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REVIEW ARTICLES AND LONG REVIEWS; BOOKS RECEIVED; AND A RESPONSE

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A new reading of Ostia's shops and urban economy

Grégory Mainet

JULIEN SCHOEVAERT, *LES BOUTIQUES D'OSTIE. L'ÉCONOMIE URBAINE AU QUOTIDIEN*, 1^{er} s. av. J.-C. – V^e s. ap. J.-C. (Collection de l'École française de Rome 537; 2018). Pp. xviii + 310, col. pls. 18, figs. 91, tableaux 17. ISSN 0223-5099; ISBN 978-2-7283-1294-8. EUR 39 (with online catalogue available at <http://www.efrome.it/publications/ressources-en-ligne.html>).

The interest in economic activities at Ostia can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th c. when L. Paschetto devoted two chapters of his enquiry to the economic premises of this town.¹ Following the 1938-42 excavations which unearthed a great part of the archaeological area, G. Girri made more detailed investigation into the *tabernae*, establishing the first typology for shops at the mouth of the Tiber.² Since then, however, there has been little work on this topic.³ J. Schoevaert's book, revised from his 2013 dissertation at Université de Paris 7, seeks to remedy this, focusing more precisely on the rôle played by shops in the town's daily life between Late Republican times and late antiquity. His exploration of the multi-faceted world of retail, supported by a detailed catalogue (available online), first concentrates on the architectural form of the Ostian shops (Part 1). Then, it shifts to the interactions between retail and other economic facilities (Part 2). Lastly, it investigates the rôle played by shops in Ostia's urban fabric, giving particular emphasis to the streetscape (Part 3). In essence, his book aims to demonstrate the extent to which retail outlets can be seen as a basic element in Ostia's economic and urban landscape.

Tabernae or Romans shops?

In the prologue of the book, Schoevaert tackles methodological issues. In the two first chapters he tries to define what a shop is. In the first one, he scrutinizes the meanings of the word *taberna* in literature and epigraphy, as well as in legal texts. He rightly perceives that the Latin word is polysemic, contrary to the French *boutique*, and opts for using the French term. In the second one, he moves to the archaeological records in order to delve more deeply into the physical identification of retail spaces. He searches for satisfactory criteria for identifying a shop during survey, throwing into question grooved thresholds, but concludes (as Girri did in 1956) that they remain the most appropriate standard for recognizing a Roman shop. Nevertheless, as he emphasizes, such a definition is too restrictive and does not work at Ostia because most of the thresholds had disappeared before the first excavations. Moreover, some thresholds now visible were put in place after the excavations (see below). Therefore, he adds other criteria for recognizing a shop, considering as a retail outlet a room without a grooved threshold but having a large doorway opening onto a collective space (a street or inner courtyard) and not furnished with facilities unrelated to the economy. On this comprehensive definition, he counted 1263 shops across the urban fabric of Ostia, whereas Girri had counted only 806.

The archival evidence and the archaeological landscape

To sharpen the understanding of retailing at the mouth of the Tiber, Schoevaert brings together the observations he made on the ground and the unpublished archival records of the excavations carried out in Ostia before the seminal *Topografia generale* appeared in 1953.⁴ Such an initiative cannot but be appreciated. Over the last two decades some scholars have

1 L. Paschetto, *Ostia colonia romana, storia e monumenti* (Rome 1912) 308-56.

2 G. Girri, *Le taberne nel quadro urbanistico e sociale di Ostia* (Rome 1956).

3 G. Hermansen, in the footsteps of T. Kleberg, devoted much attention to places that offered hospitality in Ostia, including possible "taverns" located in shops. See T. Kleberg, *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets dans l'antiquité romaine* (Uppsala 1957) 45-48, and G. Hermansen, *Ostia. Aspects of Roman city life* (Edmonton, AB 1982)..

