

Chapter 9

The Sacello del Silvano

§ 1 Introduction

In this chapter a cult-room in a workshop is studied: the Sacello del Silvano (I,III,2) in the Caseggiato dei Molini (I,III,1). A summary of this chapter has already been offered in chapter 4. As has been explained in chapter 1, § 6, the shrine is dealt with separately because it offers an exceptionally good opportunity to study the Imperial cult.

In this chapter I will argue that the Caseggiato dei Molini was a bakery when the cult-room was in existence. For the understanding of the shrine a discussion of the economic life of the Ostian bakers is indispensable. Consequently a conspectus of the archaeological, epigraphical, and legal data concerning the Ostian bakers is found in § 2, whereas the organization and customers of the bakers are dealt with in § 3. The shrine itself is studied in § 4, together with the adjacent room (24), which from the point of view of its construction forms an entity with the Sacello, and was apparently another shrine. Dr. Eric M. Moormann, a specialist in the field of painting, has at my request written a short technical, stylistic, and iconographic analysis of the paintings in the Sacello. His contribution can be found at the end of this book.

A preliminary study about the Caseggiato dei Molini was written by Heres.¹ The final publication, by Heres and myself, will follow in a collection of articles by various authors about the Ostian bakers.² There I argue that many rooms of the building, including the Sacello, were excavated for the first time in 1870. Afterwards the building was partly filled with earth again. Very little information is available about this excavation, with only brief references in the *Giornale di Roma*, in manuscripts preserved in Ostia and in archaeological studies.³ The building

¹ Heres 1988.

² Bakker 1994.

³ Letter written by C.L. Visconti to the Principe Runa, dated March 8th 1870 (to be consulted at the Soprintendenza Ostia); *Giornale di Roma*, March 15th 1870; letter by P.E. Visconti to cardinal G.E. Berardi, dated April 5th 1870 (to be consulted at the Soprintendenza Ostia); *Giornale di Roma*, May 16th 1870; *Giornale di Roma*, June 3rd 1870; De Rossi 1870; Visconti 1879, 207; Lanciani 1880, 197-198, Tav. X, 4, 5, 7; Paschetto 1912, 343-344 and fig. 90, 558-559; Vaglieri 1913(2), 184; GdS 1913, 112; 1914, 154, 157; 1915, 87; 1916, 97; Calza 1915(2), 242.

was excavated completely during the First World War. Two short articles about the building and the finds were then published by Calza.⁴ Extensive reports can be found in the *Giornale degli Scavi*, kept by Finelli.⁵

§ 2 Data concerning the bakers in Ostia

2A Archaeological evidence

So far three bakeries had been identified in Ostia:

1. Caseggiato dei Molini (I,III,1).

A large Hadrianic building. Many rooms have a floor of basalt blocks, some of which have imprints of hooves. Remains of two ovens and several basins were found. Five kneading-machines and parts of at least ten millstones can be identified. Important alterations took place under Antoninus Pius, under Septimius Severus, in the years c. 210-235 AD, and in the period c. 250-283 AD. The building was destroyed by a fire at the end of the third century and never rebuilt.

2. Molino I,XIII,4.⁶

Like the Caseggiato dei Molini this is a large building. It has floors of basalt blocks, seven millstones, four kneading-machines, one large oven and two masonry basins. Trajanic and Hadrianic masonry have been identified in the Molino.

3. A bakery near the Caseggiato dei Doli (I,IV,5).⁷

The position is not entirely clear. Here ovens, a basin, millstones and fragments of millstones were discovered. Hadrianic brickstamps were noted.

The establishment of the bakery in the Caseggiato dei Molini cannot be dated. All that can be deduced from the remains is, that the bakery was in existence in the later third century. A dating of the establishment of the other two bakeries has not yet been attempted. The building history of some other possible bakeries - buildings with floors of basalt blocks, one

⁴ Calza 1915(2) and 1915(4).

⁵ GdS 1913, 112-113, 126, 130-131; 1914, 154-158, 161-163, 165-176, 228-230, 234, 247-249; 1915, 87-101, 163-188; 1916, 93-94, 96-97.

⁶ SO I, 125; Blake 1973, 157; Meiggs 1973, 274. See also chapter 4, conspectus I, nr. 8.

⁷ Lanciani 1878, 37-38; Pasqui 1906, 373; cf. Carcopino 1910, 401-403. The position of this bakery is of importance for the interpretation of a group of terracotta moulds found in the Caseggiato dei Doli (I,IV,5) (Pasqui 1906, 359-373; Piganiol 1923, 100; Floriani Squarciapino 1954; Bieber 1961, 241-244; Salomonson 1972). See also chapter 4, conspectus I, nr. 3.

or more ovens, basins and parts of millstones and kneading-machines - has also not been investigated in detail:

4. Caseggiato del Pantomimo Apolausto / Caseggiato del Balcone Ligneo (I,II,2.6).⁸

Here floors of basalt blocks, an oven, three small basins and a well were found. Near the well are three fragments of *catilli* (upper parts of millstones), one with part of the contraption into which the horizontal beam for rotating the millstone was inserted. Most of the basalt floors are in rooms which are accessible only through narrow doorways, not fit for the passage of animals. This may therefore have been a confectioner's (*pistrinum dulciarium*), where people and not animals operated small millstones (*pistrillae*). The two buildings have been dated to c. 120 AD. In the oven stamps were found dated to the reigns of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius.

5. Caseggiato della Cisterna (I,XII,4).⁹

This building has some floors of basalt blocks in the northwestern part, and an oven to the east. In one of the rooms facing Semita dei Cippi is part of a kneading-machine with the remains of a hole passing through the side in which a wooden vane was fastened. In the southern part is the cistern which gave the building its name. To the south of that is a deep, narrow space for a paddle-wheel (related to the bakery and Terme del Foro (I,XII,6)?).¹⁰ The building is Hadrianic.

6. Caseggiato delle Fornaci (II,VI,7).¹¹

There can be no doubt about the function of this building. It has floors of basalt blocks, three basins, three large ovens - one of which was a "calcara" - and a small oven (for pastry?). The discovery of two oil-presses was reported in 1913, doubtlessly kneading-machines: up to 1915, when Calza set things right, the kneading-machines in the Caseggiato dei Molini were regarded as oil-presses.¹² In the building are some fragments of *catilli*, one with part of the hole for the insertion of the horizontal beam, and a part of what appears to have been a kneading-machine. Some of the basalt blocks have imprints of hooves. The building is Hadrianic.

⁸ Paribeni 1916, 411-413, 419-421, plan after p. 428. A millstone seems to be indicated on the plan in room 40. See also chapter 4, conspectus I, nr. 1.

⁹ SO I, 132, fig. 34; Blake 1973, 176.

¹⁰ On the paddle-wheel: Oleson 1984, 176-177. On the introduction of water-powered mills in Rome: Coarelli 1987, 442-456. See also chapter 4, conspectus I, nr. 6.

¹¹ Vaglieri 1912(1), 389 and fig. 2 on p. 390; Vaglieri 1913(1), 125-128 and plan on p. 122. See also chapter 4, conspectus I, nr. 10.

¹² Calza 1915(2), 244.

Alterations have been dated to the second half of the third century AD.

A further possible bakery is:

7. Caseggiato I,X,2.¹³

Here a basin, an oven, and two rooms with floors of basalt blocks were found, but no millstones and kneading-machines. The building has been dated to c. 120 AD.

I located the following scattered remains in July 1987: three *metae* (lower parts of millstones) just outside the entrance to the excavations; three *catilli* - one of which was part of a *pistrilla* - in the garden next to the museum; lower part of a kneading-machine on northern part of Via dei Balconi, grafting of vertical spindle preserved and identical to grafting encountered in Caseggiato dei Molini; fragment of *catillus* in front of Caseggiato di Bacco e Arianna (III,XVII,5); upper part of *meta* in understairs of Caseggiato IV,II,12; *meta* on Piazzale della Vittoria. A millstone of peperino was found on Via dei Lari in 1914.¹⁴ Boersma reports the presence of a *meta* in room 5 of Caseggiato V,II,3.¹⁵ Two *metae* were found next to the entrance of tomb 13 of the Porta Laurentina-necropolis.¹⁶

The following reliefs from Ostia and its satellite Portus show parts of bakeries:¹⁷

1. Two reliefs on a marble block in which *ollae* were inserted, from Ostia, dated to the first century AD. On either side of the inscription are reliefs showing the interior of a bakery (see also § 2B, nr. 2).¹⁸
2. Terracotta relief from the facade of tomb 78 of the Isola Sacra-necropolis, late-Trajanic or Hadrianic. In the facade is a relief showing part of a bakery (see also § 2B, nr. 3).¹⁹
3. Marble relief found in modern Ostia, a shop-sign or tomb-relief. Depicted is a man amongst loaves of bread; above him are a sieve and a

¹³ Calza 1923, 182-183, Tavv. IV, 1 and V, 1. See also chapter 4, conspectus I, nr. 4.

¹⁴ Calza 1914, 246, fig. 1 on p. 245; Calza 1916, fig. 4a on p. 146.

¹⁵ Boersma 1985, 114, 383.

¹⁶ They may have indicated a cremation, or have been apotropaic objects (SO III, 79).

¹⁷ In the facade of tomb 29 of the Isola Sacra-necropolis are two reliefs depicting people working over *catilli*. One is a metal worker, the other may be a metal worker or baker. Hadrianic-Antonine (Calza 1940, 251-253, figs. 151 and 152, 303-304; Floriani Squarciapino 1959, 186-189 nrs. 4, 5, Tavv. II, 2 and III, 1; Zimmer 1982, 183-184 nrs. 117 and 118).

¹⁸ CIL XIV, 393; Moritz 1958, 76, Pl. 7a; Helbig 1963, 245 nr. 316; Zimmer 1982, 114-115 nr. 25, fig. 25.

¹⁹ Calza 1931, 539-540; Calza 1940, 254, fig. 154, 336-337; Thylander 1952, nr. A 61, Pl. XX, 3; Floriani Squarciapino 1959, 190-191 nr. 7, Tav. IV, 2; Meiggs 1973, on Pl. 28b; Zimmer 1982, 113-114 nr. 24, fig. 24.

bread-mould. Probably first century AD.²⁰

2B Inscriptions

The following inscriptions refer to the Ostian bakers:²¹

1. From tomb 1, Porta Laurentina-necropolis; c. 50-30 BC. The tomb belonged to D(ecimus) Numisiu(s) D(ecimi) I(ibertus) Antioc(hus), *pistor*.²²
2. Found in Ostia; on a marble block in which *ollae* were inserted; first century AD. The monument belonged to P. Nonius Zethus, *Aug(ustalis)* (see also § 2A, nr. 1).
3. From tomb 78, Isola Sacra-necropolis; late-Trajanic or Hadrianic. The tomb belonged to Ti. Claudius Eutyclus (see also § 2A, nr. 2).
4. Found in Ostia; fragmentary; 140 AD. Set up in honour of Antoninus Pius by the [*c*]orpus pist[orum].²³
5. Found in Civitavecchia; fragmentary; period of Marcus Aurelius. Set up in honour of Marcus Aurelius by the *corpus pisto[rum] coloniae O[stiens(ium) et] Portus Utriu[sque]*.²⁴
6. Found in the unexcavated section of the Porta Laurentina-necropolis; approximately 190 AD. Belonging to some building of the *corpus pistorum* which was in an area controlled by both the *praefectus annonae* and the *decuriones*.²⁵
7. Found in Ostia; c. 198 AD. Set up in honour of M. Licinius Privatus by the *fabri tignuarii*. Later *quaestori et q(uin)q(uennali) corporis pistorum Ostiens(ium) et Port(ensium)* was added, referring to Privatus.²⁶
8. Found in Ostia; March 1st 249. Set up in honour of P. Flavius Priscus, *patr(ono) corp(or)is pistorum*, by the *mensores frumentarii*.²⁷

²⁰ Calza - Floriani Squarciapino 1962, 21 nr. 13; Zimmer 1982, 116-117 nr. 28, fig. 28; Pavolini 1986(1), fig. 18.

