

## PART II

### THE HOUSES

#### CHAPTER XXXIII

##### *THE POMPEIAN HOUSE*

OUR chief sources of information regarding the domestic architecture of ancient Italy are two, — the treatise of Vitruvius, and the remains found at Pompeii. The Pompeian houses present many variations from the plan described by the Roman architect; yet in essential particulars there is no disagreement, and it is not difficult to form a clear conception of their arrangements.

The houses of Greco-Roman antiquity differed from those of modern times in several respects. They took their light and air from the inside, the apartments being grouped about a court or about a large central room which ordinarily had an opening in the ceiling; the distribution of space being thus made on a different principle, the large rooms were often larger, the small rooms smaller and more numerous than in modern dwellings of corresponding size; and in the better houses the decoration of both walls and floors was more permanent than is usual in our day. The ancient houses were relatively low, in most cases, if we except the crowded tenements of imperial Rome, not exceeding two stories. The windows in the outside walls were generally few and small, and the external appearance was not unlike that of Oriental houses of the present time. In the city house the large front entrance was frequently ornamented with carved posts and lintel.

The development of the Italic house can be traced at Pompeii over a period of almost four hundred years. The earlier form

consisted of a single series of apartments,—a central room, *atrium*, with smaller rooms opening into it, and a garden at the rear; an example is the house of the Surgeon (p. 280). A restoration of such a house with its high atrium, wide front door, and garden is shown in Fig. 114.

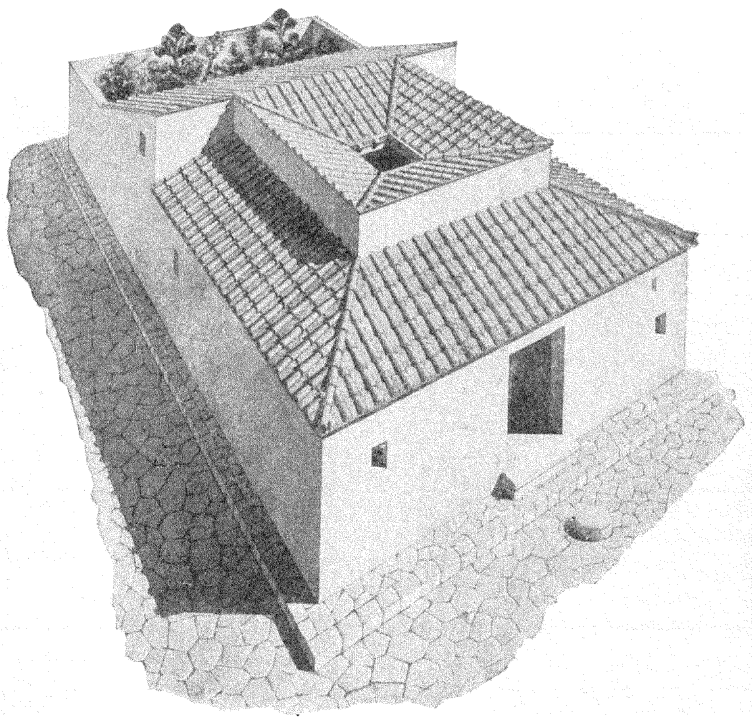


Fig. 114. — Early Pompeian house, restored.

Later, under Greek influence, a court with a colonnade and surrounding rooms was added. This was called *peristylum*, 'peristyle'; it is simply the more elaborate inner part of the Greek house, *andronitis*, joined to the dwelling of Italic origin. We find the union of atrium and peristyle with their respective groups of apartments fully accomplished in the second century B.C., the Tufa Period; the type of dwelling thus developed remained in vogue during Roman times and is often called the Roman house.



The double origin is clearly indicated by the names of the rooms. Those of the front part are designated by Latin words, — *atrium*, *fauces*, *ala*, *tablinum*; but the apartments at the rear bear Greek names, — *peristylum*, *triclinium*, *oecus*, *exedra*. In large houses both atrium and peristyle were sometimes duplicated.

The houses of Pompeii impress the visitor as having been designed primarily for summer use. The arrangements contemplate the spending of much time in the open air, and pains was taken to furnish protection from the heat, not from the cold. The greater part of the area is taken up by colonnades, gardens, and courts; from this point of view the atrium may be classed as a court. The living rooms had high ceilings. In summer

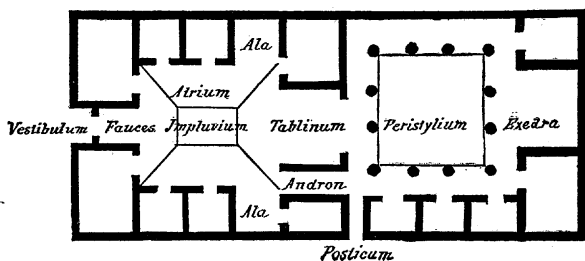


Fig. 115. — Plan of a Pompeian house.

they were cool and airy, in winter difficult to heat; they were dark and close when the door was shut, cold when it was open.

With a single exception the arrangements for heating so often met with in the remains of houses discovered in northern countries are found at Pompeii only in connection with bath-rooms; the cold was ineffectively combated by means of braziers. We are led to believe that the Pompeians were extremely sensitive to heat, but endured cold with great patience. One who makes himself familiar with the arrangements of Italian houses to-day will receive a similar impression, although the peculiarity is perhaps less obvious than in the case of the ancient dwellings.

In describing the Pompeian houses it is more convenient to designate the principal rooms by the ancient names. In Fig. 115 we present an ideal plan; in it the names are given to the parts of the house, the relative location of which is subject to compara-

tively little variation. These parts will first be discussed; then those will be taken up which present a greater diversity in their arrangements.

## I. VESTIBULE, FAUCES, AND FRONT DOOR

The *vestibulum* was the space between the front door and the street. The derivation of the word (*ve-* + the root of *stare*, 'to stand aside') suggests the purpose; the vestibule was a place where one could step aside from the bustle and confusion of the street. In many houses there was no vestibule, the front door opening directly on the sidewalk; and where vestibules did exist at Pompeii, they were much more modest than those belonging to the houses of wealthy Romans, to which reference is so frequently made in classical writers. Roman vestibules were often supported by columns of costly marbles, and adorned with statues and other works of art. Only one vestibule at Pompeii was treated as a portico, that of the house of the Vestals near the Herculaneum Gate. This was once as wide as the atrium, the roof being carried by four columns; but before the destruction of the city two partitions were built parallel with the sides dividing it into three parts, a narrow vestibule of the ordinary type, with a shop at the right and at the left.

The passage inside the front door was called *fauces*, or *prothyron*. According to Vitruvius the width of it in the case of large atriums should be half, in smaller atriums two thirds, that of the tablinum; at Pompeii the width is generally less than half. In the houses of the Tufa Period the corners of the fauces where it opens into the atrium were ornamented with pilasters connected at the top by an entablature.

The vestibule and fauces were ordinarily of the same width, and were separated by projecting doorposts with a slightly raised threshold (Fig. 116) and heavy double doors. Sometimes, as in the house of Epidius Rufus, there was in addition a small door at the side of the vestibule opening into a narrow passage connecting with the fauces (Fig. 149). In such cases the folding doors, which on account of their size and the method of hanging must always have been hard to open, were generally kept shut.

They would be thrown back early in the morning for the reception of clients, and on special occasions; at other times the more convenient small door would be used.

In several instances the volcanic dust so hardened about the lower part of a front door that it has been possible to make a cast by pouring soft plaster of Paris into the cavity left by the crumbling away of the wood; there are several of these casts in the little Museum at Pompeii. With their help, and with the

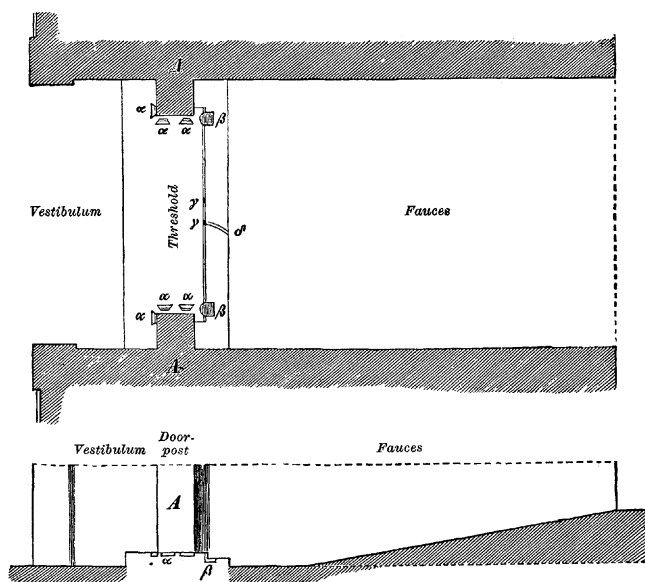


Fig. 116.—Plan and section of the vestibule, threshold, and fauces of the house of Pansa.

well preserved stone thresholds before us, it is possible to picture to ourselves the appearance of the doorway.

The doorposts were protected by wooden casings, *antepagmenta*, which were made fast at the bottom by means of holes in the threshold ( $\alpha$ ,  $\alpha$  in Fig. 116).

The folding doors swung on pivots, which were fitted into sockets in the threshold ( $\beta$ ,  $\beta$ ) and in the lintel. The pivots were of wood, but were provided—at least the lower ones—with a cylindrical cap of iron or bronze, and the socket had a protective lining of the same metal. Both caps and sockets,

especially those of bronze, are found in the thresholds in a good state of preservation. It seems strange that ancient builders did not use smaller pivots of solid metal, on which the doors would have turned much more easily; but a conservative tradition in this regard prevailed against innovation.

The fastenings were elaborate. Near the inner edge of each door was a vertical bolt, which shot into a hole in the threshold ( $\gamma$ ,  $\gamma$ ); there was probably a corresponding bolt at the top, as in the case of large modern doors. Sometimes there was a heavy iron lock, turned with a key, and also an iron bar which was fastened across the crack in such a way as to tie the two folds together. In many houses there are holes in the walls of the fauces, just back of the door, in which at night a strong wooden bar, *sera*, was placed; hardly less often we find a hole in the floor a few feet back, in which one end of a slanting prop was set, the other end being braced against the middle of the door. These arrangements bring to mind Juvenal's vivid picture of the disturbances and dangers of the streets of Rome at night.

## II. THE ATRIUM

An atrium completely covered by a roof was extremely rare. With few exceptions, there was a large rectangular opening over the middle, *compluvium*, toward which the roof sloped from all sides (Figs. 114, 118). In the floor, directly under the compluvium, was a shallow basin, *impluvium*, into which the rain water fell (*h* in Fig. 118). The impluvium had two outlets. One was connected with the cistern; a round cistern mouth, *puteal*, ornamented with carving, often stood near the edge of the basin, as in the house of the Tragic Poet (Fig. 153). The other outlet led under the floor to the street in front, carrying off the overflow when the cistern was full, and also the water used in cleaning the floor. In the better houses a fountain was often placed in the middle of the impluvium.

Vitruvius (VI. iii. 1 *et seq.*) mentions five kinds of atriums, the basis of classification being the construction of the roof—Tuscan, tetrastyle, Corinthian, displuviate, and tortoise atriums. The first three are well illustrated at Pompeii.

The Tuscan atrium, supposed by the Romans to have been derived from the Etruscans, was apparently the native Italic form. Two heavy girders were placed across the room, above the ends of the impluvium (Fig. 117, *b*). On these, two shorter crossbeams were laid (*c*), over the sides of the impluvium. The corners of the rectangular frame thus made were connected with the walls at the corners of the atrium by four strong slanting beams (Figs. 117, 118, *e*). On these and on the frame were placed the lower ends of the sloping rafters (Fig. 117, *f*), carrying the tiles, the arrangement of which can be seen in Figs. 114, 117, and 118. This was the most common arrangement of the roof at Pompeii.

The edge of the compluvium was frequently ornamented with terra cotta waterspouts, representing the heads of animals. In a house near the Porta Marina the projecting foreparts of dogs and lions were used in place of the heads; the remains of a part of the compluvium have been put together again, and are seen in Fig. 119. The lions were placed over the larger spouts at the four corners; the under side of the spouts surmounted by the dogs and lions was ornamented with acanthus leaves in relief. The same illustration presents an example of the antefixes sometimes found.

The tetrastyle atrium differed from the Tuscan in only one respect: there were four columns supporting the roof, one at each corner of the impluvium. In most cases these supports, which interfered with the view of the interior, can hardly have been intended primarily for ornament; they simplified the construction, making the ceiling and roof firm without the use of the heavy and expensive girders.

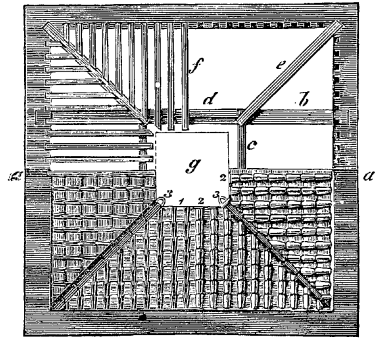


Fig. 117.—A Tuscan atrium: plan of the roof.

- a, a.* Side walls.
- b* One of the two girders supporting the roof.
- c* Crossbeam, resting on the two girders.
- d.* Short beam of the thickness of *c*.
- e.* Corner beam.
- f.* Rafters, sloping toward the inside.
- g.* Compluvium.
- 1. Flat tiles, *tegulae*
- 2. Semicylindrical tiles for covering the joints, *imbrices*.
- 3. Gutter tiles.

The Corinthian atrium had a larger compluvium than the other kinds, the roof being supported by a number of columns. There are three examples at Pompeii, the houses of Epidius Rufus with sixteen columns (p. 310), of Castor and Pollux with twelve, and of the Fullonica with six.

The roof of the displuviate atrium sloped from the middle toward the sides, the water being carried off by lead pipes. The aperture for the admission of light and air was relatively much higher above the floor than in the kinds previously described. No example of this type has been found at Pompeii.

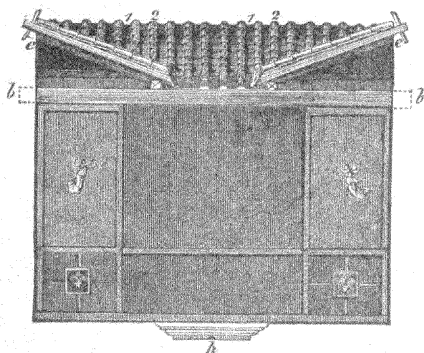


Fig. 118. — A Tuscan atrium: section.

