

Introduction

Hans Kamermans (HK) and L. Bouke van der Meer (LBvdM)

1.1 RAISON D'ÊTRE (HK)

The analysis of space has always been a topic in archaeological research. Since the 1980s the development of computer based analysis has facilitated this kind of research to a great extent. In the last decades a number of new approaches to the analysis of space have become popular, specifically in Mediterranean archaeology: new geophysical methods like high-resolution, shallow seismic reflection survey and new analytical methods like Space Syntax, the analysis of operational-sequences and linguistic landscape studies. Even collective memory studies are used to interpret the public space. At the same time, the more traditional, well established methods are also yielding exiting results.

In this book a combination of new and established methods is used to analyse the urban space of Roman Ostia and Pompeii, namely geophysical analysis, computer based spatial analysis, iconographic analysis, and epigraphic analysis. The book is based on the work of Hanna Stöger, the Leiden scholar who died, much too young, in August 2018. Hanna published her PhD thesis and several articles on the analysis of the urban space in Ostia (see the list of Hanna Stöger's publications at the end of the book) using a technique called Space Syntax (see Jansen in this volume for a discussion of Space Syntax). John Bintliff, her PhD supervisor was the first to suggest that Hanna should use Space Syntax. L. Bouke van der Meer and I were both involved in Dr. Stöger's work as co-supervisors, Bouke as a leading expert in Roman Ostia and I for my specialisation in computer applications in archaeology. Her PhD was published by Leiden University Press in the ASLU (Archaeological Series Leiden University

24) series, received very positive reviews (Cuyler 2012; Kaiser 2014; Monteix 2015; Pavolini 2016) and was the best-selling volume in that series ever.

When Hanna died her work in Ostia was not finished. She was working on a project called "Neighbourhoods of Roman Ostia". Part of the project was to map unexcavated parts of Ostia with geophysics. This was done in cooperation with scholars from the Delft University of Technology (The Netherlands) and the University of Augsburg (Germany) (Sonnemann *et al.* 2015). She was supervising MA and PhD students in Leiden who worked on various topics in Ostia (cf. Jansen 2018; Locicero 2020), and she was organising sessions on the analysis of space at conferences, as well as planning to co-edit a book that "investigates 'place' as a fundamental condition of humanity from a variety of archaeological perspectives".

In this book we want to preserve and honor her legacy. We do what she was planning to do; publish as much as possible from the work she was involved in. Of course this book is not complete. The work is not finished and will never be finished in the way she envisioned. So the book contains contributions from people who inspired her, people she worked with, people she inspired, and people who wrote articles for the book she was working on. Most of the authors contributed to a symposium Miguel John Versluys, her close colleague and the Leiden professor of Classical & Mediterranean Archaeology, organised in her memory on the sixth October 2018 in Leiden. The two Pompeii articles were intended for a book Hanna wanted to publish containing contributions from conference sessions she (co-)organised.

1.2 THIS BOOK (HK)

The book has five sections, four scientific sections: geophysics, spatial analysis, iconographic analysis, and epigraphic analysis, and one on Hanna Stöger. The first section, on geophysics, contains new data on Ostia. The first contribution by Mark Locicero and Till Sonnemann presents an interpretation of the results of a geophysical survey campaign conducted in Ostia Antica in May 2015, which focused on the unexcavated area in the southwest part of the city. The investigated area runs parallel to the southern extent of Ostia's *cardo maximus*, and lies directly behind the city blocks, IV, i-iv. It offers an important insight into the previously unknown extent of the city's urban fabric. An additional study was carried out in the Terme del Faro (IV, ii, 1).

The second geophysical contribution is by Dominique Ngan Tillard *et al.* A GPR (Ground Penetrating Radar) survey was conducted in 2017 in the *frigidarium* of the Byzantine baths in Ostia. Almost 50 years ago this area was excavated, backfilled, and re-tiled with a black and white mosaic. The GPR signals are interpreted using photographs, drawings, and texts produced by the original excavators to retrace the multiple functions of the site. It shows that some ancient reticulated wall structures can be recognised in the GPR data, but there are also prominent GPR features which cannot be identified.

The last contribution in the section on geophysics is by Ranajit Ghose *et al.* They carried out high-resolution, shallow seismic reflection surveys along two profiles in the unexcavated part of Ostia south of Region IV, using shear (transverse) waves. The goal of these pilot surveys was to see if any indication of ultra-shallow scatterers, indicating potential location of shallow-buried structures, can be found in the shear wave data. The results show very distinct back-scattered shear-wave arrivals from a previously located mysterious tumulus. It was possible to interpret, with reasonable confidence, the location of several conspicuous, shallow scatterers in the two seismic profiles. The results suggest that the unexcavated areas located south of Region IV most likely contain buried underground structures.

