

Chapter 4

Workshops and depots

§ 1 Introduction

This chapter covers the part of the commercial sector concerned with the actual handling of goods, in rooms not accessible to the public: the manufacture, processing and storage of goods and foodstuffs in workshops and depots. Workshops can be defined as those buildings or parts of buildings in which goods were manufactured or processed, for example *pistrina*, *fullonicae*, and a room behind a shop where a butcher cut his meat. Another example is the service area in a bath, where workers were in charge of the heating- and water-system. Depots can be defined as those buildings or parts of buildings used for the storage of goods.

Workshops can be identified through the presence of technical equipment, of which often no more than a basin or oven is left. An exception is the Caseggiato di Annio (III,XIV,4), which can be identified on the basis of reliefs in the facade, and of the relation with an adjacent depot, the Magazzino dei Doli (III,XIV,3). Some depots can be identified through the presence of large storage-jars, or raised floors (*suspensurae*) meant to protect corn from damp and overheating.¹ In one case the name *Horrea* is recorded in an inscription in the facade. Other buildings can be identified as depots on the basis of their resemblance to these buildings.²

Little attention has been paid by archaeologists to the Ostian workshops. Some general remarks are made by Packer and Gnade.³ The *fullonicae* were studied by Pietrogrande,⁴ Caseggiato V,II,9 by Boersma.⁵ A fairly detailed description and interpretation of an *Officina Stuppatoria* (I,X,3)

¹ Rickman 1971, 85.

² See Rickman 1971, 15.

³ Packer 1971, 14-15, cf. his *conspectus* on p. 80-87; Gnade in Boersma 1985, 298-300. A description and interpretation of many Ostian workshops was attempted by Gnade, but has not been published (Gnade 1982).

⁴ Pietrogrande 1976. Possible *fullonicae* not dealt with by him may have been in the *Tempio dei Fabri Navales* (III,II,2) (not excavated fully) (Pietrogrande 1976, 7) and in underground rooms of the *Terme del Mitra* (I,XVII,2) (Nielsen-Schiøler 1980, 151, 155-156, fig. 4).

⁵ Boersma 1985, esp. 160-166.

was drawn up by Hermansen.⁶ The service area in the Terme del Filosofo (V,II,6-7) has been studied by Boersma,⁷ that in the Terme del Mitra by Nielsen and Schiøler.⁸ Fairly detailed descriptions and interpretations of the Ostian *horrea* were produced by Rickman.⁹

§ 2 Conspectus of the Ostian workshops and depots

The conspectus of the workshops lists the name and location (Regio, Insula), the dated building periods (of the buildings, not necessarily of the workshops installed in the buildings), the specified function, and the related catalogue-numbers. This conspectus is certainly not complete. Many buildings with large halls, of which the ceiling was often supported by brick piers, must have been workshops.¹⁰ They may however also have been, for example, markets. Furthermore small workshops will have been located behind many a shop. Such workshops are however extremely difficult to identify, due to the state of decay of the ruins.

For the service areas a separate conspectus of the Ostian baths has been drawn up. Omitted from the conspectus are the baths found during excavations below second century AD levels. The conspectus of the baths lists the name and location (Regio, Insula), the dated building periods, and the related catalogue-numbers.

The conspectus of the depots is drawn from Rickman.¹¹ It lists the name and location (Regio, Insula), the dated building periods, the presence and kind of one or more central areas (on the basis of these areas two kinds of lay-out can be distinguished), the goods stored, and the related catalogue-numbers. Like Rickman I leave out of consideration three buildings which have been called *horrea*, but of which the function is uncertain: the Horrea dei Menses (I,XIX,4) (a corn-measuring centre?); the Horrea Traiani (I,XX,1) (market?); Horrea IV,VII,5 (shops?). The presence of a relief depicting a corn-*modius* and a measuring rod over the entrance to the unexcavated building I,VII,2 is not, in my opinion, sufficient evidence that it was a store building for corn.¹²

⁶ Hermansen 1982(1), 61-62, 119-120; Hermansen 1982(2).

⁷ Boersma 1985.

⁸ Nielsen-Schiøler 1980.

⁹ Rickman 1971, 15-86.

¹⁰ Cf. Packer 1971, 14-15. Cf. also chapter 3, § 2.

¹¹ See § 1 n. 9.

¹² "Probably horrea": Rickman 1971, 72.

The data and dates are from the studies mentioned in § 1 and chapter 1, § 3B. Dates suggested by Heres have been preferred above other proposals.¹³ Numbers in italics refer to the conspectus.

I. WORKSHOPS

01 Caseggiato del Balcone Ligneo - Caseggiato del Pantomimo Apolausto (I,II,2.6).

Chronology: c. 120 AD. Function: *pistrinum dulciarium*?

02 Caseggiato dei Molini - Sacello del Silvano (I,III,1-2).

Chronology: 1. Hadrianic; 2. Antonine; 3. Septimius Severus; 4. c. 210-235 AD; 5. c. 250-283 AD. Function: *pistrinum*; carpenters' workshop.

03 Workshop near I,IV,5, precise location unknown.

Function: *pistrinum dulciarium*?

04 Caseggiato I,IX,2.

Chronology: c. 120 AD. Function: *pistrinum*?

05 Officina Stuppatoria ("Caseggiato") (I,X,3).

Chronology: 1. Trajanic; 2. Alexander Severus. Function: Officina Stuppatoria from period of Alexander Severus.

06 Caseggiato della Cisterna (I,XII,4).

Chronology: Hadrianic. Function: *pistrinum*?

07 Fullonica I,XIII,3.

Chronology: 1. first century AD; 2. Trajanic; 3. Hadrianic? 4. third century. Function: *fullonica* from third century.

08 Molino I,XIII,4.

Chronology: 1. Trajanic; 2. Hadrianic. Function: *pistrinum*.

09 Caseggiato I,XVII,1.

Chronology: c. 125 AD. Function: furnace in northwest room possibly related to deposit of roof tiles found in this building.¹⁴

10 Caseggiato delle Fornaci (II,VI,7).

Chronology: 1. Hadrianic; 2. c. 250-300 AD. Function: *pistrinum*.

11 Caseggiati II,VIII,7-9.

Chronology: 7: 1. Hadrianic; 2. c. 250-300 AD. 8: Hadrianic. 9: Antonine. Function: tannery?¹⁵

12 Fullonica II,XI,1.

Chronology: Hadrianic. Function: *fullonica*. Catalogue: A 34.

13 Caseggiato della Fullonica (to the west of nr. 12).

Chronology: Hadrianic. Function: *fullonica* and other crafts.

14 Mercato III,I,7 (southwest part).

Chronology: 1. c. 100-50 BC; 2. Trajanic.

15 Caseggiato III,I,8.

Chronology: c. 123 AD. Catalogue: A 35.

16 Caseggiato III,I,15.

Chronology: Trajanic.

17 Caseggiato di Annio (III,XIV,4).

Chronology: c. 128-129 AD. Function: handling of goods which had to be kept cool, because

¹³ See chapter 2, § 2.

¹⁴ Meiggs 1973, 270.

¹⁵ Paschetto 1912, 340.

presumably related to depot with *dolia defossa* (conspectus III, nr. 11).¹⁶ Catalogue: A 56, 57.

18 Caseggiato IV,II,4 and south room of 3.

Chronology: 1. Marcus Aurelius? 2. c. 250-300 AD.