²¹ Perhaps also CIL XIV S, 4676 (but fragmentary) and CIL XIV, 4234 (referring to a baker from Rome or Ostia: Sirks 1984, 617 n. 5).

²² SO III, 63, 143-144.

²³ CIL XIV S, 4359.

²⁴ CIL XIV, 101.

²⁵ Found in the early eighties, "località Pianabella". A large marble slab, broken in five pieces, h. 0.77, w. 2.40, d. 0.08. H. of letters 0.17, 0.17, 0.06 and 0.055. *Corpus | pistorum | Locus adsignatus a Papirio Dionysio tunc praef. ann. | decurionumque [6]su*. The first letter of the last word is the upper left part of a C, G, O or Q. The word is presumably *concessu*. M. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius is known as *praefectus annonae* at the end of 189 and in 190 AD (Pavis d'Escurac 1976, 352-353). No literature available.

²⁶ CIL XIV, 374. For the date: CIL XIV S II, p. 611 and Meiggs 1973, 210, 330-331.

²⁷ CIL XIV S, 4452.

The inscriptions document an Ostian *corpus pistorum* from 140 to 249 AD. It will not have been established before the *corpus pistorum* in Rome, by Trajan (see § 2C). By the second half of the second century the *corpus* also included the bakers of Portus, at the time a district of Ostia.

2C Legal sources

At least one legal text referring to the Ostian bakers has been preserved,²⁸ Fragmenta Vaticana 234, from the period 198-211 AD: *Ulpianus libro supra scripto (de officio praetoris tutelaris): sed Ostienses pistorum non excusantur (a tutelis, and contrary to the urbici pistorum), ut Philumeniano imperator noster cum patre (Antoninus cum Septimio Severo) rescripsit.*²⁹ Philumenianus was either *praefectus annonae* or an Ostian baker.³⁰ The text is from the Fragmenta Vaticana, which were collected around 320 or after 372 AD. Therefore the text was still valid in the beginning of the fourth century AD.³¹

Different regulations had been made concerning the bakers in Rome. There the *collegium pistorum* had probably been established by Trajan.³² It was a *corpus* as well.³³ The only *munus* to be performed in Rome was the *tutela* (the guardianship), and from this the members had been exempted, again probably by Trajan.³⁴ Around 200 AD this exemption was extended by Septimius Severus and Caracalla.³⁵ There was a further extension by Caracalla.³⁶ During the reign of the latter Emperor the number of members had fallen below the required minimum and new members were appointed by the Emperor.³⁷ The membership had now become a *munus*: the Emperor could force bakers to join the *corpus*. Later

²⁸ On the legal regulations concerning the *corpora pistorum* in Rome and Ostia: Sirks 1984, Appendix 2; Sirks in Bakker 1994; Herz 1988, 110-113, 169-171, 268-277.

²⁹ FV 234 is a *rescriptum*, which means that a contentious legal situation had arisen, and that either the official under whose authority the bakers rested, or the Ostian bakers themselves had approached Septimius Severus and Caracalla with a petition (on the *rescripta*: Wenger 1953, 427-428). On the position of the text, between Fragmenta Vaticana 233 and 235, both dealing with the *corpus pistorum* in Rome, see Sirks in Bakker 1994.

³⁰ Pavis d'Escurac 1976, 355. Cf. Herz 1988, 170.

³¹ Wenger 1953, 543-544; Girard - Senn 1967, 472-475.

³² Deduced by Sirks from Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* 13, 5. Others hold the guild to be older than Trajan (see most recently Herz 1988, 110-111).

³³ *Digesta* 3.4.1.pr.

³⁴ Fragmenta Vaticana 233.

³⁵ Fragmenta Vaticana 235.

³⁶ Fragmenta Vaticana 235 fin.

³⁷ Deduced by Sirks from Fragmenta Vaticana 235 fin.

the *corpus* could compel heirs of members to invest the inheritance in the *corpus*.

A second law referring to the bread-supply of Ostia may be Codex Theodosianus 14.19.1, enacted April 12th 398 in Mediolanum, by the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, and addressed to Flavius Mallius Theodorus, *praefectus praetorio: Panem Ostiensem adque fiscalem uno nummo distrahi volumus. Sancimus autem, ut nullus per sacrum rescriptum audeat pretium ampliare; qui si obtulerit supplicationem, duarum librarum auri multa ferietur.*³⁸

A. Visconti and Chastagnol assume that the law is about bread eaten in Ostia.³⁹ Others think it was made in Ostia and eaten in Rome (Meiggs), was made in Rome of corn which had arrived in the Ostian harbour (Pharr), was made in Rome and was of the Ostian kind, like "spaghetti bolognese" (Tengström), or was made in Rome by people who owned real estate in Ostia (the *pistores Ostienses* mentioned in Fragmenta Vaticana 234, who would be exempted from *munera* in Ostia, because they ran bakeries in Rome) (Herz).⁴⁰ The nature of this bread has been dealt with in detail by Carrié, who leaves the qualification *Ostiensis* unexplained.⁴¹ In his view there were four components in the bread-supply of fourth century Rome: the bread of the private sector; the *panis popularis* (distributed gratuitously from the reign of Alexander Severus or of Aurelian, by the Emperor; called from 330 AD *panis gradilis*); the *panis aedium* (supplied to those who had houses built, by the Emperor); the *panis Ostiensis adque fiscalis*. As to the *panis Ostiensis* he remarks that this cannot have been distributed, because: in that case it cannot be understood why the Emperors had to forbid requests for a price increase, only the Emperors themselves could increase the price; the *panis gradilis* is dealt with in the Codex in 14.17 (*De annonis civicis et pane gradili*), the *panis Ostiensis* in 14.19 (*De pretio panis Ostiensis*);⁴² the *panis gradilis* was in 398 AD distributed free of charge. He concludes that the *panis Ostiensis* was made of fiscal corn not meant for the *plebs frumentaria*, but

³⁸ On Theodorus: Wessner 1935, 1897-1901 (Theodoros 70)). For *fiscalis* cf. the *scholium* on Persius, Saturae 3, 111: *panis ... plebeius, de populi annona, id est fiscalis*.

³⁹ Visconti 1935, 756; Chastagnol 1960, 313.

⁴⁰ Meiggs 1973, 274; Pharr 1952, 420 n. 1; Tengström 1974, 96-97; Herz 1988, 170-171 (on p. 321 Herz relates it to the *pistrina privata* in Rome).

⁴¹ Carrié 1975, 1036-1047.

⁴² Dr. Sirks pointed out to me that Codex Theodosianus 14.19.1 may well have formed an entity with Codex Theodosianus 14.15.4, also dated April 12th 398, and addressed to Theodorus. The latter constitution is about people claiming water meant for the water-powered bakeries, and about people taking possession of corn from the depots of the bakers.

was to be sold at a low, fixed price on the free market by the Emperor who had thus entered the private sector.

Meiggs' explanation of *Ostiensis* has to be rejected. For bulk-transport from the harbours to Rome tow-boats were used on the Tiber.⁴³ The trip must have lasted a long time, covering a distance of 32 kilometres.⁴⁴ Together with the time taken up by the loading in Ostia or Portus and the unloading and distribution in Rome, the lapse of time from oven to consumer would be considerable, and the bread would not be fresh when eaten. The whole operation would be inefficient anyway. Pharr's explanation cannot be right, because by the second century all or almost all corn for Rome arrived in Ostia and Portus. Herz's explanation is to be rejected as well. The wording *pistores Ostienses* in the *Fragmenta Vaticana* would be most confusing, because both Ostia and Rome knew a *corpus pistorum*. But does *Ostiensis* mean that the bread was eaten in Ostia, or that it was of the Ostian kind, as Tengström would have it? The fact that the law was addressed to the *praefectus praetorio* allows both possibilities. In the fourth century Ostia and Portus were under the authority of the *praefectus annonae*, who was subordinate to the *praefectus Urbi*. Somewhere between 392-394 and 408-423 AD the administration of Ostia was changed: from then on the city fell under the authority of the *vicarius Urbis*, who was accountable to the *praefectus praetorio*.⁴⁵ The law, from 398 AD, could thus refer to Ostia, but also to Rome, because Codex Theodosianus 14.17.2 and 5, about the *panis gradilis*, are also addressed to the *praefectus praetorio*. The matter remains undecided.

⁴³ Meiggs 1973, 289-290.

⁴⁴ According to Le Gall and Tengström the trip lasted three days, but I do not agree with their interpretation of Philostratus, *Vita Apolloni* 7, 16 (Le Gall 1953, 257; Tengström 1974, 97). Here the length of the voyage by boat from Puteoli to the mouth of the Tiber is said to be three days, the *αναπλους* to Rome *συμμετρος*. This could mean that the last stage of the journey was "of the same length" and lasted three days as well, but must mean "of moderate length", because the story is about people (Apollonius and Damis) travelling. They could have walked to Rome in eight hours or less. Apparently they used a fast tow-boat for the transport of people.

⁴⁵ Meiggs 1973, 186-188, 401-402. CIL XIV S, 4719 documents a restoration of the Ostian *macellum* by Aurelius Anicius Symmachus, *praefectus Urbi*, in the period 418-420 AD. For the harbours this is an unparalleled action: the *praefectus annonae* always represented the *praefectus Urbi* in Ostia and Portus (Chastagnol 1960, 368). Therefore the financing of the restoration should not be regarded as a gift of the supervising magistrate. It was probably a private donation (on the Anicii in Ostia: Meiggs 1973, 212, 400).

§ 3 The organization and the customers of the Ostian and Roman bakers

Information about the organization and the customers of the *corpus pistorum coloniae Ostiensium et Portus Utriusque* and of the *corpus pistorum* in Rome is provided by epigraphical, literary, and archaeological sources. There is no explicit data concerning the size of the *corpora pistorum* in Rome and Ostia from the period of Trajan up to the moment that the distribution of free corn was replaced by that of free bread, by Alexander Severus or Aurelian.⁴⁶ As long as the membership was not a *munus* there may have been bakers who did not want to join in, or whose participation was not needed (whether the *munus pistorium* was ever introduced in Ostia is not known). After the introduction there may have been bakers who were not called up (*vacui*).⁴⁷ Fourth century Constantinople had 20 or 21 *pistrina publica* and 113 or 120 *pistrina privata*. In late antiquity Rome had a total of 254 or 274 *pistrina*.⁴⁸ According to Sirks the fiscal contribution accounted for 30% at most of the total bread-supply of fourth century Rome.⁴⁹

Collegia ("guilds") which had the status of *corpus* were from a legal point of view considered to be entities, not groups of individual people. The *corpus habere* was sanctioned by the Senate or the Emperor.⁵⁰ Sirks has argued that *corpora* were not established in order to serve the interests of their members: they performed duties in the public interest. Thus the *corpora naviculariorum* in the provinces had been established for the transport of fiscal corn. The membership procured *immunitas* from the *munera publica*. The members of the *corpus piscatorum et urinatorum* and the *corpora lenunculariorum* in Ostia (fisher-men, divers, and ferry-men) performed duties in the public interest by transporting fiscal corn along the Tiber to Rome, and by guarding *horrea*. They too were entitled to *immunitas*.⁵¹ Like the other *corpora* the *corpora pistorum* in Rome, Ostia and Portus must then have performed certain tasks in the public interest.

