

Chapter 3

Other habitations

§ 1 Introduction

Ostia is known as a city where the habitations of those who did not belong to the upper class can be studied, giving us some idea of what most of the habitations in Rome itself must have looked like. Expectations should not be set too high however, because most of the apartments were on the upper floors, which unfortunately have mostly collapsed.

This chapter deals with all dwellings which are not *domus*. These are the simpler habitations: small single houses, and habitations forming part of larger complexes containing further habitations and commercial premises. To the latter category belong the apartments (groups of residential units), and dwellings attached to shops and workshops. We may assume that many of these habitations were let out, a phenomenon well documented in antique literature and legal sources. Some may have been put at the disposal of dependents of the owners, others may have been used by the owner, either permanently, by men of moderate wealth, or as pied-à-terre, by the wealthiest.¹ In Ostia only one category of simpler habitations can be identified with certainty, the so-called *medianum*-apartments. These must be habitations, because they have a characteristic lay-out, contain small private rooms, and are fairly ornate.² Furthermore it may be assumed that at least many of these were rented apartments, because often clusters were built contemporaneously, and because the lay-out is virtually identical (apparently the inhabitants had had no say in it).

The *medianum*-apartments have been given the names *Insula* or *Caseggiato* by the excavators, mainly *Insula*, because the ground floor of the buildings was taken up by only one habitation.³ This use of the word

¹ Cf. Digesta 9.3.5.1.pr.-1: *Si vero plures diviso inter se cenaculo habitent, actio in eum solum datur, qui inhabitabat eam partem, unde effusum est. Si quis gratuitas habitationes dederit libertis et clientibus vel suis vel uxoris, ipsum eorum nomine teneri Trebatius ait: quod verum est. Idem erit dicendum et si quis amicis suis modica hospitalia distribuerit. Nam et si quis cenaculariam excercens ipse maximam partem cenaculi habeat, solus tenebitur. Sed si quis cenaculariam excercens modicum sibi hospitium retinuerit, residuum locaverit pluribus, omnes tenebuntur quasi in hoc cenaculo habitantes, unde deiectum effusumve est.*

² On the identification cf. chapter 2, § 1.

³ "Insule: case a uno o più piani, ciascun piano di un solo appartamento, spesso con taberne sulla strada. Caseggiati: edifici a uno o più piani comprendenti uno o più appartamenti e altri ambienti di

Insula is apparently based on an interpretation of the antique word *insula*, but it is questionable whether it is the right interpretation.⁴ I have given the habitations the more neutral name Casa, and use the word Insula in the way it is applied by archaeologists in Pompeii, meaning that is, a block of buildings surrounded by streets.

In antiquity the word *meritoria* was used for "spaces for rent" in the broadest sense. The dwellings of the poor were called *meritoria*, *deversoria*, *stabula*, *tabernae*, *hospitia*, *synoecia*, and *cauponae*, expressions on which Frier comments: "Back and forth the terminology weaves, from the hotels of travellers to the lodgings of the poor". These habitations probably had communal rooms such as a kitchen and a dining-room. *Cenacula* and *aediculae* were "apartments".⁵

The simpler habitations in Ostia were described for the first time at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Since 1910 there has been a steady flow of literature on the subject. The vast majority of the habitations was unearthed during the excavations shortly before and during the first years of the Second World War. The number of studies appearing afterwards was surprisingly small however, and only in 1970 was the first penetrating study published, Hermansen's article 'The Medianum and the Roman Apartment', supplemented by part of his book 'Ostia. Aspects of Roman City Life' (1982) and Frier's studies 'The Rental Market in Early Imperial Rome' (1977) and 'Landlords and Tenants in Imperial Rome' (1980).⁶ The apartments on which the latter two scholars

varia destinazione" (SO I, 231).

⁴ On the meaning of the word most recently: Hermansen 1973, 334. The word has been held to mean: a *taberna* used as residence; a room in a house; an apartment; a floor in a multi-storied house; an apartment block; a multiple dwelling; a door-opening; some kind of cadastral unit. Hermansen argues that it was an apartment house. See also Van Essen 1954(1), 34-35.