4 G. Calza, G. Becatti, I. Gismondi, G. De Angelis d'Ossat and H. Bloch, *Scavi di Ostia I. Topografia generale* (Rome 1953).

already used this approach, the in-depth enquiry conducted by the Schola del Traiano Project probably being the most productive.⁵ Recent conferences have also revealed a surge of interest in Ostian archives by a new generation of archaeologists. Archival evidence is, of course, basic for exploring at greater depth sites excavated along ago and Schoevaert points out the great value of the archival holdings since the start of his book. Yet archives are not without their own problems, which he discusses to some extent in chapt. 4. Schoevaert explored the excavation reports and photographs held in the Archivio Storico and the Archivio Fotografico, both providing significant information from the excavations conducted from the start of the 20th c. The daybooks written by R. Finelli between 1908 and 1924, with the photographs, are a precious source of information on the structures uncovered north of the eastern *decumanus* and across the area of the primitive *castrum*. Documentation of the later excavations is more laconic, but some written remarks and photographs provide new insights when the data are scrutinized. It is surprising that the author did not consult the Archivio Disegni, which holds many plans, stratigraphic sections or isometric views drawn since the beginning of Vaglieri's excavations.

While the Ostian archives constitute a veritable mine of information, other noteworthy documents are held elsewhere, chiefly in Rome. The Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, for instance, holds valuable documentation left by R. Lanciani, with numerous photographs and drawings from the excavations conducted in the second half of the 19th c. The Archivio Centrale dello Stato also holds an interesting archive composed especially of written records from the excavations carried out at the mouth of the Tiber from the birth of the kingdom of Italy until World War II, but unfortunately Schoevaert did not glance at this documentation.

All the documents inherited from earlier excavations help us to improve our understanding of the areas excavated. They provide helpful information about the structures immediately after they were unearthed and before the site was heavily restored, in particular during the work carried out with an eye to the Esposizione Universale di Roma. Even though the eventual repairs and reconstructions have played a significant rôle in shaping Ostia's overall archaeological landscape, the issue of restoration is mentioned only briefly by Schoevaert. Nevertheless, the works supervised by G. Calza and I. Gismondi have greatly constrained our perception of the town and a careful investigation of the archives is required to detect the modern layers superimposed upon the ancient ones. For example, Schoevaert does not seem to have kept in mind that some grooved thresholds were put in place during the restorations. As the Libretti delle misure filled out by the Berardi company suggest,⁶ many parts of thresholds were recovered from cuttings made along the W *decumanus* in 1938, probably in order to supply the ongoing restorations, and a photograph clearly shows that the threshold of the SW shop of the Schola del Traiano is not *in situ*.⁷ The same is true of many other structures across the urban fabric. Calza and Gismondi's legacy at Ostia is omnipresent: their views of what the Roman town should look like still shapes what everyone sees. It is unfortunate that Schoevaert did not study more extensively this latest layer which is itself a part of the history of the site.

Dating evidence and chronological framework

Archaeologists at Ostia must tackle another major problem: the dating evidence. Most base their work on the dates advanced by the authors of the *Topografia generale* (1953). Important though it is, this book was printed before the spread of stratigraphical excavations and the detailed study of finds. Masonry techniques and brickstamps were the main dating evidence for Ostian buildings, but G. Becatti himself admitted that the typological chronology of facings (he dealt more specifically with tufa-block facings) is not the safest method. Here in chapt. 3 Schoevaert rightly criticises this approach, but he makes some mistakes. For example, the authors of *Scavi di Ostia I* did not assert that "la diffusion de l'*opus testaceum* se borne au seul II^e siècle" (40-41). On the contrary, I. Gismondi noted that brick work spread across Ostia from the 1st c. A.D. onwards. Schoevaert does not consider the dates proposed by G. Becatti, I. Gismondi

5 T. Morard and D. Wavelet, "Prolégomènes à l'étude de la Schola du Trajan (IV, V, 15-16), à Ostie," *MEFRA* 114 (2002) 759-815.

6 ACS, f. 6559; b. 404.

7 PAOAnt, Archivio Fotografico, B2862.

and H. Bloch, preferring those recently offered by archaeologists such as J. DeLaine, C. Pavolini or P. Pensabene, forgetting that these scholars often rely on the *Scavi di Ostia*'s hypotheses. Sometimes, however, they slightly revised the dates, as J. DeLaine did for the Capitulum group, arguably supporting that the construction of this group began at the end of the Trajanic period and not at the start of the Hadrianic one.⁸ On the other hand, the author does not take into consideration some of the latest publications: for example, new evidence suggests that the Schola del Traiano (IV, V, 15) was built during the Severan period,⁹ but in his catalogue he retains the date advanced in 1953 by Becatti and does not discuss the new data.

