 394). It can hardly be coincidence that the coin evidence points to the time when paganism made its last bid to reverse the dominance of Christianity. It was in the brief period that was ended by the defeat of the pagan forces at the battle of the Frigidus in August 394 that the temple of Hercules at Ostia was restored by the *praefectus annonae* (p. 402). Becatti is surely right in seeing this as the context of the destruction of the Christian hall, a further sign of the surviving strength of pagan elements in Ostia.

Two more general studies have added substance to the pattern of Ostia's religions. The evidence for Christianity is still very fragmentary, and no account hitherto had made use of all the archaeological evidence. R. Calza (3) in a comprehensive review has brought together all the sculpture with Christian reference that has survived, including many neglected fragments, and has discussed the sites of Christian

cemeteries and buildings: M. F. Squarciapino (9) has provided a comprehensive up-to-date account of the oriental cults in Ostia, which will provide a most useful base for further study.

In 1960 the number and quality of Ostia's public baths was already one of the most striking features of Ostian life. Four sets had by then been only partially excavated and the work is now being completed: all four have produced surprises. The so-called Baths of Marciana south-east of the Porta Marina (p. 407) prove to be even larger than was thought and an interesting series of mosaics with marine and athletic scenes have been found, most of them in good condition. Later a small but elegant set of baths very close to the south side of the Baths of Marciana, but independent, was added. The Severan baths excavated by Visconti on the line of the Sullan walls west of Porta Marina and misnamed *Thermae Maritimae* (p. 417) have now been found to be only half the establishment, the first half of which was built under Hadrian, perhaps in association with or in response to the development centred on the Garden Houses (p. 139). The late Empire baths south of the Forum (p. 420) of which only a few comparatively small rooms could be seen in 1960 cover in fact a large area and include a substantial palaestra. It was also surprising to find that the Baths of the Swimmer, south of the western Decumanus (V. 10³), of which only two walls could be seen, also had a well-equipped series of rooms and a large palaestra. But while restorations can be seen in most of the other baths, the Baths of the Swimmer, as we have seen, were abandoned in the middle of the third century.

The appreciation of Ostia's craftsmen has been made much easier by two major publications in the series of *Scavi di Ostia*. Becatti (2) has described, dated, and critically analysed, with full photographic documentation, all the mosaics and marble pavements of Ostia, and R. Calza (2) has provided an excellent descriptive and critical catalogue of the portraits of the Republic and early Empire. Among several important additions to the collection of sculptures found at Ostia two new discoveries, each accidental, may be singled out. The first, a sarcophagus from Pianabella has one of the finest and best preserved centauromachies known to us (*Immissioni* 1971, 21). The second is a splendid statue, slightly larger than life size, of a female figure with windswept dress, originally perhaps poised on the prow of a ship like the Winged Victory from Samothrace, now in the Louvre. The statue is made of grey marble with streaks of white, *bigio dorato*. Head,

arms, and feet are missing: they were probably made of white marble. This dramatic figure, with strong Hellenistic echoes, is probably from the second century A.D., and it was found on the left bank of Trajan's canal, near the point where it flowed into the sea. This was probably Isis, protectress of seafarers, sometimes called *Pelagia* or *Pharia* (Zevi 11).

Of the new paintings discovered since 1960 the most interesting and the finest are those of a newly excavated apartment in the Garden Houses, and particularly the ceiling of the main room. When the ceiling collapsed the fragments were buried, no attempt was made to clear away the rubble, and it is hoped that eventually the painting can be almost completely re-formed (M. Veloccia). Even more recently tantalizingly small fragments of Augustan painting have come to light in a mixed fill south of the Forum which was deposited to raise the level when Ostia was being extensively rebuilt in the second century. The colours—red, blue, green, and black—remain remarkably vivid and there is a precision and draftsmanship in the painting which suggests ample means and good taste. Meanwhile much useful work has been done to conserve existing paintings, and a firmer framework is provided for the history of Ostian painting by the detailed analysis of the paintings in the Houses of the Painted Vaults, the Muses, the Yellow Walls, and in the Peacock Inn (*Caupona del pavone*) in *Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia* iii (B.M. Felletti Maj 2, 3; C. Gaspari).

The study of Portus also has received new encouragement in these years, and especially from excavations in the Claudian harbour. Draining operations deriving from the construction of the new airport at Fiumicino provided the opportunity for limited investigations which have resolved the main topographical problems. An excavation report is being prepared by V. Scrinari of the Rome Soprintendenza; meanwhile O. Testaguzza, an engineer who took part in the work connected with the layout of the general area of the airport and has carefully studied what remains of the Roman constructions, has published a detailed and lavishly illustrated account of the form and history of the Claudian harbour. It is now at last clear that the famous lighthouse was not on an island, nor even at the end of the left mole, but at a point roughly two thirds along it. It is scarcely less surprising to find that the harbour took advantage of a natural bay, and that what had been usually taken to be the beginning of the left mole was really a promontory largely composed of sand. The left mole started

from the end of this promontory and can be divided into three sections. The first is made of enormous travertine blocks, those of the lowest two courses weighing 6–7 tons, and is 330 m. long. The second, separated from the first by a gap of 22 m. which was subsequently closed, had a massive core of concrete, in part formed by small ships loaded with concrete and scuttled for the purpose. This stretch was 9–10 m. wide for some 220 m. and then widened to 25 m. where the giant merchantman was sunk to provide the foundation for the lighthouse. If Testaguzza has rightly identified the position of the stern the ship will have been 104 m. long, one of the largest wooden ships ever built. The Monte dell'Arena which had always seemed the natural site for the lighthouse is now found to be an accumulation of rubble and sand on the north side of the mole to protect the lighthouse and act as a breakwater against the drift of sand into the harbour entrance. From the sea-side there is an inlet in the mole where small ships waiting to pilot merchantmen into harbour would be sheltered. After passing the lighthouse the mole curves slightly inward and continues with a reduced width of 5–5.30 m. for some 200 m.

The nature of the right mole is also unexpected. Monte Giulio which had been generally thought to lie over the right mole covers in fact an embankment with buildings which have yet to be excavated. The right mole extends from near the end of Monte Giulio for some 50 m. and ends a little to the north of the left mole leaving an entrance of c. 200 m. At its end there is a substantial building connected presumably with the harbour service. Near the entrance to the harbour, by the left mole, seven boats used in the harbour were found buried in the sand. They range from a cargo-carrying barge 17 m. long to a small fishing boat 6.10 m. long and they seem to have sunk, perhaps in a storm, in the late Empire (O. Testaguzza 2, pp. 129–47; V. Scrinari 2, pp. 10–12).

No such exploration has yet been possible in the area round Trajan's harbour but the digging of a drainage canal from the airport to the Tiber has revealed a substantial length of the aqueduct which took water to the harbour settlement. It is an impressively solid construction faced with large triangular bricks such as were used at Ostia under Domitian and Trajan. It was probably an integral part of Trajan's plans for improving Rome's main harbour. Trajan may also have been responsible for paving the road linking Ostia with the harbours, for we now know from a new inscription that the bridge which carried the road

over Trajan's canal was named after his niece Matidia or her daughter. The bridgehead at the end of the road leading to it has been uncovered and during dredging operations a pier was found in the middle of the canal. The bridge was probably of timber. A line of arches projecting from the right bank and acting as a substructure for an embankment shows that the canal was used as a secondary harbour (Testaguzza 2, p. 183).

Dredging operations also recovered an inscription from the late Empire of considerable interest. It records the restoration of the temple of Isis by the *praefectus annonae*, acting on the emperor's instructions (*AE* 1968, 86; M. A. Chastagnol). The date lies between 17 November 375 and 3 August 378. In 382 a decree was issued banning the use of public funds on pagan temples: the temple of Isis at Portus is the last known to have been accepted as the state's responsibility. It seems probable that Christianity in the late fourth century was no more dominant than in Ostia. There was already record of a temple of Isis at Portus, but its whereabouts is unknown. It is tempting to think that it may be close to the site where the statue attributed to Isis was found (pp. 590 f.), but it would be more natural to find it on the right bank of the canal. The evidence for the Egyptian cults has been a little strengthened by the convincing attribution of three inscriptions, previously assumed to come from Rome to Portus (L. Moretti). The finding of a synagogue at Ostia has naturally raised the question whether H. J. Leon was right in attributing to Rome a number of Jewish inscriptions, until recently in the Bishop's Castle at Portus. His arguments that they were brought to Portus from Rome by Cardinal Pacca still seem convincing (p. 390 n. 1).

REVISIONS

- P. 115.* There is a brief report of what was uncovered in 1950 by G. Ricci in *FA* 12, 5339. In addition to the remains of buildings a further boundary stone was found, set up by the river commissioners, similar to those already known, but by a different board. The easiest interpretation of its position is that at this point the river turned south, implying that the Tiber already followed the line of the *fiume morto*. From her interpretation of the ruins found in 1957, and following ideas first published privately by G. Pascolini, L. Bertacchi has advanced the view that the Tiber did not follow the course generally assumed until the imperial period, and that the republican river harbour was in the lagoon south-east of the modern village which from medieval times to the nineteenth century was known as the 'Stagno di Ostia'. From the latest geological survey there is no doubt that at some time the Tiber, or a branch of the Tiber, or a canal from the Tiber, flowed into this lagoon and may have found its way to the sea near Tor Paterno. On the other hand the siting of the Castrum, and the boundary stones set up along the Decumanus by the Roman praetor C. Caninius, together with the stone marked 'privatum ad Tiberim usque ad aquam' (p. 32), do seem to imply that during the middle and late Republic the Tiber's course was roughly parallel to the Decumanus (see also Becatti I, p. 200). The area that most concerns Ostia and Portus is covered by Sheet 149 (Cerveteri) of the *Carta Geologica d'Italia* (1963). Explanatory notes (*Note illustrative della Carta Geologica*) are published separately, Rome, 1967.
- P. 156.* Canina's barely perceptible ridge has been vindicated, but it covered a bank of sand to protect the extended channel that had to be kept open when the sea had receded.
- Pp. 156-8.* The establishment of an international airport at Fiumicino provided the opportunity for a limited excavation which resolved the main problems of the Claudian harbour (see p. 591). •
- P. 186.* It is now known that Hostilius Antipater was also responsible for the setting up of a monumental inscription, probably in honour of Diocletian (Zevi 12, p. 468).
- Pp. 197-8.* For new evidence on the Egrilii see the note on pp. 503-4.
- P. 202.* The identification of new fragments of what are found to be four copies of the inscription set up in various parts of the building shows that the first letter of the cognomen is F and not T: M. Maecilius Furr [?] (Zevi (4) 83).
- P. 202.* Zevi (4, p. 89) has assembled several fragments of a fine inscription of the late first or early second century on an epistyle, probably recording the gift of a public portico by a C. Cartilius Sabinus. He was clearly a distinguished man, probably a Roman knight.
- P. 208.* T. P. Wiseman rightly reads Cl[audius], as the space requires, rather than Clodius. He identifies him with the Augustan moneyer Pulcher who served with Taurus (cos. A.D. 11) and Regulus (cos. A.D. 18) and suggests that he was the grandson of the notorious tribune of 58 B.C., and probably consul in A.D. 21 or 22. Zevi has kindly shown me a new fragment in which the name is followed not by co]ns[ul but by tr[ibun. . .
- P. 220.* My case for the identification of the so-called *Curia* with the cult centre as opposed to the social headquarters of the *Seviri Augustales* has won no converts, but the arguments still seem strong. I should have added that the previous building on the site was still less suited to be a *Curia* (*FA* 17 (1962) 4875).

- P. 231 n. 3. H. Solin, who is preparing a corpus of Ostian *graffiti*, has now published a better text: 'Ἐρμῇ δίκαιε, κέρδος ἑκτικῶ [διδ]δου, *Arctos* 7 (1972) 194.
- P. 280. G. Rickman rightly points out that no evidence of raised floors was found in the Horrea Hortensia. My statement was a careless inference from the height of the thresholds which need be no more than a normal defence against the weather. The plan, however, strongly suggests the storage of corn.
- P. 293. I carelessly misunderstood Pliny. As Casson points out (1, p. 32 n. 10), Pliny (xxxvi. 70) draws a distinction between the merchantmen that brought the obelisks from Egypt and the specially built boats that carried them up the Tiber. The ship that brought the fourth-century obelisk was designed to depend on oar power and was manned by 300 oarsmen, but the obelisk was unloaded outside Rome.
- P. 312. While my manuscript was going through the press a substantial fullers' establishment built under Hadrian on the Via degli Augustali was being excavated. It has four large rinsing tanks in the centre of an arcaded courtyard, large sunken jars for treading or dyeing round the sides, and fixtures in brick piers for hanging cloth. The same basic plan on a smaller scale, with three rinsing tanks, was found when the partly excavated establishment to the north-west of the barracks of the Vigiles was completely uncovered. A. Pietrogrande describes all premises used by fullers in Ostia in *Scavi di Ostia*, viii.
- P. 320. The suggestion that the *fabri tignuarii* had no patrons becomes less probable in the light of a new fragment of the decree honouring Quintus Baienus Blassianus (CIL xxiv S. 5341). The inscription was set up by the builders but his relationship with their guild depends on restoration: *patrono*, restored by Zevi (2), is the most probable, but *praefecto*, which fits the space less well, is possible. Blassianus was probably honoured by the builders when he was promoted from the post of *praefectus annonae* to become *praefectus Aegypti* in 133. In view of the intensive building expansion encouraged by the emperor there may have been a special relationship between the *praefectus annonae* and the Ostian builders under Hadrian.
- P. 328. Zevi (12, p. 472), by bringing the two stones together, found that they in fact join: Divo Pio [P]ertinaci Au[g](usto) colleg(ium) fabr(um) [tigni]ar(iorum) O[st](iensium). The inscription almost certainly comes from the epistyle of the temple on the corner of the Decumanus and the Via degli Augustali. The builders dedicated a temple to the deified Pertinax in the early years of Septimius Severus, when he found it politic to pose as the avenger of the murdered Pertinax. The mistakes in my inferences from the two parts of this inscription are humiliating, but they repay analysis.
- P. 349 n. 3. Degrassi and Barbierii confirm that there is no letter trace on the stone following EX, but this does not rule out the restoration ex [s.c. (see M. Cébeillac, p. 72).
- P. 350. Barbieri has shown that the inscription on Poplicola's statue has been misunderstood (see Degrassi *ILLRP*, 634a.; facsimile, M. Cébeillac, p. 80. The original text was *duoviru* (an archaic form) *iterum*, changed later to *duoviru tertio*.
- P. 354. The chapel with its inscriptions has now been more fully described by Bloch (2).