⁵ Hermansen 1973, 335-336; Frier 1977, 27-34; Frier 1980, 27-28.

⁶ The main literature is: Carcopino 1910 (Insula I,IV); Paschetto 1912, 423-428 (Insula I,IV), 428-433 (Insula II,VI); Vaglieri 1913(1), 120-128 (Insula II,VI); Calza 1914(1) (first extensive study on the Ostian remains; also on antique terminology, esp. *cavaedia*, *insulae*, *cenacula*, *pergulae*, *maeniana*); Calza 1914(2) (Caseggiato di Diana); Calza 1915(3) (*pergulae* and *maeniana*; Caseggiato di Diana); Calza 1920 (Insula I,IV); Müfid 1932, esp. 38-43, 109-115; Carrington 1933; Boëthius 1934; Harsh 1935; Boëthius 1937; Carcopino 1939, chapter II; Calza 1941 (on the 1938-1942 excavations); Van Aken 1950 (courtyards); Boëthius 1951 (on the narrow-fronted or strip houses); Boëthius 1956; Yavetz 1958; Felletti Maj 1960, 60-63 (rooms on either side of corridor); Felletti-Maj 1961 (paintings in Casa delle Pareti Gialle); Hermansen 1970 (first study on the *medianum*-apartment, for which see § 3); Veloccia Rinaldi 1971 (Casa delle Ierodule, esp. paintings); Packer 1971; Packer 1972 (Rome, Casa di Via Giulio Romano, also called Casa ai piedi del Campidoglio); Meiggs 1973, 235-251; Hermansen 1973 (on the meaning of the words *insula* and *cenaculum*); Packer 1975 (on simple dwellings in Pompeii and Herculaneum); Frier 1980 (on the *medianum*-apartment); Salza Prina Ricotti 1982, 278-283 (on kitchens); Hermansen 1982(1), 17-53 (on the *medianum*-apartment); Pavolini 1986(1), 171-189.

focus and which are found in the conspectus in § 2 have not been studied in depth.

§ 2 Conspectus of the other Ostian habitations

In this section all other habitations which can be identified with certainty are listed. Five items are dealt with in the conspectus. The name and location (Regio, Insula) are followed by the dated building periods. The ground floor area and the presence of (part of) a first floor belonging to the habitation are reported next.⁷ As in the preceding chapter these two items are included, because they provide a clue to the social status of the inhabitants. Finally the related catalogue-numbers are mentioned.

There are many clusters of rooms in Ostia which are not found in the conspectus, but may well have been habitations and are in modern literature sometimes regarded as such. They have relatively small rooms, and sometimes handsome paintings.⁸ Some show similarities with the *medianum*-apartments. Because these clusters have not yet been studied in depth it cannot be said whether they present a distinctive, recurring lay-out, and what was the nature of their furnishings. There is therefore no reason to think that they could not have been used for light commercial activity: as workshops, offices, hotels, or brothels.⁹

It may furthermore be assumed that shopkeepers who had rented a shop

⁷ Excluding shops and external staircases. The measurements have been taken from the plan in SO I. On the relation between ground floor and first floor see chapter 2, § 2.

⁸ As to the use of the painted decoration as a criterium, the large public latrine in the Terme di Nettuno (II,IV,2) suggests caution, because it was "painted with no less care than the living-rooms of the period" (c. 200 AD) (Meiggs 1973, 411).

⁹ Ground floor unless indicated otherwise.

Clusters of rooms along a corridor: Caseggiato di Diana (I,III,3-4) (first floor, east part); Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana (I,VIII,3) (first floor, south part) (Packer suggests that this part of the building was a hotel (Packer 1971, 152)); Caseggiato IV,IV,6 (back part).

Clusters of rooms along a corridor consisting of a row of doors: Caseggiato I,XIV,9 (back part); Caseggiato III,I,13; Hospitium delle Volte Dipinte (III,V) (ground floor, northwest part).