- |                   |                           |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| b. Girder.        | 1. Flat tiles.            |
| c. Corner rafter. | 2. Semicylindrical tiles. |
| h. Impluvium.     |                           |

The tortoise atrium, *atrium testudinatum*, was small and without a compluvium. The roof had a pyramidal shape. There were possibly a few examples at Pompeii, as we may infer from the occasional absence of an impluvium; in the only instance, how-

ever, in which it is possible to determine the form of the roof (V. v. 1-2), this must have been very different from that referred to by the Roman writer (p. 343).

Vitruvius says further that the atrium should have an oblong shape, the width being three fifths or two thirds of the length, or measured on the side of a square, the hypotenuse of which is taken for the length. The design was obviously to bring the sides nearer together, thus lessening the strain on the two girders which in the commonest form were used to sustain the roof. The height, to the frame of the compluvium, should be three fourths of the width.

In the case of the tetrastyle and Corinthian atriums at Pompeii the height is indicated by that of the columns, but there are rarely adequate data for determining the height of the others with exactness. In regard to length and breadth the propor-

tions harmonize fairly well with those recommended by Vitruvius; but the height, in the cases in which it can be ascertained, is often greater than that contemplated by the rules of the architect.

Looking at the Pompeian atriums in their present condition (Plate VII, Figs. 121, 153) one might easily receive the impression that they were primarily courts rather than rooms. In this respect the restorations of Roman houses in the older books are often at fault, the atrium being generally represented as too low in comparison with the rooms around it.

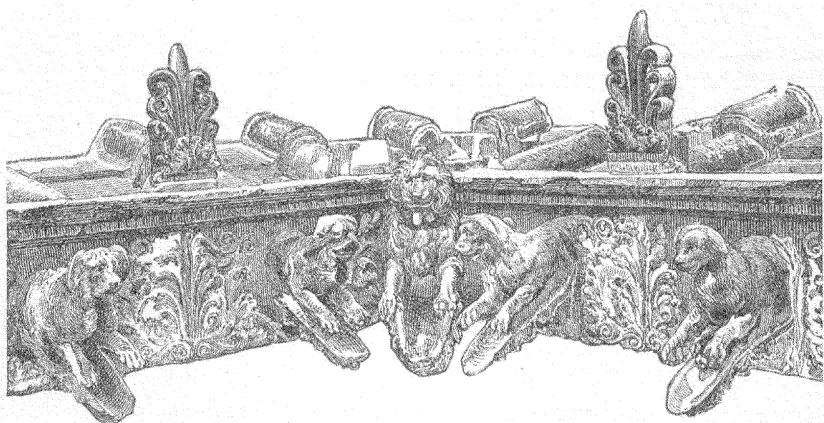


Fig. 119. — Corner of a compluvium with waterspouts and antefixes, reconstructed.

The references in the ancient writers uniformly point to this as the principal room of the house. In the earliest times the hearth stood here; a hole in the roof served as a chimney. The accumulation of soot on the ceiling and the walls suggested the characteristic name 'black room'; for *atrium* comes from *ater*, 'black.' Here the household gathered at mealtime; here they worked, or rested from their labors. In the atrium Lucretia sat with her maids spinning late at night when her husband entered unexpectedly with his friends.

Such the atrium remained in farmhouses to the latest times. The name meanwhile was transferred to the corresponding apartment of elegant city homes, while in the country it went out of use, being replaced by *culina*, 'kitchen,' on account of

the presence of the hearth. In such a room in his Sabine villa Horace loved to dine, conversing on topics grave or gay with his rustic neighbors, and partaking of the simple fare with relish; while his slaves, freed from the restraints of city life, were permitted to eat at the same time, sitting at a separate table. The remains of an atrium of this kind, with its hearth and niche for the images of the household gods, may be seen in the villa recently excavated near Boscoreale (p. 361).

Without doubt some houses of the ancient type might be found in cities, even in Rome, as late as the end of the Republic. We read of one in Cicero's time in the atrium of which spinning was done. But at Pompeii the hearth had been banished from the atrium at a comparatively early date, in the Tufa Period if not before; and the room was made uncomfortable to sit in, for a considerable part of the year, by the broad opening of the compluvium.

From the architectural point of view, however, the atrium never lost its significance as the central apartment. In all its dimensions, but particularly in height, it presents so great a contrast with the rooms around it as to remind us of the relation of a Roman Catholic church to the chapels at the sides. The impression of spaciousness was perhaps deepened when the atrium was provided with a ceiling. Few traces of such ceilings are found at Pompeii, and in the smaller houses the inside of the roof seems generally to have been visible.

The atrium of the Corinthian type most nearly resembled a court, on account of the size of the opening to the sky and the use of many columns. A suggestion of the un-Italic character of this type appears in the name; for one can scarcely suppose that atriums in the strict sense existed at Corinth.

Although the Pompeian atriums show no traces of a hearth, there is possibly a reminiscence of the ancient arrangement in the *gartibulum*, a table which we frequently find at the rear of the impluvium. Varro says that since his boyhood these tables, on which vessels of bronze were placed, had gone out of use; at Pompeii they remained in fashion much longer. The *gartibulum* with its bronze vases may symbolize the ancient hearth with the cooking utensils. Possibly, however, it repre-



sents the kitchen table near the hearth on which the dishes were washed; that it may have served a similar purpose in later times is evident from the fact that in front of it a marble pedestal was often placed for a statuette which threw a jet of water into a marble basin at the edge of the impluvium. This group of table, fountain figure, and basin appears in many Pompeian atriums. In Plate VII we see the gartibulum and the supports of the marble basin, but the base of the fountain figure has disappeared.

The strong box of the master of the house, *arca*, often stood in the atrium, usually against one of the side walls. It was sometimes adorned with reliefs, as the one shown in Fig. 120, which is now in the Naples Museum. It stood on a heavy block of stone, or low foundation of masonry, to which it was attached by an iron rod passing down through the bottom. A wealthy Pompeian sometimes had more than one of these chests.

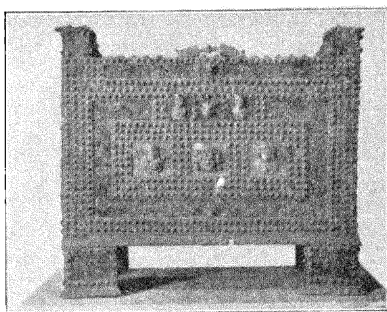


Fig. 120. — A Pompeian's strong box, *arca*.

In three atriums the herm of the proprietor stands at the rear. One, with the portrait of Cornelius Rufus, is shown in Fig. 121.

When there were two atriums in a house, the larger was more elaborately furnished than the other, and was set aside for the public or official life of the proprietor; the smaller one was used for domestic purposes. Typical examples are found in the houses of the Faun and of the Labyrinth. In the former the principal atrium is of the Tuscan type, the other tetrastyle; in the latter the large atrium is tetrastyle, the smaller Tuscan.

### III. THE TABLINUM

The tablinum was a large room at the rear of the atrium, opening into the latter with its whole width; the connection of the two rooms is clearly shown in Plate VII and Fig. 121.

According to Vitruvius, when the atrium was 30 to 40 feet in width—as in the larger Pompeian houses—the tablinum should be half as wide; when the atrium was smaller, the width of the tablinum should be two thirds that of the atrium, while the height at the entrance should be nine eighths, and inside four thirds of the width. These proportions will not hold

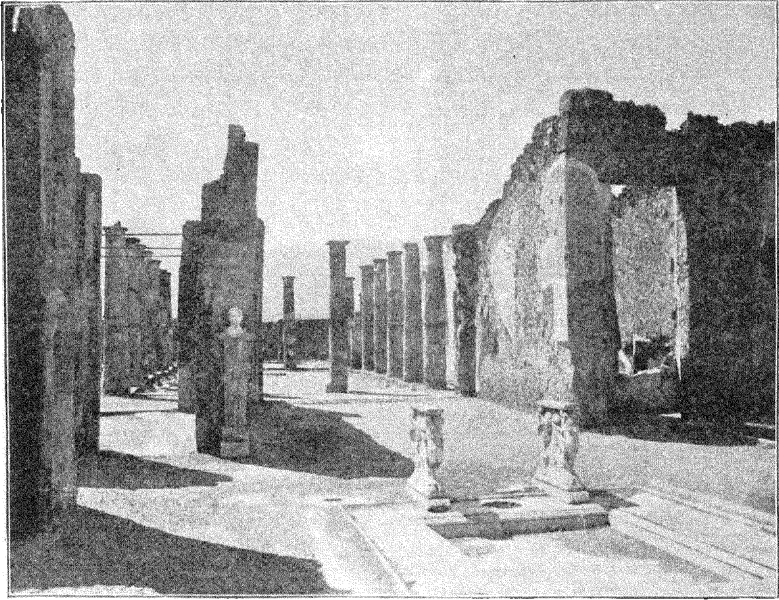


Fig. 121. — Atrium of the house of Cornelius Rufus, looking through the tablinum and andron into the peristyle.

In the foreground, the impluvium, with the carved supports of a marble table; at the left, between the entrances to the andron and the tablinum, the herm of Rufus.

good for Pompeii, where the tablinum is generally narrower and higher (Vitr. VI. iv. 5, 6).

The posts at the entrance were usually treated as pilasters, joined above by a cornice; architecturally the front of this room formed the most impressive feature of the atrium. Between the pilasters hung portières, which might be drawn back and fastened at the sides. In the house of the Silver Wedding the fastenings were found in place,—bronze disks from which a ship's beak projected, attached to the pilasters,

In early times the tablinum ordinarily had an opening at the rear also, but this was not so high as that in front, and could be closed by broad folding doors. In winter the doors were probably kept shut. In summer they were left open and the room, cool and airy, served as a dining room, a use which harmonizes well with a passage of Varro explaining the derivation of the name. "In the olden time," says this writer, "people used to take their meals in the winter by the hearth; in summer they ate out of doors, country folk in the court, city people in the *tabulinum*, which we understand to have been a summer house built of boards." The derivation of *tabulinum*, of which *tablinum* is a shortened form, from *tabula*, 'a board,' is obvious.

The period to which Varro refers antedates that of the oldest houses at Pompeii. The room which we call tablinum was then a deep recess at the rear of the atrium, open at the front, as now, but enclosed by a wall at the rear; against this wall was a veranda opening into the garden, toward which the board roof sloped. People took their meals in the veranda in summer, and to it the name tablinum was naturally applied. In the recess at the rear of the atrium, corresponding to the later tablinum, was the bed of the master of the house, called *lectus adversus* because 'facing' one who entered the front door. As late as the reign of Augustus, long after it became the custom to set aside a closed apartment for the family room, a reminiscence of the ancient arrangement still remained in the couch which stood at the rear of the atrium or in the tablinum, which was called *lectus adversus*, or even *lectus genialis*.

The removal of the hearth and the bed from the atrium must have taken place when the small hole in the roof was replaced by the compluvium. A broad opening was made in the rear wall, and the place where the bed had been was turned into a light, airy room; this was now used as a summer room instead of the veranda, the name of which was in consequence transferred to it.

Even in later times, when the houses were extended by the addition, at the rear, of a peristyle with its group of apartments, the tablinum may often have been used as a summer dining room; but the tendency now was to withdraw the family life

into the more secluded rooms about the peristyle. The tablinum, lying between the front and the rear of the house, was used as a reception room for guests who were not admitted into the privacy of the home; and here undoubtedly the master of the house received his clients.

In the house of the Vettii the tablinum is omitted on account of the abundance of room; but at the rear of the atrium there are wide openings into the peristyle (Fig. 158).

#### IV. THE ALAE

The alae, the 'wings' of the atrium, were two deep recesses in the sides (Fig. 115). They were ordinarily at the rear, but were sometimes placed at the middle, as in the house of Epidius Rufus (Fig. 149). Vitruvius (VI. iv. 4) says that where the atrium is from 30 to 40 feet long, one third of the length should be taken for the breadth of the alae; in the case of larger atriums the breadth of these rooms should be proportionally less, being fixed at one fifth of the length for atriums from 80 to 100 feet long; the height at the entrance should be equal to the breadth.

At Pompeii the alae, as the tablinum, are narrower and higher than required by these proportions. In the Tufa Period the entrances were ornamented with pilasters, and treated like the broad entrance of the tablinum.

With reference to the purpose and uses of these rooms we have no information beyond a remark of Vitruvius in regard to placing the images of ancestors in them. This throws no light upon their origin; for only a few noble families could have possessed a sufficiently large number of ancestral busts or masks to make it necessary to provide a special place for these, while the alae form an essential and characteristic part of the Pompeian house. Now and then an ala was used as a dining room; more frequently, perhaps, one was utilized for a wardrobe, as may be seen from the traces of the woodwork. A careful study of the remains only deepens the impression that at Pompeii the alae served no definite purpose, but were a survival from a previous period, in which they responded to different conditions of life.

An interesting parallel presents itself in the arrangements of a type of peasants' house found in Lower Saxony. The main entrance, as in the early Italic house, leads into a large and high central room; at the sides of this and of the main entrance are the living rooms and stalls. At the back the central room is widened by two recesses corresponding with the *alae*; the hearth stands against the rear wall. In the side walls, at the rear of each recess, are a window and a door. The two windows admit light to the part of the central room furthest from the entrance; the doors open into the farmyard and the garden.

The Italic house in the beginning was not a city residence shut in by party walls, but the isolated habitation of a countryman. The design of the *alae*, as of the recesses in the Low Saxon farmhouse, was to furnish light to the atrium, which, as we have seen, was completely covered by a roof, there being only a small hole to let out the smoke. The large windows in the rear of the *alae* of the house of Sallust may be looked upon as a survival; but in city houses generally light could not be taken in this way from the sides. After the *compluvium* had come into general use, a conservative tradition still retained the *alae* whenever possible, though they no longer answered their original purpose.

#### V. THE ROOMS ABOUT THE ATRIUM. THE ANDRON

In front there were rooms at either side of the entrance, ordinarily fitted up as shops and opening on the street, but sometimes used as dining rooms or sleeping rooms, or for other domestic purposes.