The ground at Ostia was raised on a number of occasions over the centuries and the different building levels are helpful for establishing a relative chronology. For instance, the Caseggiato delle Taberne finestrate (IV, V, 18) is roughly 1 m lower than the adjacent Caseggiato a Botteghe (IV, VI, 1). The ground level of the former is beneath one of the roadbeds of the *W decumanus*, whereas the latter is at the same level. Schoevaert understands the relevance of the raising of street levels for dating buildings, but his position is not based on a comprehensive knowledge of this vexed question. Indeed, he assumes that the levels of Ostia were fully raised once at the end of the 1st c. A.D., following the hypothesis of R. Mar in particular.¹⁰ However, L. Sole pointed out in 2002 that the *E decumanus* was raised several times.¹¹ Moreover, my own research on the streets confirms that the situation is more complicated than Schoevaert claims. In particular, it is unlikely that the whole urban fabric was raised in the same phase. For example, the latest paving of the *E decumanus*, unearthed by Vaglieri, is later than the reconstruction of the theatre at the end of the 2nd c. A.D. because the street paving is higher than the portico of this building.¹² On the contrary, the latest basalt block paving of the *W decumanus* should have been built in the first half of the 2nd c., probably during the reign of Hadrian.

Lastly, I would quarrel with the periodisation advanced in this chapter. Schoevaert divides every century into two equal periods, classifying the construction of each shop according to them. How then can one classify a shop built in Augustan times? What about a Severan building? This chronological framework is all the more unsuitable when most of the dating evidence cannot date buildings precisely. Further, such a chronological framework does not account for the complex dynamics taking place in the town over time. In this respect the chronological framework used in chapt. 6 is more convincing, even if simplified. There, Schoevaert divides the construction of shops into three periods. The first encompasses all structures built prior to the "architectural revolution" of the 2nd c. A.D. Such a period of more than four centuries must obviously be subdivided. The urban dynamics following the construction of the Republican Wall were not the same as those following the opening of the Claudian harbour. His second period stretches from the start of the 2nd to the mid-3rd c., but in my view it should be divided into two: the "2nd-c. boomtown" (much of which is Trajanic and Hadrianic), and the "Severan renewal" (which perhaps actually began under Commodus). The third period, which begins with the crises of the 3rd c., roughly corresponds to late antiquity and might also include various phases, although they are currently hard to define.

8 J. DeLaine, "Building activity in Ostia in the second century AD," in C. Bruun and A. Gallina Zevi (edd.), *Ostia e Portus nelle loro relazioni con Roma* (Rome 2002) 93-99.

9 Ch. Bocherens, "Il contesto storico," in id. (ed.), *Nani in festa. Iconografia, religione e politica a Ostia durante il secondo triumvirato* (Bari 2012) 15-24; C. Pavolini, "A survey of excavations and studies on Ostia (2004-2014)," *JRS* 106 (2016) 219-20.

10 See, e.g., R. Mar, "La formazione dello spazio urbano nella città di Ostia," *RömMitt* 98 (1991), 96-97.

11 L. Sole, "Monumenti repubblicani di Ostia Antica," *ArchCl* 53 (2002) 137-81. The trench opened by M. Heinzelmänn under the roadbed of the *Via Ostiensis*, which is the extension of the *E decumanus*, show a similar situation: "Zur Entwicklung der Gelände- und Straßenniveaus in der Nekropole vor der Porta Romana," *Meded* 58 (1999) 84-89.

12 The roadbed that we see today was at the same level that the theatre portico, but that stretch was heavily restored in 1939 and lowered by roughly 40-50 cm. See F. Zevi and P. Pensabene, "Un arco in onore di Caracalla ad Ostia," *RendAcLinc* 26 (1971) 490-92.