Further clusters: Caseggiato del Mitreo di Menandro (I,III,5) (back part and central part); Caseggiato I,XIV,4; Caseggiato III,I,12 (two clusters); Caseggiato III,II,9 (inner walls largely disappeared); Caseggiato degli Aurighi (III,X,1) (north part, to the southwest of latrine); Caseggiato di Annio (III,XIV,4) (two clusters); Caseggiato III,XVI,2 (two clusters); Caseggiato del Dioniso (IV,V,9); Caseggiato V,II,3 (back part); Caseggiato V,II,10 (back part); Caseggiato V,II,11; Caseggiato V,II,12; Caseggiato del Pozzo (V,II,13) (back part); Caseggiato del Temistocle (V,XI,2) (east wing, first and fourth cluster from the north).

often lived in or near it, in a part separated from the sales-area by a wooden partition, or in a room above or behind the shop.¹⁰ The vast majority of the Ostian population lived in apartments on the upper floors of all kinds of buildings, but of these habitations hardly anything has been preserved. A well-known kind of tenement house is the "caseggiato a cortile porticato", built around a courtyard.¹¹

The data and dates in the conspectus are from the studies mentioned in § 1 and chapter 1, § 3B. Numbers in italics refer to the conspectus.

01 Casa di Bacco Fanciullo (I,IV,3).

Chronology: c. 128-138 AD. Ground floor: c. 180 m². First floor: including. Catalogue: A 8.

02 Casa dei Dipinti (I,IV,4).

Chronology: c. 128-138 AD. Ground floor: c. 180 m². First floor: ground floor only. Catalogue: A 8.

03 Casa di Via dei Vigili (II,III,3).

Chronology: Hadrianic. Ground floor: c. 150 or 180 m². First floor: including floor.¹²

04 Casa di Via dei Vigili (II,III,4).

Chronology: Hadrianic. Ground floor: c. 150 or 180 m². First floor: including floor.

05 Casa dell'Ercole Bambino (II,VI,3).

Chronology: Hadrianic. Ground floor: c. 150 m². First floor: including floor.

06 Casa del Soffitto Dipinto (II,VI,6).

Chronology: Hadrianic. Ground floor: c. 190 m². First floor: including floor.

07 Casa della Domus Fulminata ("Casa") (III,VII,5).

Chronology: c. 65-75 AD. Ground floor: c. 190 m². First floor: including floor.

08 Case a Giardino, III,IX,3.

Chronology: c. 128 AD. Ground floor: c. 310 m². First floor: including floor.

09 Casa delle Ierodule (Case a Giardino) (III,IX,6).

Chronology: c. 128 A.D, collapsed at end of third century. Ground floor: c. 300 m². First floor: including floor.

10 Case a Giardino, III,IX,8.

Chronology: c. 128 AD. Ground floor: c. 300 m². First floor: including floor.

11 Case a Giardino, III,IX,10.

Chronology: c. 128 AD. Ground floor: c. 330 m². First floor: including floor.

12 Casa delle Pareti Gialle (Case a Giardino) (III,IX,12).

Chronology: c. 128 AD. Ground floor: c. 260 m². First floor: including floor.

¹⁰ See also chapter 5, § 3. Backrooms of shops which may have been used as habitation are found especially in Caseggiato I,XIII,5, Caseggiato III,I,1, and Caseggiato III,I,5, and in the Caseggiato di Diana (I,III,3-4) (three rooms behind two shops in the south part), Caseggiato delle Trifore (III,III,1), Caseggiato della Fontana con Lucerna (IV,VII,2), and Caseggiato del Sole (V,VI,1).

¹¹ See Calza 1941 and Van Aken 1950.

¹² In II,III,3 a threshold for two doors is found in the passage between the vestibule and the medianum. This is not sufficient evidence to uphold that the internal staircase - accessible from the vestibule - led to a separate apartment, as does Hermansen (Hermansen 1982(1), 33). The presence of an external staircase and the liberal use of space (a corridor leads to the vestibule; there is an internal staircase in both II,III,3 and its neighbour II,III,4) indicate, that the first floor belonged to the ground floor apartment. Cf. 21.