- Pp.* 389 *f.* The discovery of a large synagogue outside the walls near the sea-coast demands a radical change of view regarding the Jewish community in Ostia (see p. 587).
- P.* 397. M. Burzachechi reads Tigri[n]ianorum. This would make better sense epigraphically but the meaning is obscure.
- P.* 415. Zevi tentatively assigns two fragments, separately published (*CIL* xiv. 191, S. 4471), which, though not joining, clearly belong together, to the base of a statue in honour of Gavius Maximus. It would be interesting to know the reason for his special concern for Ostia.
- P.* 418 *plan*, 17 has now been almost completely excavated and is known as the *Terme del Nuotatore*, from the mosaic figure of a swimming man on one of the pavements (see p. 587).
- P.* 419 *n.* 5. A limited excavation has now shown that though many of the walls of the baths are not earlier than the late second century the mosaic of mules and drivers which gives the baths their name is Hadrianic.
- P.* 419 *n.* 6. A current excavation has shown that the Severan rooms excavated by Visconti are only half the establishment. The Severan work represents a doubling of baths built originally under Hadrian.
- P.* 420. These baths (*n.* 13 on p. 418 *plan*) have now been completely excavated and are seen to include a substantial palaestra. Most of the walls are in block and brick.
- P.* 435. A third head from this relief, of Caltilia Moschis, has been identified in the Mattei palace (A. Licordari).
- P.* 475. The fourth-century inscriptions in the Forum Baths are discussed with more precision by Zevi (13, p. 464).
- Pp.* 475–6. The correct reading of the inscription on Poplicola's statue is *duoviru iterum*, changed later to *duoviru tertio* (see note above on p. 350). New light has also been thrown on the inscription on his funerary monument. S. Panciera has recognized a copy of a new fragment, giving the ends of three lines, in the epigraphic notes of Gaetano Marini who found it in a mason's yard in the Forum Boarium in 1776 (published in *CIL* vi. 25754): *duoviro VIII terisque eius sensu*. This rules out the possibility of restoring a military tribunate. The text was confined to the local career of Poplicola: Panciera suggests for the beginning of l. 3 [censori IIII, et uxori (or uxori) et] libereis. My hesitation in accepting the standard interpretation of the cognomen as a title conferred for distinguished service to his city should be abandoned in the face of the general consensus of reviewers. It remains, however, odd that only one parallel example, who is not known to be connected directly or indirectly with the Valerii, has been quoted. He is M. Antonius L. f. Quir. Publicola from Africa, who was only 25 when he died and had an undistinguished tombstone (*CIL* viii. 15929). But it must be admitted that a record of the conferment of the title would be a very suitable complement of *ob eius amorem in universos ab universis*. The simplest explanation of the erasure that follows is the cutter's error. Panciera suggests that the correction was inscribed on a plastered surface.
- P.* 487. See note on p. 293.
- P.* 503. Zevi (6) in a masterly article adds new evidence and argument to the history of the Egrilii. His discovery of a new fragment shows that Bloch 25 must

be dated in 126 (and not 106), implying that M. Acilius Plarianus, after a promising start in his senatorial career, had to wait at least twenty years between his two treasury posts. We still do not know whether he reached the consulship, but the A. Egrilius Plarianus who was consul in 128 is now much more likely to have been his brother than his nephew. Zevi adds six new fragments to Bloch 22, introduces a hitherto unrecorded daughter of M. Acilius Plarianus, and throws new light on the family's connection with the Larcii Lepidi.

P. 511. I overlooked R. Syme's convincing argument that in the entry of A.D. 84 both duoviri probably occupied a single line and that the end of the line below gave Domitian's colleague as consul in 85 [T. Aurelius Ful]vos II (*JRS* 43 (1953) 155). Zevi in a forthcoming article will suggest that the entry for 85 should be restored on the same principle, ? Ore]stes being the second consul of the last pair in 85 and both duoviri being inscribed in the following line.

P. 514. The identification of a new fragment of *CIL* xiv. 132 requires new restorations (S. Balbi de Caro): Q. Vettio Pos[tum(io) Constanti[o]. The date is probably 287.

Pp. 514-15. Barbieri (2) has shown that fr. XXXV joins and precedes XXIII, and belongs to 115 and that the last letter is more probably R than X. The position of the entry implies that the office which Q. Asinius Marcellus held when he died was Roman and not Ostian. Barbieri suggests: in locu]m Q. Asini Ma[rcelli prae]f. urb. f[actus] Q. Baebius Mace]r.

Pp. 515-16. The hypothesis that Suetonius the biographer was *pontifex Volcani* has become untenable as the result of the identification of a new fragment of a crucial inscription (see p. 584).

P. 519. The arch by which the soldiers were executed has now been identified as an arch in honour of Caracalla spanning the Decumanus in front of the theatre (Zevi 13).

P. 534. J. E. Packer (2, 4) has used a different method to calculate the total population. Calza based his figure on an estimate of the total living space available and an average living space of 18.20 sq. m. per person. Packer rightly points out that this average is arbitrary and instead he attempts a block by block census. He divides the buildings into two main categories, those that have shops (126) and those that have apartments (58) on the ground floor. For shops, all of which, he thinks, served as living quarters, he allows a household of four persons, whether the shop had a back room or mezzanine floor, or both or neither. For apartments he allows one person for each *cubiculum*. His conclusion is to lower the total to not more than 27,000. This method which at first seems promising is no less vulnerable than Calza's. A large shop with a mezzanine floor will almost certainly have significantly more inhabitants than a small shop without mezzanine or back room. Nor is it safe to infer that nearly all the buildings with shops on the ground floor will have their upper floors confined to single rooms or two-room apartments. Where there is sufficient depth there could be apartments with five or even more rooms. In apartment blocks also distinctions need to be made. Packer's method makes no difference in the basis of calculation between such apartments as the Garden Houses (Reg. III. Ins. IX. 13-20) and the Casette-tipo (Reg. III. Ins. XII, XIII). The Garden Houses are well built in a garden setting; the Casette-tipo are very roughly

built and have wooden rather than brick or stone stairs to the upper floor(s). To assume the same density in both is surely very misleading; the size of the latrines in the Casette-tipo is good evidence that these apartments were crowded. In both systems of calculation the margin of error is too considerable to encourage confidence in the result. In both systems we have to assume answers to the questions that most interest us. What was the average size of a family? How widespread was the possession of slaves and what accommodation were they given? Were the upper floors of apartment blocks similar in plan and in social status to the lower floors? Was there any part of Ostia as overcrowded as the Subura at Rome? (see also pp. 585 f.).

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PLATE I

A, Ostia. B, Claudian harbour. C, Trajan's harbour. D, Tombs on Isola Sacra. E, Roman salt-beds. F, Ostian salt-beds.

The Roman road that passed through the Isola Sacra cemetery (D) and linked Portus with Ostia ran near the coastline. The advance of land since the Roman period is marked by parallel lines of successive sand dunes. The Via Ostiensis from Ostia (A) to Rome followed the line of the modern road. The land to the south (I.) of this road sinks below sea-level and is here flooded, because the pumps that normally drain it had been destroyed by the German army for defensive purposes. In the Roman period this was a marshy lagoon, and the salt-beds lay at the northern edge (F), where soil and crops are still affected. Between the road and the river the level is raised by the alluvium of Tiber floods; the earliest Roman settlement may have been on this higher ground between salt-beds and river (p. 479). The higher ground extends to the north of the river; the level then sinks, where further flooding can be seen. E marks the approximate site where what became the main Roman salt-beds were developed.

PLATE I



TIBER DELTA (1943)

PLATE II

A, Porta Romana. B, Porta Laurentina. C, Porta Marina. D, Forum. E, Garden houses. F, 'Imperial Palace'. G, Probable course of Tiber.

The fourth-century Castrum, from which imperial Ostia developed, remains a recognizable rectangle round the Forum (D). The Decumanus Maximus represents the continuation of the road from Rome. The land between this street and the river was declared public land in the second century B.C. (p. 32); its regular plan contrasts with the irregularities of the area south of the street (p. 122). The main problem is to determine the reason for the departures from the standard Roman rectangular plan. It has been suggested that the southern Cardo (B-D) and the Via della Foce, proceeding to the river mouth, represent an original track from Laurentine territory. The view that the plan is artificial is preferred above (p. 122).

The setting of Ostia is better seen in the Frontispiece. Tor Boacciana (H) marks the Roman river mouth. The modern road southwards follows approximately the Roman coastline. The present course of the river is the result of a sixteenth-century flood; G-G marks the Roman course, but the precise line of the river bend is uncertain (p. 115). To the south of the Porta Romana (A) a white triangle represents an area cleared for huts. At its west end is a large Roman rubbish dump. On its south side a series of brick piers remain from the aqueduct, and meet the 'Sullan' wall, which can be traced from this point to the Porta Laurentina (B).



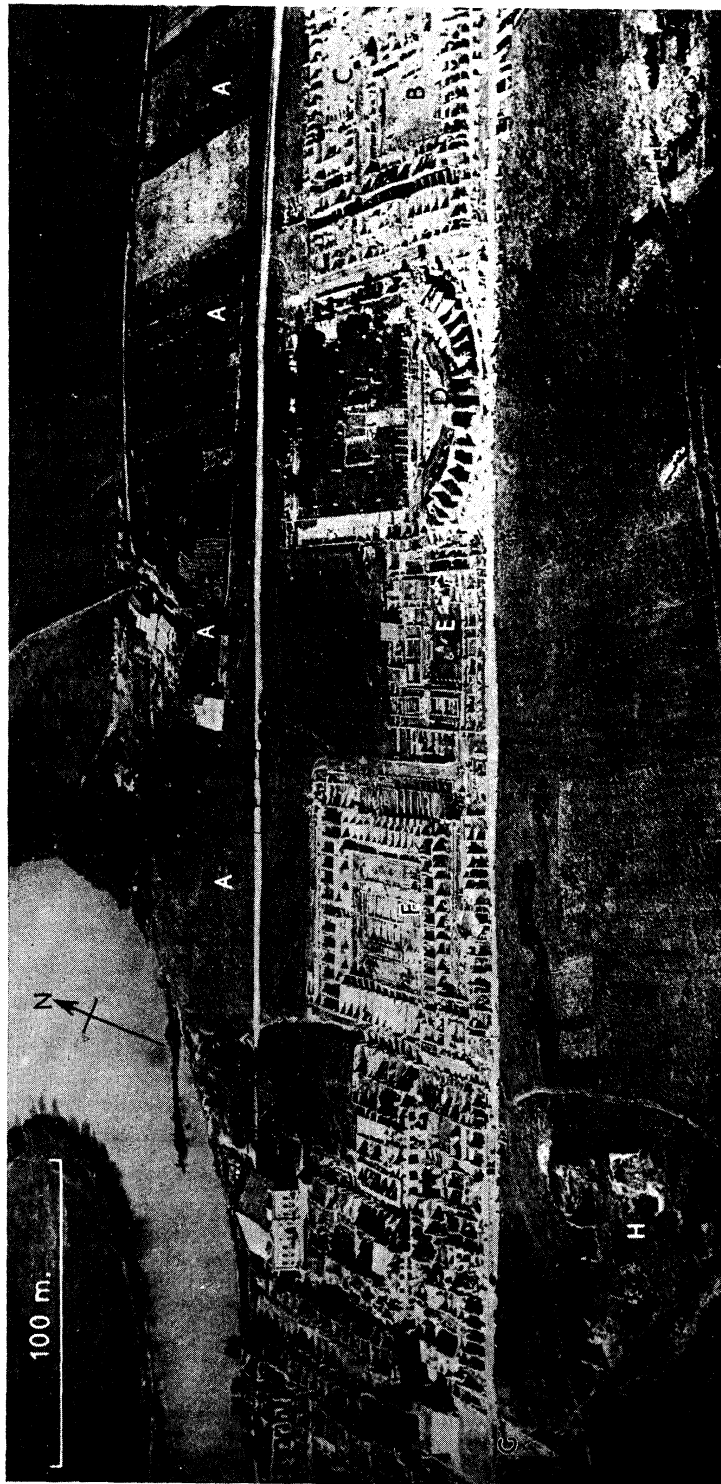
STREET PLAN (1943)

PLATE III

A-A, Probable course of Tiber. B, Baths of Neptune. C, Barracks of Vigiles. D, Theatre, with Piazzale delle Corporazioni. E, Four republican temples. F, Grandi Horrea. G, Forum. H, Forum Baths.

When this photograph was taken the south side of the Decumanus had not been excavated (cf. Pl. II), but the Forum Baths (H) had been partially explored by Petrini. The Via dei Molini, on the west side of the Grandi Horrea (F), roughly marks the eastern limit of the Castrum. The block on the Decumanus between the Via dei Molini and the Forum consists mainly of shops and housing. Parallel to the Decumanus, the Via di Diana. On its north side, from east to west, bakery, House of Diana, shops, House of Jupiter and Ganymede. At the north end of the Forum, the Capitolium. Behind it, leading to the river, the Cardo Maximus, flanked by porticoes. The modern building (r.) was formerly the Casone del Sale, where salt was stored before dispatch to Rome by river; now, museum, with library and administrative offices above.