The architecture of Ostian shops

In the first part of the book, Schoevaert's intention was to survey the architecture of shops from their construction to their abandonment. Chapter 5 discusses the "anatomy" of such premises but unfortunately does not propose any in-depth analysis of the archaeological and archival evidence, except for two interesting and detailed reconstructions of stairways in the Caseggiato del Larario (I, IX, 3) and Caseggiato dell'Ercole Bambino (II, VI, 3-4), illustrated by coloured plates (III-IV on p. 66). Stairways and upper floors are part of the annexes of shops in the same way as back rooms are. It is worth mentioning that the number of back rooms counted by Schoevaert (5.8% of the shops) is smaller than the numbers advanced by Girri in 1956, and in striking contrast with Pompeii where 31% of shops have one. Moreover, Ostian shops are rarely connected to a house, contrasting again with Pompeii. As he argues here, this attests to a different socio-economic reality.

Chapter 6 focuses on the construction of shops, divided into three main periods (see above). The few pages on the first period, which encompasses the whole urban history prior to the 2nd c. A.D., contains misleading statements, and some Republican and Early Imperial buildings equipped with shops are ignored. The Domus dei Giove Fulminatore (IV, IV, 3) and Domus della Nicchia a Mosaico (IV, IV, 2) are briefly mentioned but there is no hint of the shops of the Casette Repubblicane (I, IX, 1), published in 1923,¹³ nor those of the Domus con Portico di Tufo (IV, VI, 1), still visible today, or the Augustan row of shops beneath the Caseggiato delle Trifore (III, III, 1). Although the evidence for these earliest periods is less complete, there are many pieces of information in the archives (I am thinking particularly of the Archivio Disegni), and it would have been worth pondering the question of retailing at Ostia prior to the "architectural revolution" when the second period mentioned above starts. In that period, again covering a broad span, shops are built in more complex structures than before, as the multi-storey buildings show. The high number of shops results from new types of building packing many shops onto the ground floor. Conversely, the construction of new shops declines in the last period.

The life and death of Ostian shops is addressed in chapt. 7, where the author shows that some retail outlets were restored, refurbished or completely transformed. Some doorways were walled up and new masonry was used to strengthen the structure. At the same time, some openings were made through walls and new masonry encroached on porticoes or pavements. These transformations helped create new spatial layouts. Schoevaert notes that most of these modifications occurred during the first half of the 3rd c. I think more specifically that this period matches the Severan one, which starts at the end of the 2nd c., a period marked by much activity, as the renovation of many buildings shows. Probably the best example is the Caserma dei Vigili (II, V, 1-2), restored at the start of the 3rd c. as the inscription naming Septimius Severus and Caracalla as *restitutores castrorum Ostiensium* shows. Excavations carried out in 2010 by the Schola del Traiano Project in the Caseggiato delle Taberne finestrato support this hypothesis. Some shops were significantly transformed in the first decades of the 3rd c., their function changing too.¹⁴ When the Severan Schola del Traiano was erected north of this caseggiato, most of the doorways of the northern shops were walled up (fig. 1). In direct consequence of these blockings, new openings were broken through the N wall to connect these rooms to the Schola del Traiano. A new traffic pattern emerged: the shop-shaped rooms were now turned towards the portico of the new building and no longer towards the Angiporto delle Taberne finestrato. A latrine was built in one room (fig. 2) and a waste-water disposal system in another. If I am correct in seeing a "Severan renewal" at Ostia, one that does not require a complete reconstruction of the town but only restorations, the transformations of shops were an integral part of this process.

13 NSc 1923, 177-87.

14 G. Mainet, "Comprendre le Caseggiato delle Taberne finestrato en fonction de la parcelle de la Schola del Traiano. Nouvelle lecture d'un édifice méconnu," in C. De Ruyt, T. Morard and F. Van Haepere (edd.), *Ostia Antica. Nouvelles études et recherches sur les quartiers occidentaux de la cité* (Bruxelles 2018) 191-200.