13 Case a Giardino, III,IX,13.

Chronology: c. 128 AD. Ground floor: c. 240 m². First floor: including floor.

14 - 20 Case a Giardino III,IX,14-20: as 13 (two blocks, each with four habitations).

21 Casa del Graffito (Case a Giardino) (III,IX,21).

Chronology: c. 128 AD. Ground floor: c. 190 m². First floor: including floor.¹³

22 Casetta Tipo III,XII,1.

Chronology: Trajanic. Ground floor: c. 110 m². First floor: ground floor only.

23 - 25 Casette Tipo III,XII,2 and III,XIII,1-2: as 22 (two blocks, each with two habitations).

26 Casa della Cantina ("Domus del Pozzo") (V,III,3).

Chronology: Hadrianic. Ground floor: min. c. 140 m². First floor: not clear.¹⁴ Catalogue: A 85.

27 Casa V,III,4.

Chronology: Hadrianic. Ground floor: c. 115 m². First floor: ground floor only.

28 Casa V,XI,2 (Caseggiato del Temistocle, east wing, second section from the north).

Chronology: Antoninus Pius - Gallienus. Ground floor: c. 100 m². First floor: ground floor only.

29 Casa V,XI,2 (Caseggiato del Temistocle, east wing, third section from the north).

Chronology: Antoninus Pius - Gallienus. Ground floor: c. 90 m². First floor: ground floor only.

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

The earliest apartment is from the period of Nero or the Flavian period, most date back to Ostia's hey-day, the Hadrianic period, the last were built somewhere in the period Antoninus Pius - Gallienus (fig. 2). The Casa delle Ierodule (9) collapsed late in the third century.¹⁵

The apartments in the conspectus have the following characteristics:¹⁶

Exterior: rectangular; staircase; many windows in at least one of the long outer walls.

Interior, lay-out: asymmetrical; rooms arranged around three sides of a central hall.

Interior, entrance: doorway, sometimes opening directly onto central hall, sometimes leading to a corridor or vestibule (entrance-corridors unobtrus-

¹³ According to Frier and Hermansen a threshold for two doors in the passage between the vestibule and the medianum indicates, that the first floor did not belong to the ground floor (Frier 1980, 11; Hermansen 1982(1), 35-37). This is contradicted by the orientation of the staircase, that is accessible not from the street, but from the back part of the vestibule.

¹⁴ There was a staircase in the northernmost room, that may originally have been a shop. It is not clear whether the room was accessible from the apartment in the first building period (Hermansen 1982(1), 28-29).

¹⁵ Cf. on the datings in general Pavolini 1986(2), 253-254. In the Casa delle Ierodule (9) a number of coins of Gallienus and Aurelianus was found below collapsed ceilings. Some modifications took place after the building had collapsed, at a higher level (Veloccia Rinaldi 1971, 168-169).

¹⁶ On the features of apartments in Ostia: see the literature cited in § 1, n. 6.

ive, vestibules mostly small).

Interior, organizing areas: central connecting hall with a ceiling (lit directly through windows).

Interior, rooms around organizing areas: two main rooms, the one somewhat larger than the other, on either end of central hall (lit directly through windows; sometimes two stories high); small rooms behind central hall and sometimes behind main rooms (usually lit indirectly); latrine;¹⁷ staircase.

Interior, furnishing: good-quality paintings;¹⁸ mosaics.¹⁹

Hermansen has retrieved the antique names of the various rooms. His main source is a law about the responsibility of those who have caused material damage or bodily harm by pouring or throwing something from windows, especially the words *Interdum tamen, quod sine captione actoris fiat, oportebit praetorem aequitate motum in eum potius dare actionem, ex cuius cubiculo vel exedra deiectum est, licet plures in eodem cenaculo habitent; quodsi ex mediano cenaculi quid deiectum sit, verius est omnes teneri.*²⁰ The central hall was called *medianum*, "room in the middle". It could be used as a dining-room.²¹ The two main rooms were called *exedrae*, the small rooms behind the *medianum cubicula* (bedrooms). The small rooms or rather alcoves behind the *exedrae* were probably bedrooms

¹⁷ The presence of latrines in the small Casette Tipo (22-25) suggests that latrines were, at least on the ground floor, a standard facility.