PLATE III

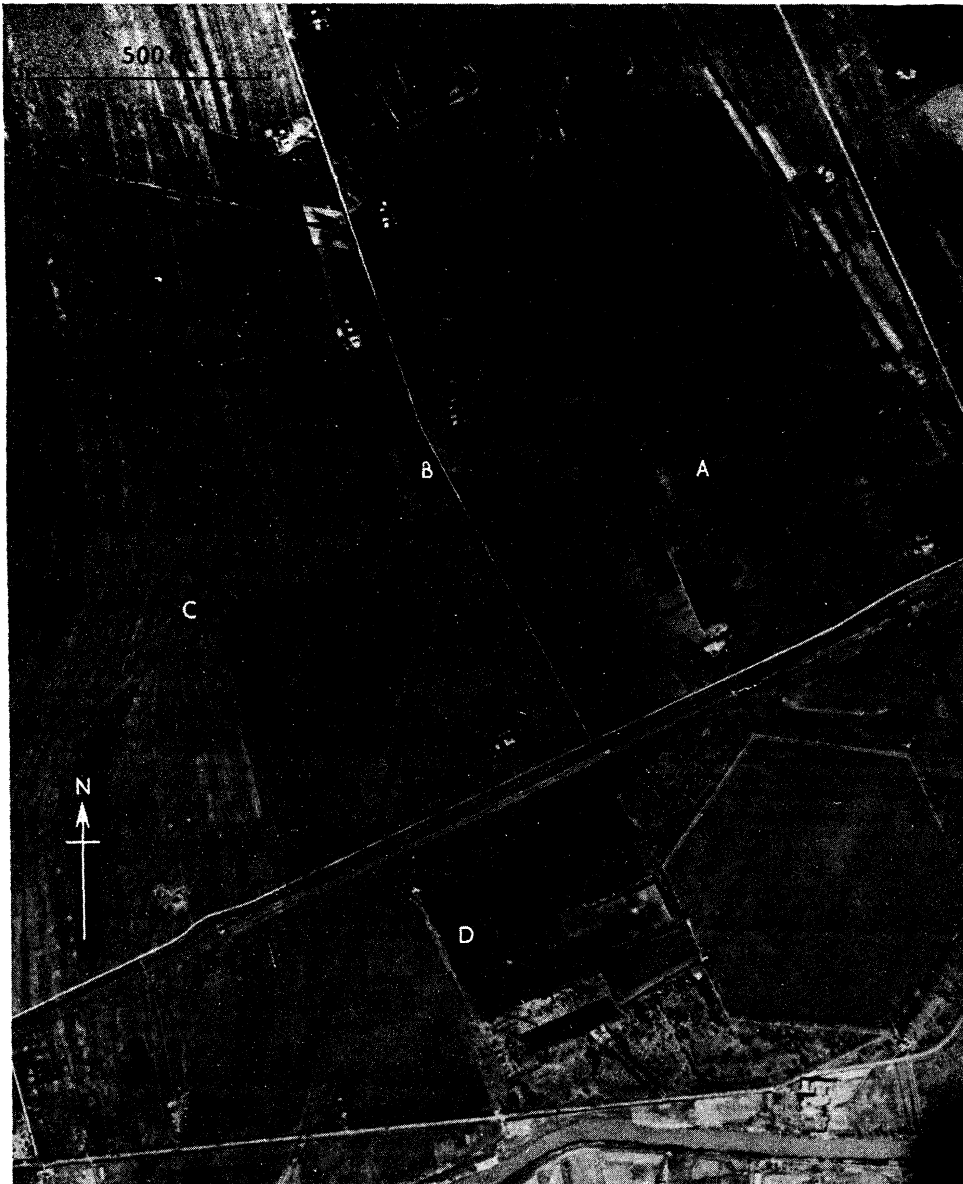


EASTERN DECUMANUS MAXIMUS (1929)

PLATE IV

A, Monte Giulio, covering an embankment with buildings. A short right mole runs out from the end of the embankment. B, Monte dell'Arena composed of rubble and sand on the seaward side of the lighthouse. The left mole runs from the end of a sandy promontory in a straight line through C to the lighthouse near B, and then, with width reduced, curves gently inward for *c.* 200 m. The first section, *c.* 330 m., was built with large travertine blocks. At C there was originally a gap of 22 m., subsequently closed, and from C to B the mole was concrete faced on the seaward side with squared tufa blocks (pl. xix). D is a mole to protect the entrance to Trajan's harbour, probably built in the late Empire.

PLATE IV



THE IMPERIAL HARBOURS (1943)

PLATE V

A, Late imperial mole. B, Basin for small boats ('darsena'). C, Temple of 'Portumnus'. DD, Via Portuensis. E, Isola Sacra tombs. F, Bishop's palace.

Trajan's harbour has been restored to its original form. The basin was surrounded by warehouses, except on the north-west side, where was the 'Imperial Palace' (pp. 163 f.). The main living quarters were to the east and to the south of the basin. The temple of 'Portumnus' (C) was just inside the eastern gate. The road to Rome (D-D) ran in a straight line from this gate to the river, with tombs on either side, and then curved northwards to follow the river.

On the south side of the canal there was a narrow fringe of buildings and, behind it, a large cemetery partly excavated (E). The road from Portus to Ostia passes through this cemetery. Its line suggests that the road preceded the building of Trajan's harbour.



PORTUS (1943)

PLATE VI

a. The larger of two arches in a bridge near Magliana. M. E. Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy*, 212 with pl. 21. 2. Tufa construction with travertine keystone. ?Late republican or early Empire.

b. Small bridge, near Acilia, west of Ponte della Refolta. By 1957 this bridge had been converted into a cellar.

c. Modern bridge, over Roman road on two-arched Roman bridge, near Vitinia (formerly Risaro). Phot. 1925. In 1943 the bridge was destroyed.

d. The river embankment opposite Tor Boacciana. Only the concrete core is visible. The timbers that originally laced the concrete have left grooves.

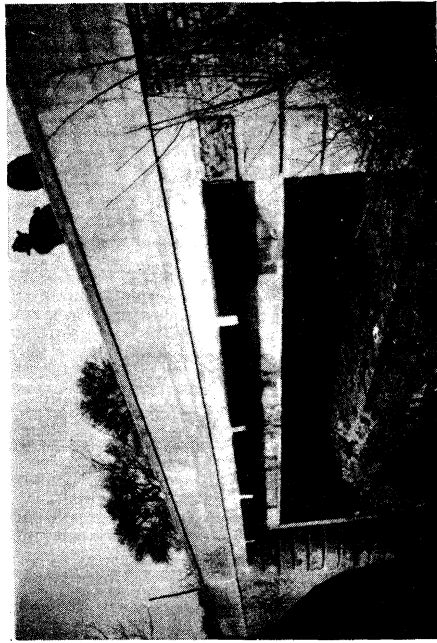
PLATE VI



a



b



c



d

a-c. BRIDGES ON VIA OSTIENSIS. *d.* TIBER EMBANKMENT

PLATE VII

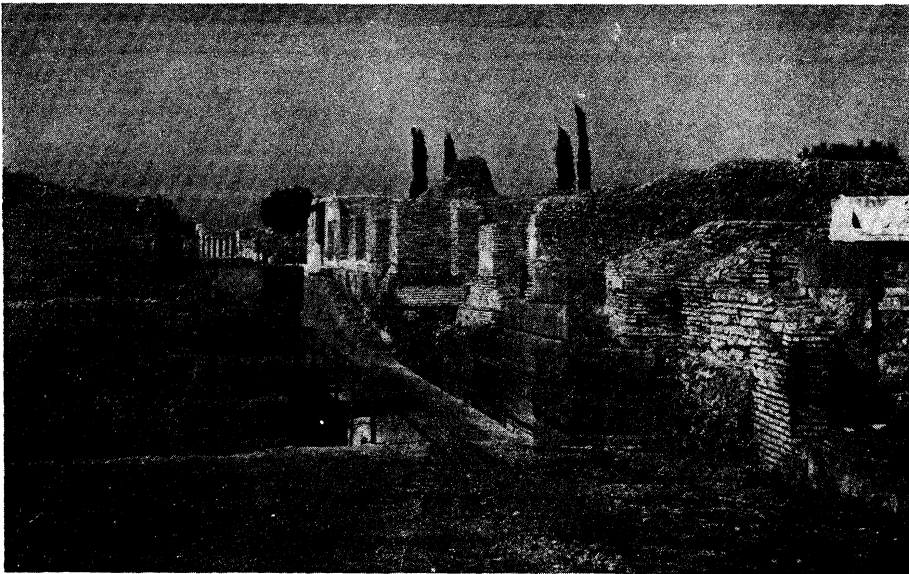
a. Castrum wall, east side, on Via dei Molini. Height preserved, m. 6.06. There are two periods in the rooms, probably shops, built out from this wall. The first construction, in large blocks of soft granular tufa, may be early second century B.C. (p. 120). The rooms were rebuilt at a higher level in brick and reticulate in the second century A.D.

b. Porta Laurentina in 'Sullan' wall. The level has been considerably raised in the Empire, but the original wall is well preserved on the west (l.) side. The gate was flanked by two squared towers (not shown) at a distance on either side of m. 6.30. Plan of gate, *Topografia*, 85, fig. 26.

PLATE VII



a. CASTRUM WALL



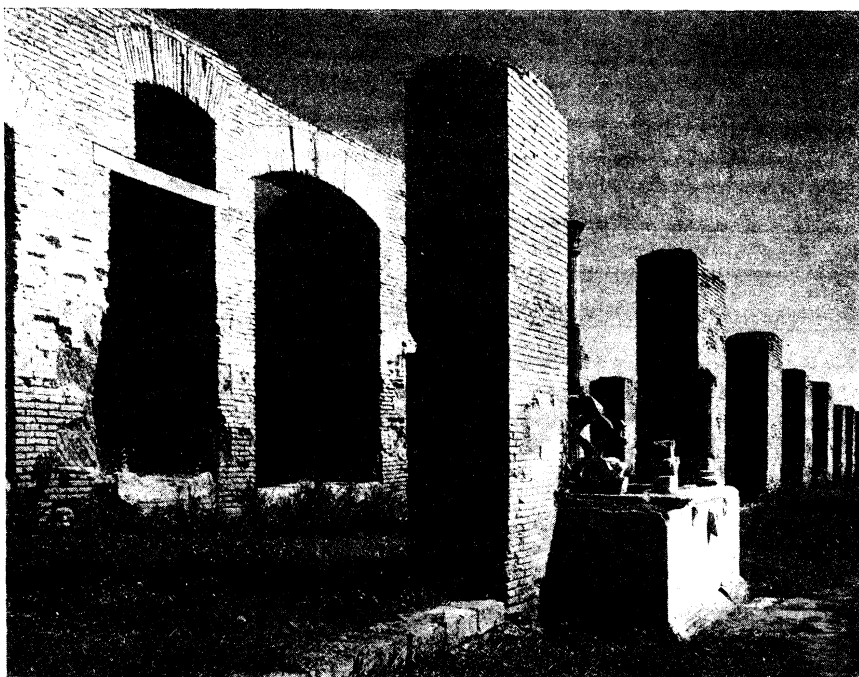
b. PORTA LAURENTINA

PLATE VIII

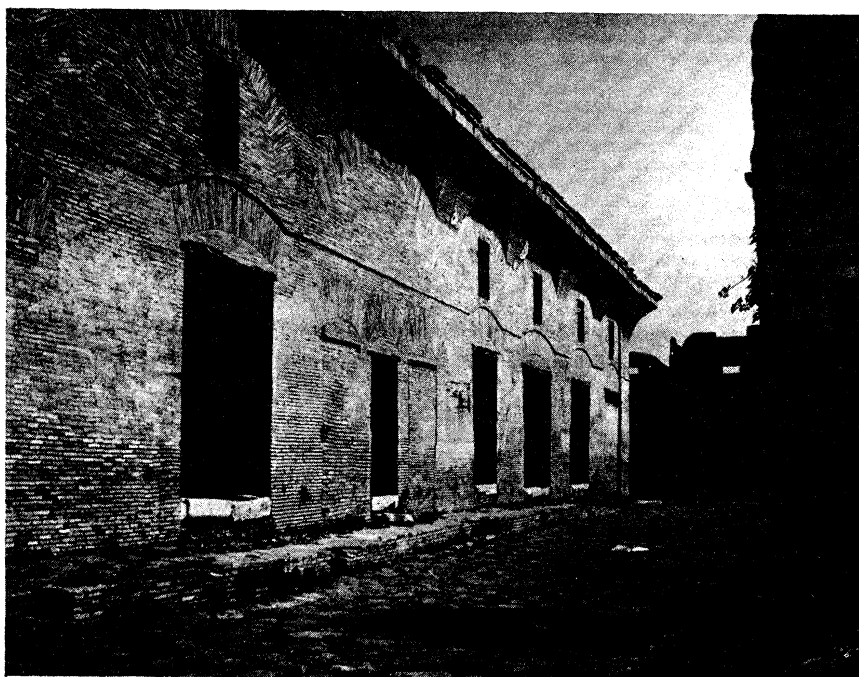
a. Cardo Maximus, south of Forum, showing continuous portico (Antonine) and fountain at the street side.

b. The west side of the House of Diana (Antonine). The ground floor is used for shops. Small windows over the doors light the mezzanine floor, which is reached by an inner staircase at the back of the shop. The narrower central doorway is the side entrance to the main apartment block. The 'balcony' does not correspond with a floor level and is decorative rather than functional.