The second section, on spatial analysis, contains contributions that clearly show how current archaeologists analyse Roman cities as places of spatial activities and social interactions. The first contribution in that section is by Janet DeLaine and Yoshiki Hori. It explores three different ways in which the street façades of imperial Ostia were elaborated, based on the information visible in the excavated area of the city. They are analysed in relation to the street hierarchy which emerged from Hanna Stöger's Space Syntax analysis. The starting points are monumental entrances, porticoes, decorative plaques, and other elements. Together they are used to comprehend the visual language of Ostia's streets and its relation to social interaction.

The next spatial analysis paper is by Maura Medri, Valeria Di Cola, and Giorgia Pasquali. It evaluates the results of two different case studies of Space Syntax analysis in Ostia Antica. Maura Medri and Valeria Di Cola present the analysis of the Terme del Nuotatore. This building is well known for the large amount of material found during the excavations from 1960 to 1970. These finds form a very rich database of detailed information that made it possible to test the effectiveness of a Space Syntax analysis in all phases of the Baths. The architectural representation used in this case is the reconstruction plans, made on the basis of the stratigraphic data coming from the excavations and the standing structures.

Giorgia Pasquali presents a study of the *Insula X* of Regio III. It looks at the Caseggiato del Serapide, that of the Aurighi and the Baths of the Sette Sapienti, with annex Building III, xiv, 1, which probably formed a single complex together with the others, and the relationship between the general road network of Ostia and that of Region III. In this case, the basis is a plan published by Gismondi and data acquired through magnetometric prospections by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom and the American Academy of Rome.

Miko Flohr's paper analyses the relation between commerce and urban development in Ostia. It explores the question of how commercial interests played a role in decisions about building projects,

and how this, in turn, impacted the way in which the urban landscape functioned as a social space. In short, to what extent did commercial interests shape the urban experience? The argument is developed from a close analysis of one specific subsection of the city, the so-called ‘Cardo’. The way the role of commerce along this road developed over time is compared to the development along other, better known, main arteries of Ostia.

The spatial analysis paper by Alexander Jansen presents a comparison of the results of two Space Syntax analyses; those of city blocks IV, ii and V, ii in Ostia Antica. The archaeological interpretations of two construction phases of block V, ii (c. AD 200 and c. AD 400-500) are compared to the Space Syntax analysis of block IV, ii conducted by Hanna Stöger. This comparison is used to discuss the potential and viability of using Space Syntax to compare archaeological case studies with each other.

The final paper in this section is by Jared Benton. During the last decade a number of methods new to Greco-Roman Mediterranean archaeology were introduced. The *chaîne-opératoire* (or operational-sequence) approach has emerged as one of the most widely influential methods to identify workshops, model production, and association process with space. The purpose of Benton’s paper is threefold. First, the origins and history of thought on operational sequences is explored. Second, the advancements in the study of Roman industries facilitated by this approach are discussed. Third, other methods are proposed for conceiving of Roman production that might complement the deployment of operational sequences in archaeological contexts.

The next section, on iconographic analysis, starts with a contribution by L. Bouke van der Meer. It discusses the famous Torlonia relief from Portus Traiani Felicis. Several aspects of this image have not as yet been interpreted satisfactorily; thus this paper presents a critical update. It incorporates the date, the historical background, the topographical, ritual, and symbolic elements, and the significance of the whole representation in its analysis.

The second paper in this section is by Kristian Reinford, and investigates some aspects of interactions of rituals, space, and decoration in Roman domestic bath suites, as found within the Late Republican *domus*. It shows, based on empirical evidence from the Vesuvian city Pompeii, how private and public spheres were experienced in the Roman world. Together with the contributions from Mark Locicero and Till Sonnemann, Dominique Ngan Tillard *et al.*, Janet DeLaine and Yoshiki Hori and Maura Medri *et al.*, these papers form a hidden book on Roman bathing and water management.

The last scientific section, on epigraphic analysis, contains articles by Fenno Noij and Kaylee Branse. Fenno Noij discusses the value of understanding the role of written texts in their original spatial location in archaeological research. To do this, the methodological and theoretical framework of “Linguistic Landscape Studies” is used. The case-study is the Linguistic Landscape of Ostia.