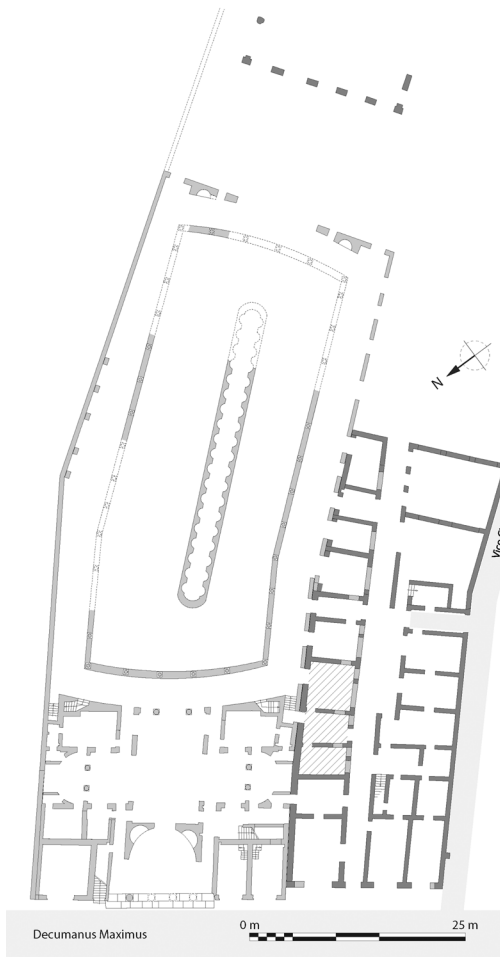


Fig. 1. Schola del Traiano (IV, V, 15) and Caseggiato delle Taberne Finestrate (IV, V, 18). In light grey, the constructions of the Severan period. Some doors of the caseggiato were blocked off and new openings cut through the N wall to connect it to the new building. The *fullonica* was uncovered in the rooms hatched with lines (DAO; G. Mainet).

the second half of the 3rd c., or perhaps shortly afterwards, a fullery was set up in three rooms (hatched with lines in fig. 1 here); the floors of the Severan rooms were partly cut away to set up 3 vessels and create fulling stalls, while the latrine was transformed into a rinsing basin (fig. 2 overleaf), with another built in the E room.

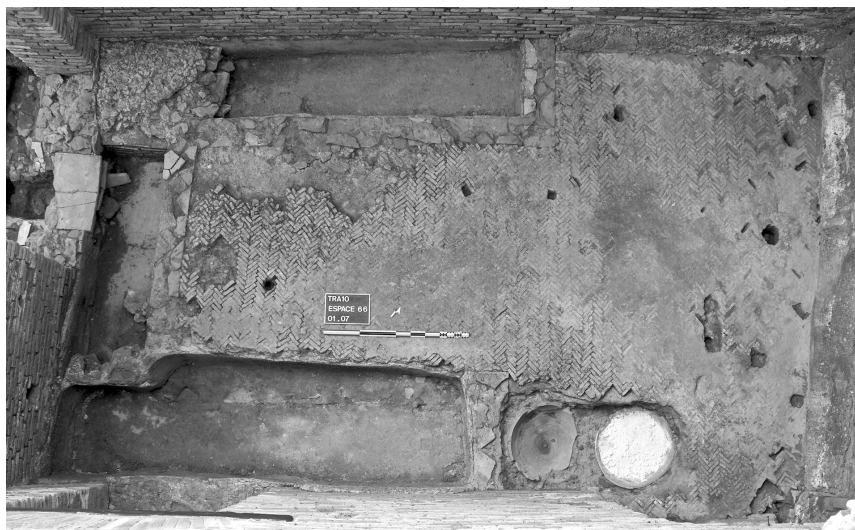
Chapter 9 investigates connections between shops and other economic facilities. The author starts by questioning their place in relation to large workshops (i.e., bakeries and fulleries) and market places, such as the *macellum/a* or *forum vinarium*. He rightly notes that shops were not involved in harbour activities even if they took advantage of them. He stresses that shops are spread out across the entire urban fabric, whereas other premises such as warehouses are principally clustered near the Tiber's S bank. As a result, he argues that retail outlets were central in Ostia's economic life, in contrast to other economic facilities which were mostly aimed at the large-scale trade and supplying Rome. Finally (chapt. 10) he focuses on the shopkeepers. Since Ostia and Portus provide little data to tackle this complex topic, this chapter is largely built on the detailed investigation by N. Tran into the world of the *domini tabernae*. He agrees