PLATE VIII



a. SOUTHERN CARDO MAXIMUS



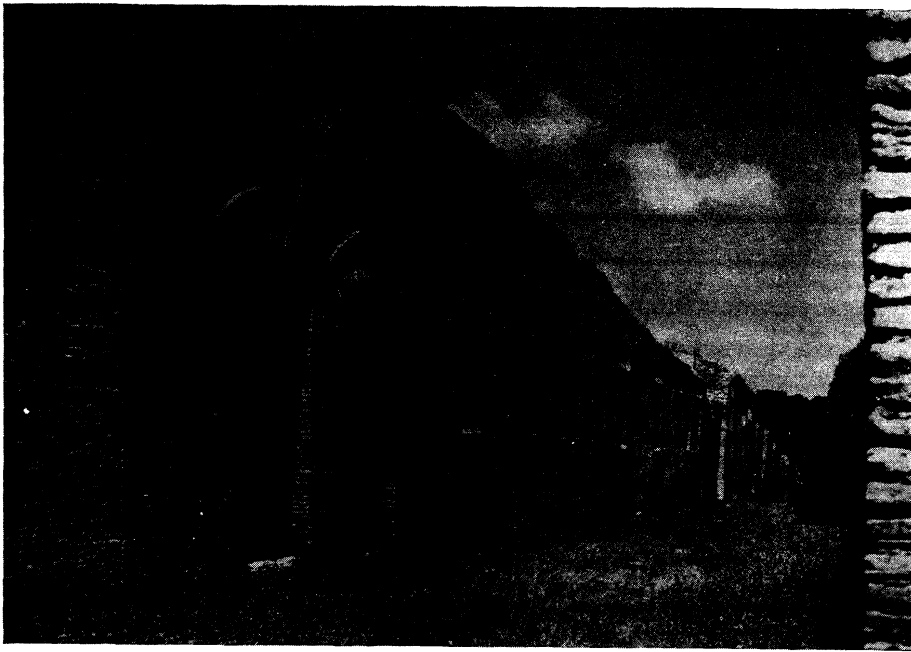
b. VIA DEI BALCONI

PLATE IX

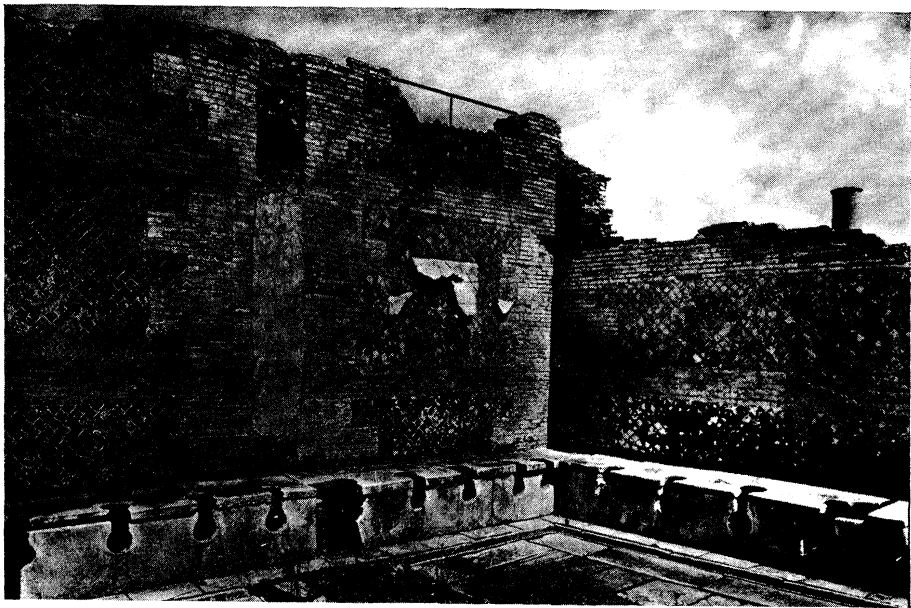
a. Via della Fontana. Part of an area rebuilt at the end of Hadrian's reign (p. 136). Of the two entrances in the foreground the left joins two streets, the other leads to a side entrance to the large apartment which extends for nine windows along the street. The main entrance can still be seen in the centre of the street front. It was subsequently blocked up when the apartment was divided at this point (plan, p. 245, Fig. 13). On the right, concealed by greenery, a cistern from which the tenants of these houses drew their water.

b. Public latrine. Originally two shops built under Hadrian on the south side of the block which contains the House of the Triclinia (builders' guild house). The dividing wall between the two shops was pulled down and the combined room converted to a lavatory, probably in association with a large-scale restoration of the Forum Baths on the opposite side of the street in the fourth century (p. 551). The threshold suggests that the latrine was entered through a swing-door.

PLATE IX



a. VIA DELLA FONTANA

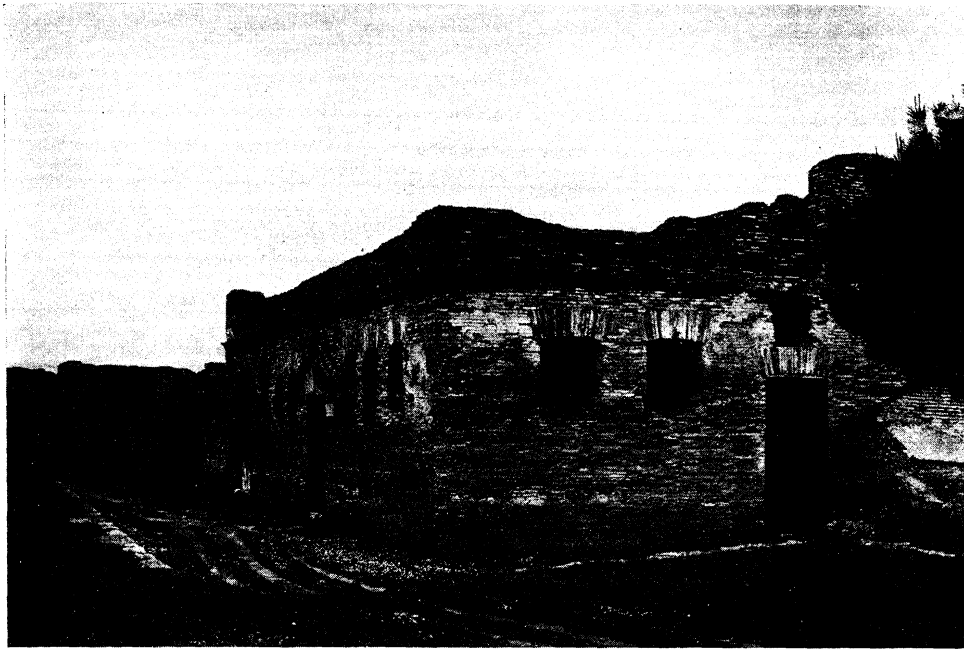


b. PUBLIC LATRINE

PLATE X

a. House of the Painted Vaults (Hadrianic), doors modern. The house is lighted from all four sides. The rooms are disposed on either side of a central corridor, entered through door on right. Plan, p. 248, Fig. 16.

b. The House of the Muses, built under Hadrian on the north-east side of the Garden Houses. Pl. II E; plan, p. 243, Fig. 10. Timber ceilings and door restored. The house is built round an open courtyard. Court and portico are paved with simple-patterned black and white mosaic. The brick piers were plastered and painted. The house had at least two stories, probably three or four.



a. HOUSE OF THE PAINTED VAULTS



b. HOUSE OF THE MUSES

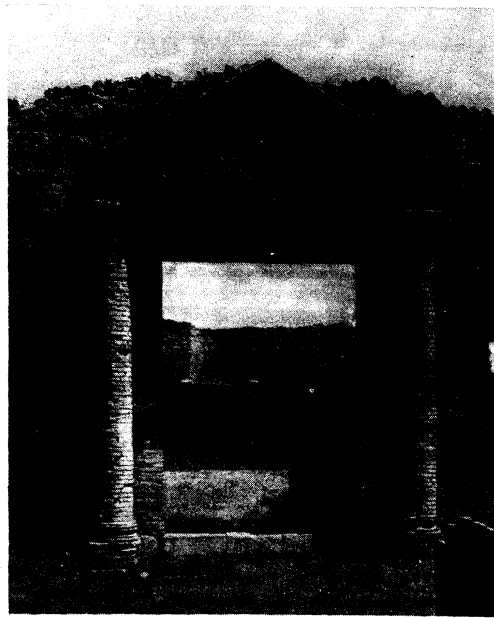
PLATE XI

During the second-century building boom architects (or builders) were very successful in varying their treatment of entrances. *a.* 'Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana' (inscribed over the doorway), built under Antoninus Pius (p. 277). *b.* A group of store-rooms on the Via degli Aurighi, built under Trajan, mainly in reticulate, but with a small admixture of brick (p. 134). *c.* The House of the Well, Hadrianic (p. 257). *d.* The House of the Painted Vaults, Hadrianic. Plan, p. 248, Fig. 16.

PLATE XI



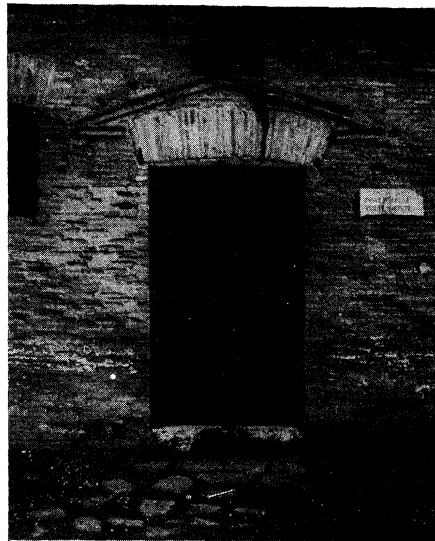
a



b



c



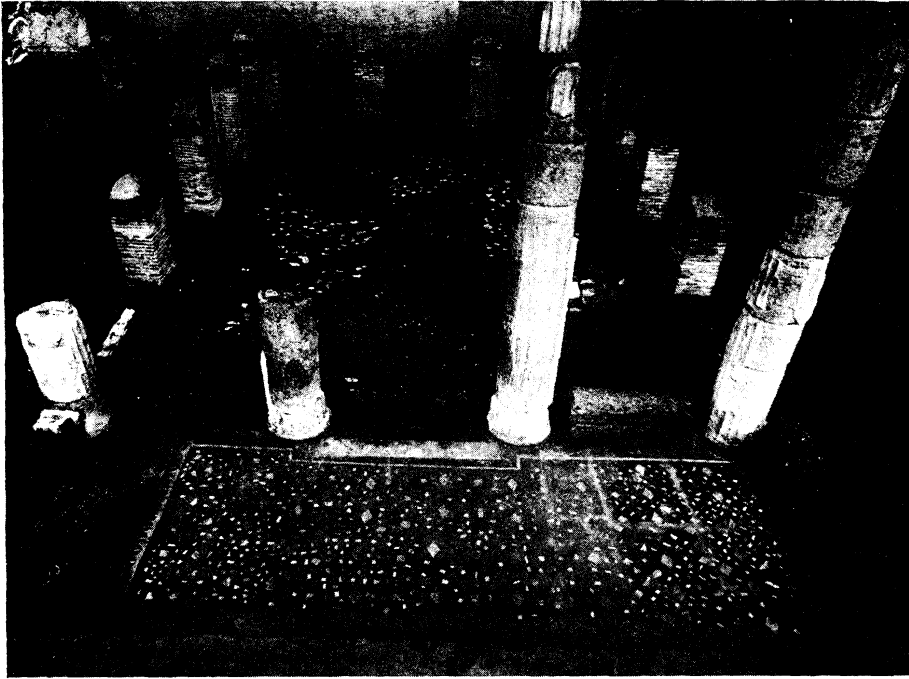
d

SECOND-CENTURY ENTRANCES

PLATE XII

a. Peristyle of late republican house (c. 100–80 B.C.) on Via della Fortuna Annonaria. The framing wall (at the right edge of plate) is in *opus incertum*. The original columns, with plastered fluting, survive on the south side; the remainder have been replaced by brick piers. In the background a brick apse has been added to the social headquarters of the *seviri Augustales*. The pavement in the foreground is typical of the period preceding the regular use of black and white mosaic (M. E. Blake, *MAAR* 8 (1930) 23–34). This peristyle was originally approached through an atrium, which was destroyed in the general rebuilding of the second century. The peristyle was incorporated in what were probably industrial premises.

b. The House of the Thunderbolt (Flavian), outside Porta Marina. In the background, a *biclinium* and altar. In the centre of the garden, a basin filled with water. The rooms of the house open off the portico surrounding the garden. Such 'peristyle houses' were the successors of the atrium-cum-peristyle houses of the late Republic. They were elegant, but much more economic in space. Normally they had at least two stories.



a. REPUBLICAN PERISTYLE

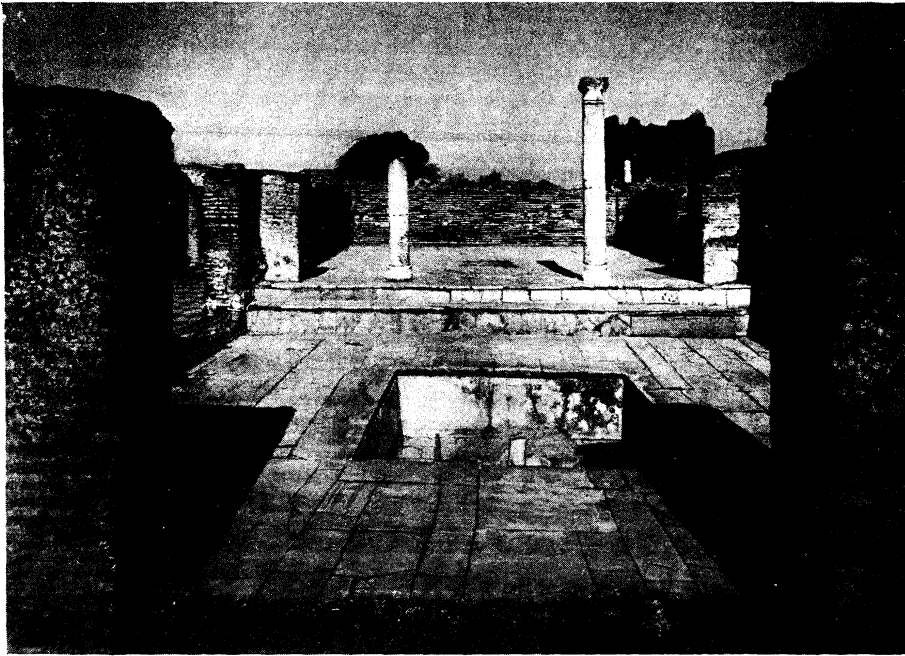


b. FLAVIAN PERISTYLE HOUSE

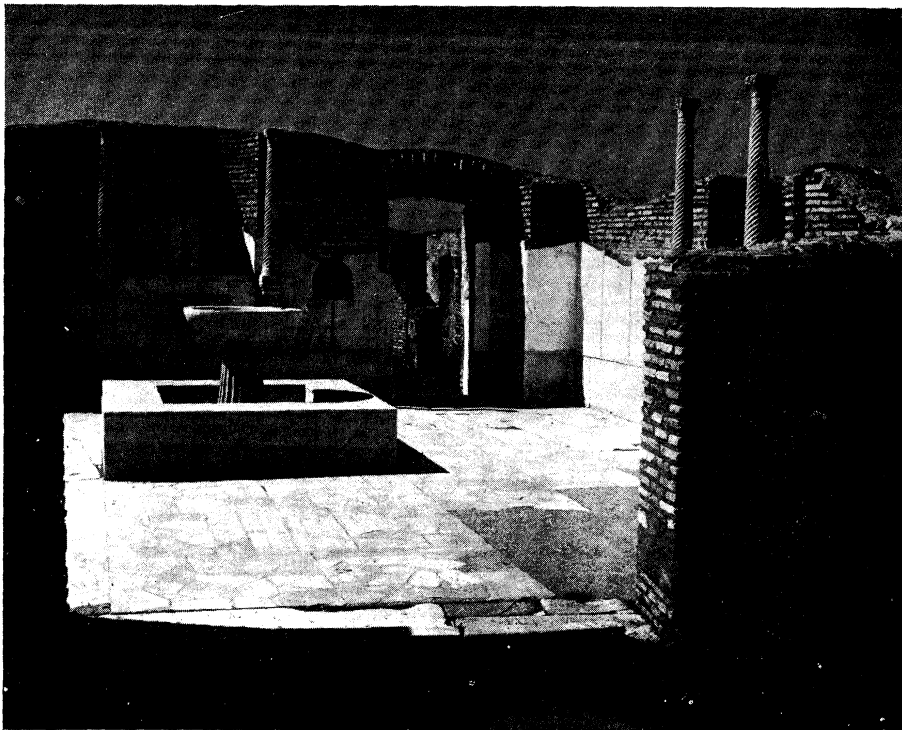
PLATE XIII

a. House of the Round Temple, late third century (pp. 255 f.), repeating the basic 'peristyle' plan of the House of the Thunderbolt (Pl. XII *b*). The main room faces the entrance; the secondary rooms open off a portico. Furnaces heat the west side (l.). In the background, r., the Capitolium.