On each side of the atrium were two or three small sleeping rooms; in narrow houses these, as well as one or both of the *alae*, were occasionally omitted.

At the rear were one or two rooms of the same depth as the *tablinum*, used in most cases as dining rooms. They frequently had a single broad entrance on the side of the peristyle or the garden (Fig. 134, 22), but were sometimes entered by a door from the atrium or from one of the *alae* (Figs. 115, 121). The door on the side of the atrium seems generally to have been

made when the house was built; if the owner did not wish to use it, it was walled up and treated as a blind door, an ornament of the atrium.

The rooms about the atrium in the pre-Roman period were made high, those in front and at the sides often measuring fifteen feet to the edge of the ceiling, which had the form of a groined vault. The rear rooms were still higher, the crown of the vaults being as far above the floor as the flat ceiling of the tablinum. A corresponding height was given to the doors; those in the house of the Faun measure nearly fourteen feet. The upper part of the doorway was doubtless pierced for the admission of light in the manner indicated by wall paintings, and shown in our restoration of one side of the atrium in the house of Sallust (Figs. 261, 262).

The andron was a passage at the right or the left of the tablinum, connecting the atrium with the peristyle (Figs. 115, 121). The name was used originally to designate an apartment in the Greek house, but was applied by the Romans to a corridor. In modern times the passage has often been erroneously called fauces.

The andron is lacking only in small houses, or in those in which a different connection is made between the front and rear portions by means of a second atrium, or other rooms.

## VI. GARDEN, PERISTYLE, AND ROOMS ABOUT THE PERISTYLE

A few Pompeian houses, like those of the olden time, are without a peristyle, having a garden at the rear. In such cases there is a colonnade at the back of the house, facing the garden; this is the arrangement in the houses of the Surgeon, of Sallust, and of Epidius Rufus. In the large house of Pansa (Fig. 179), we find both a peristyle and a garden, the latter being at the rear of the peristyle; and in many houses a small garden was placed wherever available space could be found.

The peristyle is a garden enclosed by a colonnade, or having a colonnade on two or three sides. When this was higher on the north side than on the other three, as in the house of the Silver Wedding, the peristyle was called Rhodian. In the Tufa

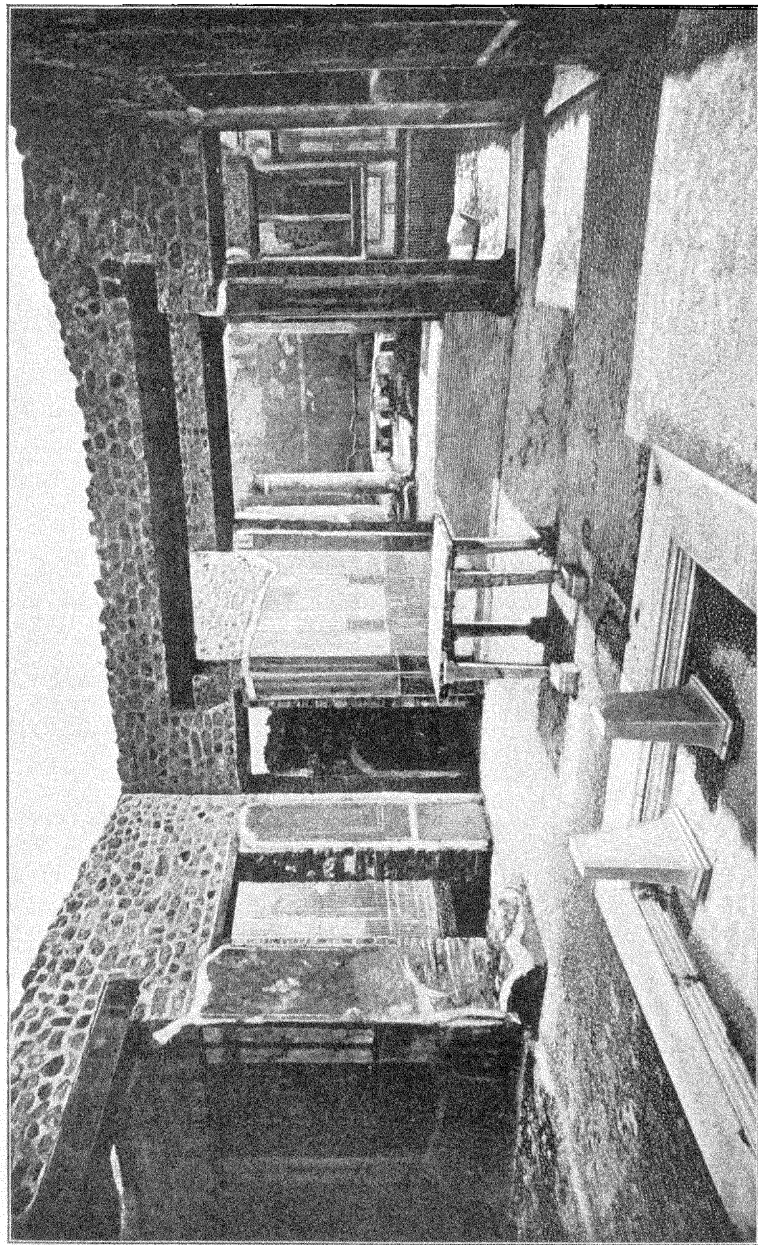


PLATE VII. — INTERIOR OF A HOUSE, LOOKING FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE ATRIUM  
TOWARD THE REAR





Period the colonnade was frequently in two stories, on all four sides or on the front alone. Fragments of columns belonging to the second story have been found in many houses, but in only one instance, that of the house of the Centenary, are they of such a character as to enable us to make an accurate restoration; here the double series of columns extended only across the front.

A separate entrance, *posticum* (Fig. 115), usually connected the peristyle with a side street. At the rear there was often a broad, deep recess, *exedra*, corresponding with the tablinum. The location of the other rooms in this part of the house is determined by so many conditions, and manifests so great a diversity that it may be spoken of more conveniently in connection with their use.

## VII. SLEEPING ROOMS

The small, high rooms about the atrium were in the earlier times used as bedrooms; and such they remained in some houses, as that of the Faun, down to the destruction of the city.

The sleeping rooms about the peristyle were much lower, and the front opened by means of a broad door in its whole, or almost its whole, width upon the colonnade. These rooms could frequently be entered also through a small side door from a dining room, or a narrow recess opening on the peristyle (Fig. 146, *x*). The design of the arrangement is obvious. In summer the inconvenient large door could be left open day and night, a curtain being stretched across the space; in winter it would be opened only for airing and cleaning, the small door being used at other times.

The place for the bed was sometimes indicated in the plan of the room. In a bedroom of the house of the Centaur, of which an end view is given in Fig. 122, a narrow alcove was made for the bed at the left side; the floor of the alcove is slightly raised, and the ceiling, as often, is in the form of a vault, while the ceiling of the room is higher and only slightly arched. A similar arrangement is found in several other rooms

decorated in the first style. In several houses, as in the house of Apollo, there is a sleeping room with alcoves for two beds.

In bedrooms with a mosaic floor the place for the bed is ordinarily white, being separated from the rest of the room by a stripe suggestive of a threshold. A similar division is often indicated in the wall decoration, particularly that of the second style; the part designated for the bed is set off by pilasters on the end walls, and differently treated both in respect to the decorative design and in the arrangement of colors.

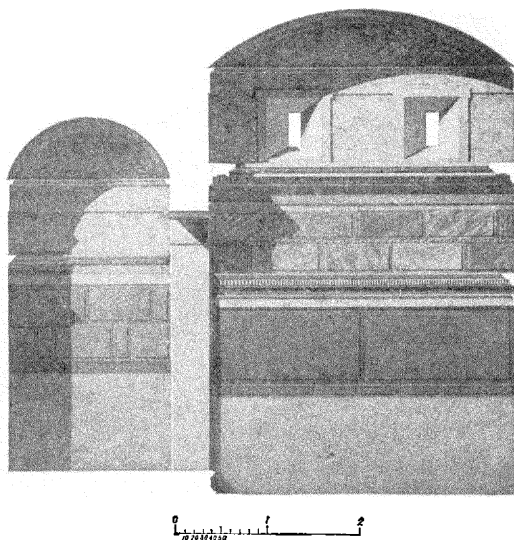


Fig. 122. — End of a bedroom in the house of the Centaur, decorated in the first style.  
At the left, alcove for the bed; above, two windows.

## VIII. DINING ROOMS

As long as it was customary to sit at meals any fair-sized apartment could be used as a dining room. When the early Italic house was extended by the addition of a peristyle, and the Greek custom of reclining at table was introduced, it became necessary to provide a special apartment, and the Greek name for such a room with the three couches, *triclinium*, came into use. For convenience in serving, the length of a dining room,

according to Vitruvius, should be twice the width. At Pompeii, however, the dimensions are less generous; with an average width of 12 or 13 feet the length rarely exceeds 20 feet. In many cases one end of the room opened on the peristyle, but could be closed by means of broad doors or shutters.

The plan of a typical dining room is given in Fig. 123. The couch at the right of the table was called the upper couch; that at the left, the lower; and that between, the middle couch. With few exceptions each couch was made to accommodate three persons; the diner rested on his left arm on a cushion at the side nearer the table, and stretched his feet out toward the right. Hence, the first on the upper couch had what was called 'the highest place.' The one next was said to recline 'below' him, because lying on the side toward which the first person extended his feet; the man at the outer end of the lower couch was said to be 'at the foot,' *imus*. When in the Gospel of John we read of a disciple "lying on Jesus' breast," the meaning is easily explained by reference to Roman usage; John was reclining in the place next below the Master. This arrangement makes clear to us the reason why the couches were so placed that the lower one projected further beyond the table than the upper one; the feet of those on the lower couch were extended toward the end furthest from the table.

To the couches grouped in the manner indicated the same name was applied as to the dining room, triclinium. Of those in the dining rooms only scanty remains are found. In summer the Pompeians, as the Italians of to-day, were fond of dining in the open air. In order to save the trouble of moving heavy furniture couches of masonry were not infrequently constructed in the garden, and have been preserved; such a triclinium is that in the garden of the tannery (p. 398). The arrangement is in most cases precisely that indicated in Fig. 123, the outer end of the lower couch projecting beyond the corresponding

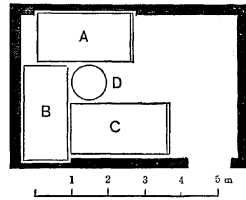


Fig. 123.—Plan of a dining room with three couches.

- A. Upper couch, *lectus summus*.
- B. Middle couch, *lectus medius*.
- C. Lower couch, *lectus imus*.
- D. Table, *mensa*.

end of the upper one. In the middle stands the base of the table, also of masonry; the top is rarely preserved. Near by is a little altar for the offerings made in connection with each meal. The appearance of such a triclinium may be inferred from that of the triclinium funebre shown in Fig. 245, which has a square table and round altar.

In many gardens we find about the triclinium the remains of four or six columns. These supported a frame of timber or lattice-work, upon which vines were trained, making a shady bower, as in the garden of the tavern in the first Region, referred to below (p. 404).

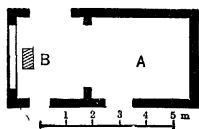


Fig. 124.—Plan of a dining room with an anteroom containing an altar for libations.

A. Room for the table and couches.

B. Anteroom with altar.

The couches were ordinarily not provided with backs, but the outer ends of the upper and lower couches sometimes had a frame to hold the cushions, as indicated in Fig. 123 and shown more clearly in our restoration, Fig. 188. In the dining rooms small movable altars must have been used for the offerings, such as those of terra cotta or bronze not infrequently met with in the course of excavation. A fixed altar has been found in only one instance, in a small dining room in the eighth Region (VIII. v-vi. 16). Here, as our plan (Fig. 124) shows, the front of the apartment is set off as an anteroom, and in this was placed an altar of tufa.

In accordance with an ancient custom the children, even those of the imperial family, sat on low stools at a table of their own on the open side of the large table. In an open-air triclinium in the ninth Region (IX. v. 11) the children's seat is preserved, a low bench of masonry about forty inches long connected with the projecting arm of the lower couch (Plate VII.).

The inner part of the dining room, designed for the table and couches, was often distinguished from the free space in the same way that the place for the bed was indicated in bedrooms, sometimes by a difference in the design of the mosaic floor, more frequently by the division of the wall decoration and the arrangement of the ceiling. In the third and fourth decorative styles the division is less plainly marked than in the second; but often

the side walls back of the couches and the inner end of the room have each a single large panel with a small panel at the right and left, while on each side wall in front are only two panels, of the same size.

In one respect the ordinary dining room was far from convenient; those who had the inner places could not leave the table or return to it in the course of a meal without disturbing one or more of those reclining nearer the outside. Large rooms, in which an open space was left between the couches and the wall, or in which several tables with their sets of couches could be placed, were unknown in pre-Roman Pompeii. In the time of the Empire a few of these large dining rooms were built in older houses. There is one measuring about 25 by 33 feet in the house of Pansa; another, of which the dimensions are 23 by 30 feet, in the house of Castor and Pollux; and a third, 36 feet long, in the house of the Citharist.

In a number of houses we find a large, fine apartment—designated by the Greek word *oecus*—which seems often to have been used for a dining room, especially on notable occasions. A particularly elegant form was the Corinthian *oecus*, which had a row of columns about the sides a short distance from the walls, the room being thus divided into a main part with a vaulted ceiling and a corridor with a flat ceiling. The couches would be placed in the main part; the guests could pass to their places along the corridor, behind the columns. The remains of such an *oecus* may be seen in the houses of Meleager and of the Labyrinth.

A specially interesting example—unfortunately not yet wholly excavated—is in the house of the Silver Wedding. In this case only the inner part, designed for the couches, is set off by columns. We may assume that there was a vaulted ceiling over the middle, resting on the entablature of the columns; that the ceiling of the corridor between the columns and the wall was flat, and of the same height as the entablature; and that the front part of the room had a flat or slightly arched ceiling of the same height as the crown of the vault over the middle.

In the more pretentious Roman houses there was sometimes a dining room for each season of the year; when Trimalchio in

Petronius's novel boasts that he has four dining rooms, we are to understand that he had one each for winter, summer, autumn, and spring. In the case of the Pompeian houses we are warranted in assuming that dining rooms opening toward the south were for winter use, those toward the north for use in summer. Other airy apartments, with a large window in addition to the wide door, may well have been intended for summer triclinia. Further than this it is hardly possible to classify Pompeian dining rooms according to the seasons.