Ostian shops and urban economy

In Part 2, the author moves beyond the built environment of shops to focus on economic activities. He aims to investigate the rôle played by retail outlets in Ostia's economic landscape. This is a challenge in view of the scarcity of available evidence, for only 62 premises out of 1263 provide enough information to identify what kind of activities took place inside. This raises questions about such a lack of data. He argues that the nature of the earliest excavations is the main explanation, but I would suggest that Ostia had been spoliated for centuries before the first archaeological excavations began; it was slowly abandoned since late antiquity and quickly became a quarry of materials for Rome and other towns.

Schoevaert picks out 55 shops retailing cooked food and drink, whereas G. Hermansen identified 38 across Ostia. These premises are chiefly characterised by a masonry counter; but a few are also equipped with a cooking hearth, a three-stepped shelf, or a *dolium* set in the ground for storage. Note that he considers only the bars and not the eventual inns connected to them. Secondly, he studies establishments related to textile manufacturing. He finds 4 *fullonicae* built in shops and 1 dye shop. His paragraphs on the fulleries are particularly interesting. From archival records he hypothesises that one shop in the Portico di Nettuno (II, IV, 1) and another in the Insula del Soffitto Dipinto (II, VI, 5-6) were *fullonicae*. The first is really convincing but the second requires further investigation. Almost nothing is known about the other activities taking place in shops, apart from a small amount of epigraphic and iconographic evidence which add some details to the retail landscape. New excavations like those recently carried out in the eastern shops of the Caseggiato delle Taberne Finestrate could help to complete the available evidence. In

Fig. 2. West room of the *fullonica* excavated in the Caseggiato delle Taberne Finestrate (IV, V, 18) (Schola del Traiano Project).



that shopkeepers were part of a homogeneous 'class', but he admits that a few of them constitute a kind of *élite*, as the work-related reliefs found at Isola Sacra suggest. He stresses that the worlds of shops and corporations (very active here at the mouth of the Tiber) were clearly distinct.

The fulleries make a useful case-study for exploring the place of shops in the range of economic activities. Comparing the organisation of their labour tasks with those of the larger workshops, Schoevaert shows that the production patterns differ markedly. Fulleries located in shops were producing exclusively for the local market, whereas workshops were producing for the local market as well as for traders. He does not, however, consider the chronological data to explain the presence of two kinds of production. The production capacity of the largest fulleries declined by the end of the 2nd c. after the largest *fullonica*, the one unearthed behind the Tempio dei Fabri Navales (III, II, 1-2), was knocked down under Commodus at the latest. Further, most of the *fullonicae* set up in shops do not seem to be in operation before the 3rd c. We do not know when the Fullonica Maggiore (II, XI, 1) or the Fullonica di via degli Augustali (V, VII, 3) stopped working, stopped working, but I wonder whether the business of the small fulleries could thrive when the capacity of the bigger ones starts to decrease.

Shops and streets

Part 3 concentrates on the distribution of shops across the urban fabric and the rôle they played in shaping the streetscape. In chapt. 11, the author points out the close connection between retail outlets and porticoes. Most of those were erected during the 2nd c. A.D., but this form can be traced back to the 1st c. B.C. as that one in front of the Domus sotto il Caseggiato delle Taberne finestrate (IV, V, 18bis), while the *W decumanus* was already flanked in Augustan times by many tufa porticoes associated to some extent with shops. Next, Schoevaert shifts to the encroachments of shops on streets, identifying 18 instances, but most were located in porticoes rather than encroaching on streets. Porticoes were probably open to anyone, but I view them primarily as an annexe to the rooms set up on the ground floor, rather than as a pedestrian way. Some of the encroachments he identifies cannot be an appropriation of public space: for instance, the shops r1, i2 and b6-10 built in the Caseggiato del Termopolio (I, II, 5) are located along an inner passageway closed by doors. The author also contends that the shops built against the Portico del Nettuno (II, IV, 1) encroached on the street, but this must be nuanced: these constructions were built on a square in front of the portico, not on the *decumanus*. Moreover, he does not take into account all the cases of encroachments. The analysis of archival records demonstrates that there was an encroachment onto the portico of the Caseggiato degli Archi Trionfali (V, XI, 7) and a careful examination on the ground shows the same phenomenon in the portico of the Domus con Portico di Tufo which was, however, knocked down in Hadrianic times. If the encroachment of shops clearly transformed the townscape in late antiquity, as Schoevaert rightly assumes, I do not believe they significantly impacted

traffic, contrary to other kinds of encroachments such as the construction of Exedra I, XII, 4, which definitively blocked traffic going towards the *Semita dei Cippi*.