b. Nymphaeum of the late fourth or fifth century, on the Cardo Maximus south of the Forum. Opposite the entrance, a niche for sculpture, framed by spiral columns. Similar niches in the other two sides. The lavish use of marble on the walls as well as in the pavement is typical of the late Empire.



a. HOUSE OF THE ROUND TEMPLE

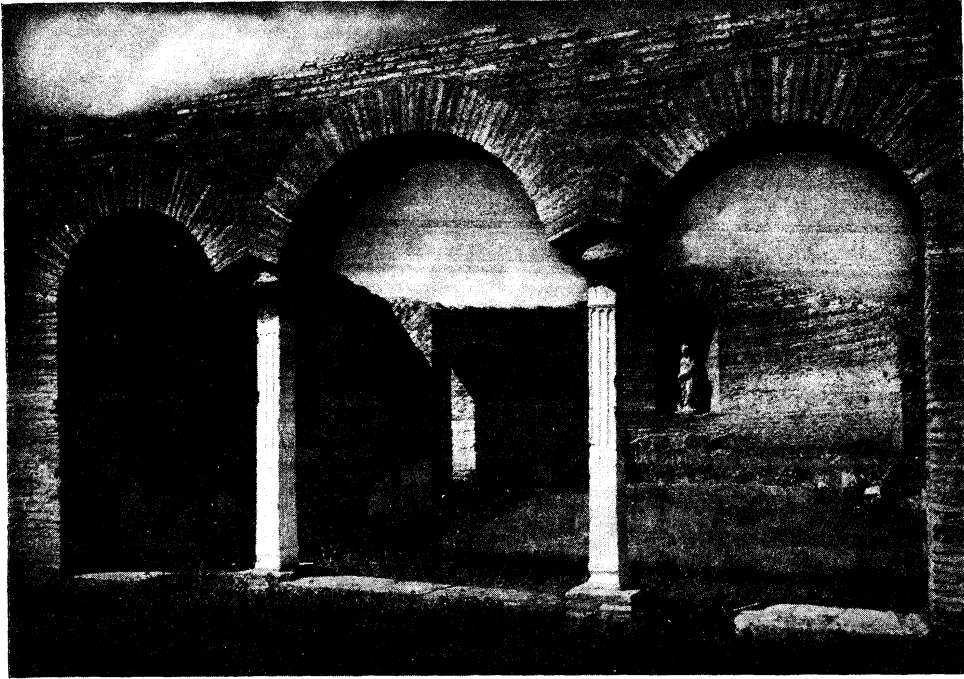


b. LATE IMPERIAL NYMPHAEUM

PLATE XIV

a. House of Fortuna Annonaria. The house was originally built under Antoninus Pius (p. 254). This main living-room, at the west end of the garden, was remodelled in the fourth century to introduce a more imposing entrance, an apsidal end, and a large nymphaeum (l.).

b. The House of Amor and Psyche, late Empire (p. 260). Looking from the central corridor across a small ? garden to the nymphaeum. The niches, curved and rectangular alternating, were probably lined with glass mosaic. The water pipe was carried round the base of the niches. Plan, p. 259, Fig. 19. A few earlier walls in brick are incorporated, but the main construction is in block and brick of fair quality.



a. HOUSE OF FORTUNA ANNONARIA



b. HOUSE OF AMOR AND PSYCHE

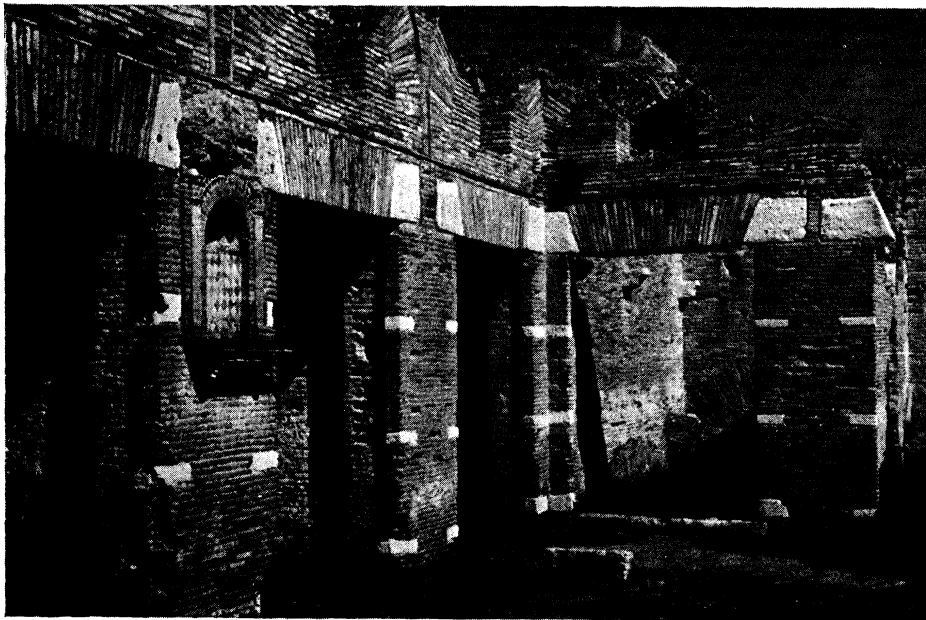
PLATE XV

a. *Hòrrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*, Antonine. Store-rooms built round an open courtyard, the plan repeated on the first floor (p. 277). At the entrance, in mosaic, a panther; opposite, a tiger. The decorative niches in terra-cotta carried statuettes.

b. The 'House of the Lararium'. Shops grouped round an open court, Hadrianic. Plan, p. 273, Fig. 21. Internal stairs in each shop lead to the shopkeepers' living quarters. More substantial stairs at the angles of the court.serve apartments on the floors above.



a. WAREHOUSE COURT



b. SHOPPING MARKET

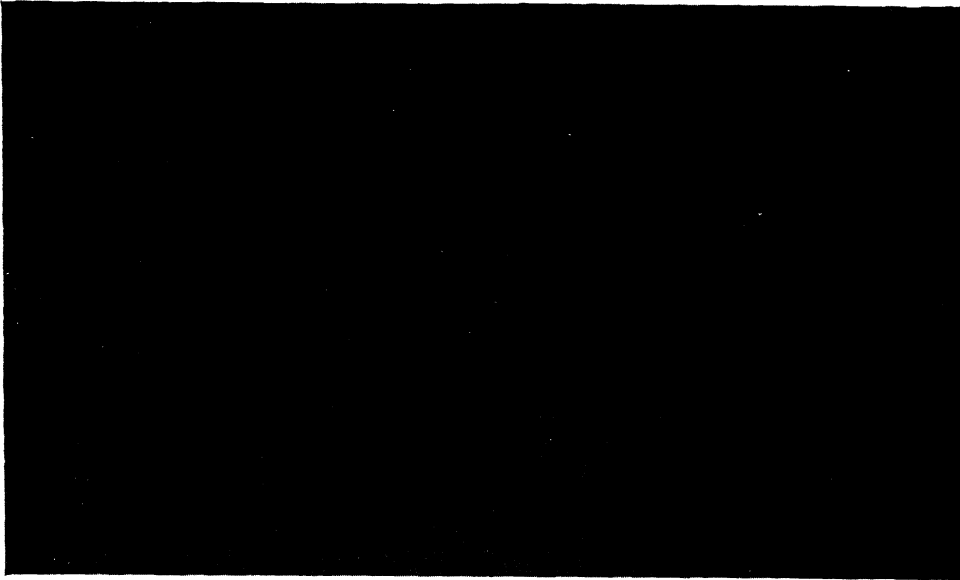
PLATE XVI

a. Hunter and stag, in brown and green, with a little blue; small scene on a white wall. Height of horse and rider, 17 cm. In the same room an effective painting of a panther, Maurizio Borda, *La Pittura Romana* (1958) 304 f. In the west wing of the Insula of the Charioteers. According to Borda (*loc. cit.*), Severan; more probably Antonine (p. 442).

b. A typical corridor painting (p. 441), from the House of Jupiter and Ganymede (Hadrianic). The original design was in white with yellow and green, still visible at the far end. The main section has been repainted with a red background, late Antonine. The stands are painted in a buff wash, with some parts picked out in white, grey-blue, ochre, and dark grey. The garlands consist of green and light ochre leaves on ochre stems.

c. A typical Severan foliage design, on a pier in the Insula of Serapis. Olive-green and deep purple leaves on a red background.

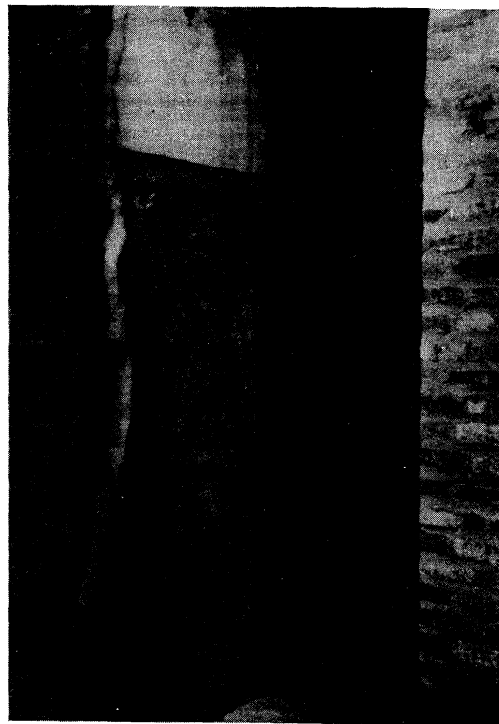
PLATE XVI



a



b



c

HOUSE PAINTINGS

PLATE XVII

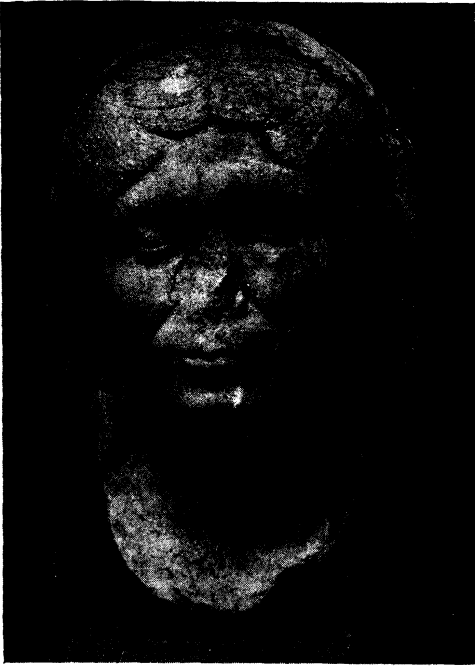
a. *Museo*, 63. O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der röm. Republik* (1941) 251; R. Calza, *I Ritratti*, no. 20.

b. *Museo*, 50; R. Calza, *op. cit.*, no. 78.

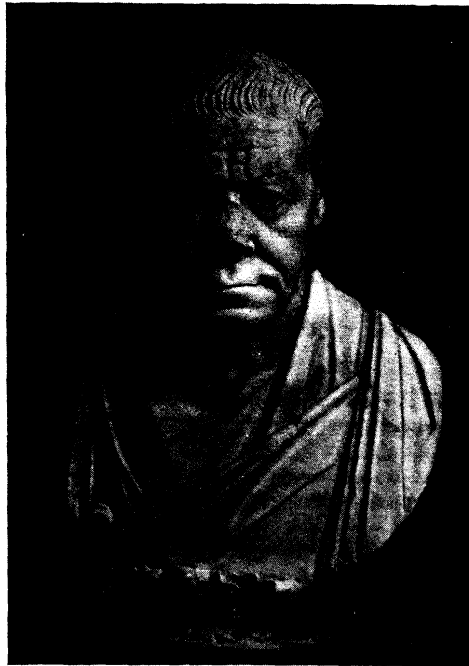
c. *Museo*, 38. C. Volcacius Myropnous (name inscribed on base). Greek marble, c. A.D. 160. G. Calza, *Necropoli*, 225 ff. O. Vessberg, *Romersk Porträtt Konst* (1950) 76.

d. *Museo*, 46. R. Calza, *Arch. Anz.* (1938) 660, fig. 21. Cf. *Museo*, 42, possibly the same man; L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (1933) 86 f., figs. 221, 223. Cf. B. M. Felletti Maj, *Museo Nazionale Romano, i ritratti* (1953) n. 325.

PLATE XVII



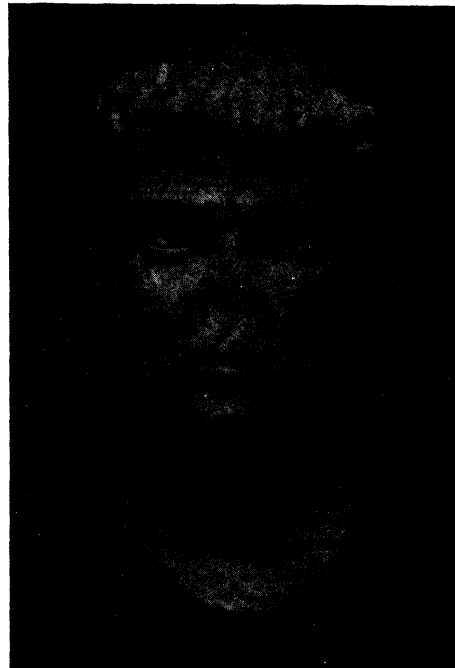
a. LATE REPUBLICAN



b. FLAVIO-TRAJANIC



c. ANTONINE



d. FIFTH CENTURY

OSTIAN PORTRAITS

PLATE XVIII

a. Sesterce, Nero. Probably issued in 64 (p. 55). Münzhandlung, Basel, Sale cat. 7, no. 182 (Nero). T. L. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica* (1859) 332–8; Cohen, *Méd. imp.*² Nero, 33–34, 250–4; BMC Emp. I, Nero, 130.