⁴⁶ The distribution of free bread is generally thought to have been initiated by Aurelian, but recently Coarelli has put forward a well supported argument that this was done by Alexander Severus (Coarelli 1987, 442-456).

⁴⁷ Sirks 1984, 533-534.

⁴⁸ Sirks 1984, 28, 36.

⁴⁹ Sirks 1984, 26-27. See also Sirks 1991.

⁵⁰ Sirks 1984, 166-174.

⁵¹ Sirks 1984, 174-180, 193-195, 456-476, 548-550. See especially Digesta 50.6.6.12. The duty of guarding *horrea* was assigned to *patroni* of the Roman *corpus pistorum* in 417 A.D. (Codex Theodosianus 14.4.9).

A remark by Aurelius Victor, referring to Trajan, shows that the *corpus* in Rome had been established to perform tasks for the *annona*: *Adhuc Romae a Domitiano coepta forum atque alia multa plusquam magnifice coluit ornavitque, et annonae perpetuae mire consultum, reperto firmatoque pistorum collegio.*⁵² The duty implied here must be the baking of bread. The members of the *corpus pistorum* could of course have helped the *annona* by, for example, controlling the fiscal corn stored in *horrea*, but the text suggests a different, more conspicuous contribution. A dedication to Annona Sancta by a certain Aelius Vitalio, *ensor* of the *corpus pistorum siliginariorum* in Rome, confirms that the members of the Roman *corpus* performed duties related to the food-supply.⁵³

From Aurelius Victor's words Sirks has deduced that the members of the *corpus pistorum* processed the corn of the *frumentationes*.⁵⁴ For this I find no direct evidence, but the proposal is attractive. The thousands of recipients of free corn did not form an economically defined group. Some were poor and may have eaten their corn as porridge (*puls*), but others were not,⁵⁵ and these people will have been satisfied only with bread.⁵⁶ The apartment buildings in Rome were of course not suited for the processing of corn. Therefore Herz suggests that as a rule the corn was taken to "a *pistor*", who bought it or supplied bread for a lower price.⁵⁷ The *corpus pistorum* would be a convenient organizational framework.

Further evidence concerns the *vigiles* in Rome, Ostia and Portus (the *vigiles* in Ostia and Portus came from Rome, and were stationed in the harbours for periods of four months).⁵⁸ An inscription from Rome records that a *centurio* of the *vigiles*, Ti. Claudius Messallinus, *adimpliavit columnis purpuriticis, valvis aereis, marmore et omni ornamento a novo ex pecunia furfuraria centuriae suae fecit, volentibus manipularibus suis*, in 156 AD, an *aedicula cum Genio*, which had been erected in 111 AD.⁵⁹ The *pecunia furfuraria* was apparently a fund resulting from the sale of

⁵² Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* 13, 5. On *reperto firmatoque*, "by devising and making permanent a guild of bakers", see Sirks 1984, 605-606.

⁵³ CIL VI, 22 (in view of the name Aelius, Hadrianic or later).

⁵⁴ Sirks 1984, 467, 604-607. It is not known whether Ostia knew *frumentationes*. For *frumentationes* in other cities than Rome and Constantinople: Carrié 1975, 1070-1090.

⁵⁵ Carrié 1975, 1030-1035.

⁵⁶ Presumably one had to pay for the services of the bakers. If not, distribution of free corn in the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria could have been skipped and replaced by distribution of free bread.

⁵⁷ Herz 1988, 71.

⁵⁸ Meiggs 1973, 304-309; Rainbird 1986.

⁵⁹ CIL VI, 222.

considerable quantities of *furfur* (bran), the waste left over after grinding corn, which may have been used as fodder. Apparently then the *vigiles* owned corn, either free corn or corn which they had bought.

The corn of the *vigiles* was most likely free corn. Those *vigiles* who were Latini Iuniani received the full Roman citizenship after three years of service. From then on they were also entitled to free corn supplied by the Emperor, and a collection day and counter in the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria in Rome, where the corn of the *frumentationes* was distributed, were allotted to them.⁶⁰ The latter favour was not the result of the enfranchisement. Only citizens could receive free corn, but the grant was not linked automatically to the citizenship. For the distribution of free corn there was a *numerus fixus*, and those citizens who wanted to become *incisi* had to try to buy a *tessera frumentaria*, or inherited one if they were lucky.⁶¹ It must be the criterium of having served the *vigiles* for three years that led to both the enfranchisement and the granting of free corn to the Latini Iuniani. It seems unlikely that the new citizens were favoured above long-time citizen-colleagues. It may therefore be assumed that all citizen-*vigiles* received free corn.

Where was the corn of the *vigiles* processed? In a bakery inside or outside the barracks? There is hardly any archaeological data about the barracks in Rome,⁶² but the Ostian one, the Caserma dei Vigili (II,V,1), has been fully excavated and is well preserved. There is no trace of a workshop in that building. Apparently the bread for the *vigiles* was produced elsewhere, most likely in the Caseggiato delle Fornaci (II,VI,7), a bakery across the street.⁶³ There is no evidence that the Caseggiato delle Fornaci was affiliated to the Ostian *corpus pistorum*, but again: this is the obvious organizational framework.

To the *vigiles* as customers of the *corpora pistorum* in Rome and the harbours may hypothetically be added the soldiers in other *castra* and the many Imperial slaves, whose bread-supply must also have been centralized.⁶⁴ The *corpus pistorum magnariorum et castrensariorum*, documented

⁶⁰ CIL VI, 220 and CIL XIV S, 4499 ff. with Meiggs 1973, 307. Cf. Herz 1988, 92-95 and Bruun 1989.

⁶¹ Rickman 1980, 181, 191.

⁶² Rainbird 1986.

⁶³ It may be noted that the bakery is situated in a part of town where relatively few people lived: to the west are the Theatre and the Piazzale delle Corporazioni (II,VII), to the southeast the Terme di Nettuno (II,IV,2).

⁶⁴ For a conspectus of people working in Ostia and Portus for the local and Roman authorities: Meiggs 1973, 298-308 and Hermansen 1982(1), 58-59.

in Rome around 350 AD, was apparently related to *castra*.⁶⁵

The Ostian and the remaining Roman inscriptions pertaining to the *pistores* are not helpful in establishing the nature of the duties performed by the members of the *corpora*. That the Ostian members performed duties is confirmed by the presence of a guild building in an area controlled by both the *praefectus annonae* and the city-council,⁶⁶ and therefore in an area of vital importance to the supply of Rome.⁶⁷

§ 4 The Sacello del Silvano

4A History of the excavations

In § 1 I have already remarked that many rooms of the Caseggiato dei Molini were unearthed for the first time in 1870, under the direction of P.E. Visconti. Room 25, the Sacello del Silvano (figs. 19, 20; pls. 91, 92), must have been investigated in that year as well. In the *Giornale di Roma* of May 16th the find is reported of a painting of Silvanus. It is described by De Rossi as well. It was a large painting of Silvanus "with the usual attributes", found "near the entrance" to the building. On it *EX VISO* was read, written with large purple letters. It had a graffito with a date, "possibly from the time of Maximian". In 1887 the words *EX VISO* were published in the CIL by Dessau, who remarks that the painting can no longer be found, and that not even C.L. Visconti and Lanciani, who had been present at the excavations at the time, knew anything about it.⁶⁸ Now on a painting of Silvanus found in the Sacello during the First World War a graffito with the consular date 215 AD was found by Wirth in 1928 (pls. 85, 86). It is hard to believe that the building had two paintings of Silvanus with a date.

The description of the place of discovery of the painting does not obstruct the identification: Finelli, who conducted the excavations for Calza, regards room 24, to the south of the Sacello, as the main entrance to the building.⁶⁹ The words *EX VISO* were never seen again, but they

⁶⁵ CIL VI, 1739.

⁶⁶ See § 1B, nr. 6.

⁶⁷ On the basis of *Fragmenta Vaticana* 234 Meiggs has suggested that the bakers in the harbours baked bread for Rome, because "the Ostian bakers claimed privileges that had been granted to the bakers at Rome" (Meiggs 1973, 274). This possibility must be excluded, as has been shown in the preceding section. According to A. Visconti the difference in exemptions means that the Ostian bakers did not bake bread for Rome (Visconti 1935, 755).

⁶⁸ CIL XIV, 54. Cf. Bulard 1923, 475.

⁶⁹ GdS 1915, 170-171.

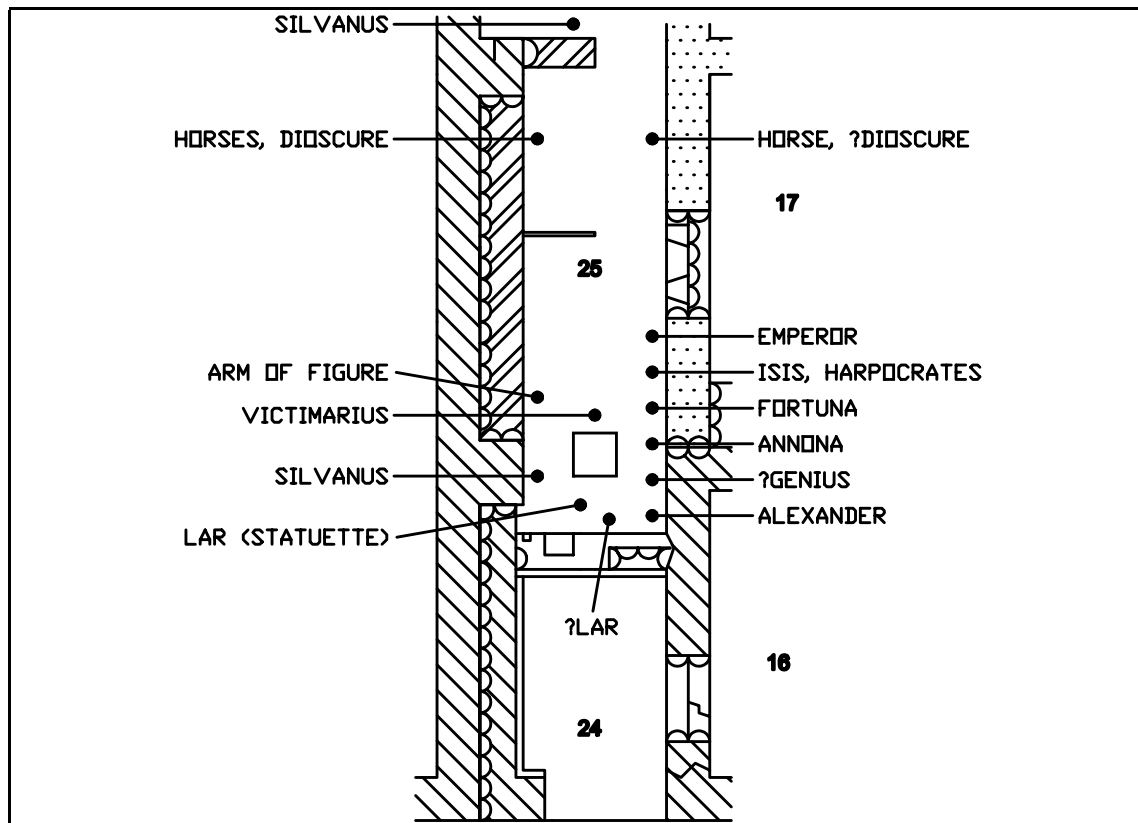


Figure 19. Sacello del Silvanus: plan (max. w. 2.06, max. d. 6.50). North is up. Dotted: Hadrianic; hatched: Antonine; double hatched: c. 210-235 AD.

can easily have disappeared if they had been applied "dry". The disappearance of the painting could be due to the filling of the room with earth after the excavation.⁷⁰

A further problem is that in 1914 a layer was found in the Sacello described as "incendio o materiale incendiato", of varying height, with an average height of one metre. In this layer a large number of objects was found, mainly fragments of utensils and tools, and a marble statuette of a Lar (pl. 87). The statuette was found between the altar and the large niche in the south wall of the Sacello, the other finds according to Calza near the entrance of the shrine.⁷¹ Now the Visconti's did not work with the accuracy of modern times, but they will not have missed the statuette. And what is more, the statuette, with a preserved height of 37 centimetres, was found at a distance of only approximately 80 centimetres from the painting

⁷⁰ It is certain that this happened to other rooms in the building. The Sacello is not indicated on the plans showing the results of the 1870-excavations, and had to be excavated by Finelli. The plans: Lanciani 1880, Tav. X, 4, 5, 7; Paschetto 1912, 344 fig. 90.