19 Caseggiato IV,V,3 ("Fullonica").

Chronology: Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius.

20 Caseggiato V,II,9.

Chronology: 1. c. 50 AD; 2. c. 80-100 AD; 3. c. 150 AD; 4. c. 190-200 AD; 5. c. 200-235 AD.

21 Fullonica V,VII,3.

Chronology: Marcus Aurelius. Function: *fullonica*.

II. BATHS

01 Terme del Foro (I,XII,6).

Chronology: 1. c. 160 AD; 2. c. 200-225 AD; 3. early fourth century; 4. middle of fourth century.

02 Terme del Bagnino Buticosus (I,XIV,8).

Chronology: 1. c. 112 AD; 2. Antonine.

03 Terme del Mitra (I,XVII,2).

Chronology: 1. c. 125 AD; 2. c. 300-325 AD; 3. c. 375-400 AD.

04 Terme Piccole (I,XIX,5).

Chronology: 1. C. 450-500 AD; 2. c. 490-550 AD.

05 Terme dei Cisiarii (II,II,3).

Chronology: 1. Hadrianic; 2. c. 250-300 AD. Catalogue: A 29, 30.

06 Terme di Nettuno (II,IV,2).

Chronology: 1. late-Hadrianic/early-Antonine (finished 139 AD); 2. late second century; 3. c. 290-300 AD; 4. a few years later; 5. c. 300-325 AD; 6. c. 350 AD; 7. late fourth century.

07 Terme della Basilica Cristiana (III,I,3).

Chronology: 1. Trajanic; 2. early third century.

08 Terme di Porta Marina ("Terme Marittime"¹⁷) (III,VIII,2).

Chronology: 1. c. 130 AD; 2. c. 210 AD; 3. fourth century.

09 Terme in Domus dei Dioscuri (III,IX,1).

Chronology: c. 400-425 AD.

10 Terme dei Sette Sapienti (III,X,2).

Chronology: 1. Hadrianic; 2. c. 205 AD.

11 Terme della Trinacria (III,XVI,7).

Chronology: 1. Hadrianic. 2. Commodus.

12 Terme in Horrea III,XVII,1.

Chronology: late antiquity.

13 Terme in Palazzo Imperiale (Regio III, northwest part).

Chronology: c. 145-150 AD.

14 Terme del Faro (IV,II,1).

Chronology: 1. Trajanic (not known whether bath); 2. late second century; 3. Caracalla; 4. c. 250-300 AD. Catalogue: A 62.

15 Terme IV,IV,8.

Chronology: 1. c. 390-425 AD; 2. first half of fifth century.

16 Terme IV,V,6.

Chronology: Antoninus Pius.

¹⁶ Pavolini 1986(1), 109-110. Previously it was thought that *dolia defossa* only contained oil.

¹⁷ On the name of these baths and of conspectus nr. 18: Meiggs 1973, 407-409.

17 Terme delle Sei Colonne (IV,V,11).

Chronology: Trajanic.

18 Terme Marittime ("Terme di Porta Marina") (IV,X,1-2).

Chronology: 1. Trajanic-Hadrianic; 2. c. 200-250 AD; 3. 375-378 AD; 4. 493-526 AD.

19 Terme del Filosofo (V,II,6-7).

Chronology: 1. c. 250-300 AD; 2. c. 300-325 AD; 3. c. 350-400 AD.

20 Terme dell'Invidioso (V,V,2).

Chronology: 1. Antonine 2. c. 275-300 AD; 3. a few years later; 4. c. 400-425 AD. Catalogue: A 86, 87.

21 Terme del Nuotatore (V,X,3).

Chronology: 1. 89-90 AD; 2. Hadrianic-Antonine; 3. late second/early third century. Abandoned c. 230-250 AD.

22 Terme lungo la Via Severiana (near Synagogue).¹⁸

Chronology: in use in early fourth century (largely unexcavated).

III. DEPOTS

01 Caseggiato dei Doli (I,IV,5).

Chronology: 1. late-Hadrianic or early-Antonine; 2. Severan. Central area: none. Goods: goods which had to be kept cool (*dolia defossa*).

02 Piccolo Mercato (I,VIII,1).

Chronology: 1. c. 119-120 AD; 2. Septimius Severus. Central area: bisected courtyard with portico. Catalogue: A 11.

03 Horrea I,VIII,2.

Chronology: 1. c. 120 AD; 2. undated (installation of *suspensurae*). Central area: courtyard with portico. Goods: corn.

04 Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana (I,VIII,3).

Chronology: c. 140-150 AD. Central area: courtyard with portico. Catalogue: A 12-15.

05 Horrea I,XIII,1.

Chronology: Trajanic or Hadrianic. Central area: corridor.

06 Caseggiato dei Doli (Regio I, to the north of I,XIX).

Chronology: Hadrianic. Goods: goods which had to be kept cool (*dolia defossa*). Catalogue: A 28.

07 Horrea Antoniniani (II,II,7).

Chronology: Commodus. Goods: corn.

08 Grandi Horrea (II,IX,7).

Chronology: 1. Claudius; 2. Commodus (including installation of *suspensurae*); 3. Severan. Central area: courtyard with colonnade. Goods: corn. Catalogue: A 33.

09 Horrea III,II,6.

Chronology: Trajanic. Central area: corridor. Catalogue: A 37.

10 Magazzino dei Doli (III,XIV,3).

Chronology: Hadrianic. Central area: none. Goods: goods which had to be kept cool (*dolia defossa*). Presumably related to workshop to the north (conspectus I, nr. 17). Catalogue: A 54, 55.

11 Horrea III,XVII,1.

Chronology: Hadrianic. Central area: corridor.

12 Horrea III,XVIII.

Chronology: 1. c. 112-117 AD; 2. Severan.

13 Horrea IV,V,12.

¹⁸ On these baths: Floriani Squarciapino 1987.

Chronology: c. 0-50 AD. Central area: corridor.

14 Horrea V,I,2.

Chronology: c. 50 AD. Central area: courtyard?

15 Magazzino Annonario (V,XI,5).

Chronology: Hadrianic. Central area: none. Goods: goods which had to be kept cool (*dolia defossa*). Perhaps related to workshop (?) to the north.

16 Horrea dell'Artemide (V,XI,8).

Chronology: Trajanic. Central area: courtyard without portico, so narrow that it can almost be called a corridor. Catalogue: A 92.

17 Horrea di Hortensius (V,XII,1).

Chronology: 1. c. 30-40 AD; 2. c. 200-225 AD; 3. c. 250-275 AD; 4. c. 400 AD; 5. c. 400-425 AD. Central area: courtyard with colonnade. Catalogue: A 93.

18 Horrea V,XII,2.

Chronology: c. 120-125 AD. Central area: courtyard?

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

Because so little attention has been paid to the Ostian workshops, their study is severely hampered. Although the first building period of the buildings in which workshops are found is usually dated securely, a relative and absolute chronology of later alterations has mostly not been established (fig. 7). In most cases it is not known when a building was assigned the function of workshop. Most of the buildings dealt with in this chapter were built in the first half of the second century AD, with a peak under Hadrian. Few building activities are documented between the periods of Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus, and in the later third century, whereas after c. 300 AD there is a clear slump. In the workshops four alterations carried out in the second half of the third century are still documented, but no masonry has here been dated to after c. 300 AD. In the depots one alteration from the second half of the third century has been traced, and very few activities are documented here in late antiquity.