### IX. THE KITCHEN, THE BATH, AND THE STOREROOMS

In the Pompeian house the kitchen had no fixed location. It was generally a small room, and was placed wherever it would least interfere with the arrangement of the rest of the house.

The most important part of the kitchen was the hearth. This was built of masonry, against one of the walls. It was oblong, and the fire was made on the top. The cooking utensils sometimes rested on rectangular projections of masonry, as in the kitchen of the house of Pansa, sometimes on small iron tripods, as in the house of the Vettii (Fig. 125). The hearth of the latter house was found undisturbed, with a vessel in place ready to be heated. In one house the place of an iron tripod was taken by three pointed ends of amphorae set upright on the hearth. Underneath there was often a hollow place, like that shown in our illustration, in which fuel was kept, as in similar openings under the hearths of Campanian kitchens to-day.

Sometimes we find near the hearth a bake oven, not large enough to have been used for bread, and evidently intended for pastry; bread must ordinarily have been obtained from the bakers. In one of the cellars of the house of the Centenary there is a larger oven, which may have been used to bake coarse bread for the slaves; the heat was utilized in warming a bath above.

Over the hearth was a small window to carry off the smoke. As the kitchen was ordinarily high there may have been a hole in the roof also, but the upper parts have been destroyed, and their arrangement cannot be determined. From the small size

of the kitchens and of the hearths in even the largest and finest houses, we may infer that the luxury of the table prevalent in the Early Empire had made only slight progress at Pompeii.

Close by the kitchen, frequently forming a part of it and next to the hearth, was the closet; a separate closet of good size is found in the houses of the Faun and of Castor and Pollux.

In many large houses there is a bath, generally too small to have been used by more than one person at a time. These baths ordinarily include only a tepidarium and a caldarium, but occasionally there is an apodyterium, less frequently still a small

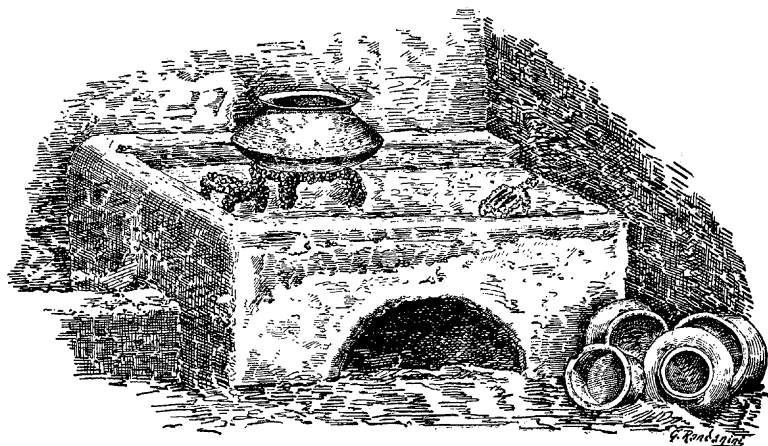


Fig. 125. — Hearth of the kitchen in the house of the Vettii.  
The arched place underneath is for the storage of fuel.

frigidarium; in most cases a basin in the apodyterium or tepidarium must have been used for the cold bath. The heating arrangements are similar to those found in the public baths, and more or less complete according to the period in which the bath was fitted up, and the taste of the proprietor; a progressive refinement in the appointments of the private baths can be traced similar to that which we have already noted in the case of the Stabian Baths. The close relation generally existing between the bath-rooms and the kitchen is well illustrated in the houses of the Faun and of the Silver Wedding.

In connection with this group of rooms we may mention the

storerooms, which are found in various parts of the houses and may be identified by the traces of the shelves that were fastened to the walls.

Comparatively few houses were provided with cellars. In the house of the Centenary, however, there are two. One, entered from the atrium by a stairway, extends under the tablinum and the front colonnade of the peristyle; the other is accessible from a side atrium and is divided into several rooms, in one of which is the oven mentioned above. The cellar belonging to the house of Caecilius Jucundus is under the garden; that of the villa of Diomedes will be described later.

#### X. THE SHRINE OF THE HOUSEHOLD GODS

In ancient Italy each household worshipped its guardian spirits and tutelary divinities, which formed a triple group, the Lares, the Penates, and the Genius. In Pompeii the remains associated with domestic worship are numerous and important.

Many Pompeians painted representations of the household gods upon an inner wall, often upon a wall of the kitchen, near the hearth. There was usually a painted altar underneath, with a serpent on either side coming to partake of the offerings.

In a large number of houses a small niche was made in the wall, in which were placed little images of the gods, the Lares and the Genius being also painted on the back of the cavity or on the wall at the sides or below. Such a niche may be seen in a corner of the kitchen in the house of Apollo (Fig. 126); the pictures of the gods are almost obliterated, but that of the serpent—in this case there is but one—and of the altar can be clearly seen. In front is a small altar of masonry; the ferns and grasses with which the floor is carpeted make this kitchen in summer an attractive nook. Sometimes the niches were ornamented with diminutive half-columns or pilasters at the sides and a pediment above.

Frequently a more elaborate shrine was provided, a diminutive temple raised on a foundation, placed against a wall of the atrium or of the garden. An example is the one at the rear of the peristyle in the house of the Tragic Poet (Fig. 153).



In rare instances a small, separate chapel was devoted to the domestic worship, as in the house of the Centenary. In a house of the ninth Region (IX. viii. 7) there is such a chapel in the garden, a niche for the images being placed in the wall.

The Lares are the guardian spirits of the household. Originally but one was worshipped in each house; they began to be honored in plurality after the time of Cicero, and at Pompeii we invariably find them in pairs. They are represented as youths clad in a short tunic confined by a girdle (Fig. 127), stepping lightly or dancing, with one hand high uplifted in which a drinking horn, *rhyton*, is seen; from the end of the horn a jet of wine spurts in a graceful curve, falling into a small pail, *situla*, or into a libation saucer, *patera*, held in the other hand.

Simple offerings were made to these beneficent spirits, —

fruits, sacrificial cakes, garlands, and incense, — and at every meal a portion was set aside for them in little dishes. When a sacrifice was offered to the Lares, the victim was a pig.

With the worship of the Lares was associated that of the Genius, the tutelary divinity of the master of the house. He is



Fig. 126. — Niche for the images of the household gods, in a corner of the kitchen in the house of Apollo.

Underneath, a painted serpent represented as about to take offerings from a round altar. In front is a square altar for the domestic worship.

represented as a standing figure, the face being a portrait of the master. The toga is drawn over his head, after the manner of one sacrificing; in the left hand there is usually a cornucopia, sometimes a box of incense, *acerra*; with the right hand he pours a drink offering from a patera.

Very rarely we find a representation of the Genius of the mistress of the house. In one painting she appears with the attributes of Juno; the Genius of a woman was often called Juno, as in the inscription on the bust stone of Tyche, the slave of Julia Augusta (p. 418). As a man might swear in the name of his Genius, so a woman's oath might be 'By my Juno.'

The Lares and the Genius are often found together both in the hearth paintings, and in the groups of little bronze images frequently placed in the shrines. They are associated also in an inscription on the shrine in the house of Epidius Rufus: *Genio M[arci] n[ostri] et Laribus duo Diadumeni liberti*, — 'To the Genius of our Marcus and the Lares; (dedicated by) his two freedmen with the name of Diadumenus.' Marcus was the first name of the head of the household.

In a few cases the Genius of the emperor seems to have been revered at a house shrine. Horace (Od. IV. v. 34) speaks distinctly of the worship of the tutelary divinity of Augustus in connection with that of the Lares, — *et Laribus tuum Miscet numen*. On the rear wall of a little chapel in a garden is a painted altar at the right of which stands Jupiter, at the left a Genius, each pouring a libation. We can scarcely believe that the Genius of an ordinary man would thus be placed as it were on an equality with the ruler of heaven; more likely the Genius of an emperor is represented, perhaps that of Claudius. The face is not unlike the face of Claudius, and the painting is on a wall decorated in the third style (Ins. VII. xi. 4).

In another house (IX. viii. 13) two Genii are painted, and under one of them is scratched in large letters *EX SC*, undoubtedly for *ex senatus consulto*, — 'in accordance with a decree of the Senate.' We are probably safe in assuming that the decree referred to is that of the reign of Augustus, by which the worship of the Lares was regulated (Dio Cass. LI. xix. 7); if so, the figure is intended to represent the Genius of that emperor.

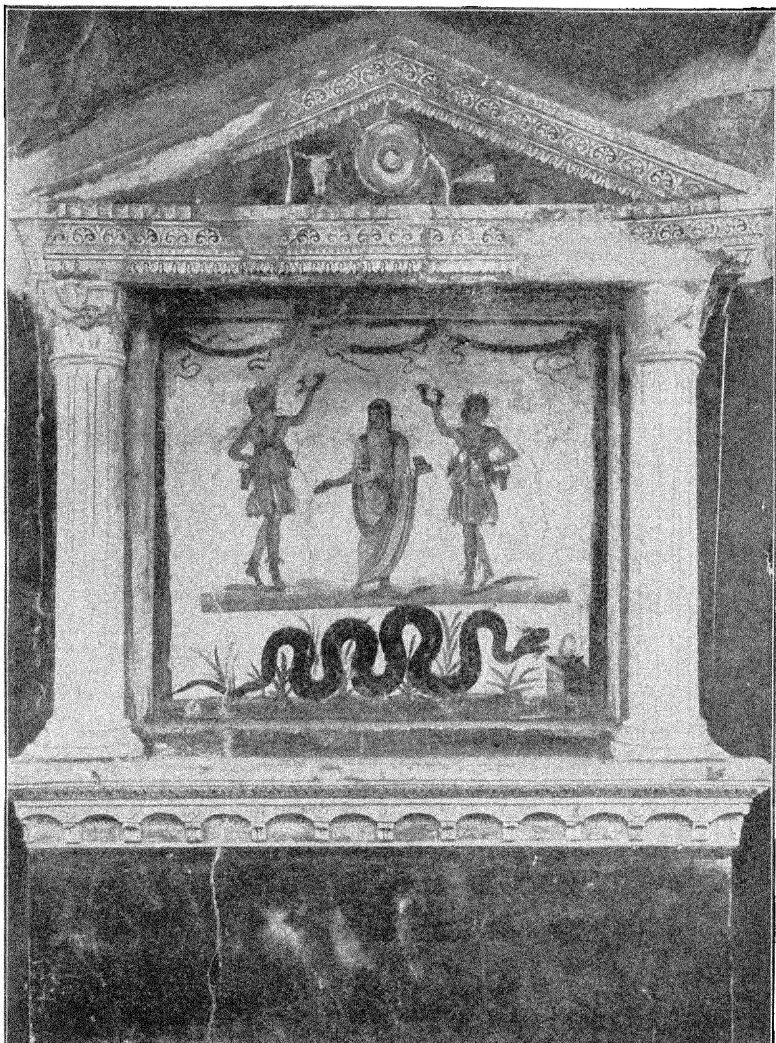


Fig. 127.— Shrine in the house of the Vettii.

In the middle the Genius, with libation saucer and box of incense; at the sides, the two Lares, each with a drinking horn and pail; below, a crested serpent about to partake of the offerings.

The face of the Genius in the house of the Vettii (Fig. 127) bears a decided resemblance to that of Nero. Here the shrine was placed in the rear wall of the smaller atrium. It consists of a broad, shallow niche, the front of which is elaborately ornamented to give the appearance of a little temple, while on the back are painted the household divinities. The Geniŭs stands with veiled head between the two Lares, holding in his left hand a box of incense and pouring a libation with the right. In the original painting the features were unusually distinct.

The Penates were the protecting divinities of the provisions or stores, *penus*, and the storerooms of the house; under this name were included various gods to whom the master and the household offered special worship. At Pompeii the Penates, as the Lares and the Genius, appear in paintings, and are also represented by bronze images placed in the shrines. In the shrine of the house of Lucretius were diminutive bronze figures of the Genius and of Jupiter, Hercules, Fortuna, and another divinity that has not been identified. Statuettes of Apollo, Aesculapius, Hercules, and Mercury were found, together with those of the two Lares, in another house; in a third, Fortuna alone with the Lares.

Jupiter and Fortuna are frequently met with in shrine paintings, as well as Venus Pompeiana (Fig. 4), Hercules, Mars, and Vulcan as a personification of the hearth fire; Vesta, the patron goddess of bakers, usually appears in the hearth paintings of bake shops.

Underneath the representations of the Lares and Penates ordinarily are painted two serpents, one on either side of an altar, which they are approaching in order to partake of the offerings; these consist of fruits, in the midst of which an egg or a pine cone can usually be distinguished. As early as the beginning of the Empire the significance of the serpent in the Roman worship had ceased to be clearly understood; Virgil represents Aeneas as in doubt whether the serpent which came out from the tomb of Anchises was the attendant of his father or the Genius of the place (Aen. V. 95).

In the Pompeian paintings, when a pair of serpents occurs, one may usually be recognized as a male by the prominent

crest. They were undoubtedly looked upon as personifications of the Genii of the master and mistress of the house. When a single crested serpent appears, as in the shrine paintings of both the house of the Vettii (Fig. 127) and the house of Apollo (Fig. 126), we are to understand that the head of the household was unmarried.

## XI. SECOND STORY ROOMS

With few exceptions the houses of pre-Roman Pompeii were built in only one story; where the peristyle was in two stories, there must have been rooms opening upon the upper colonnade. In Roman times, as the population of the city increased and more space was needed, it became a common practice to make the rooms about the atrium lower and build chambers over them. A complete second story was rare; small rooms were added here and there, frequently at different levels and reached by different stairways. Sometimes the second story on the front side projected a few feet over the street; an example may be seen in a house in the seventh Region (*casa del Balcone Pensile*), the front of which, with the part projecting over the sidewalk, has been carefully rebuilt by replacing the charred remains of the ancient beams with new timbers.

Houses with three stories were quite exceptional, and the rooms of the third floor must have been unimportant. Along the steep slope of the hill, on the west and southwest sides of the city, a number of houses are found that present the appearance of several stories; they are not properly classed with those just mentioned, however, for the reason that the floors are on terraces, the highest at the level of the street, the others lower down and further back, being adjusted to the descent of the ground.