The next chapter focuses on the distribution of retail outlets, highlighting the potential of major thoroughfares, as A. Kaiser already assumed in 2011.¹⁵ This is confirmed by Schoevaert's analysis of doorway occurrences, which sharpens the distribution pattern. He also shows that some shops are located in positions more segregated from streets (inner courtyards or passageways, the palaestra of the baths, the baths themselves). Next, focusing on "bars", he uses a heatmap to enhance our understanding of their distribution and argues that their siting depends upon the built environment. Indeed, the number of bars greatly increased in proximity of multi-storey buildings. The author explained this by the absence of kitchen in the apartments of these buildings. In my opinion, the sample is too weak for such a quantitative approach: only one-twentieth of the shop activities are known, and numerous shops were not completely excavated, as the *Schola del Traiano Project* has pinpointed. Moreover, both these analyses do not consider the chronology of the shops under discussion and consequently the maps mix different phases.

The last chapter provides insights into the different ways of attracting the attention of the passer-by. Unlike Pompeii, no façade paintings were unearthed at Ostia; nearly all the street signs we know are marble or terracotta reliefs, similar to those discovered in the necropoleis of Via Laurentina and Isola Sacra. Most of the reliefs are apotropaic phalluses or related to a divinity. Five, however, are work-related, and Schoevaert contends they were intended to advertise shop activities, but the recent view of J. DeLaine seems more convincing.¹⁶ She investigated the reliefs in the wider context of street signs and points out that all should have a protective nature. Next, Schoevaert turns to shop counters that attracted attention, not least when coated with marble slabs. If shop façades seem to have had an austere simplicity, the interior of a few retail outlets was more decorated, some with coloured painted plasters and figurative mosaics from the Severan era onwards. These fit the assumed "Severan renewal" I mentioned above. Surprisingly, Schoevaert claims that these transformations began after the mid-3rd c., whereas he accepts the Severan dates of several paintings and mosaics he mentions. This seems to emphasize the late-antique transformations of shops to the detriment of the Severan ones, but transformations of shops during the Severan period should be as significant as those occurring later.

Discussion

Part of a recent spike in studies of retail trade, the book makes a useful contribution to our understanding of Ostia's economic landscape. Whereas Girri mainly concentrated on the architectural form of shops, Schoevaert focuses on the connections between retail outlets and others economic facilities, as well as on the key rôle of shops in shaping the townscape. Nevertheless, this enquiry is not without problems. First, contrary to what the subtitle suggests, he hardly treats retailing of the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D. He excludes peddling, hawking and auctions, despite their substantial rôle in the economy. The chief problem concerns the chronological framework, as shops of different phases are often encapsulated in just one (some plates combine all the shops he identified without distinction), as a result of which the specificities of each phase become somewhat lost. The quantitative approach used to explore the distribution pattern of bars is another problem, since only 5% of the shops can be related to a specific activity. The sample is too small to be statistically meaningful. There are also too few in-depth analyses of retail outlets in relation to their built environment. As a result, the hypotheses often remain too sweeping. Nonetheless, Schoevaert raises the right issues throughout the book which will be very helpful for those carrying out future excavations in Ostian shops. The town still has much to offer, as the *Caseggiato delle Taberne* finestrato recently showed.

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15 A. Kaiser, *Roman urban street networks* (New York 2011).

16 J. DeLaine, "Street plaques (and other signs) at Ostia," in C. M. Draycott *et al.* (edd.), *Visual histories of the classical world. Essays in honour of R. R. Smith* (Turnhout 2019) 331-43.