There are no detailed studies concerning the appearance, lay-out, size and distribution of the workshops.¹⁹ As to the distribution, a restriction of workshops to one or more parts of town is not found. As to the distribution of specific trades, the *pistrina* and *fullonicae* are not concentrated in one part of town, but it is noteworthy that the number of *pistrina* in the centre of town may have been quite large (*I 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8*). The position of the bakery in the Caseggiato dei Molini (*I 2*) is probably to be explained by the presence of a store building for corn across the street (the Grandi Horrea (*III 8*)), that of the bakery in the Caseggiato delle Fornaci (*I 10*) by the fact that bread was baked there for the *vigiles* in the Caserma

¹⁹ On the distribution of workshops in Rome: Morel 1987.

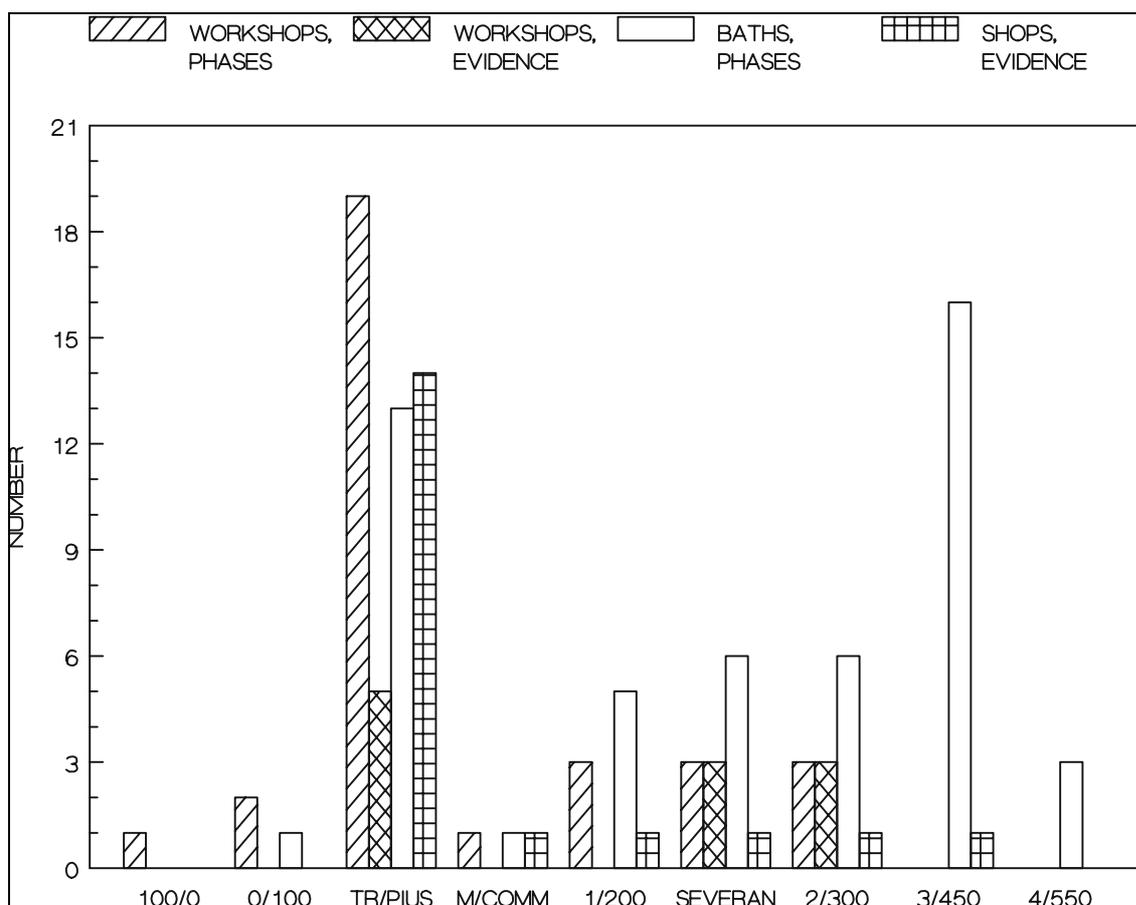


Figure 7. The Ostian workshops, depots, shops, markets and hotels: the dates of the building periods and of the religious evidence.

dei Vigili across the street.²⁰ The size and capacity of many workshops are considerable. The bakery in the Caseggiato dei Molini had at least ten mill-stones, the one in Molino I,XIII,4 (*I 8*) seven, whereas the average Pompeian bakery had four mill-stones and the largest number found in a single Pompeian bakery is five.²¹ As to the appearance and lay-out, Packer has noted many wide doorways and passages, large rooms or halls, and often an irregular plan.²²

Almost all baths were built during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, that is during the general boom following the construction of Trajan's harbour at Portus. They are distributed evenly over the excavated area and will therefore normally have been visited by people from the surrounding buildings. The service areas are of course inconspicuous and built according to technical requirements.

²⁰ See chapter 9.

²¹ Mayeske 1972, 169.

²² Packer 1971, 14-15. Similarly Gnade in Boersma 1985, 298-300.

The depots are all from the Imperial period, most of them from the first half of the second century, while some date back to the first century. There is a relation with the work of Trajan in Portus, possibly also with that of Claudius.²³ Their size varies from quite small to very large. Most of the large *horrea* are, for obvious reasons, situated to the north of the Decumanus Maximus and Via della Foce, that is along the Tiber, and the main entrance of most of these *horrea* is turned towards the river. Most of the smaller ones are to the south of the Decumanus and Via della Foce.²⁴ Concentrations of depots are found to the northwest of the Forum (*III* 2, 3, 4), and to the south of the eastern Decumanus (*III* 15, 16, 17, 18). Both the number and size of the depots show, that they did not serve Ostia alone. They held reserves for Rome, even after the construction of Portus. Smaller *horrea* south of the Decumanus and Via della Foce (*III* 5, 9, 11, 13), and perhaps others, served the local market.²⁵ Characteristic for the appearance are buttressing, thick walls, few entrances, slit-windows high up in the outer walls, special locking devices, long rows of *cellae*, and ramps leading to the first floor.²⁶ Rickman distinguishes two kinds of lay-out: *cellae* around a courtyard with portico or colonnade; *cellae* along a corridor.²⁷ The Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana (*III* 4) have an axial lay-out, consisting of two vestibules, a courtyard, and an accentuated room.²⁸ The axis was emphasized by the mosaic of the courtyard: behind the second vestibule is a panel as wide as the vestibule with the depiction of a tiger, meant to be seen from the vestibule; behind is a large panel with meanders and a swastika; in front of the accentuated room is a panel as wide as the room with a depiction of a panther, meant to be seen from the room.²⁹

§ 4 Notes on the owners and workers

In this section I will not dwell upon the complexities of the historical discussion concerning the social status of the owners of and workers in

²³ Rickman 1971, 84-85; cf. Vitelli 1980.

²⁴ Rickman 1971, 76. On the position of some large *horrea* to the south of the Decumanus: Pavolini 1986(1), 98.

²⁵ Meiggs 1973, 276-278; Pavolini 1986(1), 97-104, 108-109.

²⁶ Rickman 1971, 79-83.

²⁷ Rickman 1971, 77-78.

²⁸ The axis is not straight, the lateral walls of the vestibules have a slightly oblique course, creating as straight an axis as possible (cf. Blake 1973, 163-164, 210).