From the time of Plautus, second story rooms were designated as 'dining rooms,' *cenacula*. Varro says that after it became customary to dine upstairs, all upper rooms were called *cenacula*. This explanation is not altogether satisfactory, because other literary evidence for the prevalence of such a custom is lacking. Perhaps in early times, when, on account

of the introduction of the compluvium and impluvium, the atrium ceased to be convenient and comfortable for the serving of meals, a dining room was frequently constructed on an upper floor, and, being the principal second story apartment, gave its name to the rest. In some places the ancient custom may still have lingered in the time of the Early Empire.

The upper parts of the Pompeian houses in most cases have

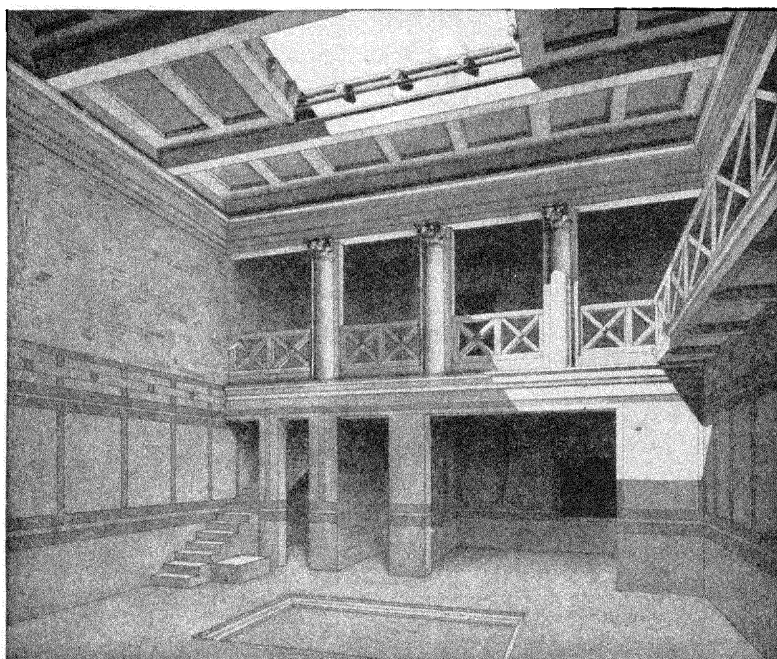


Fig. 128.—Interior of a house with a second story dining room opening on the atrium, restored.

been completely destroyed; in a few, however, there are traces of a second story apartment that was probably used as a dining room.

One of these houses is in Insula xv of Region VII, near the temple of Apollo. It is painted in the second style, and dates apparently from the end of the Republic. At the rear of the atrium are two rooms and a passageway leading to the back of the house. Over these was a single large apartment, closed at

the sides and rear, but opening on the atrium in its entire length; along the front, as seen in our restoration (Fig. 128), ran a balustrade connecting the pilasters — ornamented with half-columns — which supported the roof.

In a corner of the atrium at the rear a narrow stairway led to the second floor. At the right, as our section shows (Fig. 129), was a narrow gallery resting on brackets, which connected the upper room at the rear with one in the front of the house.

The large upper room was so well fitted for a dining room, especially in summer, that we can hardly resist the conclusion that it was designed for this purpose. There is no trace of a kitchen on the ground floor; and for greater convenience this

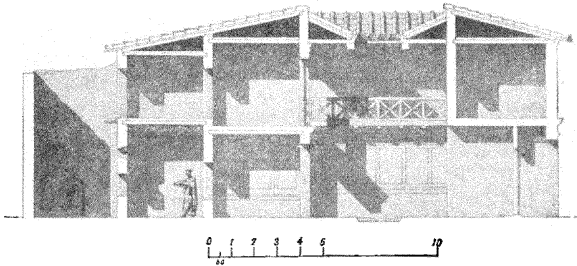


Fig. 129.—Longitudinal section of the house with a second story dining room.

At the right, vestibule, door, and fauces, with front room above; then the atrium, with the gallery connecting the front room with the dining room; lastly, the apartments at the rear of the house. In this house there was no peristyle.

also was probably placed in the second story, behind the dining room.

In the fifth Region there was a small dwelling, which afterwards became a part of the house of the Silver Wedding; the arrangement of the two stories at the rear of the atrium was similar to that just described, except that columns were used in place of the pilasters, and there was only the one upper room in the back part of the house. In such cases as this 'dining room' and 'upper story' might easily have come to be used as synonymous terms.

Where there was a large upper room at the rear of the atrium, no place was left for the high tablinum; in a house in the seventh Region (*casa dell' Amore Punito*, VII. ii. 23) the

cenaculum was in front. On the front wall of the atrium one may still see part of the carefully hewn stones on which the columns of the second story rested, and fragments of these columns were found on the floor below.

## XII. THE SHOPS

The outer parts of the houses fronting on the principal thoroughfares were utilized as shops. On the more retired side streets there were fewer shops, and we often find a façade of masonry unbroken except for the front door and an occasional window.

The shop fronts were open to the street. The counter, frequently of masonry, has in most cases the shape indicated on our plan (Fig. 130, 2), being so arranged that customers could make their purchases, if they wished, without going inside the shop.

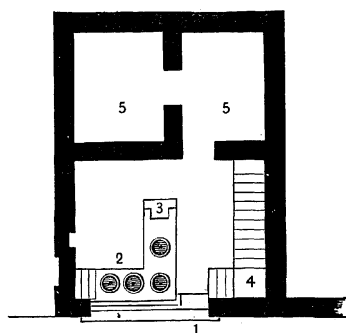


Fig. 130.—Plan of a Pompeian shop.

- |                   |                             |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Entrance.      | 3. Place for a fire.        |
| 2. Counter.       | 4. Stairway to upper floor. |
| 5, 5. Back rooms. |                             |

Large jars were often set in it, to serve as receptacles for the wares and edibles exposed for sale. Sometimes on the end next to the wall there are little steps, on which, as seen in our restoration (Fig. 131), measuring cups and other small vessels were placed. At the inner end we see now and then a depression (3) over which a vessel could be heated, a fire being kindled underneath as on a hearth. In the wineshops a separate hearth is

sometimes found, and occasionally a leaden vessel for heating water.

In the houses of the Tufa Period the shops, as the front doors and the rooms about the atrium, were relatively high. Those of the house of Caecilius Jucundus measured nearly 16 feet; those of the house of the Faun, 19 feet; the appearance of the latter may be suggested by our restoration (Fig. 139). The height was divided by an upper floor, *pergula*, 10 or 12 feet



above the ground, along the open front of which was a balustrade; the stairs leading to it were inside the shop. On such a pergula Apelles, according to Pliny (N. H. xxxv. 84), was accustomed to display his paintings; and in the Digest reference is more than once made to cases in which a person passing along the street was injured by an object falling upon him from the second story of a shop. 'Shops with their upper floors'

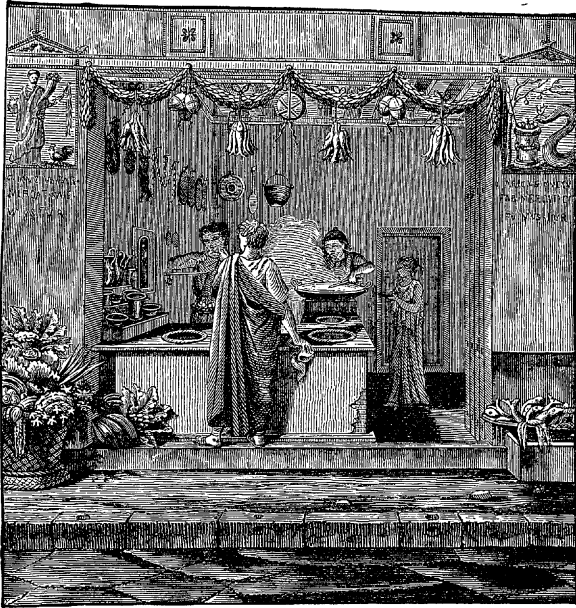


Fig. 131. — A shop for the sale of edibles, restored.

are advertised for rent in one of the painted inscriptions found at Pompeii (p. 489).

In Roman times the shops, as the inner rooms of the house, were built lower, and over them small closed rooms were made, which were called by the same name as the open floor, pergula. These rooms were frequently accessible from the street by a stairway, and in such cases could be rented separately. In colloquial language, a man whose early life had been passed amid unfavorable surroundings was said to have been 'born in a room over a shop,'—*natus in pergula*.

Shops were entered by means of small doors; the front was closed with shutters. These consisted of overlapping boards set upright in narrow grooves at the top and the bottom. A separate set of shutters was provided for the open pergula.

### XIII. WALLS, FLOORS, AND WINDOWS

The walls were covered with a thick layer of plaster and painted; the preparation of the stucco, the processes employed in painting, and the styles of decoration are reserved for discussion in a later chapter.

The floors were frequently made of an inexpensive concrete, consisting of bits of lava or other stone pounded down into common mortar. A much better floor was the Signia pavement, *opus Signinum*, so named from a town in Latium. This was composed of very small fragments of brick or tile pounded into fine mortar. The surface was carefully finished, and was sometimes ornamented with geometrical or other patterns traced in outline by means of small bits of white stone.

In the Tufa Period a floor was often made by fitting together small pieces of stone or marble, and bedding them well in mortar. The colors are white and black, — slate is used in the floor of the atrium in the house of the Faun; sometimes also violet, yellow, green, and red appear with white and black. Pavements of square or lozenge-shaped and triangular pieces of colored marble and slate, like that in the cella of the temple of Apollo (Fig. 28), are occasionally found in houses. In the time of the Early Empire floors paved with larger slabs were not uncommon.

The mosaics of the Pompeian floors — using the term mosaic in a restricted sense — may be divided into two classes, coarse and fine. In the former the cubes, *tesserae*, are on the average a little less than half an inch square. The patterns are sometimes shown in black on a white surface, sometimes worked in colors. The finer variety, in which the pictures appear, is not often extended over a whole room, but is usually confined to a rectangular section in the middle, coarse mosaic being used for the rest of the floor.

The windows at the front of the house, as we have seen, were ordinarily few and small. From the Tufa Period, however, large windows were often made in the rooms around the peristyle; in the house of the Faun they range in width from 10 to 23 feet, and are so low that one sitting inside could look out through them. Upper rooms, also, were provided with windows of good size, sometimes measuring  $2\frac{1}{2}$  by 4 feet; but the remains are scanty. In later times occasionally a lower window opening on the street was made almost as large, and was protected by an iron grating.

Windows were ordinarily closed by means of wooden shutters. Small panes of glass were found in the openings of the Baths near the Forum; had the Central Baths been finished, glass would undoubtedly have been used for the windows of the caldarium. The window of the tepidarium in the villa of Diomedes was closed by four glass panes set in a wooden frame (p. 357); in the other houses a narrow pane is occasionally found, but invariably set in masonry.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

### THE HOUSE OF THE SURGEON

THE house of the Surgeon (*casa del Chirurgo*) is the oldest of the Pompeian houses that retained to the last, with but slight modifications, its original plan and appearance. It lies at the right of the *Strada Consolare* (VI. i. 10), about fifty paces inside the *Herculaneum Gate*. The name was suggested by the discovery of several surgical instruments in one of the rooms.

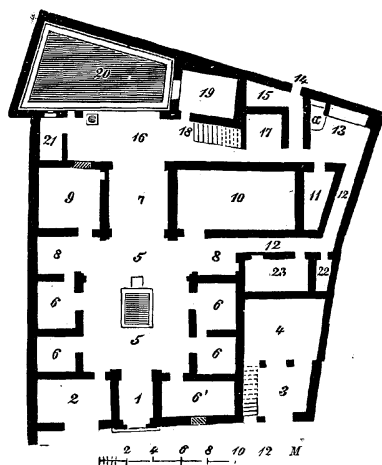


Fig. 132.—Plan of the house of the Surgeon.

- |                          |                       |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Fauces                | 16. Colonnade.        |
| 5. Atrium                | 18. Stairway to rooms |
| 7. Tablinum.             | over the rear of the  |
| 8, 8. Alae.              | house.                |
| 9, 10. Dining rooms.     | 19. Room with window  |
| 13. Kitchen, with hearth | opening on the        |
| (a)                      | garden.               |
| 14. Posticum.            | 20. Garden.           |

This house was undoubtedly built before 200 B.C. The façade (Fig. 10) and the walls of the atrium are of large hewn blocks of Sarno limestone; other inner walls are of limestone framework (p. 37). The plan conforms to the simple *Italic type*, before the addition of the *peristyle*; yet it does not illustrate the oldest form of the native house, for the tablinum (Fig. 132, 7) has already displaced the recess for the bed opposite the front door. The

measurements of the rooms are according to the *Oscan standard* (p. 44), the atrium being about 30 by 35 *Oscan feet*.

We pass directly from the street through the *fauces* (1) into the *Tuscan atrium* (5) at the sides of which are sleeping

rooms (6) and the two alae (8). Back of the tablinum is a colonnade (16) opening on the garden (20), which originally had a greater length; the room at the right (19) is a later addition, as also the smaller room at the other end (21). The roof of the colonnade was carried by square limestone pillars, one of which has been preserved in its original form.

The oblong room at the right of the tablinum (10) was once square, as (9). Both were well adapted for winter dining rooms; in summer, meals were undoubtedly served in the tablinum. The room at the left of the entrance (2) was a shop, at least in later times. The corresponding room on the other side (6') was retained for domestic use.

The shop at the right (3) and the back room (4), as well as the kitchen with the adjoining rooms at the rear, used as store closets and quarters for slaves, were a later addition; 22 is a light court, to which the rain water was conducted from different parts of the roof. Over these rooms was a second story reached by stairs leading from the colonnade (18). It may be that this part of the house took the place of a garden in which previously there was an outside kitchen; that the ground belonged to the house from the beginning is clear from the existence of a door between the rooms 6' and 3, afterwards walled up, and the appearance of the unbroken party wall on this side.

The rooms about the atrium had no upper floor, and were relatively high; the doors measured nearly twelve feet in height, and the ceiling of the tablinum was not far from twenty feet above the floor. In respect to height, this house was not unlike those of the next period.