Kaylee Branse examines how collective memory manifests itself in inscriptions. As a case study she uses the fifteen Latin dedicatory inscriptions from the second and third century AD which once stood on the Piazzale delle Corporazioni in Ostia. For collective memory studies it is essential to know which people were constructing a memory and for whom. Since we know a lot about the inhabitants of Ostia, this city is perfect for this kind of research.

In the last section, Part 5, we commemorate Hanna. In 2004 Hanna completed an MA in Classical and Mediterranean Archaeology at the Faculty of Archaeology in Leiden. In 2011 she got her PhD from the same Faculty (Stöger 2011). From 2010 until her passing away in 2018 she worked in Leiden consecutively as a post-doctoral researcher for the EU-funded project ArchaeoLandscapes Europe, for Miguel John Versluys’ VIDI project and Ann Brysbaert’s ERC project SETinSTONE.

John Bintliff was professor of Mediterranean Archaeology in Leiden from 1999 until 2014. During that time he worked very closely with Hanna. In his loving homage he gives a personal account of Hanna’s stay at the Faculty of Archaeology. The book ends with a list of publications by Hanna.

Acknowledgements

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This book is aimed not only at scholars interested in Roman cities, but also at those interested in geoscience or computer applications like Space Syntax. These last groups will not necessarily know a lot about Ostia and Pompeii. To provide the necessary context and background for them, L. Bouke van der Meer will set the scene in the next sections.

1.3 A SHORT HISTORY OF OSTIA (LBvdM)¹

According to some ancient authors Ostia was founded by Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of Rome. He supposedly reigned from 640 to 616 BC. Archaeological evidence for this early date, however, is non-existent. It is possible that the earlier settlement can be found at a nearby location. Settlements may have already existed in the area in the Middle and Late Bronze Age (c. 1700-1000 BC). Salt would have formed a large part of the appeal of the area; salt from large salt-beds (*salinae*) was transported to Rome and from there along the prehistoric predecessor of the Via Salaria (Salt Way) to central Italy. In the winter nomadic shepherds descended from the mountains to the coasts of Etruria and Latium in order to collect salt. They returned to the grassy mountains in the summer.

The Republican rectangular fortified camp, usually called *castrum* (194 x 125,70 metres), was built at the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century BC. The date is based on Etrusco-Campanian sherds recovered from the lowest level of the *fossae* (ditches) in which the *castrum* walls were built. These walls consist of rectangular tuff blocks. After the Second Punic War, when the walls lost their defensive function, they were used as rear walls, probably of shops. The architectonic ornaments and terracotta antefixes point to the existence of a temple by the fifth or fourth century BC. Imported Attic, Etruscan, and Faliscan red figure vase sherds date to the fourth century BC. These artefacts were found in the area of the (later) *castrum*. Ostia was dependent on Rome, governed by a *quaestor Ostiensis* after 267 BC.

¹ This section is a shortened, slightly revised version of Chapter 1 (Backgrounds) of the author's *Ostia speaks. Inscriptions, buildings and spaces in Rome's main port* (Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2012), pp. 4-9, here published with permission of Peeters.

After the Punic Wars the import of grain from Sicily and Sardinia intensified. Between c. 150 and 80 BC a rectangular space between the Tiber and the north side of the eastern *decumanus maximus* (the main east-west street) was earmarked for store buildings. The inscriptions on four travertine boundary stones describe the area as public (*ager* or *locus publicus*; Fig. 1.1, 1 and 12). Between 63 and 58 BC Ostia was provided with a long city wall (formerly called Sullan walls) with three main gates, now called Porta Romana (Fig. 1.1, no.2), Porta Laurentina, and Porta Marina, on the initiative of the famous orator Cicero. Ostia most likely gained independence from Rome between c. 80 and 49 BC, except for the *annona* (grain supply) which was still controlled by prefects. The oldest (reused) fragment of the marble *Fasti Ostienses*, the local yearly calendar listing the names of the most important magistrates and events in Rome and Ostia, dates to 49 BC. Cicero (*Pro Murena* 8.18) describes the *provincia ostiensis* as an unpleasant environment: *non tam gratiosam et illustrem quam negotiosam et molestam* (“not so much gracious and famous as busy and uncomfortable”).

Few buildings of the Republican period remain: the temples in the Sacred Area of the Hercules temple (see Fig. 1.1, 21), the Four Small Temples to the west of the Theatre (Fig. 1.1, 9), and some atrium-houses (Fig. 1.1, 35). Some old buildings also lie beneath the second century AD city.