²⁹ Becatti 1961, 17-18 nr. 18, tavv. XIX, XCI, XCII (dated to middle of second century AD).

workshops.³⁰ Remarks on the owners and workers will here be made on the basis of the archaeological evidence only. It should be remembered that there must have been many more workshops in Ostia than those which could be included in *conspectus I* and that many of these will have been quite small.

The name of one owner of a workshop is partly known: according to a text in the facade of the *Caseggiato di Annio (I 17)* the building was owned by a certain Annius. It is probable that the owner of the *Domus della Fortuna Annonaria (V,II,8)* was, from the Antonine period onwards, the owner of the adjacent *Caseggiato V,II,9 (I 20)* (and, at least in the Severan period, of some other buildings in the block).³¹ With one possible exception none of the other workshops are connected by means of doorways with a *domus* (the *domus* were in second-century Ostia rare in the excavated part of town anyway³²) or a ground-floor *medianum*-apartment.³³ The owner may of course have lived over the workshop, but such a dwelling cannot have been preferred by wealthy people, because of the noise, the absence of a garden and the like. We can conclude that if a workshop was owned by someone wealthy enough to afford a *domus* or ground-floor *medianum*-apartment, his dwelling was usually separated from the workshop.

Three large baths were built by Emperors, members of their families, or high officials from Rome: the *Terme del Foro (II 1)*, *Terme di Nettuno (II 6)*, and *Terme Marittime (II 18)*. The remaining, smaller baths were probably non-Imperial investments,³⁴ or served the inhabitants of a house (*II 9, 13*). The workers in the service areas of the large baths may well have been Imperial slaves and freedmen.³⁵

Finally the *horrea*. The *Grandi Horrea (III 8)* were probably a fiscal depot and part of the corn stored there was taken to the bakery in the *Caseggiato dei Molini (I 2)*, a bakery most likely working for the fisc.³⁶ *Horrea I,VIII,3 (III 4)* were a non-Imperial investment, as is shown by an inscription in its facade: *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*, Epagathus

³⁰ Cf. D'Arms 1976 (on municipal notables); Meiggs 1973, chapters 10 and 11; D'Arms 1981, 121-148 (on freedmen); Pavolini 1986(1), 33-46.

³¹ Boersma 1985, 165, 171, 215-216.

³² See chapter 2, § 3.

³³ The *Domus di Apuleio (II,VIII,5)* may have been connected with *Caseggiati II,VIII,7-9 (I 11)*.

³⁴ Meiggs 1973, 404-420; Pavolini 1986(1), 211-222.

³⁵ Cf. Meusel 1960, 145-146.

³⁶ See chapter 9.

and Epaphroditus being two freedmen.³⁷ How many *horrea* were Imperial, and in which period, cannot be said. The workers in the Imperial horrea may well have been Imperial slaves and freedmen. As Rickman has remarked, "it is a remarkable fact that among the mass of Ostian inscriptions there is no reference to the workers and managers of *horrea*".³⁸ Some data from outside Ostia is available however, largely from Rome from Imperial *horrea*. Here slaves and freedmen only are documented, many of them Imperial.³⁹ It is not known whether the workers in the workshops, *horrea*,⁴⁰ and baths usually lived in the building, or elsewhere.

§ 5 Religion in the workshops and depots

5A The evidence

Of the 95 items in catalogue A, six are found in workshops and nine in depots.

The evidence in workshops

The first two pieces of evidence, from the Caseggiato dei Molini, are dealt with in detail in chapter 9 and a forthcoming study on the Ostian bakeries.⁴¹ A summary is offered here.

The Hadrianic **Caseggiato dei Molini** (*I 2*) was from the start or from a later point of time a bakery, and for some time housed a carpenters' workshop in the third century. At the end of that century the building was destroyed by a fire, never to be rebuilt. In the years c. 210-215 AD a *sacellum* (area c. 13 m²) was built in a corridor. The shrine could be reached by walking through the building only. Inside are four wall-niches and an altar (a later addition). The religious function of the room was retained until the end: some fifty bronze and silver statuettes and a marble statuette of a Lar were found inside. The shrine is known as the Sacello del Silvano, because Silvanus was the main deity worshipped here. A painting of him was inside, another was later added on the outer wall next to the entrance. The painting in the interior was installed by someone *ex viso*.

In the year 214 or 215, but before April 25th 215, a number of paintings

³⁷ CIL XIV S, 4709; Becatti 1940, 48; Meiggs 1973, 277; Pavolini 1986(1), 103-104.

³⁸ Rickman 1971, 179.

³⁹ Rickman 1971, 176-182.

⁴⁰ Cf. Rodríguez-Almeida 1980, 20-21.

⁴¹ Bakker 1994.

was added. Directly behind the entrance the two Dioscures and at least four horses were depicted. This part of the shrine was an ante-room, set apart by a wooden partition. In the rear part of the shrine two groups of figures were added, one of which has been preserved fairly well. Depicted are Augustus, Harpocrates, Isis, Fortuna, Annona, probably a Genius, and the lysippian Alexander the Great. Later in the first half of the third century some repainting took place. Augustus and Alexander the Great were from then on towering above the figures in between.

Augustus and Alexander were introduced as predecessors of Caracalla, in compliance with an order from the Emperor himself. Caracalla had left for the orient in 214 AD and upon reaching Thrace was overcome by an Alexander-mania. From Thrace he ordered depictions to be set up everywhere, showing him as a new Alexander the Great. The Genius may well be the Genius Augusti, and a *victimarius* depicted in the floor mosaic may refer to the sacrifice of the bull for this Genius. The remaining deities refer to a benefaction of the Emperor: the distribution of corn. Isis and Harpocrates symbolize the Egyptian corn imported by the Emperor; Annona is the personification of the food supply; the Dioscures were in Ostia protectors of seafaring, here specifically of the transport of the Egyptian corn.

The added paintings are evidence of the economic reality of life for the Ostian bakers. Already in the second century AD the members of the *corpus pistorum* baked bread for the fisc, consumed by the *vigiles* and presumably by Imperial slaves. There was therefore a connection between a number of Ostian bakeries and the Emperor. One of these bakeries was the Caseggiato dei Molini.

In 215 AD a *sebacarius* (night-watchman) from the *vigiles*, Calpurnius, scratched a graffito next to Silvanus with *vota decennalia* for Caracalla. On April 25th of the same year the shrine was visited by a Marius and an Anna. Work in the building had stopped on this day for the celebration of either the Sarapia, a feast of Serapis, or the Robigalia, the feast of Robigus, a deity protecting corn.

Also in the **Caseggiato dei Molini**, in the north wall of the room where the bakers kneaded the dough, a small wall-niche was made in the late third century (pl. 19). The niche was plastered.

In the back part of the service area of the **Terme dei Cisiarii** (II 5) a long and narrow room is found, with a shallow "*arcosolium*" in one of its long walls and a shallow, curved floor-niche opposite the entrance (catalogue A, nr. 29; pl. 20).⁴² The room is later than the first Hadrianic

⁴² On the service area: Paribeni 1920, 162; Wilson 1935(2), 86.

building period of the baths (c. 250-300 AD?). It was built at the south end of the service area and is accessible from a fairly large connecting room. There are two reasons to think that this may have been a cult-room: the small size of the room (c. 7.50 m²), and the position of the niche, not in the centre of the wall, but moved a little, so that it is opposite the entrance, dominating the room.⁴³

Part of an early-second century AD shrine was respected by the fullers working in the Hadrianic **Fullonica II,XI,1** (I 12) (A 34). It is not known to what god the shrine was dedicated, nor whether

it had been an isolated shrine or had formed part of some building. The fullers left part of the mosaic belonging to the shrine visible and built a recess around a nearby "fossa sacra", all this in the courtyard of the fulling-mill.