¹⁸ Especially in the Casa di Baccho Fanciullo, Casa dei Dipinti, Casa dell'Ercole Bambino, Casa del Soffitto Dipinto, Casa delle Ierodule, and Casa delle Pareti Gialle (I, 2, 5, 6, 9, 12).

¹⁹ A number of hacked-out wall-niches may bear witness to an internal water-supply, in view of holes in the back:

- Case a Giardino, III,IX,2. Northernmost room, northeast wall, to the northwest of door. B2; starting at c. 0.65 from floor; h. c. 0.92; w. c. 0.60; d. c. 0.35. Bottom raised, originally starting at 0.43. Raised bottom and hacked-out space visible in outer wall. Large hole in back.

- Case a Giardino, III,IX,3. Medianum, southwest wall. B2; starting at 0.30 from floor; h. 0.93; w. 0.65; d. 0.44. Two holes in back (Hermansen 1982(1), 40, fig. 10).

- Case a Giardino, III,IX,15. Wall to the northeast of staircase in southeast part. B2; starting at 0.59 from floor; h. c. 1.10; w. c. 0.45; d. c. 0.31. Small hole in back.

Similar niches are found in:

- Caseggiato III,VII,6. Third door from the southwest, back room, southwest wall. B2; starting at c. 0.70 from floor; h. c. 0.80; w. c. 0.62; d. c. 0.33. Large hole in back.

- Caseggiato del Sole (V,VI,1). Bar to the south of southernmost staircase, north wall, to the west of door. B2; starting at 0.48 from floor; h. c. 1.03; w. c. 0.53; d. c. 0.46. A small and a large hole in back (Hermansen 1982(1), 179-182, figs. 127-131).

²⁰ Hermansen 1982(1), 17-24, 43-47 (cf. Frier 1980, 5-6). The law: Digesta 9.3.5.pr. to 3 (Ulpianus) (see also § 1, n. 1).

²¹ According to the early Itala-translation of the New Testament, Mark 14:15; Luke 22:12.

called *zothecae*.²² The wealth of the inhabitants of the *medianum*-apartments (discussed in detail in the next section) and the asymmetry in the lay-out (the one *exedra* always being slightly larger than the other) indicate, that they were used by single families and their servants. It should be noted however that apartments with *mediana* must have existed that were inhabited by several families, who shared the central hall.²³

The size of many of the Ostian *medianum*-apartments is surprising.²⁴ The smallest have a total area of c. 100 m², the average ground floor area is c. 200 m², the largest exceed 300 m². Often they included at least one upper floor.²⁵ In some cases the possibility was left open by the builders that one family used two adjacent apartments. The four central blocks in the Case a Giardino-complex each had two apartments made up of the ground floor and at least the first floor. Each pair was originally interconnected (three of the passages were later blocked). A blocked passage is found between the Casa della Cantina (26) and Casa V,III,4 (27). A *medianum*-apartment could thus have a total area of over 600 m².

The *medianum*-apartments are scattered through the city. Usually small groups are encountered,²⁶ a very large number is found in the Case a Giardino, not far from the attractive sea-shore. This block and the Insula dei Dipinti - both Hadrianic - are of particular interest, because here the *medianum*-apartments and the *domus* can be directly compared.