1.3.1 GROWTH AND BOOM

The first public buildings date to the Julio-Augustan period. The Theatre, the oldest stone example outside Rome, was built by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa in 18 BC (Fig. 1.1, 6). The Temple of Roma and Augustus (Fig. 1.1, 16), opposite the later Hadrianic Capitolium, is now dated between AD 10 and 20. As the Tiber was not very accessible to sea ships from Egypt, North Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia, and as grain and other goods were mainly transferred over land from the harbour of Puteoli (Pozzuoli) to Rome, two new harbours were constructed, c. 3 km north-west of Ostia. The space between these harbours and Ostia is called Isola Sacra in Italian (Sacred Island, also called Island of Venus (*insula Veneris*)). The necropolis of the same name belongs to Portus.

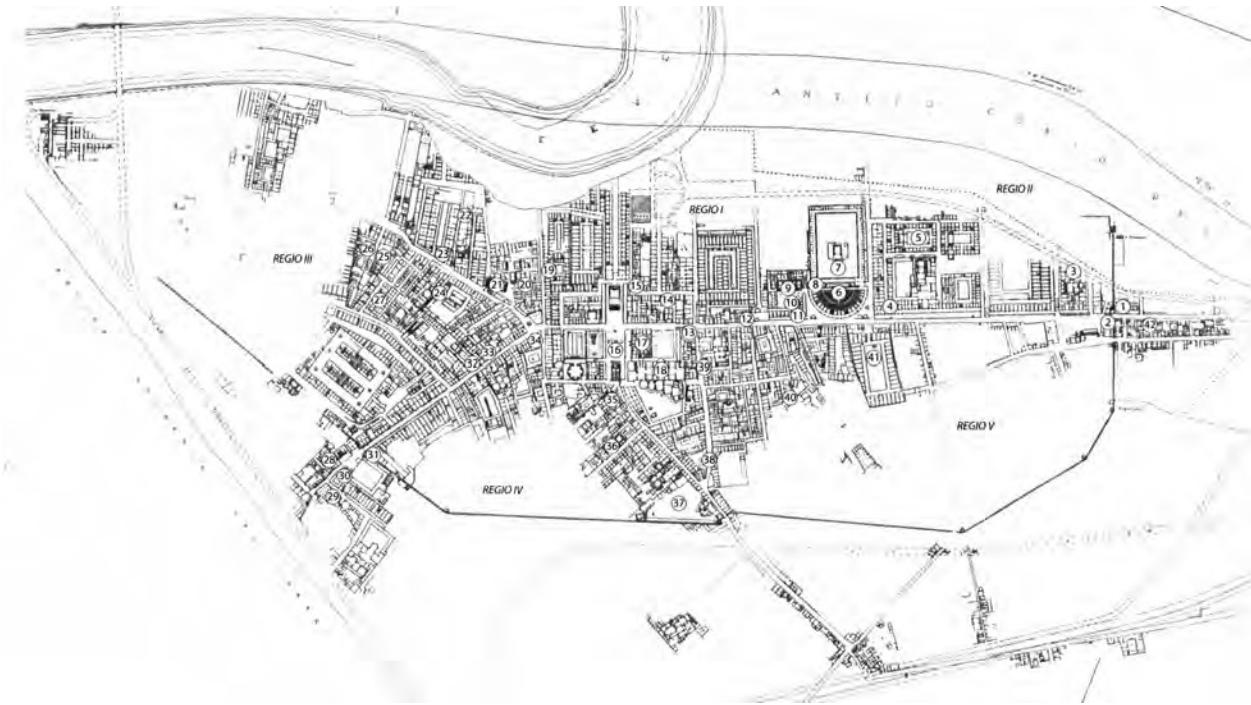


Fig. 1.1 Map of Ostia Antica (published by I. Gismondi and O. Visca in 1949, with numbers added by J. Porck in 2011)

Portus Augusti, the first, large sea harbour with two curved piers near today Fiumicino, was initiated by Claudius in AD 42 and probably finished by Nero in 64. Claudius furthermore constructed a canal from the Tiber to the harbour: “to free the city (Rome) from inundations”. A heavy storm revealed that the port was not a safe haven. Therefore, Trajan built a second, hexagonal, inner harbour behind it between 110 and 122. Together, the harbours were called *Portus uterque* (Both Harbours). Sea ships departed and arrived between March and October. Between 337 and 341 Portus became an independent city: *civitas Flavia Constantiniana Portuensis*. A canal (*Fossa Traiana*) linked the harbours with the Tiber. Small tug-boats transferred grain and other goods to Rome and to Ostia. A *procurator annonae* was responsible for the grain supply. He was subordinate to the *praefectus annonae* in Rome.