In arc above, AUGUSTI; in arc below; S PORT OST C (portus Ostiensis Augusti, senatus consulto). A bird's-eye view of the Claudian harbour. The right mole appears to be carried on arches, to allow the sand drifting into the harbour to be swept out (but this interpretation is disputed, p. 158). At the seaward end of this mole, the figure of a ?Triton. At the seaward end of the left mole, a temple; in front, a figure sacrificing at an altar. The rest of the mole is occupied by two long buildings, porticoes or perhaps warehouses. Between the moles, a colossal statue, probably of an emperor (?Claudius or Nero), standing on what seems to be a two-storied base. It may, however, represent a statue standing on the lighthouse, as in the Torlonia relief (Pl. XX). To l. of statue, a merchantman enters harbour in full sail; to r., an oared war galley, probably a trireme, leaves harbour, with auxiliary sail (*artemo*) just raised: it reflects the fleet's responsibility for policing the harbours and the sea routes.

Within the harbour, four merchantmen with sails furled. The small boat with two oarsmen may represent the tugboats used for auxiliary services in the harbour. In different dies there are minor variations in the number and disposition of the boats within the harbour. The reclining figure in the foreground, with dolphin in l. and rudder in r., may be a harbour god, cf. A. A. Boyce, 'The Harbour of Pompeiopolis', *AJA* 62 (1958) 718. Neptune would more probably carry a trident; the dolphin, symbolizing the sea, would be inappropriate to Tiber.

b. Sesterce, Trajan. Probably issued in or after 113 (p. 489). Hirsch Sale cat. xviii, no. 770 (Trajan). T. L. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica* (1859) 339; Cohen, *Méd. imp.*² Trajan, 305; Strack, *Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* (1931) i. 212.

POR[TUM TRAI]ANI S C. Within the harbour, three merchantmen. The buildings round the harbour are not clearly recognizable. Those that repeat a common form are probably warehouses. The buildings on the l. side are more individual and may represent the 'Imperial Palace' (pp. 163 f.). On each side of the entrance and at least two other angles of the harbour, columns surmounted by statues (p. 165).

c. Sesterce, Antoninus Pius, 145–161. BMC Emp. IV, pl. 40. 1; Cohen, *Méd. imp.*², Ant. Pius, 54.

ANNONA AUG FELIX S C. Annona, draped, holding rudder in l., and ?papyrus roll in right (which might reflect the administrative side of the corn supply). To l., modius (with corn ears and poppy, the normal attributes of Ceres) resting on horizontal top of ?ship floating on water; beyond and to l., stern of ship terminating in a typical plumed ornament, *aplustre* (Torr, *Ancient Ships*, 68). For a clearer definition of the lines in this part of the design see the line-drawing in Cohen and the photo in BMC catalogue (ref. above).

In the background the Claudian lighthouse, with beacon. Four stories, rather than three (BMC), are intended, the fourth being concealed by the rudder. This issue may be associated with a restoration of the lighthouse by Antoninus Pius. The public works listed by his biographer (SHA *Pius*, 8. 2–3) are divided into three sections: (a) buildings in Rome, (b) harbour works, (c) buildings at Ostia, Antium, Lanuvium. The harbour works comprise 'Phari restitutio, Caietae portus, Tarracinensis portus restitutio'. Since all the other buildings are in Italy Pharus may refer to the Ostian rather than the more famous Alexandrian lighthouse. Further evidence of Antoninus Pius' concern for the corn supply may be seen in Alexandrian coins of his reign showing Nile and Tiber clasping hands (G. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* (1901) 2782, pl. xx).

d. Bronze medallion, Commodus, 191. Gnechi, *Medaglioni Romani*, pl. 89. 7; Cohen, *Méd. imp.*², Commodus, 993–8; BMC Emp. IV, pl. 40. 1.

VOTIS FELICIBUS. To r., Claudian lighthouse. To l. of lighthouse, the emperor, in pontifical robes, sacrificing on a tripod altar; with him another figure, unidentified. In the field, a large merchantman in full sail; Jupiter Serapis seated in the stern (cf. *Aelius Aristides*, i, p. 92 (Dindorff): καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ μέγας οὗτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὀλκάδες καὶ τριῆρεις ὑπὸ τοῦτω κυβερνῶνται; IG xiv. 917, a prayer for the safe return of Septimius Severus

PLATE XVIII



a. NERO



b. TRAJAN



c. ANTONINUS PIUS



d. COMMODUS

COINS AND MEDALLION ILLUSTRATING THE IMPERIAL HARBOURS

and for the safe journey of the Alexandrian corn fleet, set up by the temple warden of the temple of Serapis at Portus). Above, a similar merchantman, also in full sail. The two small boats beside the merchantmen may be ship's boats. Below, r., a war galley, probably a trireme, reflecting, as in Nero's coins, the fleet's protection of the corn ships. In the foreground, on land, a dead bull; above (l.) a ?patera, associated with the sacrifice. Perhaps representing a sacrifice to Serapis; but possibly reflecting a *taurobolium* to Cybele: 'is qui in portu pro salute imperatoris sacrum facit ex vaticinatione archigalli a tutelis excusatur' (p. 387).

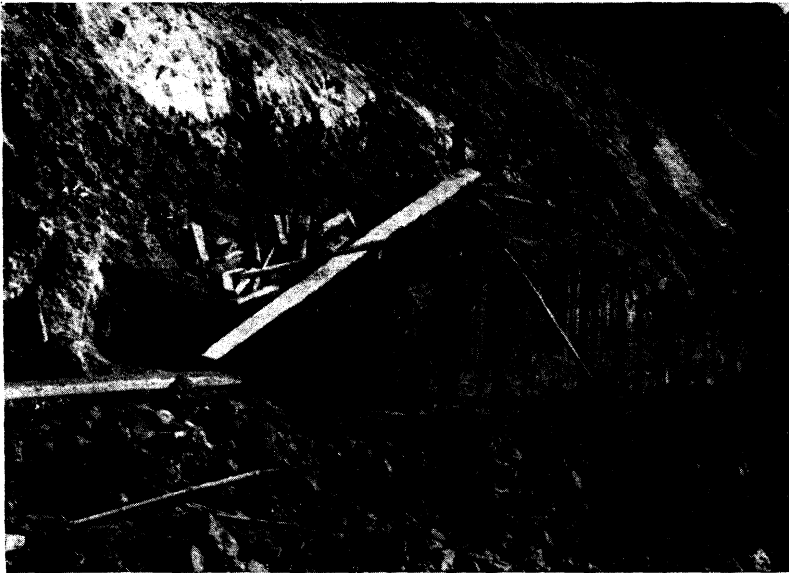
After a severe corn crisis in 189, Commodus instituted an African corn fleet on the model of the Egyptian (SHA, *Commodus*, 17. 7). In this medallion, of which many copies survive, with minor variations in the design, the ship with Serapis may represent the Egyptian, the ship above, the African fleet. Another medallion, of 190, shows a reclining Africa, holding ears of corn (BMC, Med. Commodus, 29); cf. Cohen, *Méd. imp.*² 992: VOTA FELICIA, Commodus sacrificing before Neptune (190); cf. IG xiv. 918, an inscription in honour of Commodus, set up by the shipmasters of the Alexandrian corn fleet.

PLATE XIX

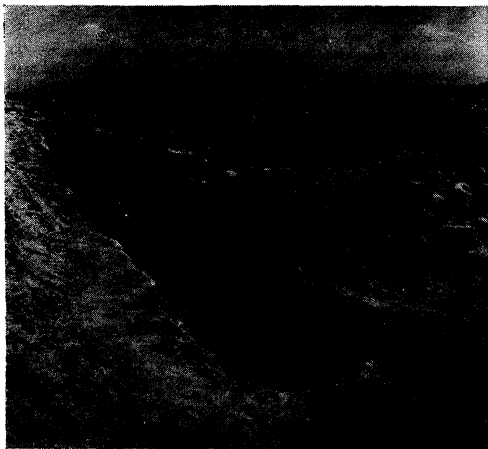
Operations associated with the construction of a new airport have exposed (1957) part of the left mole near Monte dell' Arena.

- a. Timber planking, found in good condition, from the inner face.
- b. Seaward face in *opus quadratum*.
- c. A channel has been cut through the mole exposing the concrete core. At this point the width increases from c. 50 ft. to c. 75 ft. This is where the giant merchantman was sunk to provide the foundation for the lighthouse.

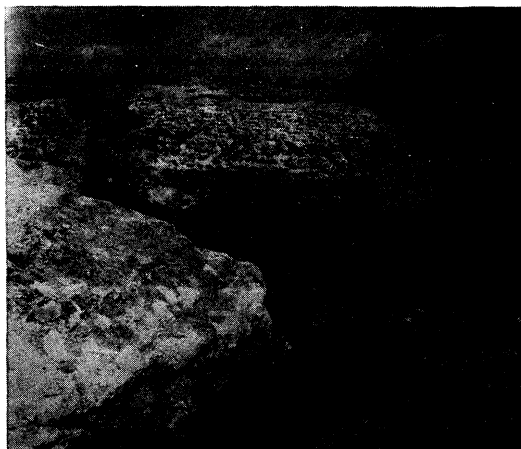
PLATE XIX



a. TIMBERED INNER FACE



b. SEAWARD FACE



c. CROSS-SECTION

LEFT MOLE OF THE CLAUDIAN HARBOUR

PLATE XX

The Torlonia harbour relief. P. E. Visconti, *Catalogo del Museo Torlonia* (1880) n. 338; G. Henzen, *Bull. Inst.* 36 (1864) 12–20; G. Cavedoni, *ibid.* 219–23; Guglielmotti, *Delle due navi romane scolpite sul bassorilievo portuense del Principe Torlonia* (1874); K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*, *Klio*, Beiheft 14 (1923) 235 f.; M. Fasciato, *Mélanges*, 59 (1947) 65–81; L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners*, 218 f.

Relief in Greek marble, m. 1.22 × 0.75, found in 1863 or 1864 near the Torlonia villa on the north-east side of Trajan's harbour. Probably a dedication from the temple of the wine god, which was found near by (p. 165). The letters on the sail are usually supplemented 'V(OTUM) L(IBERO)', unparalleled and difficult; 'V(OTUM) L(IBENS) (S(OLVIT))' is perhaps easier. The hair style of the woman in the stern of the ship in sail implies a Severan date.

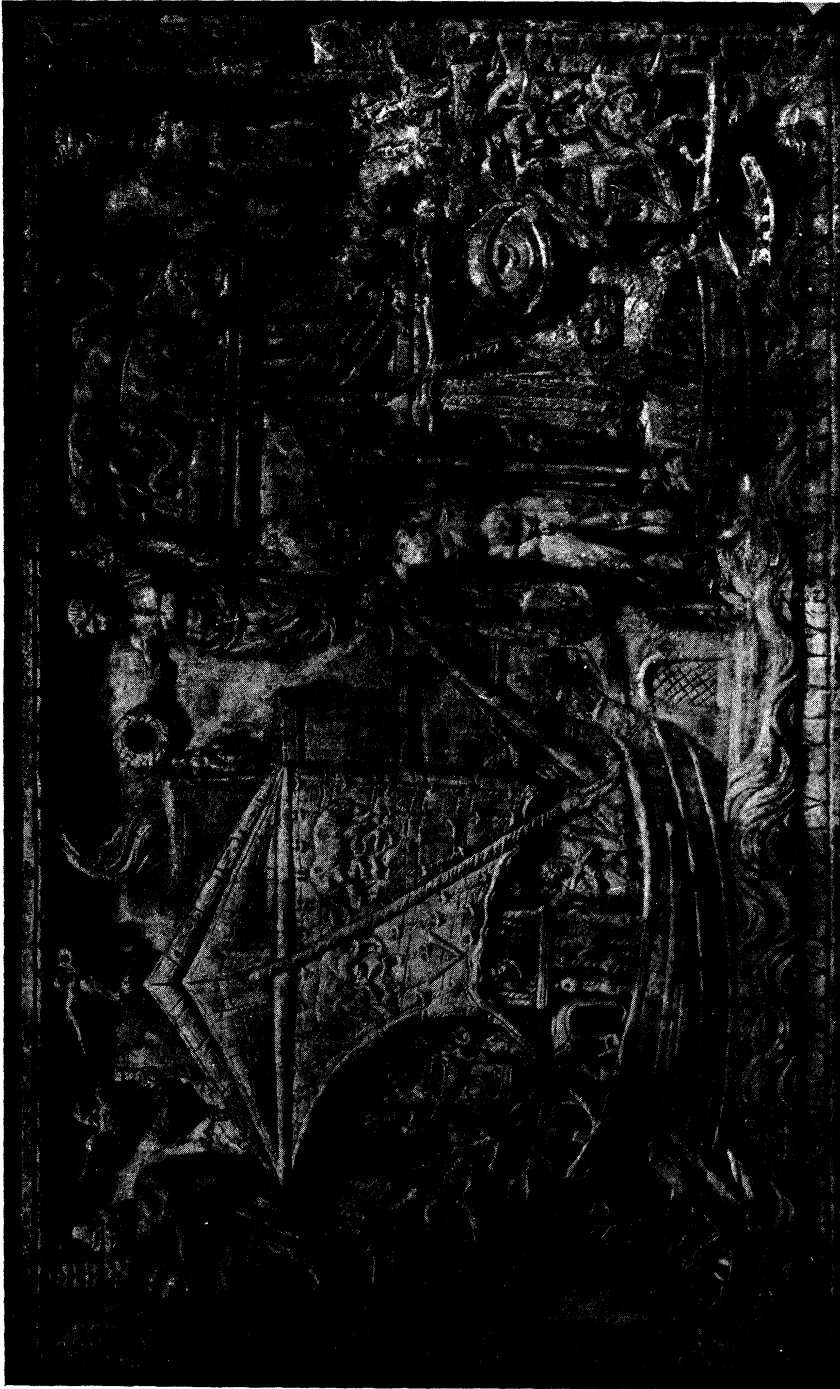
The ship r., with furled sails, is tied by rope to a mooring block (similar to examples found in Trajan's harbour, phot. NS 1925, 56). A man carries an amphora of wine from the ship over the landing plank. The dedicator was probably a wine merchant. The large eye is to avert ill fortune. The second ship has just entered harbour. The topsail is furled, the *artemon* is down, only the mainsail is still up. In the stern the ship's master and ? his family are sacrificing to celebrate their safe arrival. The ship's boat is about to be tied up alongside. In the bows a man is manipulating from the *artemon* mast what is probably a buffer to protect the bows when the ship comes to the quayside; the same contraption can be seen on the other ship and in Pl. XXIV b (see J. Le Gall, 'Graffites navals du Palatin et de Pompéi', *Mem. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 83 (1954) 48 f.). The two representations of the wolf suckling twins suggest embroidery rather than painting. Between the two ships, Neptune with trident, symbolizing the sea.