A pseudo-aedicula, possibly originally a wall-niche, can be found in the central area of **Caseggiato III,I,8** (I 15) (A 35; fig. 8; pl. 21). There are some undated basins in the building and a large structure looking like an oven, the masonry of which is indicated as secondary on the plan in SO I. In the building some hitherto unidentified fragments of machines of volcanic stone (the kind of which mill-stones were made) can be found. Obviously the building ended its occupation as a workshop.

When the building was erected, in the years 123-125 AD, it had a large central area - possibly without a roof -, the south part of which was later occupied by three small rooms. A wall-niche is almost in the centre of the southeast wall of the reduced central room. Like the wall it is Hadrianic. It has a protruding shelf, supported by a podium. The podium may or may not be contemporaneous with the niche. A second podium, with a recess in the front,⁴⁴ is certainly secondary.

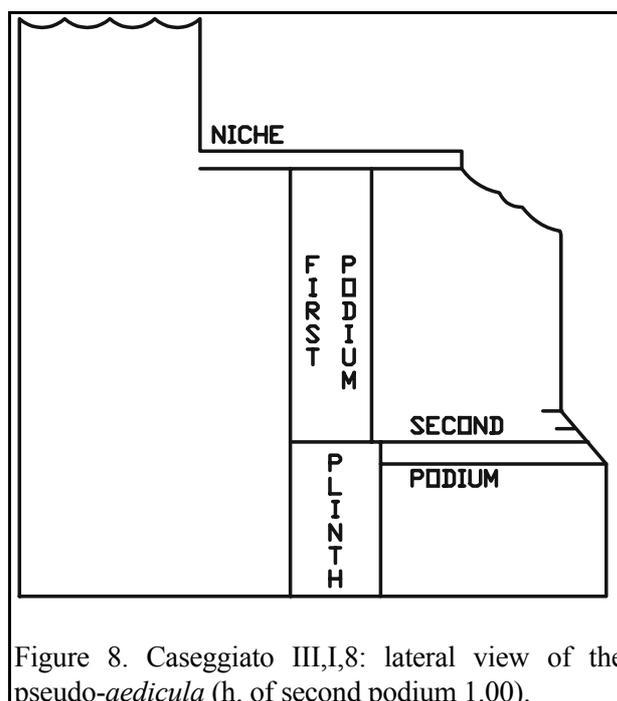


Figure 8. Caseggiato III,I,8: lateral view of the pseudo-aedicula (h. of second podium 1.00).

⁴³ The curious, shallow "arcosolium", an open relieving arch, should not be thought of here. A similar arch can be found in the south wall of room 30 (d. 0.17).

⁴⁴ A semicircular recess can be seen in the front of an aedicula-shrine in the Casa del Mobilio Carbonizzato in Herculaneum (V 5) (Orr 1972, cat. B, nr. 16; De Franciscis 1974, 59, fig. 54).

A relief with a phallus and a plummet was reused in the south facade of the Antonine **Terme dell'Invidioso** (*II 20*) (A 86; pl. 22). Behind the south facade is the service area of the baths. In view of the plummet the relief must have come from a carpenters' workshop. The frame of the relief does not belong to it.

The evidence in depots

A painted terracotta relief depicting a male snake, the Genius Loci, was inserted in the west wall of the portico of the courtyard of the **Piccolo Mercato** (*III 2*) (A 11). It belongs to the first building period, dated to c. 120 AD.⁴⁵

Two pairs of elaborate wall-niches with an *aedicula*-facade were built in the **Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana** (*III 4*), when that store building was erected, c. 145-150 AD (A 12, 13; pls. 23, 24). Two are opposite each other near the entrance to the courtyard of the building, in the lateral walls of the second vestibule which, unlike the first vestibule, gave access to the depot only.⁴⁶ Two are in the courtyard, on either side of the main entrance to an accentuated room, in the centre of brick piers. The room blocks the portico and is opposite the main entrance to the building. It could be closed off with two doors, witness a threshold. It has been suggested that it was an office.⁴⁷ The four niches are almost identical. Their backs are made of variously coloured pieces of stone, obviously not meant to be plastered.

A wall-niche with *aedicula*-facade was built in a corridor running through the front part of the **Grandi Horrea** (*III 8*), a corn depot (A 33; pl. 25). Both the corridor and the niche form part of a Severan rebuilding. The building had only one entrance, but could be reached from two directions, through the corridor.⁴⁸ The niche is in the eastern half of the corridor, near one of three exits, but it could have been positioned closer to the exit. It was not meant to be plastered, as is shown by the use of yellow bricks, thinly jointed, whereas the wall has red bricks.

A wall-niche with *aedicula*-facade was built in **Horrea III,II,6** (*III 9*), during the first, Trajanic building period (A 37; pls. 26, 27). It is in the

⁴⁵ A marble relief with two Genii Loci was found somewhere in this building, according to the inventory in Ostia (h. 0.36; w. 0.445; th. 0.065; inv. nr. 131; st.-r. I, wall A). On either side of an altar a snake is depicted, the left one female, the right one male (with comb and beard). The altar is on top of a slight elevation. On its front a *patera* is depicted, on top two pine-apples and some other objects can be seen (Calza-Nash 1959, 91, Pl. 128).

⁴⁶ On the two vestibules: Rickman 1971, 31-35.

⁴⁷ Rickman 1971, 35.

⁴⁸ Rickman 1971, 51-54.

centre of the northeast wall of a central alcove. This area did not have a roof - as can be deduced from the presence of windows lighting *cellae* -, and a floor of opus spicatum. It can therefore not have been of special significance. It was rather a central light-well. The alcove is opposite the main entrance to the building and so is the niche (albeit not opposite the centre of the main entrance).

Two wall-niches were at an unknown point in time hacked out in mixtum-walls of the **Magazzino dei Doli** (*III 10*), adjacent to the Caseggiato di Annio (*I 17*) (A 54, 55; pl. 28). One of the walls belongs to the first, Hadrianic building period, the other is possibly later. The Magazzino consists of one room (c. 10.00 x 10.00). Two slit-windows in the southeast wall indicate, that this area originally did not have a roof. In the Magazzino are 21 *dolia defossa*, not dug into the ground, but in the ground because the floor level has been raised. The raised floor may well bear a relation to the blocking of a door below the niche in the southwest wall. Only the upper part of this door is now visible. The Magazzino presumably belonged to a workshop on the ground floor of the adjacent Caseggiato di Annio. In the facade of the latter building are three intarsios with the text *Omnia felicia Anni*, and storage jars can be seen on a further relief in the facade.⁴⁹ The niches are in a corner of the room. They were plastered.