The oldest granaries in Ostia date to the Republican period (Fig. 1.1, 41). In the second half of the first century a successful middle class

emerged, consisting mainly of freedmen (*liberti*). Hardworking slaves from the Greek-speaking Mediterranean part of the Roman empire easily integrated into the society; they learned Latin, and were freed and often also adopted by their patrons.

The same period saw the birth of the first so-called guilds, clubs of men who shared the same profession or interest. A guild, called *corpus* or *collegium* in Latin, needed an initial permission to gather from the Senate in Rome for political safety reasons. It had a clubhouse (*schola*) where members could recline, eat, and drink, celebrate birthdays, and worship Roman emperors. Some guilds had a temple, dedicated to the tutelary deity of the guild or profession. In the second century guilds formed the social backbone of Ostia. Guilds consisted of *patroni* (honorary patrons), *magistri quinquennales* (presidents for five years) or *magistri perpetui* (for life), and *plebs* (common members).

Under Domitian (AD 81-96), large parts of Ostia were raised by about one metre, probably as a measure against inundations. The first large flat buildings (*insulae*), called *Casette Tipo* in Italian, date to the reign of the next emperor, Trajan. A building boom took place under Hadrian (117-138) who twice held the position of one of the two annual mayors of the city. Large areas in the center, in the west (Garden Houses/Case a Giardino (120-125)), and in the former *ager* or *locus publicus* saw the construction of new buildings (126-138). In the 120s, the Capitolium, probably dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, was built. The preferred building technique style was *opus reticulatum mixtum*, a network of tuff layers with brick quoins. Towards the end of and following Hadrian's reign, the masonry was usually in brick (*opus latericium*). After c. 250 *opus reticulatum* was incidentally used once again.

In the many new flats and apartment buildings, successful members of the middle class, usually freedmen, lived on the ground floor. The less fortunate hired the upper floors; their only access was usually via external, travertine staircases. Both groups of inhabitants, however, may have shared water and cult facilities in buildings which had a central, open court. Most buildings featured rooms along the streetside, which were used as shops, workshops, or bars (*tabernae*). They could be closed by means of wooden doors sliding in the grooves in travertine thresholds. The number of *tabernae* amounts to some 800! Until recently, the total number of inhabitants in the second century was estimated at around 60,000. However, geophysical research in the form of magnetometry and ground penetrating radar has made clear that the city had large quarters outside the Ciceronian walls. The population size may have been flexible, fluctuating with the grain trade season in spring and summer.

After Hadrian's reign building activities diminished slightly, although new flats, baths, and temples were still being built. The Theatre was enlarged under Commodus and Septimius Severus. The second century was the period during which oriental deities like Serapis (Fig. 1.1, 26), Cybele (Fig. 1.1, 37), and Mithras (after c. 160; Fig. 1.1, 22 and 40) became popular, probably because they offered hope of

salvation or a life after death. The Jewish population converted a building along the Via Severiana, near the ancient seashore, beyond the city walls, c. 500 m to the south-east of Porta Marina, into a synagogue between c. 50 and 100. A bilingual inscription with one line in Latin and the other in Greek on a marble slab from the second half of the second century, reused in the floor of the vestibule (the original displayed in the local museum), begins with the words: *Pro salute Aug/g(ustorum)* ("For the well-being of the emperors"). The semi-circular shrine in the Synagogue originally contained the chest with the scrolls of the Torah. It is oriented toward Jerusalem. Two corbels of marble architraves exhibit characteristic Jewish symbols: *menorah* (candelabrum with seven arms), *lulav* (palm leaf), *ethrog* (lemon), and *shofar* (horn). The last pagan temple, the Round Temple (Tempio Rotondo) near the Forum, possibly dedicated to the cult of emperors, is dated to c. 235.