In the background a four-storied lighthouse with beacon. Since this is a realistic reproduction of the Claudian lighthouse it is reasonable to believe that the other monuments in the relief could also be seen at Portus. The colossal statue on the penultimate stage of the lighthouse may be an emperor (? Claudius or Nero). The two figures on either side of the lighthouse, each with wreath and cornucopia, seem to be associated. Since they stand on bases, unlike Neptune, they may reproduce statues. The female figure (l.) has a lighthouse on her head, a variant of the turreted crown associated with personifications of towns or their Tyche. This figure probably personifies the Ostian harbour settlement (not Alexandria, as has been suggested, since the lighthouse is radically different from the Alexandrian pharos). The male figure r. may be the *genius* of the harbour. There are two very similar male figures, framing an inscription in the Vatican. Each is crowned with a lighthouse and they probably represent the *genii* of the harbours of Alexandria and Portus (Thiersch, *Pharos*, 18 f.).

It has been suggested above (p. 158) that the arch surmounted by an elephant quadriga may have stood on the right mole, and that the rider may be Domitian. In his l. he carries a sceptre terminating in a human head, as in coins of Domitian's second consulship in 73 (BMC II, pl. 12. 2). To r. the god of wine, with thyrsus in l., and panther at his right side. This figure, not standing on a formal base, may represent the temple in which the relief was dedicated.

Mlle Micheline Fasciato has given more precision to the scene by associating with it certain Ostian inscriptions. These record a Forum Vinarium (430), a 'quadriga fori vinarii', and a 'templum fori vinarii' (Bloch, *Epigraphica*, 1 (1939) 37). She suggests that the quadriga is the elephant chariot and that the temple of the inscription is the temple discovered on the north-east side of Trajan's harbour. The scene, therefore, she thinks, depicts Trajan's harbour, and the lighthouse is at the entrance to this harbour. This last identification cannot be accepted. The sculptor has given a faithful reproduction of the famous lighthouse at the entrance to the Claudian harbour; the lighthouse at the entrance to Trajan's harbour must have been a much more modest building. The Forum Vinarium is better placed in Ostia (p. 288). I should hesitate to draw topographical inferences from this rough work, or to estimate the capacity of the merchantmen.

Another realistic harbour scene, on a sarcophagus now in Copenhagen, has been attributed convincingly to Portus. It shows an attempted rescue of a drowning man and incidentally provides valuable evidence of Roman sailing techniques (L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners*, 220–2).

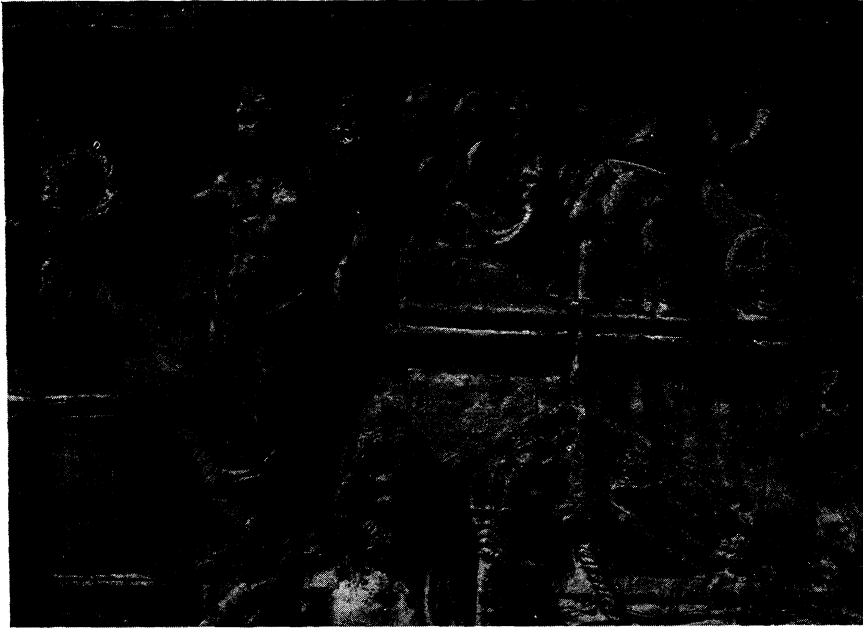


HARBOUR SCENE IN SEVERAN RELIEF

PLATE XXI

a. Detail from Pl. XX.

b. Roman tower, in the wall surrounding the bishop's palace at Porto (Pl. V F). The main construction is medieval, but at the south-east corner this tower is incorporated. The rows of block and brick are regular and well laid, suggesting a comparatively early date, not later than the early fourth century. The relation of this tower (to which I have seen no earlier reference) to the defences of Portus needs investigation.



a. HARBOUR SCENE, DETAIL



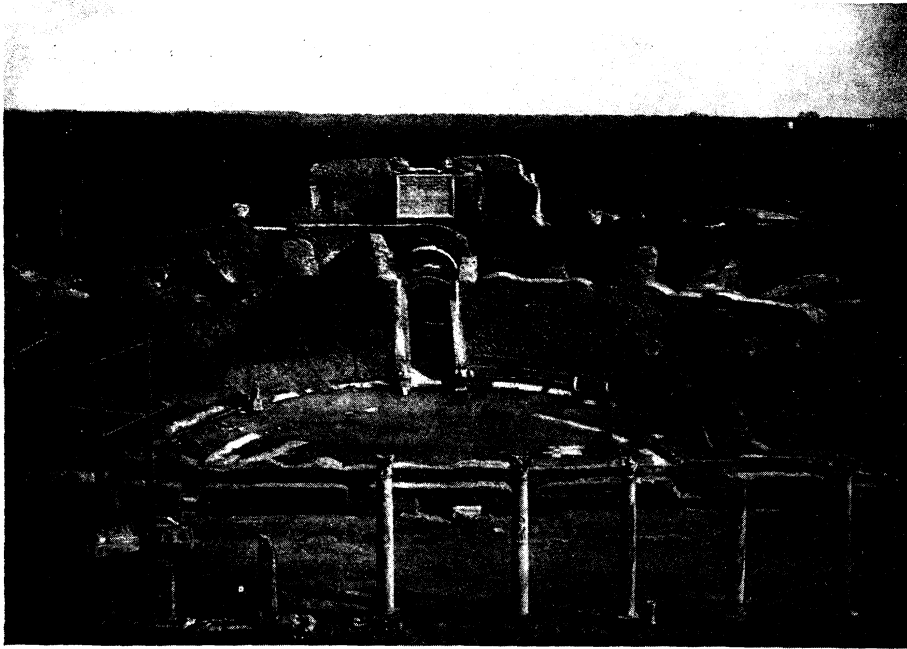
b. ROMAN TOWER WITH MEDIEVAL WALL

PLATE XXII

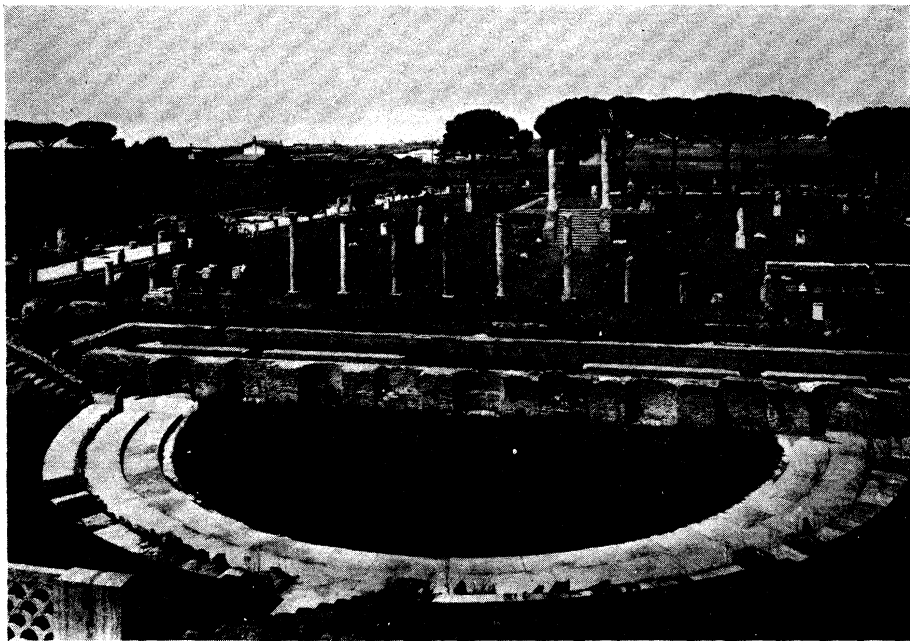
a. Theatre, before reconstruction. The inscription above the entrance records the rebuilding at the end of the second century. The columns of the portico behind the stage replaced tufa piers of the original Augustan construction.

b. Looking north. The Piazzale delle Corporazioni, from the reconstructed theatre. In the centre, a small temple (p. 329). In the surrounding garden, statues of distinguished Ostians, and imperial procurators. The mosaics of Pl. XXIII come from the pavement of the surrounding colonnade. The Tiber flowed less than 50 yards to the north.

PLATE XXII



a. THEATRE BEFORE RECONSTRUCTION



b. PIAZZALE DELLE CORPORAZIONI FROM THE RECONSTRUCTED THEATRE

PLATE XXIII

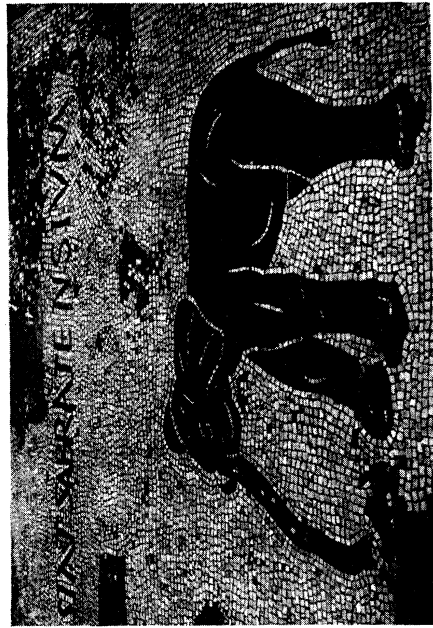
These mosaics, paving the colonnade, illustrate the business of the occupants of the small rooms associated with them (as in *d*). The size of the mosaics varies slightly, but m. 3.40×3.10 (*c*) is typical.

a. Stat(io) Sabratensium. *NS* 1912, 435, n. 14, east side. An elephant, reflecting the trade in ivory that came from the interior to the coast at Sabrata in Africa. The importance to Sabrata of this trade with Rome explains their setting up of a statue of Hadrian's wife Sabina in the Forum of Caesar, *AE* 1934, 146.

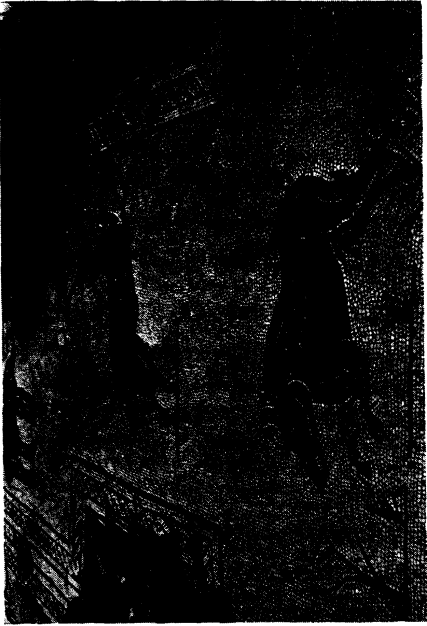
b. Boar, stag, and elephant (no inscription). *NS* 1914, 288, n. 28, north side. Possibly representing animals imported for the arena.

c. 'Navi(cularii) et negotiantes | Karalitani', shipowners and traders from Cagliari in Sardinia. *NS* 1914, 99, n. 21, east side. A merchantman with mainsail and *artemo*. On each side, a corn measure, showing that corn was the normal cargo.

d. 'Navi(cularii) Narbonenses', shipowners of Narbo in Gaul. *NS* 1916, 326–8, n. 32, north side. Once thought to be a ship being loaded by a crane at Narbo. The 'crane' is a sail; the 'tower' is the top of the Claudian lighthouse, the base of which can be seen below the break in the mosaic. For the shape of the ship, cf. Pl. XXIV *b*.