From some room in the **Horrea dell'Artemide** (*III 16*) comes a fragment of a late-second or early-third century painting, now in the museum of Ostia (A 92). It shows three deities in a row, two full standing figures and one bust, all turned slightly towards the left. The juxtaposition and the dominating presence of the deities suggest, that the painting comes from a shrine. The first figure is male, largely naked, having in his left hand a slightly curved stick of which the upper part is missing, while his right arm is lost, as is his head. To his left is a low tree, to his right an animal, according to R. Calza and Helbig a panther. They therefore identify the figure as Dionysus. The second and third figure are in a separate compartment. To the left is a hunting Diana,⁵⁰ to the right a veiled, female bust. It has been suggested that this is Aurora (R. Calza), or Terra Mater (Helbig).⁵¹ Aurora was depicted very rarely in the Imperial period, the iconography of Terra Mater is very difficult. I do not know of other veiled

⁴⁹ Floriani Squarciapino 1959, 196-198 nrs. 16 and 17, Tavv. VIII, 2 and IX, 2; Meiggs 1973, 275.

⁵⁰ A statue of Diana seems to have been found in the courtyard of the building (Rickman 1971, 63).

⁵¹ Terra Mater in relation to the Ostian cult of Magna Mater: CIL XIV, 67 (142 AD).

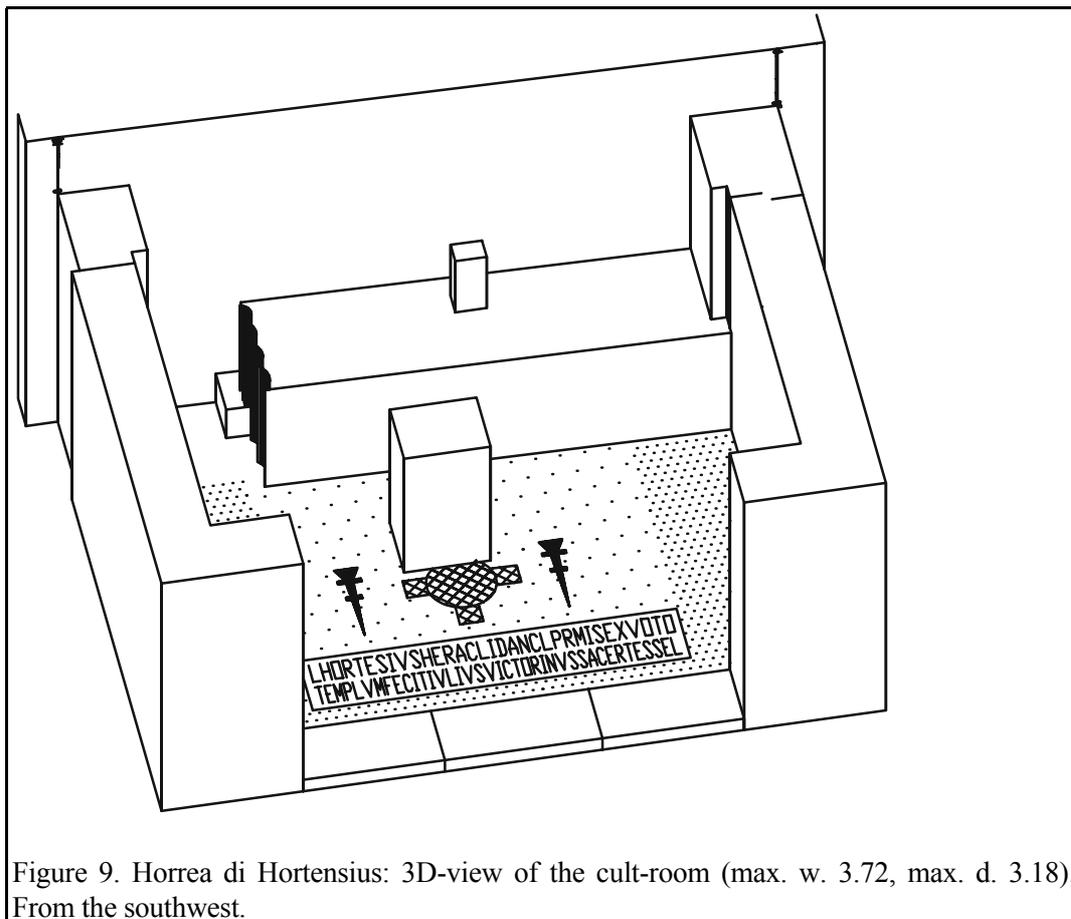


Figure 9. Horrea di Hortensius: 3D-view of the cult-room (max. w. 3.72, max. d. 3.18). From the southwest.

busts of either deity.⁵²

A much restored *sacellum* (area c. 11 m²) is in a corner of the colonnade of the **Horrea di Hortensius** (*III 17*), near the entrance to the building (A 93; fig. 9; pl. 29). It was in existence at least from the first half or third quarter of the third century. Some of the masonry of the shrine (set against a wall built c. 30-40 AD) has been dated by Heres to the third quarter of the third century. On the floor is a mosaic-and-opus sectile, dated by Becatti to the first half of that century. Wooden benches may have been placed on wide, black bands to the left and right. In the centre of the central, white panel is a disc with "rays" and an inscribed star. On either side of the disc is a torch. A low podium or bench (not dated), set against the back wall, was at some point of time replaced by a larger one. The larger podium and a masonry altar (not dated) were set on top of the mosaic-and-opus sectile, partly on the disc.

The shrine was, according to an inscription in the mosaic, behind the entrance, built by L. Hortensius Heraclida, *navarchus* (captain) of the

⁵² On Aurora see Simon 1986, on Terra Mater see Gesztelyi 1981 and cf. Wissowa 1912, 195.

classis praetoriae Misenensis. *Sacerdos* Iulius Victorinus took care of the mosaic. A small cippus or altar, found across the street in or behind the Portico di Nettuno (II,IV,1), with the inscription *L. Hortensius Heraclida n(avarchus) fecit* probably comes from the shrine. It is not clear what the relation was between the Misenum fleet and the store building.⁵³

Becatti suggests that the disc represents the sun, and is a reference to the cult of Sol.⁵⁴ Furthermore it is possible that Isis and Serapis were worshipped here.⁵⁵ The cult of these gods was of great importance amongst the sailors of the Misenum fleet, many of whom were Egyptians.⁵⁶ Next to the ordinary *navarchi*-captains they had religious officials called *navarchi*, probably in charge of the Isis-feast *navigium Isidis*.⁵⁷ It is an attractive possibility that Heraclida was a *navarchus*-priest.⁵⁸

5B Dates, position, appearance, deities

No evidence is earlier than the period of Trajan, no evidence has been dated to after c. 300 AD (fig. 7).⁵⁹ No peaks are found in the distribution over the second and third centuries.

The position and appearance of the Ostian evidence are presented in figure 10.⁶⁰ The majority is found in the courtyard, or its portico or colonnade (four items), one item is found in a central area. One item is found in a vestibule, two are in a corridor, one is in a work-room. The position of three items cannot be specified (Terme dei Cisiarii, Magazzino dei Doli).

As to the precise position of the evidence, the niche with *aedicula*-facade in Horrea III,II,6 is in the centre of the back wall of the central light-well

⁵³ On the Misenum fleet in Ostia and Portus: Meiggs 1973, 304. From Portus comes CIL XIV, 110, a dedication by the *milit(es) cl(assis) [pr(aetoriae) Mis(enensis)]* to Jupiter Dolichenus (186 AD).

⁵⁴ Becatti 1961, 231-232 nr. 430.

⁵⁵ On Isis see chapter 9, § 4C. On Serapis see chapter 5, § 5A, cat. A, nr. 53.

⁵⁶ Starr 1941, 77; Malaise 1972(2), 325.

⁵⁷ Starr 1941, 38-43, 87-88; Vidman 1970, 83-84.