In the later years of the city, but before 63, the decoration was renewed in the fourth style. There are paintings of interest, however, only in the room at the rear (19), which had a large window opening on the garden. In one of the panels here we see a man sitting with a writing tablet in his hand; opposite him are two girls, one sitting, the other standing; the latter holds a roll of papyrus. This kind of genre picture is not uncommon; the type is spoken of elsewhere (p. 477).

In another panel, which was transferred to the Naples

Museum, a young woman is represented as painting a herm of Dionysus (Fig. 133); a Cupid is holding the unfinished picture while she mixes colors on her palette. Two other maidens are watching the artist with unfeigned interest. Upon the pillar behind the herm hangs a small painting; in the vista another herm is seen, together with a vase standing on a pillar.



Fig. 133. — A young woman painting a herm.

Wall painting from the house of the Surgeon.

The room contained a third picture which is now almost obliterated. Perhaps this pleasant apartment was once the boudoir of a favorite daughter, who busied herself with painting and verse.

## CHAPTER XXXV

### *THE HOUSE OF SALLUST*

THE house of Sallust (VI. ii. 4) received its name from an election notice, painted on the outside, in which Gaius Sallustius was recommended for a municipal office. It has no peristyle, and its original plan closely resembled that of the house of the Surgeon. It was built in the second century B.C.; the architecture is that of the Tufa Period, and the well preserved decoration of the atrium, tablinum, alae, and the dining room at the left of the tablinum (Fig. 134, 22) is of the first style. The pilasters at the entrances of the alae and the tablinum are also unusually well preserved; the house is among the most important for our knowledge of the period to which it belongs.

The rooms on the left side (6-9) were used as a bakery. Those in front (2-5) were shops; two of them (2, 3), at the time of the destruction of the city, opened into the fauces (1) and another (5) had two rear rooms, one of which was entered from a side street.

The rooms at the right (31-36) were private apartments added later and connected with the rest of the house only by means of the corridor (29), which with the cell designed for the porter (30) was made over from one of the side rooms of the atrium.

If we leave these groups of rooms out of consideration, it is easy to see that the Tuscan atrium and the apartments connected with it — the tablinum (19), the alae (17), and the rooms at the sides — once formed a symmetrical whole. At the rear was a garden on two sides (24, 24'), with a colonnade. A broad window in the rear of the left ala opened into this colonnade (p. 259), a part of which was afterwards enclosed, making two small rooms (23, 18). At the end of the latter

room a stairway was built leading to chambers; in the beginning the house had no second floor.

The andron (20), the wardrobe (17') at the side of the right ala, and the small room back of it (28) were made out of a square room corresponding in dimensions with that at the other

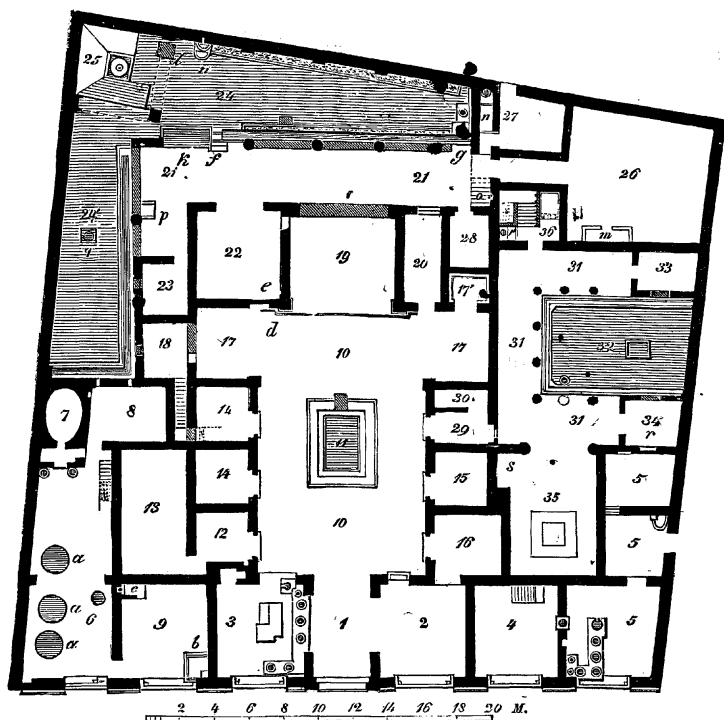


Fig. 134.—Plan of the house of Sallust.

1. Fauces. 2, 3. Shops opening on the fauces. 4, 5. Shops. 6-9. Bakery (6. Mill room with three mills ( $\alpha$ ), and stairway to upper floor. 7. Oven. 8. Kneading room.) 9. Kitchen. 10. Tuscan atrium, with impluvium (11). 12. Anteroom leading to dining room (13). 17, 17'. Alae. 19. Tablinum. 20. Andron, with doors at both ends. 21. Colonnade opening on the garden (24, 24'). 25. Garden triclinium. 29-36. Private apartments, added in Roman times to the older dwelling (31. Colonnade. 32. Garden. 33, 34. Sleeping rooms. 35. Dining room. 36. Kitchen.)

end of the tablinum (22). The latter was originally entered from the atrium by a door at *e*, which was closed when the wide door was made at the rear opening upon the colonnade. At the rear of the tablinum is a broad window.



In the corner of the garden is an open-air triclinium (25), over which vines could be trained; there was a small altar (*l*) near by. At *n* a jet of water spurted from an opening in the wall upon a small platform of masonry; the water was perhaps conducted into the rectangular basin (*k*) opposite, the inside of which was painted blue. Only the edges of this portion of the garden, which is higher than the floor of the colonnade, were planted; steps led up to it at *f* and *g*. A hearth (*p*) was placed in the colonnade at the left, for the preparation of the viands served in the triclinium. The room at the other end of the garden (27) was connected with the street at the rear by a posticum; back of it was an open space (26) with remains of masonry (*m*), the purpose of which is not clear.

The large dining room (13) may once have belonged to the bakery; the anteroom (12) leading to it was made from one of the side rooms of the atrium. The arrangement recalls that of the dining room of which the plan is given in Fig. 124.

The appearance of the atrium in its original form may be suggested by our restoration (Fig. 135). The proportions are monumental. The treatment of the entrances to the tablinum and the alae, with pilasters joined by projecting entablatures, the severe and simple decoration (illustrated in Fig. 261), and the admission of light through the compluvium increased the apparent height of the room and gave it an aspect of dignity and reserve. At the rear we catch glimpses of the vines and shrubs at the edge of the garden; painted trees and bushes were also seen upon the garden wall.

The series of apartments entered through the room at the right of the atrium (29) present a marked contrast with the rest of the house. They are low, the eight-sided, dark-red columns of the colonnade (31), with their white capitals, being less than ten feet high; and the dark shades of the decoration, which is in the fourth style upon a black ground, give a gloomy impression to one coming from the atrium with its masses of brilliant color.

There was a small fountain in the middle of the little garden (32), the rear wall of which is covered by a painting representing the fate of Actaeon, torn to pieces by his own hounds as a penalty for having seen Diana at the bath. At first the colon-

nade had a flat roof, with an open walk above on the three sides; but when the large dining room (35) was constructed, the flat roof and promenade on this side were replaced by a sloping roof over the broad entrance to the dining room. On the outer walls of the two sleeping rooms (33, 34) were two

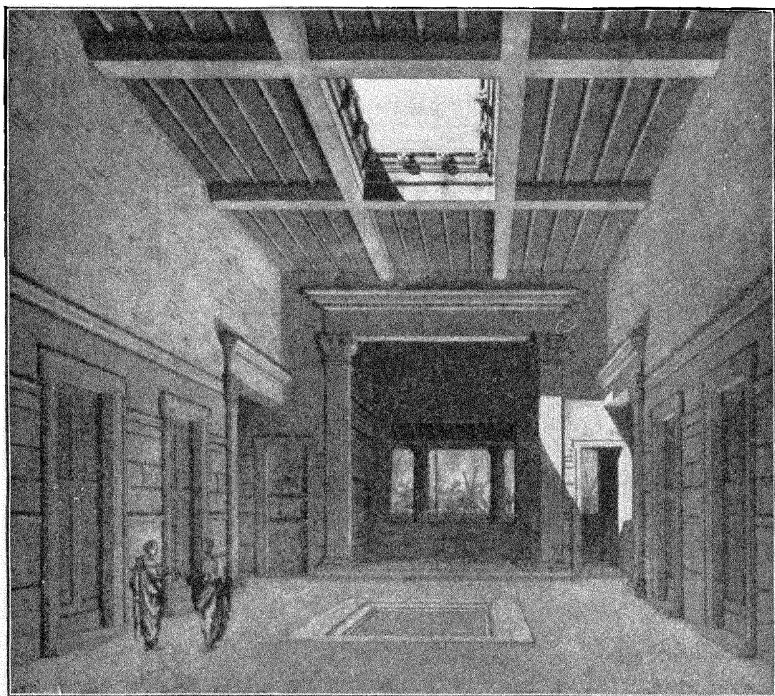


Fig. 135.—Atrium of the house of Sallust, looking through the tablinum and colonnade at the rear into the garden, restored.

paintings of similar design, Europa with the bull, Phrixus and Helle with the ram. The rear inner wall of 34 contained two pairs of lovers, Paris and Helen in the house of Menelaus, and Ares and Aphrodite. The room at the corner of the colonnade (36) is the kitchen; the stairway in it led to the flat roof of the colonnade.

This portion of the house probably dates from the latter part of the Republic; it underwent minor changes in the course of the century during which it was used. Previously there was in

(Fig. 141) an upper colonnade of the Ionic order is assumed, extending about the four sides. The restoration is here possibly at fault; the colonnade may have been in two stories only on the south side, with twice as many columns above as below.

On either side of the exedra were two dining rooms (I, J), one open in its entire breadth upon the second peristyle, the other having a narrow door with two windows. The fine mosaic picture in I was found in so damaged a condition that the subject — a lion standing over a prostrate tiger — could not be made out, until a duplicate was discovered in 1885.

In the sleeping room on the other side of the corridor (N), which had been redecorated in the second style, remains of two beds were found. The room next to it (L) was the largest in this part of the house; at the time of the eruption it was without decoration and was used as a wine cellar. A great number of amphorae were found in it, as also in both peristyles.

One of the small rooms at the rear (*q*) was perhaps occupied by the gardener; the one next to it (*r*) was the doorkeeper's room. At *v* is a long, shallow niche, designed for statues. Nearer the corner were two smaller niches, each of which was ornamented in front with pilasters and a gable. These were the shrines of the household gods; in front of them were found two bronze tripods, two bronze lamp stands, two pairs of iron tongs, a couple of common lamps, and the remains of a branch of laurel with the bones and eggs of a dove that had nested in it. A bronze statuette of a Genius was found seemingly in one of the niches.

The domestic apartments were entered by a front door between the two shops at the right (Fig. 139). The vestibule, unlike that of the other entrance, is open to the street, the fauces being narrower and deeper. The relation of the tetrastyle to the Tuscan atrium is indicated in our transverse section (Fig. 143). The *alae* (*c*, *c'*) are here at the middle of the sides; the one at the left served as a passageway between the two atriums. The four tufa Corinthian columns, nearly twenty feet high, are well preserved, as well as the pilasters at the entrances of the *alae*. A tablinum was not needed in this part of the house, and the space which it might have occupied was given

to the andron (*k*) and a sleeping room opening on the first peristyle (*l*).

This part of the house was much damaged by the earthquake of 63, and there are many traces of repairs, particularly in the upper rooms. The walls were simply painted in the fourth style. Two money chests stood on large flat stones in the rear corners of this atrium.

In one of the rooms at the front (*c*) there are traces of shelves; stairs at one side led to the upper rooms at the left of the atrium, the shape and size of which are indicated in Fig. 143. On the right, also, there were small chambers over

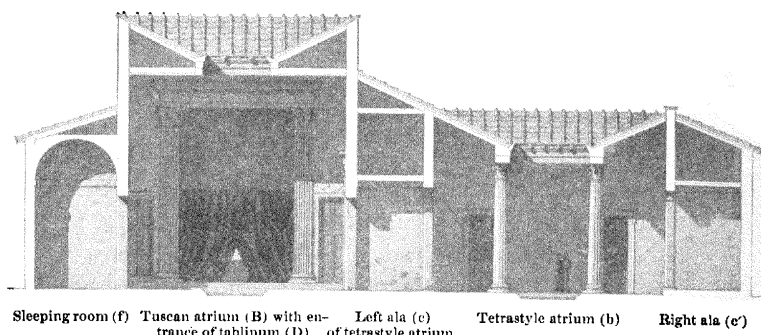


Fig. 143.—Transverse section of the house of the Faun, showing the two atriums with adjoining rooms.

*g*, *h*, and *h'*, on the same level as the second floor of the shop in front (4), and accessible only by means of the stairway in this shop; there were no other stairs in this corner of the house, and these rooms could not have been connected with chambers over other parts of the atrium, because there were no upper rooms over the fauces and the right ala (*c'*). Another stairway in *d*, partly of wood, led to chambers over *i*, *d'*, *n'*, *n*, *o*, *o'*, and part of the kitchen, M.

Bronze vessels and remains of ivory feet belonging to a bedstead were found in the double room *h*, *h'*; but it is more likely that this was used as a storeroom for discarded furniture than that members of the family slept here.

A long corridor at the end of the first peristyle (*m*) con-

nected the rooms at the right of the small atrium with the closet (*n*), the bath (*o*, *o'*), the kitchen (*M*), and the large bedroom (*N*) opening on the second peristyle. The two rooms of the bath, tepidarium and caldarium, were provided with hollow floors and walls, and were heated from the kitchen, into which the draft vents (p. 188) opened; in order to make the smoke less objectionable, the kitchen was built very high, with several windows.

The kitchen is of unusual size. A niche for the images of the household gods was placed in the wall at the left, so high up that it could only have been reached by means of a ladder. The front is shaped to resemble the façade of a small temple, and in it is a small altar of terra cotta for the burning of incense.