1.3.2 DECLINE AND A SHORT REVIVAL

The third century gradually evolved into a period of crisis for the Roman Empire. There were many military emperors who reigned for short periods. No cohorts of firemen are mentioned in inscriptions after 239 (Fig. 1.1, 5). The most recent statue base on the Square of the Guilds (Piazzale delle Corporazioni) dates to 249 (Fig. 1.1, 7) and that on the Campus of the Magna Mater to 256 (Fig. 1.1, 37). The last mention of a *pontifex Volkani*, high priest of the firegod Vulcanus, dates to 251. The last mention of the *Augustales*, successful freedmen who were dignitaries of the cult of Augustus and later emperors, is in the 250s. The last temple, the Round Temple near the Forum, was probably finished around 244. Some buildings that had caught fire were not restored. *Portus Uterque* evidently became more important than Ostia. Members of the elite, however, converted *insulae* with windows into one-family houses (*domus*), with a slightly raised *aula* (hall) in the rear which functioned as a reception hall. These houses, now without windows for reasons of security, were decorated with marble and splendid mosaics. The most luxurious mosaics are in the *aulae* (reception halls), in *opus sectile*, made of cut slabs of marble in different colours. Some *domus*

have a little garden (*viridarium*) with a *nymphaeum* (water fountain). The most luxurious have internal baths. Names of owners are not known, but it seems likely that not only the local elite but also members of the Senate in Rome and high officials involved in the grain supply enjoyed the pleasant sea climate in the quiet city. Striking for this period is the use of *spolia*, building elements, bases, and even gravestones from elsewhere, which were recycled. From the third century onward, streets which were too dirty started being closed. In contrast, along the main roads a few splendid marble *nymphaea* (water fountains) were built. They were meant to give, like a Potemkin façade, the impression of a prosperous city. In these centuries a new building technique appeared, perhaps due to a crisis in the brick industries around Rome: *opus vittatum*, or alternating horizontal bands of brick and tuff. While Christian religion was tolerated in 313 and even though Ostia had a bishop, the city seems to have been mainly pagan until c. 394. The Constantinian basilica, dedicated to the blessed apostles Petrus, Paul, and John mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* (33.28-29), was discovered thanks to German geophysical research inside the city walls, near the small city gate between Porta Romana and Porta Laurentina. Its peripheral position suggests that the Christian religion was not dominant in the fourth century.

As late as the period between c. 375 and 420 the city received several facelifts, among others marble porticoes, *nymphaea* (fountains), and restorations of baths. A macellum (meat-market) was repaired by Aurelius Anicius Symmachus, prefect of Rome and member of a renowned pagan, aristocratic family. The most recent *domus*, all of considerable dimensions, also date to this period. Prefects of the grain supply played an important role in this last prosperous period (Fig. 1.1, 6 and 16). The sixth century author Cassiodorus (*Variae epistulae* 7.9) was impressed by both Ostia and Portus. He called them *ornatissimas civitates*, most splendid cities.

The last building to be built was a very small bath, in the fifth century. In the course of the sixth century the aqueduct fell into disuse, after which wells were dug and well-heads made, even in the middle of streets,

including in the *decumanus*. Due to the raids of the Saracenes the last few inhabitants abandoned Ostia in the ninth century.

Pilgrims visited the shrine of a martyr, Cyriacus, built near the Theatre in the sixth or seventh century. Cyriacus was bishop in the third century. He was killed, together with Aurea, in front of Caracalla's Arch, which was connected to the Theatre and bridged the *decumanus*. The inscription on the (now missing) lid of a sarcophagus in the oratory depicting Orpheus reads: Hic Quiriacus dormit in pace ("Here Quiriacus rests in peace"). Quiriacus may be Cyriacus.

In 1557 the course of the Tiber changed (see Fig. 1.1), running through part of the city in Regio I, the area to the north-east of the Capitolium.

1.3.3 RESEARCH

For the history of early research in and around Ostia and Portus one should consult R. Meiggs's seminal book *Roman Ostia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973 (second edition)).

The splendid exhibition catalogue edited by J.-P. Descœudres, *Ostia port et porte de la Rome antique* (Genève: Georg Éditeur, 2001), gives a good impression of research that was carried out between c. 1973 and 2000.

The research results after c. 2000 are summarised by C. Pavolini in his critical article "A Survey of Excavations and Studies on Ostia (2004-2014)", published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* 106 (2016) 199-136 (also online). By the same author is the very useful guide of handy size, *Ostia, Guide Archeologiche Laterza* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2006).

1.3.4 BIBLIOGRAPHY OSTIA

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Paris: CNRS Editions ([http://www.cnrseditions.fr/
catalogue/histoire/dieux-et-hommes-a-ostie](http://www.cnrseditions.fr/catalogue/histoire/dieux-et-hommes-a-ostie))

Anybody who wants to keep up with the titles of
new books, articles, and reviews should consult the
excellent bibliography of the *Ostia. Harbour City
of Rome* (www.ostia-antica.org) website, edited by
J. T. Bakker.