The Case a Giardino (III,IX,1-22) have not been fully excavated (the northwest and southwest borders are still interred), but must have occupied an area of some 12,500 m².²⁷ The block is separated from the busy Via degli Aurighi and the Decumanus by long rows of Trajanic, Hadrianic and Antonine shops, behind which are open spaces. The main entrance was in the southeast side, where a triple passage is found, the central one of which was an ornamental doorway.²⁸ The block consists of a core, made up of apartments, and an outer ring, made up of the Domus delle Muse, apartments, shops, and rooms of which the function is unknown. Between the core and the outer ring are open spaces, with six water-basins.²⁹ No

²² Plinius Junior, Epistulae 5, 6, 38 and 2, 17, 21.

²³ See the legal text mentioned above with Hermansen 1982(1), 21-22.

²⁴ Cf. Meiggs 1973, 249.

²⁵ By comparison: the standard area of a modern Dutch four-room apartment is 90 m².

²⁶ Cf. the possible habitations Caseggiati III,I,12 and 13, the Caseggiato di Anzio, Caseggiato III,XVI,2, Caseggiati V,II,10-13 and the Caseggiato del Pozzo (V,II,14), and the Caseggiato del Temistocle (first and fourth cluster) (see n. 9).

²⁷ On the Case a Giardino in general: Blake 1973, 189-191.

²⁸ Blake 1973, 189.

²⁹ A beautiful marble fountain-ornament was found in the central apartments and may belong to one of the basins (Floriani Squarciapino 1952(2)).

pavement was found here, and because the apartments were inhabited by fairly wealthy people we may think of a green area or a garden.

The Domus delle Muse (III,IX,22) is the largest habitation in the block.³⁰ Along its main facade are shops, a large vestibule is at right angles to a courtyard with portico, there are two accentuated rooms - the largest with a tripartite entrance -, and private rooms behind a corridor.³¹ Contrary to the *medianum*-apartments the Domus delle Muse has its own light-source. The house has the communal garden to the rear, and only one window opens onto the garden, in a corner (several windows open onto the much less attractive, narrow space behind the shops along Via degli Aurighi).

The Insula dei Dipinti (I,IV) is built around what is assumed to be a garden as well. It occupied an area of some 1750 m². Its west side, along the fairly quiet Via dei Dipinti, consists of apartments, the south side is taken up by the Domus di Giove e Ganimede (I,IV,2). To the east the block was separated from the busy Via dei Balconi by Hadrianic shops, to the north is the late-Hadrianic or early-Antonine Caseggiato dei Doli, of which the original function is unknown.³²

The Domus di Giove e Ganimede (I,IV,2) is the largest dwelling in this block.³³ It has shops along the facade on Via di Diana, a large vestibule leads to a partial portico around a courtyard, and a pair of two-storied rooms is present.³⁴ Even more clearly than in the Muse the communal garden has been ignored: the largest two-storied room is along the garden, but is lit only from the courtyard of the house.

§ 4 Notes on the owners and inhabitants

In § 1 it has already been pointed out that we may assume that many of the dwellings in the conspectus were rented apartments, because of their standard lay-out, and because often groups were built. The social status of the owners of the rented apartments in Rome has been analyzed in detail

³⁰ Chapter 2, § 2 nr. 15. Area of the ground floor, excluding shops and external staircase, c. 500 m²; an internal staircase is present.

³¹ Cf. Packer 1971, 173-177; Blake 1973, 188-189.

³² Chapter 4, conspectus III, nr. 1. Blake 1973, 173.

³³ Chapter 2, § 2 nr. 1. Ground floor area c. 410 m², excluding shops and external staircase. The first floor originally did not connect to the ground floor.

³⁴ Cf. Calza 1920, 354-375; Packer 1971, 134-139; Blake 1973, 172-173.

by Frier.³⁵ He concludes that investment in urban properties, such as tenement houses, was entirely normal for the wealthy, and that most of the urban property was controlled by the aristocracy. The property was usually managed through middlemen, who could be supported by a staff. It could be inherited by freedmen and -women, it could form part of a dowry, and it could become the property of the fisc by forfeit or escheat.