The first room at the right of the corridor (*n'*) was completely excavated in 1900, and found to be a stall. In it were brought to light the skeletons of two cows and of four human beings, an adult and three children.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

### *A HOUSE NEAR THE PORTA MARINA*

THE height of the important rooms can be accurately determined in so few houses of the Tufa Period, that special importance attaches to a house on the edge of the city north of the

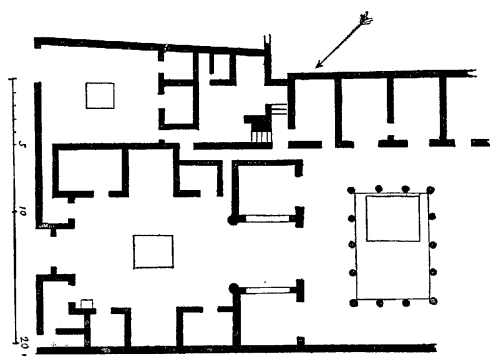


Fig. 144.—Plan of the house near the Porta Marina.

Porta Marina (No. 13), in which not merely the three-quarter columns at the entrance of the tablinum, but also the pilasters at the corners of the fauces and alae and part of the Ionic columns of the peristyle are seen in their full height. The atrium is the best preserved of any in the large pre-Roman houses, and the height of the ceiling in several of the adjoining rooms is clearly indicated. The house lies about seventy paces north of the Strada della Marina, on the last street leading to the right. It is without a name and is seldom visited.

Neither the decoration, renewed in the second style and without paintings, nor the arrangement of the rooms (Fig. 144) requires extended comment. There are two atria, the smaller with the domestic apartments being at the left and entered directly from the street. The fauces of the other are of unusual width, being about two fifths of the width of the atrium. The alae are at the middle of the sides, as in the house of Epidius Rufus and the smaller atrium of the house of the Faun. At the sides of

the tablinum are large windows opening into two dining rooms, which are entered from the peristyle.

More than a third of the plot enclosed by the peristyle is taken up by a deep rectangular basin for fish. At the rear are apparently other rooms, adjusted to the slope of the ground, which, however, have not yet been excavated.

It will, perhaps, be easier to appreciate the stately character of the pre-Roman atriums if we give a few of the dimensions which were used in making our restoration (Fig. 145).

The atrium is 41 by 29 feet. The tablinum measures 13 feet 9 inches between the three-quarter columns which stand, in place of the usual pilasters, at the entrance; it is thus half as wide as the atrium. The height of the tablinum at the entrance

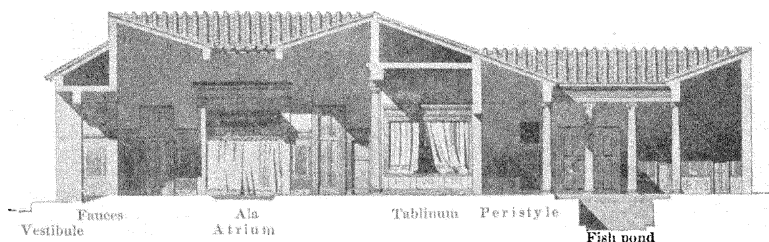


Fig. 145.—Longitudinal section of the house near the Porta Marina.

is 18 feet 6 inches; according to the proportions given by Vitruvius it should be 15 feet 4 inches.

The alae and fauces also exceed the dimensions presented by the Roman architect, the former being  $12\frac{2}{3}$  feet wide and  $16\frac{1}{4}$  feet high, while the height of the broad fauces,  $17\frac{1}{2}$  feet, is only a trifle less than that of the tablinum.

The height of the walls of the atrium is easily determined with the help of the data before us; and the arrangement of the roof over the fauces, atrium, tablinum, and colonnade of the peristyle must have been very similar to that shown in our restoration. The entablature seen over the entrance of the left ala is restored in accordance with the architectural forms commonly used in the period when the house was built.

Both the three-quarter columns and the pilasters present a peculiarity of construction found also in other houses, but not

easy to explain. The former appear as half-columns on the side of the tablinum, but present fully three fourths of their breadth on the side of the atrium. The pilasters at the entrances of the alae and fauces have, on the inside, a good proportion, the breadth being about one eighth of the height; but on the outside, toward the atrium, they are much more slender.

A well designed scroll pattern appears in the black and white mosaic floor of the fauces, which, as often in Pompeian houses, slopes gently toward the street. The floor of the atrium is made of black mosaic with pieces of colored marble arranged in rows, and white stripes at the edges. The base of a shrine for the household gods stands against the right wall. In the first room at the right was an alcove for a bed opposite the door; the ceiling of the alcove, in the form of a vault, was lower than that of the rest of the room.



## CHAPTER XXXVIII

### *THE HOUSE OF THE SILVER WEDDING*

AMONG the more interesting of the large houses excavated in the last decade is the house of the Silver Wedding, which marks the limit of excavation in the fifth Region (V. ii. *a* on Plan VI). The main part was cleared in 1892 (Fig. 8); and in April, 1893, in connection with the festivities with which the Silver Wedding of the King and Queen of Italy was celebrated, a special excavation was made in one of the rooms, in the presence of their Majesties and of their imperial guests, the Emperor and Empress of Germany. Portions of the house are still covered, the façade, the inner end of the oecus, and the greater part of an extensive garden on the left side.

Notwithstanding the extent of the house — the greatest length is not far from 150 feet, the breadth of the excavated portion, 130 — and the number of apartments, the plan is simple (Fig. 146). From the fauces (*a*) we pass into a tetrastyle atrium (*d*), the largest of its kind yet discovered, with *alae* on either side and a high tablinum (*o*). Back of this is a Rhodian peristyle, at the rear of which is an exedra (*γ*) with sleeping rooms at the right and the left (*x*, *z*). Opening into the rear of the peristyle on one side is the oecus (*4*), on the other a long dining room (*w*).

Another series of apartments lay between the peristyle and the garden at the right (*2*), a kitchen (*s*), and a bath (*t-v*). In front of the garden and extending to the street is a small house (*a-l*) which had been joined to the larger establishment; it was connected with this by a small door under the stairs in the corner of the atrium (*β*), which opened into a side room (*e*) of the large atrium.

The essential parts of the house date from the Tufa Period. Alterations were made from time to time in the course of the

two centuries during which it was occupied, but they were not so extensive as to obscure the original plan. The most obvious changes were those affecting the wall decoration.

In the small rooms at the right of the atrium are traces of the

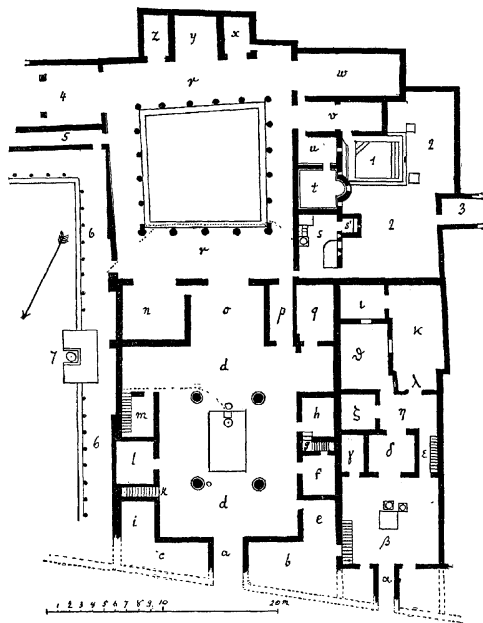


Fig 146. — Plan of the house of the Silver Wedding.

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| a Fauces                    | 1. Open-air swimming tank, in a small garden (2)  |
| d. Tetrastyle atrium.       | 3 Corridor leading to another house and to a side street                                  |
| n Dining room.              | 4. Oecus  |
| o Tablinum.                 | 6 Garden, partially excavated.  |
| p Andron.                   | 7. Open-air triclinium.   |
| r. Peristyle.               | a-i Fauces, atrium, and other rooms of separate dwelling connected with the larger house. |
| s Kitchen.                  |   |
| t-v. Bath. (v. Apodyterium. |   |
| u. Tepidarium. t Caldarium) |   |
| w Summer dining room.       |   |
| x, z. Sleeping rooms.       |   |
| y. Exedra.                  |   |

decoration of the first style, which was in vogue when the house was built. Toward the end of the Republic almost the whole interior was redecorated in the second style, but without paintings. Brilliant blocks and panels dating from this renovation may still be seen upon the upper part of the walls of the atrium and on those of the oecus, the exedra, the two bedrooms next to the exedra, and the front part of the long apodyterium.

Afterwards a few rooms were done over in the third style, of which scanty remains are found.

Lastly, after the fourth style had come into vogue, but before 60 A.D. — as shown by an inscription on a col-

umn of the peristyle — a large part of the house was redecorated in the fourth style, including the tablinum, the andron and the room at the right (q), the peristyle, the long dining room (w), and the inner portion of the apodyterium. The lower part of

the walls of the atrium were also painted over, but with designs and coloring that harmonized well with the decoration of the second style above. In this house the history of Pompeian wall decoration can be followed from the century after the Second Punic War to the middle of the first century of our era, from the time of Cato the Elder to that of Claudius and Nero. There are few paintings, however, and they are not of special interest.

In marked contrast with the atriums in the house of the Faun and the other houses which we have examined, the atrium here had a relatively large compluvium (Fig. 147); all parts of the room must have been brilliantly lighted. In summer some kind of protection against the sun was a necessity. It was probably afforded by hanging curtains between the columns; on the side of each column, facing the corner of the atrium, is a bronze ring through which a cord might have been passed to use in drawing the curtains back and forth. The large compluvium with its supporting columns suggests the arrangement of the Corinthian atrium.

The dimensions of the atrium are monumental. The length is approximately 54 feet, the breadth 40; and the Corinthian columns of tufa coated with stucco, are  $22\frac{3}{4}$  feet high.

At the rear of the impluvium is a fluted cistern curb of white marble (seen in Fig. 8). In the impluvium near the edge is the square pedestal of a fountain figure, which threw a jet into a round marble basin in front.

The doors of the rooms at the sides of the atrium were originally more than thirteen feet high; those which we now see are comparatively low. The height was reduced because a second floor was placed in the rooms, thus making low chambers, which were reached by three stairways, one (*g*) at the right of the atrium, the other two (*k* and *m*) on the opposite side. The upper rooms were lighted by small windows, part of which opened into the atrium, others upon the garden on the left side of the house. These changes were completed before the atrium received its decoration in the second style. There was no second story over the *alae*, the *tablinum*, or the rooms about the *peristyle*. In the left *ala* was once a large window opening on the garden, but it was afterwards walled up (p. 259).

The curtain fastenings on the pilasters at the front of the tablinum have been referred to in another connection (p. 256). The arrangement of the rooms at the sides is not unlike that in the house of Sallust; one, *n*, retained its original form; the other was divided up into an andron (*p*), with a bedroom (*q*) at one side.

The peristyle is remarkably well preserved. We find not only the columns in their full height, but also, except on the north side, large portions of the entablature, with its stucco ornamentation intact, supported on a line of planks placed upon the columns at the time of excavation; and the decoration of the walls retains much of its brilliancy of coloring.

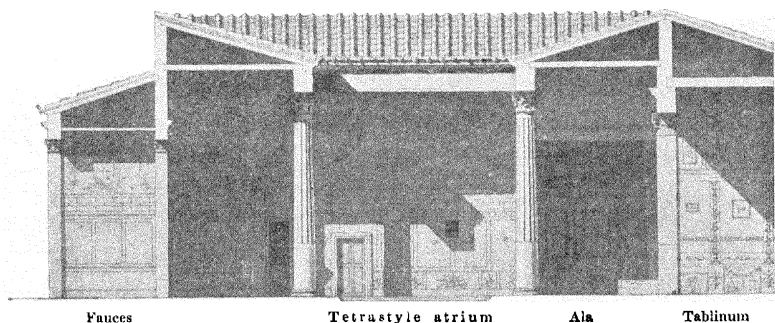


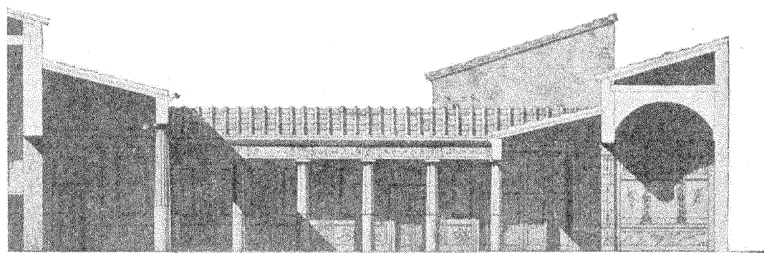
Fig. 147. — Longitudinal section of

The colonnade of this peristyle has been mentioned elsewhere as illustrating the Rhodian form (p. 260). The difference in height between the colonnade in front and on the other three sides was accentuated in the decoration. On the walls in front are large red panels separated by architectural designs on a yellow background; the walls under the lower part of the colonnade were painted with black panels, the designs of the narrow intermediate sections being on a white background. The lower third of the columns in front was yellow; at the sides and rear, dark red, like that on the lower part of the high columns in the atrium. Thus a pleasing contrast was made between the portions of the colonnade designed to receive the sunshine, particularly in winter, and the shadier parts; and the higher front served as an intermediate member between the lofty atrium

with its stately tablinum and the lower rear division of the house.

The ornamentation of the architrave retains no trace of the decorative forms in vogue at the time when it was constructed. The surface, moulded in stucco, is divided into sections, corresponding with the capitals and intercolumniations, as in the colonnade of the Stabian Baths (Fig. 89); in these sections are small figures of birds and animals and other suitable designs, the effect being heightened by the use of color.

That the decoration of the peristyle received its present form before the earthquake is evident from an inscription scratched upon the plaster of one of the columns on the north side :



Rhodian peristyle      Entrance to oecus      Exedra  
the house of the Silver Wedding.

*Nerone Caesare Augusto*

*Cosso Lentulo Cossi fil[io] co[n]s[ulibus]*

*VIII Idus Febr[u]arias*

*Dies Solis, Luna XIIIIX, nun[dinae] Cumis, V nun. Pompeii,—*

‘In the consulship of Nero and of Cossus Lentulus the son of Cossus,’ that is 60 A.D. The dates given in the rest of the inscription are difficult to explain, and the reading of the number after *Luna* is uncertain. The memorandum seems to indicate that the eighth day before the Ides of February in this year was the market day at Cumae, being Sunday and the sixteenth day after the New Moon; and that the market day at Pompeii came three days later. The inscription is the earliest yet found in which a day of the week is named in connection with a date.