⁵⁸ "Near the Horrea di Hortensius" was found a statuette of Isis (Floriani Squarciapino 1962, 34 n. 1). In the Bar di Fortunato (II,VI,1) or an adjacent room, to the west of the Portico di Nettuno (II,IV,1), was found a well-known lamp with ten wicks, in the shape of a boat, with depictions of Isis, Serapis and Harpocrates (Vaglieri 1909(2), 118 nr. 7, fig. 2; Floriani Squarciapino 1962, 32, frontispiece).

⁵⁹ Catalogue A, nr. 34 (the respected shrine in a fulling-mill) is left out of consideration as a special case.

⁶⁰ The painting from the Horrea dell'Artemide is not found in the figure, because the precise place of discovery is unknown. It may come from a cult-room.

AREA	TOTAL	CULT-ROOMS	RELIEFS	NICHES	(PSEUDO-) AEDICULAE
VESTIBULE	1			1 (1)	
CORRIDOR	2	1		1 (1)	
WORK-ROOM	1			1	
CENTRAL	1				1
COURTYARD- PORTICO- COLONNADE	4	1	1	2 (2)	
OTHER	3	1?		3	

Figure 10. The Ostian workshops and depots: the position and appearance of the evidence. Numbers in brackets: with *aedicula*-facade.

of the depot, a recess which is opposite the main entrance, albeit not exactly, and about which Blake remarks that it "masked somewhat the irregularity" of the plan of the building.⁶¹ In one case, in the *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*, the evidence is precisely opposite the main entrance. The accentuated room in this depot, the entrance of which is flanked by two niches with *aedicula*-facade, is opposite the main entrance to the building.

As in the *domus* the precise position in the room of the remaining evidence is difficult to assess. The pseudo-*aedicula* in Caseggiato III,I,8 is almost in the centre of a wall, but the situation is complicated here by alterations which took place in the course of time. It makes sense that the two niches in the entrance-hall of the *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana* are close to a passage (the one leading to the courtyard). On the other hand it is surprising that the niche in the entrance-corridor of the *Grandi Horrea* was not built in the pier closest to the nearby entrance. It is not clear whether the proximity of the cult-room in the *Horrea di Hortensius* to the main entrance to the depot is relevant.

Most of the evidence consists of niches (eight items). The appearance of the evidence from the courtyard, or its portico or colonnade is varied: a cult-room (with an altar), a painted relief, a niche with *aedicula*-facade, and a pair of niches of polychrome masonry with *aedicula*-facade. From a central area comes a pseudo-*aedicula*. In a vestibule a pair of niches of polychrome masonry with *aedicula*-facade is found (in the same building as the pair mentioned above), in corridors a cult-room with an altar and a

⁶¹ Blake 1973, 151.

niche of polychrome masonry with *aedicula*-facade, in a work-room a niche. The three remaining items are niches, one of which may be in a cult-room. A comparison between workshops and depots is hampered by the small amount of evidence from the former kind of building. Reliefs, niches, and cult-rooms are found in either kind, the one pseudo-*aedicula* is from a workshop, niches with *aedicula*-facade are found in depots only.

Deities are documented in one workshop and three depots (most of them in the Caseggiato dei Molini): traditional deities (Annona, Diana, the Dioscures, Fortuna, the Genius Loci, a Lar, Silvanus), oriental gods (Harpocrates, Isis; perhaps Sol, Isis, and Serapis in the Horrea di Hortensius), whereas - as will be argued in chapter 9 - the Imperial cult is documented in the Sacello del Silvano. One apotropaic phallus was encountered. Diana, documented in the Horrea dell'Artemide, was the goddess of the hunt, a protectress of woods and female life. Perhaps the (unknown) goods stored in the building explain her presence.⁶² It may be noted that in the period in which Sol is documented in the Horrea di Hortensius two Emperors strongly supported the cult of the supreme deity Sol Invictus: Elagabalus (218-222 AD) and Aurelianus (270-275 AD).⁶³

A fair amount of information concerning gods in workshops and depots is found outside Ostia and in antique literature. From literary sources we know that workers feasted at the occasion of certain *feriae publicae*.⁶⁴ The most important of these was the Quinquatrus in honour of Minerva.⁶⁵ This feast took place on March 19th, also called *artificum dies*, and on the four following days. Ovid calls the Minerva of the Quinquatrus *mille dea operum* and lists as participants wool processors, shoe-makers, carpenters, doctors, teachers, engravers, painters, sculptors and poets.⁶⁶ The actual workshops, at least of the fullers, were used for the feasts, as is shown by Pliny the Elder's description of a painting: *Simus ... officinam fullonis Quinquatrus celebrantem (pinxit)*.⁶⁷ Possibly processions were organized: on the facade of the Domus di Tullius (VI 7, 8-12) in Pompeii, in which an *officina lignaria* (cabinet-makers' workshop) was installed,⁶⁸ a painting was found showing the carrying of a *ferculum* with Daedalus and Minerva

⁶² Wissowa 1912, 247-252. Cf. on Diana and slaves: Bömer - Herz 1981, 220-221.

⁶³ Floriani Squarciapino 1962(1), 68-69; Halsberghe 1972, 172-175.

⁶⁴ De Robertis 1963, 200-211. Cf. Storchi Marino 1980.

⁶⁵ Wissowa 1897, 2985-2987; Heichelheim 1932, 1778-1780; Girard 1981(1), 208-209 and 1981(2), 239-240.

⁶⁶ Ovidius, Fasti 3, 809 to 834.

⁶⁷ Plinius Senior, Naturalis Historia 35, 143.

⁶⁸ Della Corte 1954, nr. 46.

on top.⁶⁹ Daedalus and Minerva are here the protectors of the cabinet-makers' craft, a craft also depicted on top of the *ferculum*. The presence of Minerva might point to the Quinquatrus.

The various kinds of wool-processors worshipped Minerva as their protective deity, as can be deduced from inscriptions from Spolegium, Aquileia and Rome, from some graffiti from the Fullonica di Fabius Ululitremulus (III 1, 1) in Pompeii, and from the painting of Simus mentioned above.⁷⁰ Unfortunately it cannot be deduced from Boyce's catalogue of the Pompeian evidence for private religion whether the evidence from Pompeii in wool- and leather-workshops is related to the workshop or to living quarters, or even antedates the installation of the workshop (and the same is true for the data from the other workshops, with the exception of some evidence from the bakeries).⁷¹ Below the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome, a niche has been found in what may have been a tannery. It had a relief of Minerva.⁷²

The bakers feasted at the occasion of the Vestalia, a feast which lasted from June 7th to 15th, June 9th being the most important day.⁷³ Work in the bakeries was interrupted (*cessat opus, vacuae conticuere molae*), the millstones and the donkeys driving the mills were wreathed (for processions?).⁷⁴ An inscription from Nemus Dianae documents the worship of Diana Nemorensis Vesta by a baker from Rome.⁷⁵ From Pompeian bakeries we have five paintings, one on an oven, two in the oven-room, while the position of the two remaining ones is unknown. Vesta accompanied by a donkey is found four times, Bacchus once, the Genius, Lares and snakes on all five paintings.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ Helbig 1868, nr. 1480; Eschebach 1978, fig. 35; Fröhlich 1992, 62-63. Cf. on processions SHA, Gallienus 8, 6 and Aurelianus 34, 4 (*vexilla collegiorum*).