1.4 A SHORT HISTORY OF POMPEII (LBvdM)

1.4.1 THE SIXTH CENTURY BC

The city of Pompeii, situated on a 30m high lava plateau at the foot of Mount Vesuvius near the mouth of the river Sarno, was inhabited by local people and immigrants in the sixth century BC. For the find spots of archaic artifacts, see the grey areas on Fig. 1.2. The content of Etruscan graffiti (Fig. 1.2, black dots) suggests that some people came from Capua. However, there is no proof that Etruscans founded Pompeii. The 3km long wall of *pappamonte* tuff indicates that the site became a town. The temple of Apollo (Fig. 1.2, 23), probably situated along a market, in the later second century BC Forum (Fig. 1.2, 24), was built in Etruscan style, and the Doric temple, dedicated to Hercules and Athena/Minerva in a sanctuary, the so-called Triangular Forum (Fig. 1.2, 34), was made in Greek style by artisans from Magna Graecia. The first temple dates to 600-550, the second to c. 530 BC.

1.4.2 THE SAMNITIC PERIOD

After the Syracusans defeated the Etruscans in the naval battle off Cumae (474 BC), it is likely that the town was first occupied by the Greeks, thereafter by the Samnites at the end of the fifth century BC. The oldest atrium house, the *Casa del Chirurgo* (Fig. 1.2, Regio VI.1.10), dates to the fourth century BC, the so-called limestone period. In the third century BC, the tuff period, new city walls were built surrounding an area of 63.5 ha. The street grid of the forum area, incorrectly called *Altstadt*, is irregular, but the other districts show the influence of the orthogonal layouts of Greek (e.g. Naples) and Etruscan colonies (possibly Capua). The final form of this city plan dates to the end of the fourth century BC. The oldest baths, the *Terme Stabiane* with a *palaestra* (wrestling-space), probably arose around 300 BC. Some elite houses like the *Casa del Menandro* (Regio I.10.4), built in Greek Hellenistic style with an atrium and peristylum (a garden surrounded with columns), date to c. 250 BC. After the end of the Second Punic War (201 BC) Pompeii became a booming city thanks to the production of wine, olives, and fish sauce (*garum*). Export took place from the river harbour,

not only to the hinterland, most notably to the cities of Nola and Nuceria, but also to other commercial centers in the Mediterranean. The *meddix* (supreme magistrate) and *aediles* (building officials) played an important role in the urban development. The Basilica (Fig. 1.2, 29), the Theatre (Fig. 1.2, 33), the small Palaestra (wrestling-school), the temple of Isis (Fig. 1.2, 38), and very luxurious houses like the famous *Casa del Fauno* (Fig. 1.2, 12) and the *Casa delle Nozze d'Argento* were built in the second century BC. Elite houses were often repaired or restructured in later times. The Forum, with its axial Temple of Jupiter (Fig. 1.2, 18) and its beautiful *porticus*, sponsored by a quaestor, Popidius, took shape between 150 and 100 BC. To the north-west of the city the Villa dei Misteri (Fig. 1.2, 60) was built between 200 and 150 BC. Its famous painted frieze showing Dionysiac mystery scenes dates to c. 50 BC.

1.4.3 THE ROMAN PERIOD

During the Social War, Pompeians and *Italic*i fought against Rome but were defeated by consul Sulla in 89 BC. The city became a veteran colony called *Colonia Cornelia Veneria* in 80 BC. Cornelia refers to Sulla's family name, and Veneria to his protective goddess, Venus, to whom a temple was dedicated. After 80 BC few Samnitic aristocratic families survived. Latin gradually replaced the Oscan language. Most of the beaten-earth streets were paved in basalt. In the eastern corner of the city the Amphitheatre arose (Fig. 1.2, 59). Here, a bloody riot between Pompeians and Nucernians took place in AD 59, after which the Senate of Rome forbade gladiatorial shows and illegal associations for ten years. In addition to these changes, the Odeion (Music Hall; Fig. 1.2, 35) was built next to the Theatre after 80 BC. *Duoviri quinquennales*, two mayors elected for a period of five years, ordered buildings such as the Odeion by decree of the *decuriones*, members of the city council. Painted election posters are still visible on buildings along the Via dell'Abbondanza.