The function of Ostia and its proximity to and ties with Rome suggest that here the situation was not much different. A funeral inscription from Ostia, probably from the middle of the second century AD, contains testamentary dispositions concerning urban property. It begins as follows: *Iunia D.f. Libertas hortorum et aedificiorum et tabernarum Hilaronianorum Iunianorum, ita uti macerie sua propria clusi sunt, quae iuris eius in his sunt usum fructumque dedit concessit libertis libertabusque suis ...*³⁶ Iunia Libertas had owned a large estate, the use and income of which she had bequeathed to her male and female freed slaves. The *cognomen* Libertas might indicate she was of freedman stock.³⁷ Hermansen has suggested that block V,III, including the Casa della Cantina (26) and Casa V,III,4 (27), was owned by the guild which used the nearby Caseggiato dei Lottatori (V,III,1) as its seat,³⁸ and that the Caseggiato del Temistocle (V,XI,2), containing at least two apartments (28, 29), was owned by the guild (probably the *fabri tignuarii*) which used the Tempio Collegiale V,XI,1.³⁹ Elsewhere I will suggest that the Casa della Domus Fulminata (7) was related to a guild.⁴⁰

We do not know the identity of any of the inhabitants of the Ostian *medianum*-apartments. However, the size of the apartments and the quality of the paintings leave no doubt that they were used by people of a fairly high social status. Frier concludes that the people living in the better apartments (those in the *conspectus*) belonged for the most part to the "lower upper class" ("the shippers and merchants, wealthier freedmen, successful practitioners of the liberal arts, and so on", "the commercial class"). One should also think of the children of members of the upper class.⁴¹

The considerable wealth of the inhabitants is also indicated by the

³⁵ Frier 1980, 21-47.

³⁶ Calza 1939(2); Meiggs 1973, 68.

³⁷ Herzig 1983, 79-80.

³⁸ Hermansen 1982(1), 76-77, 113-115. V,III,3-5 were originally interconnected.

³⁹ Hermansen 1982(1), 64, 96-111.

⁴⁰ See chapter 6, § 2A2.

⁴¹ Frier 1980, 16-17, 39-47; similarly Pavolini 1986(1), 171-189.

presence of rooms reminiscent of the accentuated rooms in the *domus*. The importance of the *exedrae* was sometimes stressed by making them two stories high.⁴² The largest *exedra* in the Casa delle Pareti Gialle (12) had the best mosaics and largest windows of the apartment.⁴³ These were representative rooms. The Casa delle Ierodule (9) has fairly small *exedrae*, but this is compensated for by the presence of a large room with a tripartite entrance - with two brick columns -, the walls and ceiling of which had elaborate, expensive paintings.⁴⁴ A room with a tripartite entrance - with two marble columns - and a raised floor was added behind the larger *exedra* in the Casa della Cantina (26). The floors and the lower parts of the walls of both the *exedra* and the added room were covered with opus sectile.⁴⁵ These rooms too must have been intended for meals with honoured guests, receptions of friends and the like. There are no rooms suited for the *salutatio*: the vestibules of the apartments are small (the Casa delle Pareti Gialle (12) is the only one with a somewhat larger vestibule), and there are no spacious central areas.

At this stage a passage of Vitruvius should be mentioned. The first part of the text quoted in the preceding chapter (§ 4) is followed by a comment on the habitations of less wealthy people: (... *quaeque eundem habere possunt usum*). *Igitur is, qui communi sunt fortuna, non necessaria magnifica vestibula nec tabulina neque atria, quod in aliis officia praestant ambiundo neque ab aliis ambiuntur.*⁴⁶ People of a common fortune did not need magnificent vestibules, alcoves, and halls: they were not visited themselves, they visited others. Such people must be pictured in apartments and small houses. The representative rooms of the Ostian *medianum*-apartments however do not concur with Vitruvius' description. This may well be due to the growing political and economical importance and therefore changing needs of freedmen in second-century Ostia, if they lived in the apartments.⁴⁷

⁴² Frier 1980, 5-6, 11.

⁴³ Becatti 1961, 123-125; Frier 1980, 12.

⁴⁴ Veloccia Rinaldi 1971.