⁷¹ Calza 1915(2), 250.

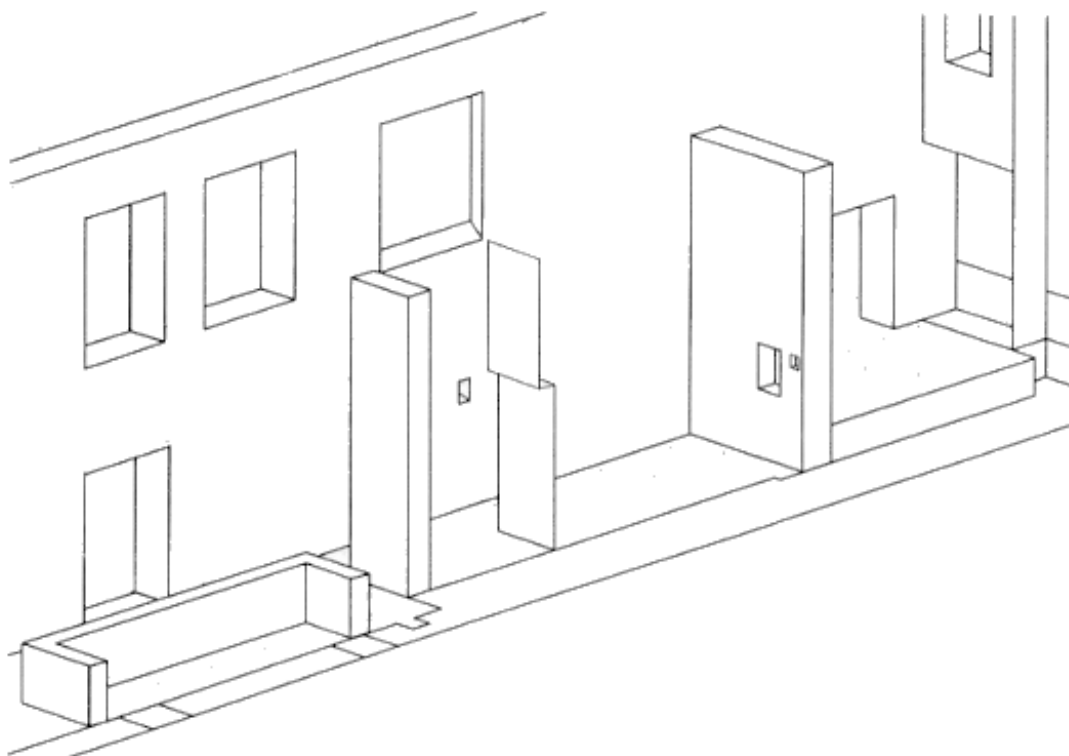


Figure 20. Sacello del Silvano: 3D-view. From the northwest.

of Silvanus, at a height of approximately one metre, that is some 25 centimetres above the bottom of the painting. If the painting was found, how could the statuette have been overlooked? But the story becomes more complicated.

In 1909 Lanciani wrote: "In the excavations of 1858 led by Visconti a house was discovered in the "Strada delle Pistrine", in the lararium of which some fifty bronze and silver statuettes of domestic gods were lying partly on the steps of the altar, partly on the floor".⁷² In the survey of the 1855-1870 excavations compiled by Paschetto there is nothing that concurs even vaguely with this description.⁷³ That the Sacello del Silvano is meant here has been suggested by C.C. van Essen.⁷⁴ There are two arguments in favour of the identification. First of all the location of the shrine, on the Strada delle Pistrine (Via dei Molini): I know of no other large private shrine along this road. Secondly the nature of the find: apparently the

⁷² Lanciani 1909, 59.

⁷³ Paschetto 1912, 537-559.

⁷⁴ In "A Brief Description of Ostia", unpublished manuscript, to be consulted in the Istituto Olandese in Rome.

shrine was suddenly destroyed and left as it was, which concurs with the fire which destroyed the Caseggiato dei Molini.

However, the words "on the steps of the altar" do not seem to refer to the Sacello, because there a simple, rectangular altar may be seen. The answer to this problem lies perhaps in Finelli's remark "tutta l'ara ... fu anche rialzata più tardi facendovi sopra una costruzione molto andante".⁷⁵ A second problem is that the find of the statuettes is not mentioned in the reports from 1870. Here 14 statuettes from the building are mentioned, all found before April 5th, whereas the painting is mentioned for the first time on May 16th (we do not learn where and in what context the statuettes were found). Why is Lanciani the only one to report this spectacular find, why does he do so at such a late date and why does he mention the year 1858?

The answer probably partly lies in a theft. It is hinted at by Finelli, who says that the first excavators were "scavatori poco scrupolosi e gli oggetti rinvenuti non tutti raggiunsero i musei papalini".⁷⁶ J. Carcopino goes into more detail: "Une circonstance qui ne dut pas engager C.L. Visconti à donner à ses fouilles dans ses parages une trop bruyante publicité, ce fut l'affaire G..... A 83 m. à l'Est de l'angle Est du temple, et à 21 m. au Sud «fra gli avanzi di edificio privato incominciati a scavare sul principio di quell'anno (1870) ... si rinvenne una quantità prodigiosa di sculture figurate ed ornamenti in bronzo quasi che una o più delle officine tornate in luce avessero appartenuto ad un fonditore di metalli. Molti di questi piccoli oggetti d'arte furono involati (G.....) e venduti a Napoli» (Notes Lanciani). Ce surveillant indécicat est nommé en toutes lettres dans les notes de M. Lanciani: il se déroba, par la fuite, aux poursuites judiciaires".⁷⁷ Lanciani clearly refers to the Molini (21 metres to the south of the (north)eastern corner of "the temple" (the Capitolium) must be to the north; the mention of workshops should be noted). The theft furnishes an explanation for a gap in the reports. All finds had been reported on April 5th. Then the painting of Silvanus is mentioned for the first time on May 16th. The end of the investigations is reported on June 3rd. The gap may be the result of the avoiding of a "trop bruyante publicité".

The available data does not allow a reconstruction of what exactly happened in the Sacello del Silvano in 1870, but the arguments for thinking that the Sacello was excavated, and that the painting of Silvanus and a large number of statuettes were found are, in my view, sound.

⁷⁵ GdS 1914, 166.

⁷⁶ GdS 1915, 172.

⁷⁷ Carcopino 1910, 403-404 n. 4. I have not located Lanciani's notes.

4B The building periods of room 24 and the Sacello

Rooms 24 and 25 (the Sacello) were installed in the southern part of an alley or corridor between the Caseggiato di Diana (I,III,3-4) and the Caseggiato dei Molini.⁷⁸ Two Antonine phases are found here. The northern part of the east wall is Hadrianic, the southern part Antonine. The southern end of the latter part was rebuilt in the Antonine period. The west wall, containing two brick piers,⁷⁹ is Antonine as well. Set against the southern part is another Antonine wall. The latter wall and the rebuilt part of the east wall form an entity and create the southern entrance to the alley.

In the lateral walls of room 24 and directly to the south of the dividing wall of rooms 24 and 25 are two F-shaped grooves, one in each wall, meant to receive beams which presumably blocked the alley for the general public or for animals. The nature of the obstruction indicates that for some time no rooms were installed in the southern part of the alley on the ground floor. The doorway in the dividing wall between room 24 and room 16 to the east was freely accessible.

Beamholes can be seen in the west and east walls of rooms 24 and 25 (one of these in Severan masonry). Their tops are at the average h. 3.65, the normal height for the Hadrianic and Antonine periods in the rest of the building.⁸⁰ The beamholes in the west wall of room 16 are passing through the wall, suggesting that there was a roof over room 24 during the first Antonine phase. The secondary west wall can only have been meant for the insertion of beamholes: apparently no permission was given to insert them in the Caseggiato di Diana. The existence of an upper floor in the second Antonine period is indicated by the presence of a mezzanine-window over the entrance from Via di Diana. There was no door on the first floor in the dividing walls of rooms 16 and 24, and 17 and 25. Apparently then the mezzanine-floor was reached along a mezzanine-staircase or ladder in the alley.

Room 25 in its present form was created during the period c. 210-235 AD. The space between the two Antonine brick piers of the west wall was filled in. Against the northern pier a wall was set at a right angle, leaving an entrance 0.96 wide. The western half of the door in the Hadrianic east wall was filled in. In the filling are two slit-windows, lighting room 17. Later in the Severan period the eastern half of the doorway was filled in

⁷⁸ On the dating of the masonry see Heres 1988.

⁷⁹ The northwestern part of the northern pier forms an entity with the west wall. In the north face of this pier is a vertical joint. It cannot be established whether the southern pier forms an entity with the wall.

⁸⁰ This measurement has been converted to the heights in the eastern part of the building. In reality the tops are at a height of 3.22 and 3.12.

as well. The slit-windows were now blocked, but not filled in, so that two niches resulted.⁸¹ The dividing wall between rooms 24 and 25 has been so heavily restored that its masonry cannot be dated. It was set against the west wall and into the east wall of the alley. In the eastern part of the south side was a 0.75 wide floor-niche, which was later filled in.⁸² In the west part of the north side are two wall-niches, one 0.41 wide, the other measuring only 0.15 x 0.12 x 0.15. The former was later filled in.

After the Severan period the eastern half of the doorway connecting rooms 24 and 16 was blocked, in two phases. In room 24 a recess or floor-niche resulted,⁸³ on the back of which slight traces of red paint have been preserved. In the upper right corner of this niche was a second, small wall-niche.

4C The paintings and the floor-mosaic in the Sacello

Summary of the succession of the layers of plaster; identification of the figures depicted in the room

The succession of the layers of plaster in room 25 has been discussed in catalogue C. In this section a summary is offered, together with a discussion of the identification of the figures depicted on the walls and in the mosaic on the floor.