In the Augustan period the *Castellum aquae* near Porta Vesuvio was enlarged and connected to a second aqueduct, thus becoming a *Castellum divisorium* for

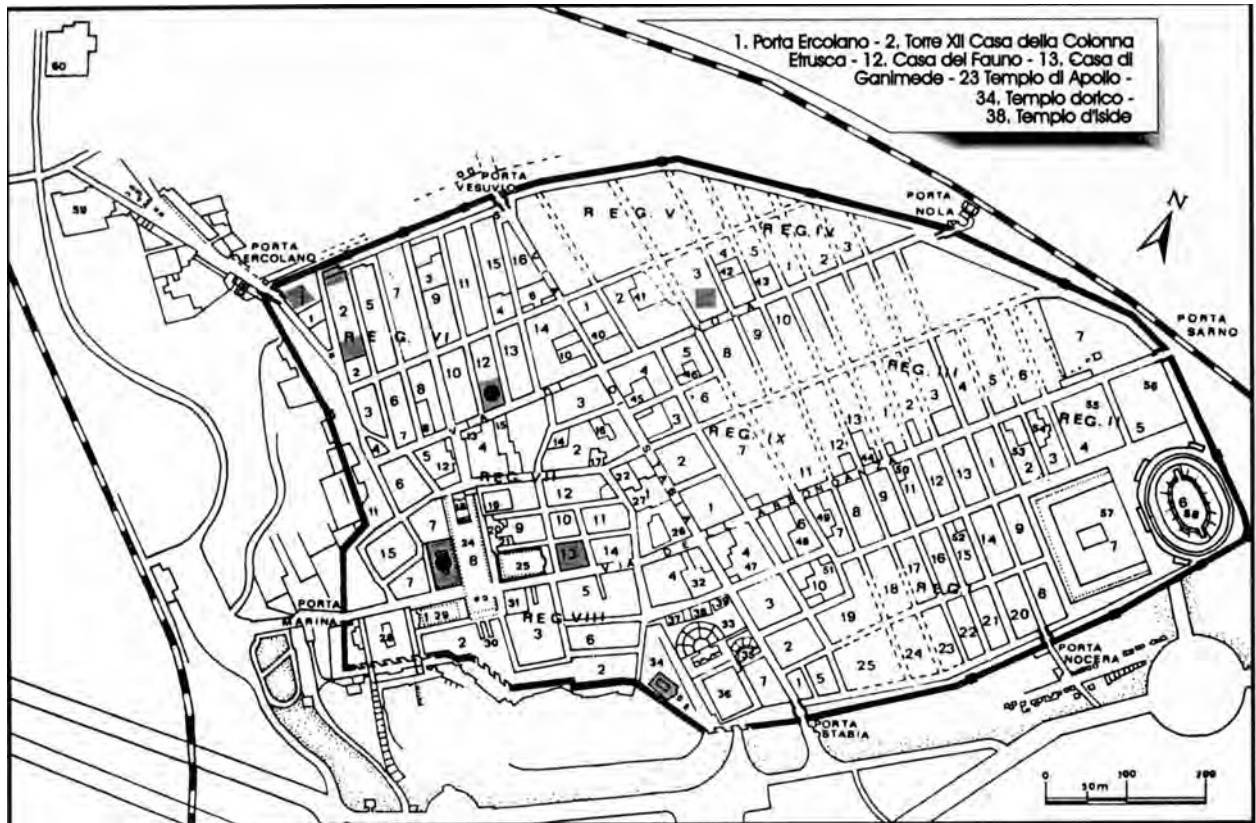


Fig. 1.2 Map of Pompeii (from M. Cristofani, *Etruschi e altre genti nell'Italia preromana. Mobilità in età arcaica*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1996, 118, fig. 27, here reproduced with the kind permission of Boris Bretschneider)

the distribution of water. The Large Palaestra (Fig. 1.2, 57) for the *collegium iuvenum*, a political club of young men, was built next to the AmphiTheatre. The emperor was honored in the temple of Fortuna Augusta (c. AD 3). Statues on inscribed pedestals in honor of energetic men of the elite, aimed at self-representation, were erected on the Forum. During the Imperial period administrative, commercial, and religious buildings were added along the southern, eastern, and western borders of the Forum.

1.4.4 THE PERIOD BETWEEN AD 62 AND 79

After the disastrous earthquake of 62 that demolished large parts of the city, the Central Baths were built but not completed. The elite houses were repaired first, followed by several public buildings and temples,

yet most of the repairs remained unfinished when the eruption of Vesuvius covered the city with a 3m thick layer of ash in 79.

1.4.5 BIBLIOGRAPHY POMPEII

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Further reading

Titles of books, articles, and reviews published after 1955 can be found on the DYABOLA website (<http://www.dyabola.de/>), title word: Pompeii.