⁴⁵ Becatti 1949, 25. According to Becatti the building became a *domus* after the addition of this room.

⁴⁶ Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 6, 5, 1.

⁴⁷ On the social developments in Ostia in the first half of the second century from the historical point of view: Meiggs 1973, 196-208; D'Arms 1976; D'Arms 1981, 121-148. See also Pasini 1978, but there is not much in this book with which I agree (review: Pavolini 1982).

§ 5 Religion in the other habitations

5A The evidence

Only three items in catalogue A can be assigned to the other habitations.

The communal garden of the **Insula dei Dipinti** was divided in two interconnected parts by a wall, possibly in the Hadrianic or Antonine period. In the late second or third century, possibly in the Severan period, a pseudo-*aedicula* was set against the south side of this wall, facing the Domus di Giove e Ganimede (catalogue A, nr. 8; pls. 16, 17). In the niche an (Antonine?) statue of Jupiter was found, naked apart from a mantle hanging down from a shoulder, holding a sceptre, accompanied by an eagle. On the back of the niche two further eagles were painted. There are a few remains of superimposed paint, on which a head can be distinguished. The lower part of the niche was closed off by some sort of door, witness small consoles and a damaged strip of paint.

The upper part of an undated pseudo-*aedicula* is lying in the courtyard of the **Caseggiato degli Aurighi** (built c. 140 AD) (A 49; pl. 18). The curious state of preservation indicates that the pseudo-*aedicula* comes from one of the upper floors, which were presumably taken up by apartments.

Two marble busts, dated to the second century, are said to come "dal larario" of the **Casa della Cantina** (26) (A 85). The first might be a portrait of a deceased relative, or of Antoninus Pius Divus or Marcus Aurelius, the second a portrait of a son of Marcus Aurelius or the child Caracalla. The suggestion that the busts were found in relation to a *lararium* is open to question. A podium with marble revetment in one of the rooms is perhaps the lower part of an *aedicula* or pseudo-*aedicula*.

5B Dates, position, appearance, deities

The small amount of evidence from Ostia need not be summarized here. Further archaeological evidence comes from Rome. In 1744 the following three inscriptions were found near the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere: *Bonae Deae | sacrum | M. Vettius Bolanus | restitui iussit; B(onae) D(eae) R(estitutae) | Cladus | d(onum) d(edit); Bon(ae) Deae Restitut(ae) | simulacr(um) in tut(elam) insul(ae) | Bolan(i) posuit item aed(em/iculam) | dedit Cladus l(ibens) m(erito).*⁴⁸ The second inscription is on an object described as *cippus* and altar. Together with the inscriptions the remains of the fairly monumental shrine of Bona Dea were found, descriptions of which are vague ("tempietto", "tabernacolino"). The proximity of a well suggests that the shrine was in a courtyard. M. Vettius

⁴⁸ CIL VI, 65.66.67.

Bolanus, the owner of the Insula Bolani or Bolaniana containing the shrine, is probably one of two consuls of that name. In that case he had the shrine restored in the first century or the first half of the second century.⁴⁹

The worship of Tutela near the entrances of *insulae*, for the protection of the whole building, is mentioned by Hieronymus: *Ipsaque Roma, orbis domina, in singulis insulis domibusque, Tutelae simulacrum cereis venerans ac lucernis, quam ad tuitionem aedium isto appellant nomine, ut tam intrantes quam exeuntes domos suas, inoliti semper commoneantur erroris.*⁵⁰

5C Participants, beneficiaries, organization

The direct involvement of M. Vettius Bolanus with his *insula* in Rome is noteworthy. Cladus was presumably a slave.⁵¹ The explanation for his involvement is either that he belonged to the personnel running the building, or that he lived there as slave of one of the tenants or of Bolanus.

⁴⁹ Brouwer 1989, 24-27 nrs. 10-12.

⁵⁰ Hieronymus, In Esaiam 16, 57, 7, 8.

⁵¹ It has been said that he was a slave of Bolanus (Brouwer 1989, 291-292), but this is not stated in the inscriptions.