The oldest layers of plaster can be found on the north, east and west walls, one on the north and east walls, two on the west wall, with traces of red paint on the first (layer 1). The layers are very thin.

A superimposed, thick layer is found on all walls (layer 2). Next to the larger niche in the south wall a small figure wearing a *tunica* was depicted (pl. 100). Calza thinks this may have been a Lar.⁸⁴ Not enough of the figure has been preserved for a reliable identification. Furthermore large rectangles were painted, on the west wall containing three "floating" figures: a bird, a *gorgoneion*, and a dolphin (pls. 94, 95). On the southern part of the west wall Silvanus was painted (now in the museum of Ostia; pls. 85, 95).⁸⁵ He is a little over one metre high and standing in a frame. He was partly gilded and is holding a branch and a sickle-shaped knife.⁸⁶

⁸¹ On the date of the blocking: Heres 1988, 51-52 (incorrect dating on plan, fig. a).

⁸² A blocked wall-niche is seen, starting at h. 0.50 (0.45 from plinth). Most likely this height corresponds with a new floor-level, related to the sidewalk along the south facade (for details see Bakker 1994).

⁸³ The lower part was filled in completely up to a height of at least 0.40, but it was presumably nevertheless a floor-niche; see the previous note.

⁸⁴ Calza 1915(2), 247.

⁸⁵ On the identification: Calza 1915(2), 248-249.

⁸⁶ "Gilded statues were not in fact the prerogative of emperors and gods, and their use was not limited to clearly religious contexts" (Price 1984, 187).

He is accompanied by a dog and standing next to an altar. The painting was inserted in the layer, witness grooves. It was not a structural part of the layer, added immediately after the completion of the rest of the paintings by a "master"-painter: one of the grooves cuts off rectangles of layer 2, and there is no band next to this groove, contrary to another groove to the north (see below).

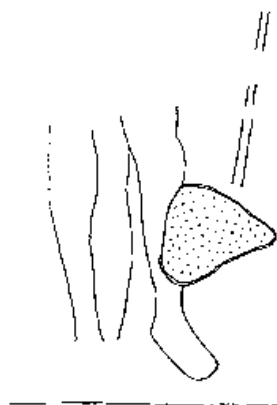


Figure 21. Sacello del Silvano: remains of Dioscure on the west wall.

At least four later layers, all very thin, can be found. The oldest of these has several figures, which were originally red (layer 3). Later several colours were added (layer 4). Layer 3-4 is encountered first of all directly behind the entrance. On the west wall three horses and a male figure holding a sceptre or lance were painted (pl. 93). The attribute and the proximity of horses indicate that the figure, which has been very badly preserved, is a Dioscure (fig. 21). A horse and presumably the other Dioscure were painted on the opposite wall (pl. 96).⁸⁷ On the southern part of the west wall, to the right of Silvanus, at least one figure was painted (pl. 95). All that has been preserved is the right arm, holding a lance or sceptre.

On the southern part of the east wall a row of figures was painted (pls. 97, 98, 99). The first of these is holding a sceptre or lance and wearing a mantle around the hips, whereas the upper part of the body is naked (the other arm and the head are missing). Calza, who for the most part saw layer 5 (now largely disappeared; pls. 88, 89, 90), which repeats layer 3-4 with only one exception, calls this a figure in the posture of the Augustus of Primaporta.⁸⁸ Moormann however points out that the figure represents a first century Emperor,⁸⁹ whose identity will be discussed below. The second, third, and fourth figures were correctly identified by Calza. Next to the Emperor is the small Harpocrates, holding a *cornucopiae* and touching his lips with one finger of his other hand. He is standing at the

⁸⁷ Finelli saw two legs somewhere on the northern part of the east wall (GdS 1914, 169).

⁸⁸ Calza 1915(2), 247-248.

⁸⁹ See Eric M. Moormann, "Mural Paintings in the Sacellum of the Caseggiato dei Molini at Ostia", published at the end of this study.

feet of Isis, who is holding a *sistrum*. Her other arm cannot be traced. The fourth figure is Fortuna, holding a *cornucopiae* and a rudder. Next to Fortuna is a figure with rudder and *tessera*, regarded by Calza as Liberalitas.⁹⁰ Nicolet however has shown that Annona is depicted: the *tessera* is found as an attribute of Liberalitas, but she has a *cornucopiae* in the other hand.⁹¹ The next figure is male in view of its short mantle. In one hand is a *cornucopiae*, the other does not hold an attribute. Around the head was perhaps a *nimbus*. The gender and the *cornucopiae* suggest it is a Genius. I know one other depiction of a Genius with only one attribute, and no parallels for the *nimbus*.⁹² The final figure was called by Calza a figure in the posture of the lysippian Alexander the Great. Moormann has confirmed this identification.⁹³ This figure is naked except for a mantle hanging down from a shoulder, and holds a sceptre or lance. It is not clear whether there is an object in the other hand. Around the head is a *nimbus*.

The next intervention (layer 5) can be traced only on the southern part of the east wall (pls. 88, 89, 90) and the outer north wall. The Emperor was, as far as can be seen, left unchanged. Harpocrates, Fortuna, Annona, and the Genius were repainted. Isis was replaced by a male figure, holding a *patera* in its right hand (a Genius?). Between the four central figures torches were painted. A painting of Silvanus was seen by Finelli on the outer north wall, next to the entrance. According to him it belongs to layer 5. Finally a thin, white layer was carelessly applied (layer 6).

On the floor of the room is a black-and-white mosaic, with the depiction of a *victimarius*, an assistant at sacrifices, holding an axe above his head. The figure was identified by Calza.⁹⁴ At an unknown point in time a masonry altar was set on top of some object depicted in front of the *victimarius*.

The dates of the plaster and the floor-mosaic

Layers 1 and 2 are on masonry which according to Heres is from the

⁹⁰ Calza 1915(2), 247-248.

⁹¹ Nicolet 1976, 704-706. See also Van Berchem 1939, 92-93 and Pavis d'Escurac 1981, 796 on the Aquari-sarcophagus. Annona holding a rudder and *tessera frumentaria*, depicted with the stern of a ship, a *modius*, and the Claudian lighthouse of Portus on a sesterce of Antoninus Pius: Meiggs 1973, Pl. XVIII, c.

⁹² See Kunckel 1974. A Genius with only one attribute is depicted on an Ostian painting: museum, Sala delle Pitture; inv. nr. 10106; Velocchia Rinaldi in Floriani Squarciapino 1971, 33-34 nr. 2 ("Lar"; second or third century AD); Helbig 1972, 149 nr. 3188(1) ("Lar"; c. 200-210 AD).

⁹³ See n. 89.

⁹⁴ Calza 1915(2), 246.

period c. 210-235 AD. For layer 2 stylistic datings of c. 200 and 210 AD have been suggested.⁹⁵ The painting of Silvanus, inserted in layer 2, cannot be later than 215 AD, witness a graffito, discussed below. For this painting stylistic datings in the period of Commodus and of c. 210 AD have been suggested.⁹⁶ The analysis of the paintings by Moormann has confirmed the dating of layer 2 and Silvanus in the Severan period.⁹⁷ The masonry and the graffito narrow down the dating of layers 1 and 2 and of Silvanus to the years c. 210-215 AD. The partial blocking with slit-windows of the door between rooms 17 and 25, dated by Heres to the later Severan period, can then also be pinpointed to these years, whereas the south wall of the room cannot be later than c. 210-215 AD.

The later phases are difficult to date. A parallel for layers 3-4 is offered by a fragment of a painting from Caseggiato IV,II,5, on which the lower part of three figures has been preserved. The figures bear a great resemblance to figures on layers 3-4, as to their shape, posture, clothes and colours. What remains of the first and third figure is almost identical to the lower parts of the Genius and Alexander the Great. The lower part of the central figure may be compared to the lower parts of Isis, Fortuna and Annona. For this painting dates in the second century and in the Severan period have been suggested.⁹⁸ For layers 3-4 or layer 5 the later third or fourth century and a date of c. 240 AD have been suggested.⁹⁹ For layer 5 Moormann suggests a date in the period Caracalla - c. 250 AD.¹⁰⁰

Layers 1 and 2

From the thin layer 1 no conclusions can be drawn. When layer 2 was applied the Sacello was equipped with an interesting ante-room. At 2.34 from the north wall is a vertical groove in the plaster of the west wall (1.5 cm. wide), next to which is a red band belonging to layer 2 (pls. 91, 93, 94). At 2.13 from the floor it runs horizontally towards the north wall over a distance of 0.16. Then it continues vertically again. I suggest that a wooden partition was fastened in the groove. Rectangles and "floating" figures were painted to the south of the groove. To the north a single band is visible, running upwards in the corner between the west and north walls,

⁹⁵ C. 200: Wirth 1934, 139-141; c. 210: Van Essen 1954(1), 47.

⁹⁶ Commodus: Calza - Floriani Squarciapino 1962, 110 nr. 16 (on the basis of hair and beard); Helbig 1972, nr. 3186. C. 210: Wirth 1934, 145-146; Van Essen 1954(1), 47.

⁹⁷ See n. 89.

⁹⁸ See catalogue A, nr. 66.

⁹⁹ Later third or fourth century: Wirth 1934, 139-141; c. 240: Van Essen 1954(1), 47.

¹⁰⁰ See n. 89.

and, at a height of 2.36, continuing horizontally towards the south.

The inserted painting of Silvanus replaced another painting of special importance, most likely of a deity, because the composition of layer 2 to the north of Silvanus takes the presence of a painting breaking the pattern to the south into account: three large compartments are found, the middle one with an accolade and a curved band below; the vertical bands separating these compartments are accompanied by lines to the left, with the exception of the band bordering the left end of the first one, next to Silvanus, which has a line to the right (pls. 94, 95). The reason for the insertion of Silvanus into layer 2 can be deduced from the words *EX VISIO*, read on the painting in 1870. Apparently a deity (Silvanus himself or another deity) had appeared to someone in a dream and ordered the dedication of the painting.¹⁰¹

The grooves around Silvanus (pls. 85, 95) presumably held a wooden frame: to the left of the righthand groove, which runs diagonally downwards towards the floor, the pattern of 2 was not restored; the presence of a frame in the groove above Silvanus is suggested by two painted beam-ends on either side of Silvanus' head, which may have "supported" it. The plaster above Silvanus was painted yellow.

On the east wall layer 2 is partly covered by superimposed layers, and one or more deities might be concealed there. Nevertheless it is clear that the shrine was regarded as a shrine of Silvanus, in view of the painting of this deity belonging to phase 5 on the outer north wall, next to the entrance: as a religious "shop-sign" it explains to which deity the room was dedicated. The back part of the room was the focus of the cult-room, as is indicated by the presence of Silvanus and by the large niche in the back wall.

Silvanus was one of the most popular deities of the Imperial period, but has never had state-temples and -feasts. He was a god of the woods and gardens, of live-stock, of the *villa*, and of boundaries. The knife and branch he is holding refer to the woods and garden, the dog sitting next to him is the guardian of the plot of ground. In Italy he was worshipped intensively by slaves and freed slaves, especially those of the Emperor.¹⁰² Unfortunately the reason for the erection of the dedicatory inscriptions is not often mentioned explicitly. Documented are, in Italy: *pro salute*

¹⁰¹ On *ex viso*-dedications: Nock 1925, 96-97; Veyne 1986, especially 268-271. Cf. Van Straten 1976. Other *ex viso*-dedications in relation to Silvanus: AE 1971, 31 (Rome); CIL VI, 598, 609, 637, 651, 663, 677, 681, 683, 688, 692, 694; CIL X, 8217 (Capua); CIL XIV, 3456 (Sublaqueum). Cf. CIL VI, 706.