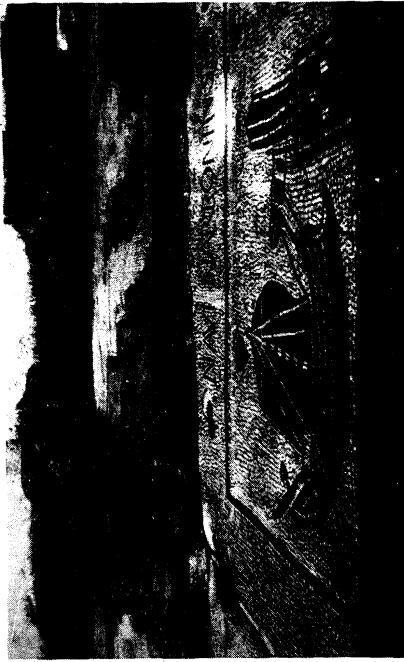
a



b



c



d

TRADERS' MOSAICS FROM THE PIAZZALE DELLE CORPORAZIONI

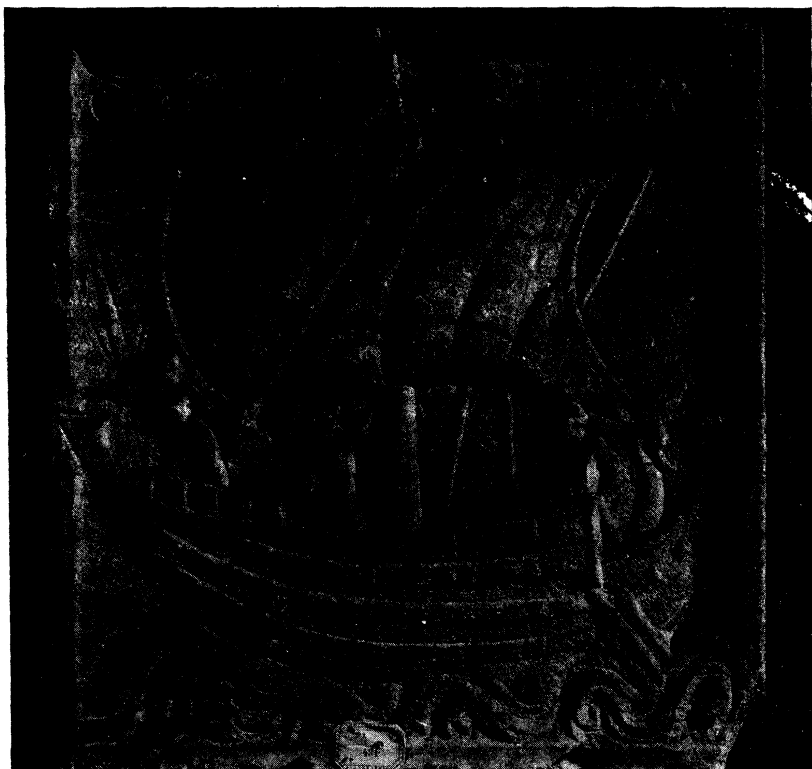
PLATE XXIV

a. Relief of a merchantman in sail. Italian marble, m. 0.64 × 0.62. Found at Porto (P. E. Visconti, *Catalogo del Museo Torlonia*, n. 341).

Above the ship, 'q(uin) q(uennalis) c(orporis) f(abrum) nav(alium)'. The inscription is cryptically brief. Perhaps a dedication by a president, or by all the presidents of the guild of Portus shipbuilders to a temple (? specially associated with the guild, cf. p. 329).

b. '(m) f | [navic]ulari Syllecti[ni]', shipowners from Syllectum in Africa (*CIL* viii, p. 13). *NS* 1914, 285, n. 23, east side. Above, the Claudian lighthouse (three instead of four stories). Two ships with mainsail and *artemo*; the topsail has been furled. One of the ships has a third mast and sail, which is rare. The two ships illustrate the main designs for merchantmen. The projecting forefoot of the ram-shaped profile is probably designed to protect the stem and keel when the ship anchors at the quay. The ship with a curving prow has a projecting beam which gives similar protection (see Pl. XX with description).

The letters in the first line were originally published as N F. The original photograph seems to confirm the reading, and these letters are reprinted in an adjacent mosaic. They were plausibly supplemented by Héron de Villefosse: 'N(AVICULARIIS) F(ELICITER)'. Below, two dolphins, devouring an octopus. Trade with Syllectum is also reflected in the tombstone of a *civis Sullethensis*, who died in Ostia, *CIL* xiv. 477.



a



b

MERCHANTMEN

PLATE XXV

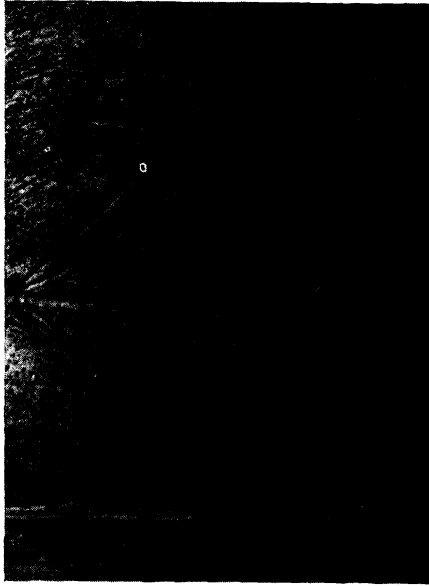
a. Mosaic in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni (north side). NS 1914, 285; Le Gall, *Le Tibre*, 230. ? Transferring wine from a merchantman to a river boat. The dolphin on the side of the ship r. suggests the open sea. The stepped mast of the other boat is irreconcilable with sails and is probably a towing mast, over which passes the tow rope.

b. Relief in the National Museum at Rome. Le Gall, op. cit. 228. River boat, *navis caudicaria*, on the side of a cippus, which has two inscriptions (*CIL* vi. 36954). The first preserves the date of the original dedication (A.D. 284); the main inscription of this date has been erased, and replaced by a dedication to the Emperor Constans by a *praefectus annonae*, Symmachus, father of the orator. The relief probably belongs to the earlier dedication. Apart from the rudder oar the boat has no oars and no sail. The mast, stepped as in a, is a towing mast. The cargo includes amphorae.

c. Mosaic from the Piazzale delle Corporazioni (east side). Corn measurer (*ensor frumentarius*) kneeling, with *modius* and measuring rod, with which he levels off the corn.

d. Warehouse for oil or wine (Hadrianic). NS 1903, 201; 1907, 357. Large amphorae sunk in the ground (*dolia defossa*); capacities are marked, averaging 40 amphorae. Traces survive of repairs in lead.

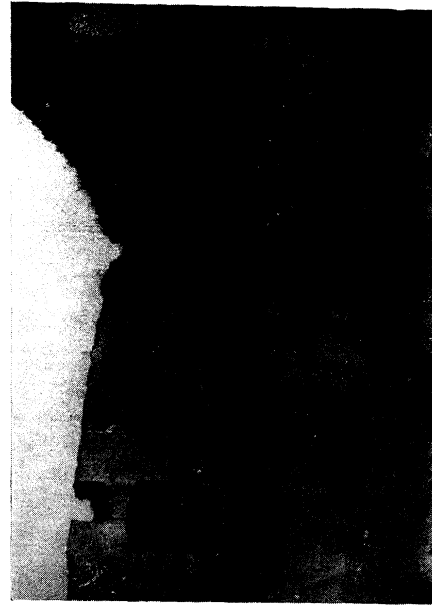
PLATE XXV



a-b. RIVER BOATS



c. CORN MEASURER



d. STORAGE FOR OIL OR WINE

PLATE XXVI

a. Relief in Greek marble (m. 0.43×0.33), found at Porto, now in the Torlonia Museum. Visconti, *Catalogo*, n. 338. Wine is being unloaded from a merchantman. The three seated figures may be a *tabularius* with two *adiutores*, recording the cargo on wax tablets in the form of a book. The leading porter receives a ? tally as he passes. Perhaps a customs scene.

b. Funerary relief in Italian marble (m. $1.40 \times 0.62 \times 0.33$) closing a burial recess in tomb 90 on Isola Sacra. Calza, *Necropoli*, 203. The tomb probably dates from Hadrian, Thylander, *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine*, 19. Two associated scenes. Left, a ship, with furled sails, is approaching the Claudian lighthouse. It is perhaps being towed into harbour by its ship's boat (*scapha*). Right, refreshment at a harbour inn after safe arrival. The dolphin (? on the inn door) is a very appropriate decorative feature; the dog adds a genial touch of realism. Calza (loc. cit.) suggests that the scenes may be symbolic, representing the end of life's journey, and the funeral banquet (? or, rather, the happy feasting of the after-life); but see above, p. 470.

PLATE XXVI



a. UNLOADING AND CHECKING WINE



b. ARRIVAL AT PORT

PLATE XXVII

a. One of two terra-cotta reliefs (m. 0.47 × 0.48) from the face of tomb 29 on Isola Sacra. Calza, *Necropoli*, 251, 303. The tomb was built under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, Thylander, *Etude*, 24. The standing figure is perhaps sharpening or cleaning tools on a portable table; the dog's head is ? decorative. The seated figure below is probably the same man, ? making tools. He probably makes, sells, and reconditions the iron tools that fill out the relief. Among them may be: top row (from l. to r.), (1) shears, (3) punch or mason's chisel, (4) surgical instruments in case; second row, (1) awl, (2) ? adze, (3) and (4) knives; third row, (1) hammer, (2) leather cutter (Blümner, *Technologie*, i. 280, fig. 26c); fourth row, (1) forceps, (2) anvil (above), (3) two saws. For iron tools, Liger, *La ferronnerie ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1873); John Ward, *The Roman Era in Britain* (London, 1911) 194-207.

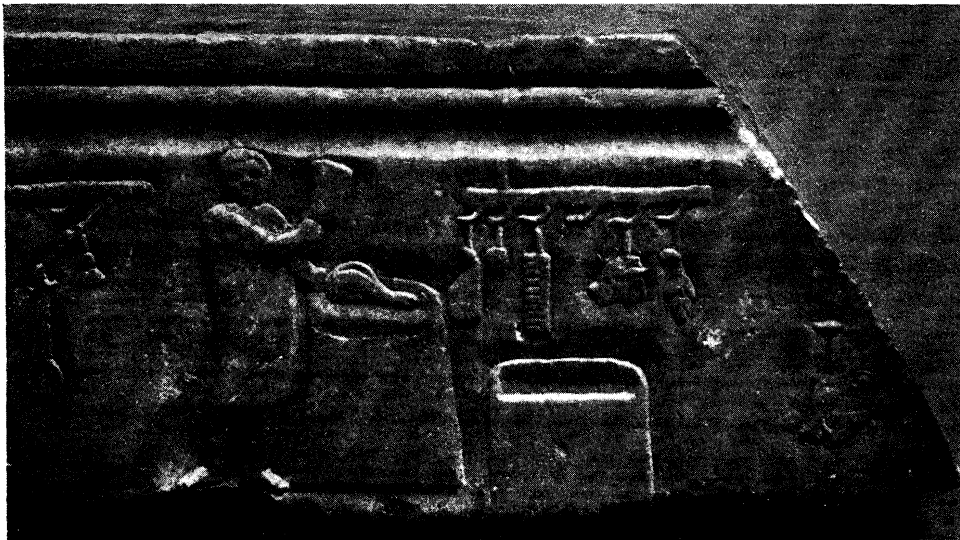
The balancing relief represents a man sharpening a tool, with a further variety of tools in the background.

b. Funerary relief of a butcher (m. 1.22 × 0.20). *Museo*, 133. *Capitolium*, 11 (1935) 421. Hanging, various cuts, with a calf's head. To r., largely lost, a boar's head. To l. scales.

PLATE XXVII



a. TOOL MERCHANT



b. BUTCHER

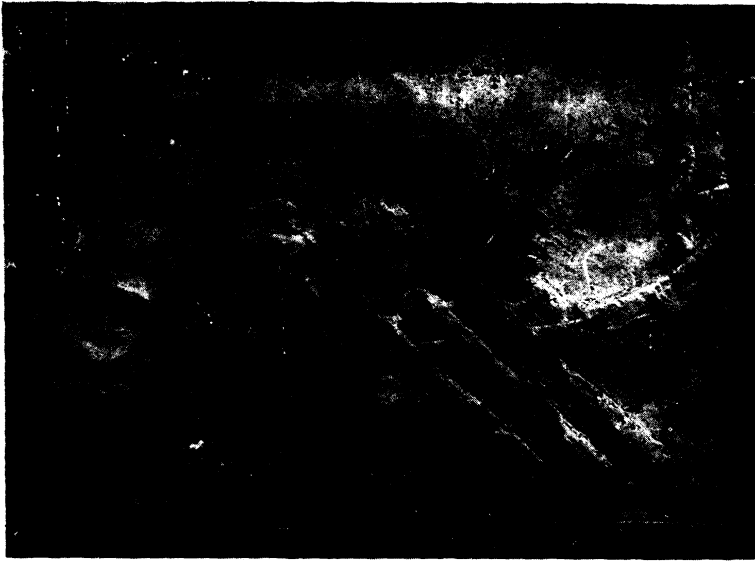
PLATE XXVIII

Two reliefs in terra-cotta from the face of tomb 78 on Isola Sacra. Calza, *Necropoli*, 254. The tomb described, Calza, 336; dated to Trajan, Thylander, *Étude*, 17. The two trades represented were presumably carried on by members of the same family or their freedmen. (Ti. Claudius Eutychus made provision for children and freedmen, as well as for his wife and himself, in his tomb, Thylander, A 61). The reliefs are of different size: *a.* m. 0.58 × 0.39, *b.* m. 0.405 × 0.41.

a. Three oarsmen and a standing cox, with very large steering oar. The attached rope suggests that this is a harbour tugboat, used for towing merchantmen into position (p. 298). The mast at the prow might be for an auxiliary sail. A boat of similar form is incised on a travertine stele in the face of an Augustan tomb outside the Porta Laurentina; underneath is inscribed *Embaenita* (? *rius*), the precise meaning of which is uncertain; *Scavi di Ostia*, iii (1) 66.

b. A grain-mill. The upper stone (*catillus*) is being turned round the stationary lower stone (*meta*), which rests on a concrete base. A slave with whip keeps the horse moving. The horse (less common than asses in mills) is blindfolded, cf. Apuleius, *Met.* ix. 11. The details are not precisely paralleled elsewhere. Mr. Moritz suggests to me that the triangular fitting over the centre of the *catillus* may be a hopper for feeding grain into the mill, and that the fitting on the right of the top of the *catillus* may be a bell which showed by its ringing that the mill was moving. Such bells were commonly used later with stone-mills. The vertical beam on the left of the *catillus* might then be intended to strike the (stationary) bell every time the stone revolved. To the r., ? a sieve (Calza). For the processes of milling, L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (1958), and especially pl. 5, p. 65 and pl. 7, p. 77.

PLATE XXVIII



a. TUGBOAT



b. CORN MILL

PLATE XXIX

a. Reconstructed 'Thermopolium' on the Via di Diana, p. 428.

b. Paintings from a wine shop (p. 429). Two seated figures, Solon and Thales, from a series of the seven sages. The height of the figure of Solon is m. 0.70, of Thales, 0.70. Below, Σολων Ἀθηναῖος, Θαλῆς Μειλήσιος. Above Solon, 'ut bene cacaret ventrem palpavit Solon'. Above Thales, 'durum cacantes monuit ut nitant Thales'. Later this wine shop was incorporated in the baths between the Insula of Serapis and the Insula of the Charioteers, but these paintings were preserved. Dated by M. Borda, *La Pittura Romana*, 289, in the late-Antonine period, presumably on grounds of style. I have assumed from the plaster that these paintings are contemporary with the original building, Trajanic or a little later.