⁷⁰ Inscriptions, Spolegium: CIL I, 1406; Aquileia: CIL V, 801; Rome: CIL VI, 268 (57 AD). Fullonica of Ululitremulus: Della Corte 1954, nr. 711; CIL IV S III, 7963; CIL IV S III, 9131; Moeller 1976, 89-90; De Vos - De Vos 1982, 120.

⁷¹ On the worship of Minerva by the Pompeian wool processors: Moeller 1976, 86-90. Shrines in Boyce 1937: nrs. 24 (= Moeller 1976, 26-59 nr. 1), 33, 34, 55 (= Moeller 27), 58 (= Moeller 19), 171 (= Moeller 29), 282 (= Moeller 22), 406 (= Moeller 17), 439 (= Moeller 23).

⁷² Gatti 1900, 13; Heichelheim 1932, 1778; Lugli 1938, 648-649 (early third century?).

⁷³ Wissowa 1937(1), 256-257; Koch 1958, 1755-1757. A painted representation of the feast comes from the Pompeian Macellum (VII 9, 7.8.19.52) (De Vos - De Vos 1982, 45; De Ruyt 1983, 146).

⁷⁴ Ovidius, Fasti 6, 311 to 318, 347.348.

⁷⁵ CIL XIV, 2213 (100 AD), from a *pistor Romaniensis ex regione XIII*.

⁷⁶ Of the religious evidence found in Pompeian bakeries depictions on the baker's oven and paintings in which Vesta, the protective deity of the bakers, is found belong with certainty to the bakery (Boyce 1937, nrs. 159, 240, 247, 316, 318). Further evidence that may be related to a bakery: nrs. 27, 113, 140, 149, 158, 204, 241, 379, 409, 410, 417, 421). On religion in the Pompeian bakeries: Mayeske 1979, 145-165; Orr 1972, 36.

A parallel for the apotropaic phallus with plummet that originally formed part of some carpenters' workshop, can be found in Pompeii: a tufa slab with a relief of a phallus and tools.⁷⁷

A painting of a snake, presumably the Genius Loci, was found near a water-conduit in the service area of the Terme Stabiane (VII 1, 8) in Pompeii.⁷⁸

Many inscriptions, almost all from Rome, document the worship of deities by the workers in *horrea*.⁷⁹ These are: the Genius Loci or Horreorum (6 or 7x),⁸⁰ Fortuna Horreorum (2x),⁸¹ Bona Dea Galbilla (related to the Horrea Galbana),⁸² Aesculapius,⁸³ Numen Domus Aug. (2x),⁸⁴ Numen Caereris (*sic*),⁸⁵ Silvanus (2x),⁸⁶ Jupiter Silvanus,⁸⁷ the Dii Palmyrae and the Palmyrene god Malachbelos (dedication by a Palmyrene family),⁸⁸ Sol,⁸⁹ Hercules (2x),⁹⁰ and Hercules Domus Aug.⁹¹ It is not clear whether these gods were worshipped in the actual *horrea*. For example, an inscription mentioning an *aedicula* for the Numen Domus Aug. and Hercules, set up by a *quinquennalis* of a *sodalitium* of all three cohorts of the Horrea Galbana, may be related to worship inside this store building, but also to worship in a guild-seat.⁹² On the other hand a

⁷⁷ To the right of the entrance to the Officina di L. Livius Firmus (IX 1, 5) (Kraus - von Matt 1973, fig. 201; De Vos - De Vos 1982, 194).

⁷⁸ Boyce 1937, nr. 472.

⁷⁹ On religion in the *horrea*: Rickman 1971, 312-315.

⁸⁰ CIL VI, 235 (75 AD) (*pro salute dominorum*); CIL VI, 236; CIL VI, 237; CIL VI, 238; CIL IX, 1545 (Beneventum); perhaps CIL XI, 357 (Ariminum) (much damaged); inscription in a Severan shrine in the centre of the courtyard of the Horrea Agrippiana, Rome (see below).

⁸¹ CIL VI, 188; CIL VI, 236.

⁸² CIL VI, 30855 with EE 4, nr. 723a and Brouwer 1989, 22-24 nr. 9).

⁸³ CIL VI, 238.

⁸⁴ CIL VI, 236; CIL VI, 338 (159 AD).

⁸⁵ CIL IX, 1545 (Beneventum).

⁸⁶ CIL VI, 588; CIL VI, 682 (c. 128 AD).

⁸⁷ Mancini 1911, 258.

⁸⁸ CIL VI, 710. Man, wife and son call themselves *Calbienses de coh(orte) III* (in the Horrea Galbana).

⁸⁹ CIL VI, 710.

⁹⁰ CIL VI, 237; CIL VI, 338 (159 AD).

⁹¹ CIL VI, 30901 (c. 128 AD). Cf. Herz 1988, 116.

⁹² CIL VI, 338.

Severan cult-room has been found in the centre of the courtyard of the Horrea Agrippiana in Rome which was apparently set up by *negotiantes* (here the Genius Horreorum was worshipped).⁹³

5C Participants, beneficiaries, organization

The epigraphical information from Ostia concerning the participants is scanty. The Sacello del Silvano was visited by one Marius and one Anna, and by the *sebaciarius* Calpurnius. The financier of the cult-room in the Horrea di Hortensius was a captain or religious official of the Misenum fleet, L. Hortensius Heraclida, the priest of the shrine being one Iulius Victorinus. Outside Ostia epigraphical information comes from *horrea* only. Almost all of that information is from Imperial depots in Rome. The dedicators whose profession is known were *operari*, *horrearii*, *vilici* and, probably, *negotiantes*. All dedicators were slaves and freedmen, many of them Imperial.⁹⁴

The information concerning the religious organization is wanting as well. In Ostia a *sacerdos* was related to the shrine in the Horrea di Hortensius, which may have been built by a religious official of the Misenum fleet. It is possible that guilds of workers from *horrea* worshipped gods inside these buildings, but they may also have had a guild-seat elsewhere. A religious dedication was made by a *quinquennalis* of a *sodalitium* of the (three) cohorts of the Horrea Galbana in Rome.⁹⁵ This may have been a *collegium Herculis Salutaris*, like the *collegium Herculis Salutaris cohortis primae sagariorum* which was related to the Horrea Galbana.⁹⁶ Perhaps these were funerary guilds.⁹⁷

⁹³ The following inscription was found: *[Pro] salut(e) | [Col(legium)] salut(are) Genium Horreor(um) | [A]grippianorum negotiantib(us) | L. Arrius Hermes | C. Varius Polycarpus | C. Paconius Chrysanthus | immunes s(ua) pecunia d(ono) d(ederunt)*. The three *immunes* were probably members of a guild of *negotiantes*. Many rooms on the ground floor of the Horrea Agrippiana were shops (Wickert 1925 and 1926; Rickman 1971, 90, 93-95, 180, Pls. 41, 42; Morel 1987, 149-154).

⁹⁴ Rickman 1971, 176-182.

⁹⁵ CIL VI, 338: *Numini domus Aug. | sacrum Herculi salutari | quod factum est sodalic(io?) horr(eorum) Galban(orum) cohort(ium) | A. Cornelius Aphrodisius quinquenn(alis) | aediculam novam a solo sodalibus suis pecunia | sua donum dedit* (159 AD).

⁹⁶ CIL VI, 339. It is not known what the relation between the *horrea* and the mantle-dealers amounted to.

⁹⁷ Rickman 1971, 174-176, 180.