¹⁰² Von Domaszewski 1902 (on inscriptions); Wissowa 1912, 213-216; Bulard 1923; Jensen 1962; Bömer - Herz 1981, 78-87 (on inscriptions).

domini,¹⁰³ or *dominae*,¹⁰⁴ or *imperatoris*;¹⁰⁵ *pro sua salute*;¹⁰⁶ *ob libertatem*;¹⁰⁷ *huic loco tutela*;¹⁰⁸ *Silvano sancto, cui magnas gratias ago conductor aucupiorum*;¹⁰⁹ *ex viso, ex iussu*.¹¹⁰ In Ostian inscriptions he is mentioned together with Hercules, Isis, Magna Mater, Numen Domus Aug., and Numen Sarapis. A relief of and a dedication to Silvanus were found in *mithraea*. Mention is made of a *collegium Silvani Aug. maioris quod est Hilarionis functus sacomari*. Two dedications were made *pro salute imperatoris*. Most dedicators were slaves and freedmen.¹¹¹

Layers 3 and 4

Of layers 3-4 three groups remain. First of all the four horses and the two Dioscures (pls. 93, 96). Secondly the row of figures from the Emperor to Alexander (pls. 97, 98, 99). Thirdly one or more figures next to Silvanus (pl. 95).

The Dioscures and at least four horses were painted in the ante-room. The most southern horse on the west wall does not continue to the south of the groove for the presumed wooden partition, where very scanty remains of a superimposed layer are found. It appears that the continuation of the horse was on the wooden partition which was attached in the groove.

The Dioscures, the twins Castor and Pollux, were usually depicted with horses, who played an important role in their official worship. They were patrons of the equestrian order, and a sacrifice to Castor was the focus of an annual parade of the Equites. They were furthermore patrons of the chariot-races in the circus. Ostia was the only place where the Romans continued the ancient relation between the Dioscures and sea-faring. The

¹⁰³ CIL V, 5557 (Lacus Verbanus); CIL VI, 676.

¹⁰⁴ CIL IX, 3421 (Peltuinum).

¹⁰⁵ CIL VI, 619, 648, 658 (147 AD), 659.

¹⁰⁶ CIL VI, 580.

¹⁰⁷ CIL XIV, 3456 (Sublaqueum).

¹⁰⁸ CIL VI, 598.

¹⁰⁹ CIL XIV S, 4328 (Portus).

¹¹⁰ *Ex viso*: see above, n. 101. *Ex iussu*: Von Domaszewski 1902.

¹¹¹ The Ostian evidence pertaining to Silvanus: a mosaic-niche found near a *mithraeum* in the Palazzo Imperiale (catalogue A, appendix); a relief from the Palazzo Imperiale (catalogue A, nr. 60); a relief from the Mitreo Aldobrandini (Becatti 1954, 43, Tav. V, 2); a statue found near a lime-kiln in the Terme dei Cisiarii (Calza 1922(1), 94, fig. 3); an inscription from the Mitreo della Planta Pedis (Becatti 1954, 84); CIL XIV, 17, 20, 48, 50, 51 (October 1st 124 AD. See Ross Taylor 1912, 38 and Helbig 1969, 222-224 nr. 2306), 52, 53, 309 (*collegium Silvani*); CIL XIV S, 4320, 4326 (102-114 AD), 4327, 4329. In general: Ross Taylor 1912, 37-41 and Meiggs 1973, 383-384.

twins were here officially worshipped in their capacity of protectors of navigation. Each year on January 27th *ludi Castorum* were held at Ostia - led by the *praetor Urbanus*, later the *praefectus Urbi* -, quite possibly involving horse-races. The Ostian temple, where the Dioscures gave oracles, has not been located.¹¹² Few dedicatory inscriptions mentioning the Dioscures have been found in the western half of the Empire. In Rome depictions of the Castores were bequeathed to the *ensores machinarii frumenti publici* in 198 AD. In Ostian dedications they are found together with Neptunus and Jupiter-Serapis. The relation with the sea is obvious in the former inscription. Serapis was sometimes worshipped as protector of shipping.¹¹³

Group two was opposite and most likely supplemented by group three. Of group three hardly anything remains, and we can only guess at the identity of the figure with lance or sceptre next to Silvanus. Group two can nevertheless be regarded as a separate unit, because the scene is framed by two rulers, an Emperor and the lysippian Alexander the Great.

The figures of group two were originally framed by bands, later covered by layer 4. The bands frequently intersect the figures and in that case presumably pass behind them. Some of the bands, both horizontal and vertical ones, have a slight inclination. Such bands and lines are found frequently on Ostian paintings. Possible explanations are carelessness, and economic or aesthetic motives.¹¹⁴ As to the total height of the figures, only that of Alexander is known (0.83), but from the size of the bodies of the remaining figures can be deduced that all had the same height, with the exception of course of Harpocrates.

As to the identity of the Emperor, Moormann points out that only during the first century AD, and especially during the Julio-Claudian period, were Emperors represented nude apart from a drape around the hips and sometimes over the shoulder, i.e. in heroic form, especially after death.¹¹⁵ What is seen therefore is an outmoded depiction, not of a living, but of a deceased Emperor. Here Augustus, the most praised and famous Julio-Claudian Emperor, immediately comes to mind.

The Egyptian goddess Isis was worshipped by the Romans as deity of plenty and nature, steering fate, helping men in various ways, as healer of

¹¹² Wissowa 1912, 268-271; Quinn-Schoffield 1967 (circus); Gury 1986 (iconography). The Dioscures in Ostia: Ross Taylor 1912, 22-26; Meiggs 1973, 343-346.

¹¹³ Vaglieri 1900. The inscriptions: CIL VI, 85; Bloch 1953, nr. 10; Vidman 1969, nr. 549. On Serapis see chapter 5, § 5B.

¹¹⁴ Meiggs 1973, 438.

¹¹⁵ See n. 89.

the sick, and as protectress of shipping (Isis Pelagia, Isis Pharia). It has been thought that she protected the Emperor as Isis Aug., but because her husband Serapis is called Serapis Aug. only once in inscriptions, whereas his relation to Emperors was much stronger than that of Isis, Aug. perhaps rather refers to her "reign".¹¹⁶ In Ostia and Portus Isis was associated particularly with the large quantities of fiscal corn which were drawn from Egypt, and with the Alexandrian corn-fleet.¹¹⁷ One may compare an *aureus* from 215 AD, on which Isis is seen giving two ears of corn to Caracalla, who is wearing military dress, holding a spear, and subduing a crocodile.¹¹⁸ The Ostian temple, probably situated in the area around the Palazzo Imperiale, has not yet been found. The Isis-feast *navigium Isidis*, celebrated on March 5th in relation to the opening of the shipping season, may have been held in Ostia.¹¹⁹ From the way in which Isis is depicted in the shrine it cannot be deduced in which capacity she is present. She was often depicted with *sistrum* and *situla*.¹²⁰

At the feet of Isis is Harpocrates, the young Horus, the child of Isis and Serapis. As usual he holds the horn of plenty, a reference to fertility and prosperity, whereas one finger of his other hand touches his lips (according to the Romans to ask for silence and attention, originally a child's gesture). In the Roman world he was a $\sigma\upsilon\nu\nu\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ only, and in inscriptions he is always found together with Isis.¹²¹

To the right of Isis is Fortuna. She was primarily regarded as a benevolent power, as a goddess of luck and good fortune, rarely as the personification of blind fate or even a malicious power. She protected human beings and localities. She was often called Fortuna Aug., guardian of the Emperor, whereas Fortuna Redux watched over the safe return of the Emperor from foreign journeys.¹²² In the shrine she is depicted in the

¹¹⁶ Alföldi 1966, 64-65 (Isis Pharia); Malaise 1972(2), 181-187. General surveys of the cult: Vidman 1970; Witt 1971.

¹¹⁷ In the first century AD the Alexandrian corn-fleet arrived in Puteoli, but from some point in time in the second century AD it sailed to Portus. The earliest evidence for the arrival in Portus is from the period of Commodus, and there is probable evidence from the period of Antoninus Pius (Meiggs 1973, 59, 282).

¹¹⁸ Malaise 1972(1), 242 Rome nr. 451a.

¹¹⁹ Floriani Squarciapino 1962(1), 27-34; Alföldi 1966, 59-60. On the *navigium Isidis* in general: Malaise 1972(2), 217-221.

¹²⁰ On the iconography of Isis, which is still difficult: Malaise 1972(2), 176-181; Tran Tam Tinh 1984, 1722-1730.

¹²¹ Malaise 1972(2), 198-203; Tran Tam Tinh 1984, 1730-1733; Tran Tam Tinh - Jaeger - Poulin 1988.

¹²² Kajanto 1981, 516-518.

way she is found most often: with rudder, indicating her control of fate, and *cornucopiae*, referring to the blessings she could bestow. Perhaps the rudder also refers to sea-faring, although other parts of ships, such as the prow or an anchor, could highlight this aspect.¹²³

The fourth deity is Annona, the personification of the food supply, especially the corn supply, of Rome. In her right hand is the *tessera frumentaria*, on presentation of which a restricted number of recipients collected free corn each month in the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria in Rome. In her other hand she holds a rudder, referring to the overseas transport of the corn.¹²⁴

The last figures are a Genius and Alexander the Great. The latter and perhaps the former are provided with a *nimbus*, a symbol of heroic status and deification.¹²⁵

Augustus and Alexander the Great frame Isis, Harpocrates, Fortuna, Annona and the Genius. Thus the central and most important part of the scene is literally to be understood within the framework of the two rulers.

Augustus and Alexander were depicted either out of admiration and awe, or as two exemplary rulers from the past in whose footsteps the contemporaneous ruler should follow, or as rulers comparable in greatness to the Emperor. Depictions of illustrious men from the past could be found in household shrines. *Denique hodieque in multis domibus Marci Antonini statuæ consistunt inter deos penates*, says a biographer of Marcus Aurelius.¹²⁶ Suetonius presented a statuette of Augustus to Hadrian, who gave it a place amongst his household gods.¹²⁷ The two *lararia* of Alexander Severus contained depictions of Alexander the Great, deified Emperors, Abraham, Christ, Orpheus, Achilles, Apollonius of Tyana, Cicero, and Virgil.¹²⁸ It was a very small step to regard such men as *exempla virtutis*, which could even lead to association, imitation and identification. Thus we know that in the third century AD two Emperors emphatically evoked Alexander the Great as predecessor - Caracalla (*se Alexandro Magno Macedoni aequandum putabat*) and Alexander Severus (*Alexandri habitu nummos plurimos figuravit; Alexandrum praecipue*

¹²³ Göttlicher 1981; Kajanto 1981, 518-521. A special relationship existed between Fortuna and slaves during the late Republic and early Imperial period: Bömer - Herz 1981, 140-153.

¹²⁴ On the iconography of Annona see Pavis d'Escurac 1981. The depiction in the Sacello del Silvano: 795-796 nr. 1.

¹²⁵ Collinet - Guérin 1961, 203-218; Collinet - Guérin 1963.

¹²⁶ SHA, Marcus Aurelius 18, 6.

¹²⁷ Suetonius, De Vita Caesarum, Augustus 7, 1.

¹²⁸ SHA, Alexander Severus 29, 2 and 31, 4.5 with Settis 1972.

imitatus est) -, whereas three Emperors did so to a lesser extent - Gordian III, Philip the Arab and Gallienus -. ¹²⁹

Are Augustus and Alexander depicted as such, or is there a reference to the living Emperor? In the former case Annona would suggest that Isis and Harpocrates refer to the Egyptian corn (they were not favourite deities of Augustus, whose attitude towards Egyptian gods was hostile). ¹³⁰ We would then have to recall that Augustus had made Egypt a Roman province or had

reorganized the corn supply. The presence of Alexander the Great would recall the foundation of Alexandria, with a reference to the Alexandrian corn-fleet. Historical references of this sort may perhaps be expected in the offices of the *praefectus annonae*, but not in a workshop. Rather the two rulers refer to the living Emperor. This is also suggested by a graffito in the room with *vota decennialia* for the Emperor. We are thus confronted with the Imperial cult.

With the help of the graffito mentioned above it can be shown that Caracalla is referred to. It is found next to Silvanus, in a *tabula ansata* (fig. 22; pl. 86): "Calpurnius, night-watchman from the *centuria* of Ostiensis, from the seventh (or sixth) *cohors*, during the reign of Caracalla, in the year of consuls Laetus and Cerialis, X". The year is 215 AD. The graffito was written by one of the *vigiles*, who were stationed in the Caserma dei Vigili. Calpurnius was, when he wrote the graffito, *sebaciarius*, night-watchman. This duty was assigned to the *vigiles* in rotation for a period of one month. The *sebaciarii* patrolled through the city at night with tallow-candles, on the look-out for fire, and probably acting as

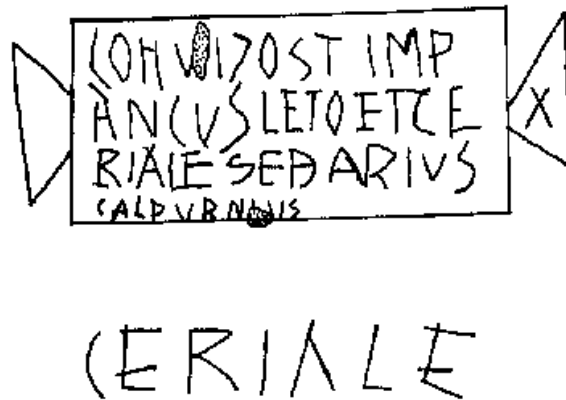


Figure 22. Sacello del Silvano: the graffito of Calpurnius next to Silvanus (above) (0.11 x 0.04) and the graffito below that of Marius and Anna on the east wall (below) (0.08 x 0.015).

¹²⁹ Von Rohden 1896, 2448; Dressel 1906, 53-57; Bieber 1964, 77-80; Gagé 1975; De Blois 1976, 23, 129-131, 136-138. Literary sources on Caracalla: SHA, Caracalla 2, 1.2; Dio 78, 7, 1.2.3 and 78, 9, 1; Herodianus 4, 8, 1.2.3. On Alexander Severus: SHA, Alexander Severus 11, 2; 13, 1.2.3.4.5; 25, 9; 30, 3; 31, 5; 35, 4; 50, 4.

¹³⁰ Wissowa 1912, 352.

police.¹³¹ The *X* is in an *ansa* of the *tabula* and means *votis decennialibus*. Calpurnius therefore asked Silvanus to give Caracalla ten more years as Emperor.

Parallels for this graffito have been found in Rome. In 1866 a fire-station (*excubitorium*, not the barracks, *statio*) of the seventh cohort was excavated in Trastevere. In and near its shrine 97

graffiti were found, most of which are from *sebaciarii*. The earliest dated graffito is from February 215, the last from March 245 AD. Not everything can be understood, and not all graffiti have been completely preserved. Some short ones mention only the name of a *miles*, *frumentarius*, or *sebaciarius*, while others simply record that the *sebaciaria* have been performed in some month (*sebaciaria fecit mense ...*). The longer graffiti of the *sebaciarii* are similar to that of Calpurnius. These contain the names of the *sebaciarius*, the *centurio*, the *cohors*, and the eponymous consuls, and end with *sebaciaria fecit mense ...*, or a similar statement. Apparently the patrols were not without danger, for sometimes it is stated that all had gone well (e.g. *omnia tuta, salvis commanipulis*). One graffito refers to the Genius of the watch-house. In a number of cases there is a plea for the welfare of the Emperor (e.g. *salvo domino nostro*) and the continuation of his government, sometimes expressed by writing *X* or *XX* in an *ansa* of a *tabula ansata*. It would not be surprising if the shrine in or near which the graffiti were found was related to the cult of the Emperors.¹³²

It can be established that Calpurnius must have seen the added figures of layers 3-4 when he wrote his graffito. On the east wall, between the two former slit-windows, is the graffito "Marius, Anna, April 25th", followed by a leaf (fig. 23). A little below is written *CERIALE*, the name of one of the two eponymous consuls of 215 AD, which is also found in the graffito next to Silvanus (fig. 22). The handwriting shows clear similarities with

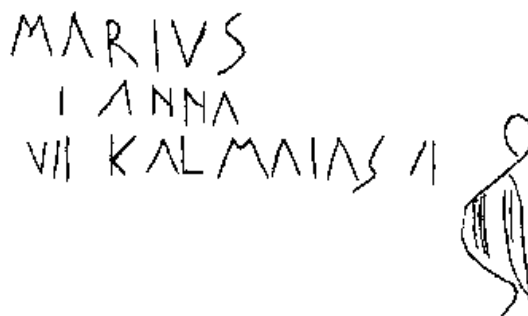


Figure 23. Sacello del Silvano: the graffito of Marius and Anna on the east wall (text 0.11 x 0.22).

¹³¹ Baillie Reynolds 1926, 100-107. On fires and fire protection in general: Hermansen 1982(1), 207-225. Cf. a dedication of a *praefectus vigilum* to Vulcanus, the protector against fires (CIL VI, 798 with Wissowa 1937(2), 361; Latte 1960, 130; c. 100 AD).

¹³² CIL VI, 2998 to 3091; Pellegrini - Henzen 1867; Capanarri 1886, 268-269 nrs. 4, 5, 6; Mielsch 1975, 124-125, Taf. 21.

that of Calpurnius' graffito, and it may be assumed that it was he who added the year to the day. The two graffiti on the east wall are now read on layer 2, but must have been written on and through layers 3-4, which have here disappeared: they are very hard to find and read, because they are very superficial; the graffito of Marius and Anna was written with large, regular and accurate letters, which presupposes legibility; the letters of *CERIALE* are much thinner and shallower than those of the graffito next to Silvanus.¹³³

Layers 3-4 therefore have a *terminus post quem non* of April 25th 215 AD, and the Emperor referred to must be Caracalla. He had left for Egypt in 214 AD, at the age of 26. After arriving in Thrace an Alexander-mania seized him: Εὐθύς Ἀλεξάνδρος ἦν, καὶ τὴν τε μνημὴν αὐτοῦ παντοίως ἀνενεώσατο, εἰκόνας τε καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἐν πασαῖς πόλεσιν ἀναστήναι ἐκέλευσε, τὴν τε Ῥώμην ἐπλήρωσεν ἀνδριάντων καὶ εἰκόνων, ἐν τῷ Καπετώλει καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς, τῆς πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον συναφείας.¹³⁴ Ἐσθ' οὐποῦ δὲ καὶ χλευῆς εἰδομένῃ ἀξίας εἰκόνας, ἐν γραφαῖς ἐνός σώματος ὑποπεριφέρειᾶ κεφαλῆς μίας οὐρεῖς ἡμιτομοῦς δύο, Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ Ἀντωνίνου;¹³⁵ Αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἑωῖον Αὐγούστου ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καὶ ποτε καὶ τῆ βουλήν ἐγραψεν, ὅτι ἐξ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐσηλθὲν, ἵνα, ἐπειδὴ ὀλίγον τότε χρόνον ἐβίω, πλείονα αὐτοῦ δι' ἐκεῖνου ζῆσθαι.¹³⁶ Some people in the Caseggiato dei Molini had apparently acted upon Caracalla's orders. Links between Caracalla and Augustus are also documented. The expression ἑωῖον Αὐγούστου is clearly ambiguous.¹³⁷ In acclamations of the Fratres Arvales from 213 AD the phrase *maior Augusto* is found.¹³⁸

Caracalla was perhaps depicted next to Silvanus (group three). The Genius may well be the Genius Augusti, especially if there really is a *nimbus* around his head. The Genius Augusti and *imagines* of the Emperor frequently formed part of the contents of house-chapels, from Augustus onwards.¹³⁹ Thus the Genius of Octavianus is presumably painted in a

¹³³ Also on the east wall is the graffito *CAMAND[---]*.

¹³⁴ "Whereas an ἀνδρίας and an εἰκὼν were honorific images placed in the square or in other public places, an ἀγαλμα was essentially an image that belonged to a sacred context" (Price 1984, 176-179).

¹³⁵ Herodianus 4, 8, 1.2.

¹³⁶ Dio 78, 7, 2.

¹³⁷ Cf. Taeger 1960, 422.

¹³⁸ Henzen 1874, p. CXC VII line 19; Taeger 1960, 407-408; Alföldi 1970, 79-88, especially 86. On acclamations in general: Klauser 1950.

¹³⁹ Santero 1983, 114-115.

niche in building IX 9, 13 in Pompeii.¹⁴⁰ Below the niche the graffito *EX SC* was read, which must refer to a *senatusconsultum* of 30 BC, ordering wine-offerings to (presumably the Genius of) Octavianus: Εν τοις συσσιτιοις ουχ οτι τοις κοινοις αλλα και τοις ιδιοις παντας αυτωι σπενδειν εκελευσαν.¹⁴¹

We then come to the deities in between Augustus and Alexander. They may refer to one or more donations from the Emperor, or contribute to the Emperors well-being, or represent divine ancestors of the Emperor. In view of the presence of Annona the latter two possibilities can be excluded. What then is the Emperor being thanked for? There is no central deity on the east wall, so that the figures in between Augustus and Alexander are to be interpreted either as a "story", from left to right, or as juxtaposed figures, which may or may not be interrelated. If it is a "story", Annona suggests that Isis and Harpocrates refer to the Egyptian corn which was distributed by the Emperor (for the protection of the transport of the corn the Dioscures are better candidates). The presence of Fortuna however presents a problem, because the reference to good fortune in between Isis and Annona does not contribute anything to the "story". Apparently then we see a juxtaposition, and a reference to either different donations, or aspects of a single generous deed. As to Fortuna, the reference to good luck is so general that she cannot symbolize a specific donation. The frequent association of Isis and Fortuna comes to mind,¹⁴² a pair balanced nicely by Annona and the Genius Augusti.

The most obvious explanation for the deities is that they refer to the supply of corn by the Emperor. Isis and Harpocrates would refer to the corn imported from Egypt, a province under the jurisdiction of the Emperor, and Annona to the fiscal involvement with the corn supply of Rome. The Dioscures would be depicted in their Ostian capacity, as protectors of shipping. An alternative explanation is however possible. There can be no doubt about the meaning of Annona. But Caracalla, who visited Alexandria in 215 AD, was an enthusiastic follower of both Isis and Serapis. Serapis is found on coins throughout his reign, and the Emperor is known to have dedicated an *aedes* to him in Rome.¹⁴³ His biographer Spartianus writes: *Sacra Isidis Romam deportavit et templa ubique*

¹⁴⁰ Perhaps a *hospitium*. Boyce 1937, nr. 466 and CIL IV S I.II, 5285. A second Genius was later added in the niche.

¹⁴¹ Dio 51, 19, 7 with Wissowa 1912, 177.

¹⁴² Cf. catalogue A, nr. 53.

¹⁴³ On Caracalla and Egyptian gods: Witt 1971, 237-238; Malaise 1972(2), 439-442. The *aedes*: CIL VI, 570.

*magnifica eidem deae fecit. In quo quidem mihi mirum videtur, quemadmodum sacra Isidis primum per hunc Romam venisse dicantur, cum Antoninus Commodus ita ea celebravit ut et Anubin portaret et pausas ederet; nisi forte iste addidit celebritati, non eam primus invexit.*¹⁴⁴ Most likely Caracalla gave the *sacra Isidis* the same legal status as the traditional state religion.¹⁴⁵ Caracalla might be thanked for this. The Dioscures might refer to the organization of horse-races, of which Caracalla was very fond (he supported the blue faction).¹⁴⁶ This solution must in my opinion be rejected. It does not take into account what must have been the primary associations of an Ostian inspecting the figures and severs natural links between the figures.

Layer 5

On layer 5 (pls. 88, 89, 90) the importance of the Emperor was stressed. Alexander was made wider, and the two rulers were now towering above the other figures, who were placed at a lower level or made smaller. The theme of the paintings was, as far as can be seen, left unaltered, with one exception: Isis was replaced by an unidentified figure holding a *patera*, perhaps a Genius. Strangely enough Harpocrates was repainted. It is not clear why layer 5 was applied. Perhaps the thin layers 3-4 had deteriorated so much, that layer 2 was shining through. The linking of Alexander the Great and Alexander Severus also comes to mind, but this would not have prompted a repainting, because Alexander the Great was already present. Not much money was spent on the new layer: for the new Fortuna one arm of the older Fortuna was reused. Nor was this layer a qualitative improvement. The figures of layers 3-4 had been painted in a fairly detailed and naturalistic way. The figures on Isis and Annona are little more than red blurs, and Alexander was changed into a disproportionate creature.

Layer 6

It is not clear whether the final, white layer covered all walls completely. It may have been the beginning of repainting, but it is also possible that the walls were to be left white.

The floor-mosaic

On the floor of the cult-room is a depiction in mosaic of a *victimarius*,

¹⁴⁴ SHA, Caracalla 9, 10.11. Similarly Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* 21, 4: *Aegypti sacra per eum deportata Romam*.

¹⁴⁵ Wissowa 1912, 355.

¹⁴⁶ Dio 78, 1, 2; 78, 9, 7; 78, 10, 1; 78, 17, 4.

a man about to kill a sacrificial animal.¹⁴⁷ It has not been dated. *Victimarii* are also found in the Severan mosaic of a shrine for the cult of the Emperors in the Caserma dei Vigili, here killing bulls.¹⁴⁸ In the cult of the Emperors bulls were sacrificed to the Genius Augusti.¹⁴⁹ It is an attractive thought that our *victimarius* too is related to the bull and the Genius Augusti.

4D The fire and the finds

In room 24 Calza and Finelli found a destruction-layer resulting from fire, c. 3.00 high, with fifty-six unidentified coins. In the Sacello fifty bronze and silver statuettes of deities were presumably found in 1870, on the floor and near the altar. Calza and Finelli found a marble Lar-statuettes behind the altar (pl. 87) and a fairly large number of objects near the entrance. Some of the latter clearly do not belong in a shrine, such as an ear-pick, a pick-axe, fragments of a saw, a palette-knife to smooth paint, and two knives belonging to a painter or pharmacist.¹⁵⁰ The latter finds, together with layer 6, suggest that the room was being repainted when it caught fire in the late third century.¹⁵¹ It must be remembered however that it is not at all clear what happened in the shrine during the excavations of 1870.

4E The functions of room 24 and the Sacello

The ground floor of room 24 was originally part of the alley. Its small and isolated first floor may have been a bedroom for slaves. The later history of the room is a problem, because the masonry blocking the door between rooms 16 and 24, and the dividing wall of rooms 24 and the Sacello cannot be dated accurately. When the building was destroyed the ground floor of the room was independent and accessible from Via di Diana only. A niche in the north wall had been blocked. The room had

¹⁴⁷ On *victimarii* see Weinstock 1958.

¹⁴⁸ See for that shrine: Carcopino 1907; Becatti 1961, 61-62 nr. 76, Tav. C; Zevi 1970; Meiggs 1973, 306, 450-451. Its mosaic is most likely Severan and the exact date may well be c. 205-207 AD, because Septimius Severus and Caracalla are called *restitutores castrorum Ostiensium* in two inscriptions from 207 AD, found in the Caserma dei Vigili (CIL XIV S, 4381; CIL XIV S, 4387). For the devotion of the *vigiles* to the Emperor in the Severan period see n. 132; Baillie Reynolds 1926, 44-45, 118; Cébeillac - Zevi 1976, 620-637 (inscription from Ostia).

¹⁴⁹ Kunckel 1974, 23-26.

¹⁵⁰ The objects were identified as such by Finelli.

¹⁵¹ In Bakker 1994 I argue that at the time of the fire carpenters were either in the process of taking over the bakery, or modifying the building for the bakers.

not, however, been abandoned: the niche left after the blocking of the door in the east wall had been painted, and in it another small niche had been made. The isolation of the room and the niches suggest that the room was a shrine. Cult-rooms which could only be entered from the street have been found in Pompeii as well.¹⁵²

As room 24, room 25 was originally part of the alley. It still was for a very short period of time in the later Severan period: the two slit-windows lighting room 17 indicate that there was no roof over this part of the alley. In the years c. 210-215 AD the cult-room was created. The statuettes of deities present in the room at the time of its destruction indicate that it was a cult-room until the end.

4F The initiators of and the people using the shrine

On the basis of the remains of the workshop the installation of the bakery cannot be dated. However, from layers 3 and 4 can be deduced that the building housed a bakery at the time of their application. This is indicated not so much by the theme of the paintings, focusing on the Emperor and the corn-supply, as by the importance of the added theme in the shrine. It has been explained that Silvanus took pride of place before and after the additions. The latter were however not of a minor order, an expression of loyalty towards the Emperor as might be expected in many private shrines. In the ante-room the Dioscures were depicted, setting the scene for the rest of the shrine. The row of figures on the east wall was over three metres long and, together with one or more figures on the west wall, formed the focal point of the new paintings. The additions covered at least 60% of the long walls. Such emphasis on the corn-supply strongly suggests that the bakery had been established. In view of the unity which the Severan alterations in the building present it may then be assumed that the bakers were present in the building during the earliest of these modifications, dated to the period of Septimius Severus.

The reference to corn is only half the story of the new paintings. The bakers showed devotion towards the Emperor, and the corn was fiscal corn. Keeping in mind again the importance of the additions the hypothesis may be forwarded that a direct relation existed between the bakery and the Emperor, and that the bakery was related to the fiscal component of the corn supply. In view of the analysis of the organization and customers of the Ostian bakers we may then conclude that the bakery was owned by a member of the *corpus pistorum* or by the *corpus* itself, and that an exemption from *munera* was earned by baking bread from fiscal corn, for

¹⁵² See chapter 8, § 2, Pompeii nrs. 7, 10, 14.

the *vigiles*, for Imperial slaves, or perhaps even for the beneficiaries of Ostian *frumentationes*.

It cannot be established who was the initiator of the shrine: perhaps a baker from the Caseggiato dei Molini, perhaps the *corpus pistorum*, perhaps even a religious guild.¹⁵³ It may be noted that Silvanus was popular especially amongst slaves and freed slaves, and that many slaves must have been working in the bakery.¹⁵⁴ The importance of the Emperor in the shrine opens up the possibility that Silvanus was regarded as Silvanus Aug., a frequent association.¹⁵⁵ Silvanus perhaps replaced Vesta, the protective deity of the bakers.

Although Calpurnius left a highly informative graffito it is not clear why he chose this shrine for his act of devotion, instead of the shrine for the cult of the Emperors in the Caserma dei Vigili. He cannot have been a passer-by, because the shrine could only be reached through the bakery. The new paintings must of course have been important to him. Perhaps bread for the *vigiles* was baked in the building, or perhaps the fire-fighter regularly visited the building because it was a fire hazard.

As to the visit of Marius and Anna to the shrine on April 25th, two religious feasts taking place on this day are documented. First of all the Sarapia, in honour of Serapis. Hardly anything is known about it.¹⁵⁶ Secondly the Robigalia, in honour of Robigus, the purpose of which was the prevention of rust disease in corn.¹⁵⁷ Caracalla's fondness of Serapis

¹⁵³ On the importance of the Imperial cult in the Ostian guilds: Meiggs 1973, 327. On *collegia* related to the Imperial cult: Santero 1983. One may recall the Ostian *collegium Silvani Aug.* (§ 4C n. 111).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. the following description of a bakery by Apuleius, *Metamorphoseon* 9, 12, 3.4: *Dii boni, quales illic homunculi vibicibus lividis totam cutem depicti dorsumque plagosum scissili centunculo magis inumbrati quam obtecti, nonnulli exiguo tegili tantum modo pubem iniecti, cuncti tamen sic tunicati, ut essent per pannulos manifesti, frontes litterati et capillum semirasi et pedes anulati, tum lurore deformes et fumosis tenebris vaporosae caliginis palpebras adesi atque adeo male luminati et in modum pugilum, qui pulvisculo perspersi dimicant, farinulenta cinere sordide candidati.* Cf. Sirks 1984, 609-610 on the *pistrina* as *ergastula* and the harshness of the work.

¹⁵⁵ Bömer - Herz 1981, 85-86. Silvanus Aug. in an *ex viso*-inscription: CIL VI, 637. Even the Emperor himself could appear in a dream (SHA, Marcus Aurelius 18, 7: *Nec defuerunt homines qui somniis eum multa praedixisse augurantes futura et vera concinuerunt*).

¹⁵⁶ Wissowa 1912, 355; Malaise 1972(2), 229.

¹⁵⁷ Wissowa 1912, 195-197; Pfister 1914; Ilberg 1915. On a fragment of a calendar found in Ostia the mention of the Robigalia on this day has been preserved (CIL XIV S, 4547). Dated by Calza to the first half of the first century AD (Calza 1921, 251-257). The Christian festival Laetania Maior was devoted to special prayers for the crops and supplanted the Robigalia. It was an annual event by 598 AD (Piganiol 1923, 98-99; *EB* s.v. "Rogation Days"; Zadoks 1988, 4-5).

could explain the former feast, whereas the latter fits very well into the context of a bakery. If Marius and Anna visited the shrine at the occasion of the Robigalia they nevertheless presumably worshipped Silvanus or the Emperor,¹⁵⁸ because no dedications to Robigus are known and, with one possible exception, no depictions of him.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Wissowa has argued that women were not allowed to be present at sacrifices to Silvanus, and that he was depicted in places where women were not allowed, such as men's baths (Wissowa 1912, 214). Dorcey however has shown that women were regularly dedicators in inscriptions pertaining to the cult of Silvanus (Dorcey 1989, 147-150). A woman called Theodora is documented in an Ostian inscription (CIL XIV S, 4327).

¹⁵⁹ On the possible depiction: Zadoks 1988, 7.