The garden plot enclosed by the peristyle was watered by means of two jets at the front corners, fed by pipes under the floor. In the middle was a slight elevation on which were found two crocodiles, a huge toad, and a frog of a whitish glazed earthenware, apparently made in Egypt. The figures are about sixteen inches long.

Each of the bedrooms at the rear had an alcove for a bed, the ceiling being vaulted over the alcove, flat between this and the door; a distinction between the two parts of the room was made also in the wall decoration and in the floor, of black and white mosaic. The frescoing on the walls of the sleeping rooms presents a brilliant variety of colors; the decoration of the exedra is in yellow. One of the bedrooms has a small side door (p. 261). In the large dining room at the right (*w*) the place for the table is indicated by an ornamental design in the mosaic floor; in the oecus (4) the part of the room designed for the table and couches is distinguished from the rest by a difference in the decoration both of the floor and of the wall.

In the oecus, the excavation was made from which the house received its name. The peristyle had already been cleared, and the volcanic débris had been, for the most part, removed from the front part of the oecus, leaving a layer at the bottom about two feet deep. The King and Queen of Italy, with the Emperor and Empress of Germany and a small suite, stationed themselves in the corner of the peristyle opposite the opening of the oecus; when all was ready a line of workmen proceeded to draw back the loose fragments of pumice stone, exposing the floor to view. Here nothing was found except the bronze fastenings of the large doors; but a more fruitful outcome followed a similar search in a room of a small house adjoining the oecus on the south, in which several vessels of bronze were brought to light.

The bath is unusually complete for a private house, comprising a long, narrow apodyterium (*v*), an open-air swimming tank in the garden (1), a tepidarium (*u*), and a caldarium (*z*). Steps led down into the swimming tank at the corner nearest the door of the apodyterium, and also on the side furthest from the house; on the same side a jet fell into it from a marble stand-

ard adorned with a lion's head. If we imagine a thick growth of shrubs and flowers about the tank, we have the setting which explains the tasteful decoration of the frigidarium in the Stabian Baths (p. 191) and in the Baths near the Forum.

The pavement of the apodyterium is especially effective, being composed of small bits of black, white, dark red, green, and yellow marble and stone; near the rear wall a place for a couch is left white.

The caldarium and the side of the tepidarium next to it were provided with hollow walls; a hollow floor extended under both rooms. In the left wall of the tepidarium is the bronze mouth of a water pipe; perhaps in winter a cold bath was taken here rather than in the swimming tank. In the caldarium the niche for the labrum remains; the bath basin probably stood opposite the entrance, where it could be easily heated from the kitchen.

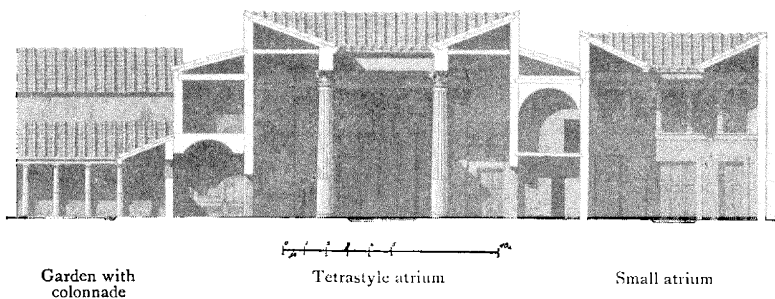


Fig. 148. — Transverse section of the house of the Silver Wedding, as it was before 63.

Above the broad hearth of the kitchen (*s*), which stands against the wall adjoining the garden, are the vestiges of a painting of the two Lares; near them a serpent is seen coiled around an altar, on which is a large pine cone. At the end next the caldarium is a depression in the floor, for convenience in building a fire to heat the bath rooms. In the corner is a foundation of masonry to support the vessel, of lead, in which water was kept for the bath.

The colonnade at the left of the house (6 on the Plan; see Fig. 148), with its slender eight-sided columns, seems to have been thrown down by the earthquake of 63, and removed. In the place of four of the columns an open-air triclinium was made,

like that in the house of Sallust. It is well preserved, and shows an interesting peculiarity of construction. When the table was not in use, a jet of water would spring from the foundation of masonry supporting the round top. The water was conveyed by a lead pipe, and at the rear of the colonnade one may still see the stopcock by which the flow was regulated.

The stairway at the left of the small atrium ( $\beta$ ) led to rooms over the front of the house. Over the rooms at the rear, a bedroom ( $\gamma$ ), a central room ( $\delta$ ) taking the place of the tablinum, and a corridor ( $\epsilon$ ), was a dining room, the front of which was supported by columns (p. 275), the stairway being in the corridor; fragments of the tufa columns are lying on the floor. At the back of the house was originally only the small sleeping room ( $\zeta$ ) with a simple decoration in the first style, and a colonnade ( $\eta$ ) with Doric columns opening on the garden ( $\kappa$ ). Later the colonnade was turned into an apartment, and two rooms were built at the left, a dining room ( $\theta$ ) and a bedroom ( $\iota$ ).

In the front of one of the rooms ( $\lambda$ ) is an unusually well preserved niche for the images of the household gods, ornamented with stucco reliefs and painted in the last style. On the rear wall stands Hercules, with the lion's skin hanging from his left arm, his club on the left shoulder. In his right hand he holds a large bowl above a round altar; at the left is a hog ready to be offered as a victim.



## CHAPTER XXXIX

### *THE HOUSE OF EPIDIUS RUFUS*

THE house of Epidius Rufus, built, like those previously described, in the pre-Roman time, presents a pleasing example of a Corinthian atrium. In one respect it resembles the oldest Pompeian houses, such as that of the Surgeon; in the place of the peristyle is a garden extending back from a colonnade at the rear of the tablinum. In a period when large peristyles were the fashion, a Pompeian of wealth and taste, whose building lot was ample enough to admit of an extension of his house toward the rear, contented himself with a single group of rooms arranged about one central apartment.

The arrangement of rooms is seen at a glance (Fig. 149). The vestibule, like that of the principal entrance in the house of the Faun, had a triple door at the end toward the street (shown in Fig. 150), which was no doubt left open in the daytime. Entering, one would pass into the fauces ordinarily through the small door at the right (p. 248), the large double doors between the vestibule and the fauces only being opened for the reception of clients or on special occasions.

The front of each ala (7, 13) is adorned with two Ionic columns. At the corners of the entrances are pilasters, the Corinthian capitals of which have a striking ornament, a female head, moulded in stucco, looking out from the midst of the acanthus leaves. The eyes and hair are painted, and in one instance the features of a bacchante can be recognized.

In the right ala is an elaborate house shrine, built like a temple with a façade supported by columns, raised on a podium five feet high (Fig. 151). On the front of the podium is a dedicatory inscription to the Genius of the master (p. 270).

The tablinum originally opened on the atrium in its full width, the entrance being set off by pilasters at the corners. It was

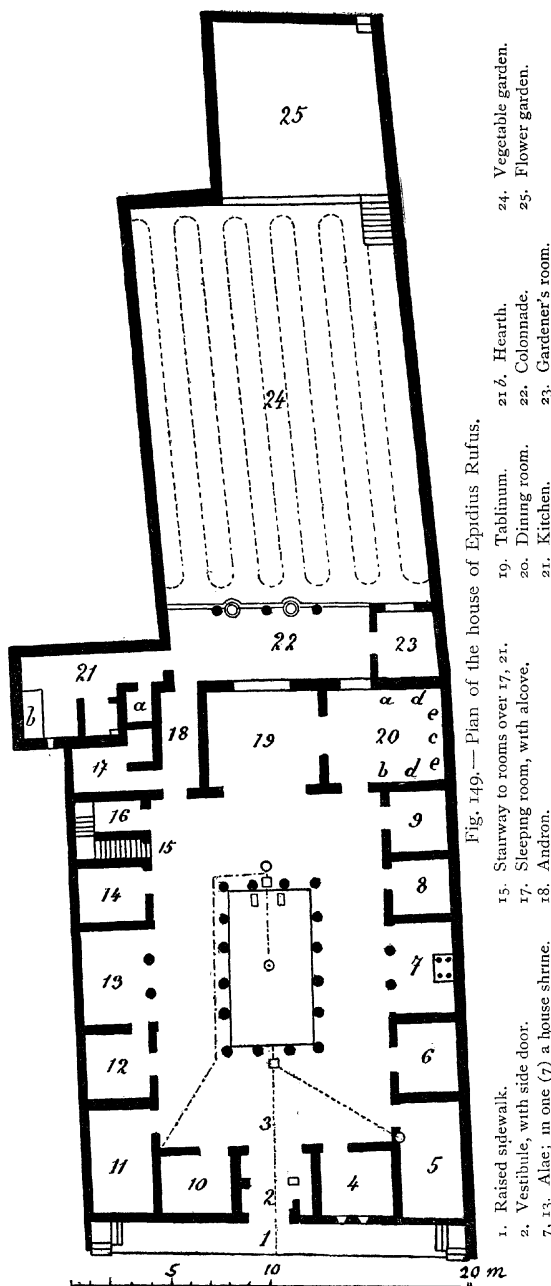


Fig. 149. — Plan of the house of Epidius Rufus.

1. Raised sidewalk.
2. Vestibule, with side door.
- 7, 13. Alae; in one (7) a house shrine.
15. Stairway to rooms over 17, 21.
17. Sleeping room, with alcove.
18. Andron.
19. Tablinum.
20. Dining room.
21. Kitchen.
- 21 b. Hearth.
22. Colonnade.
23. Gardener's room.
24. Vegetable garden.
25. Flower garden.

then higher; when the entrance was changed the height was reduced to about twelve feet. The sixteen Doric columns about the impluvium, well preserved for the most part, are only a trifle over fourteen feet high.

The contrast between this atrium and the lofty halls of the houses of Sallust and the Faun was indeed marked. Here the atrium had become more like a court than a hall; yet the impluvium, paved with tufa, was retained, and we find the same arrangement for the flow of water as in many houses with Tuscan and tetrastyle atriums. On the edge of the impluvium at the rear is the pedestal of a fountain figure which threw a jet into a basin resting on two rectangular standards; the places of these, as well as the course of the feed pipe, are indicated on

the plan. Behind the pedestal is a round cistern curb; another jet rose in the middle of the impluvium.

The apartment at the right of the tablinum (20) was a dining room. Of the smaller rooms about the atrium, three (6, 8, and 12) were sleeping rooms for members of the family; some of the others were so poorly decorated as to prompt the suggestion that they were intended for slaves. That next the stairs (14) was a storeroom; the traces of the shelving are easily distinguished. Under the stairs was a low room (16), perhaps used for a similar purpose; the small double room (17) was also low, and used as a sleeping room.

The domestic apartments were reached by the andron (18). In the kitchen (21) is a broad hearth (*b*); a dim light was fur-

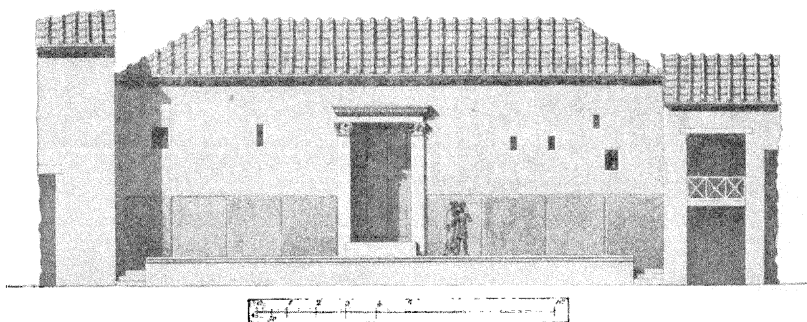


Fig. 130.—Façade of the house of Epidius Rufus, restored.

nished by narrow windows. The little room at the entrance of the kitchen (*a*) was perhaps a storeroom; the closet, as often, was in the corner of the kitchen.

At the opposite end of the colonnade is the gardener's room (23). The main part of the garden (24), as indicated by the arrangement of the ground, was used for vegetables; the small flower garden at the rear (25) was on a higher level.

In the house originally there was no second floor. In the Roman period, apparently near the end of the Republic, a large upper room—probably a dining room—was built over the kitchen; and there may have been one or two small storerooms at the head of the stairway which was built in one of the side rooms of the atrium.

Traces of the first and third decorative styles are found in the atrium; but the most interesting remains are those of the last style. The alae and several rooms were redecorated shortly before the destruction of the city. The dining room (20) contains a series of paintings illustrating the contest between Apollo and Marsyas; they are skilfully displayed in a light architectural framework on a white ground. On the wall at the left (at *a*) Apollo is seen with left foot advanced, striking with his right hand a large cithara which rests against his left shoulder. Opposite him (at *b*) is Marsyas, playing the double flute; on the intervening panels (*d*, *e*) are the Muses, who are acting as judges in the contest of skill. The painting at *c* seems to relate to Apollo, but the subject has not been explained. The choice of subjects such as these may have been influenced by the cult of the early

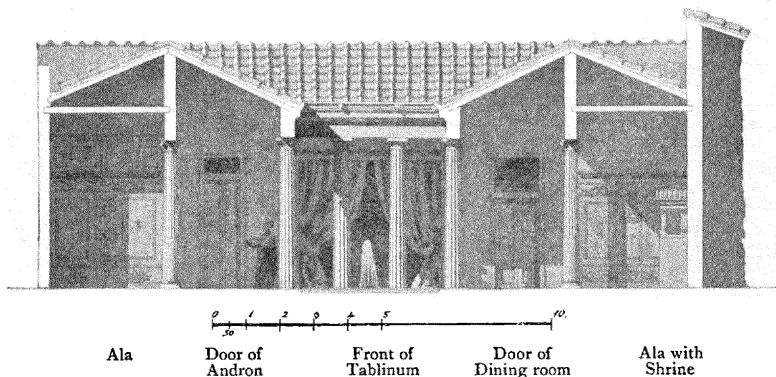


Fig. 151. — Transverse section of the house of Epidius Rufus, restored.

divinity of the city; but it probably implies a taste for poetry and music on the part of the proprietor.

There were no shops in the front of this house, but, in one respect our restoration of the façade (Fig. 150) can not be taken as indicating the appearance of such houses in general. Here the front line was set back several feet from that of the adjoining houses on either side, and the space thus gained was given to a terrace or ramp about four feet high, mounted by steps at either end. The elevation of the front entrance above the sidewalk and the placing of the approaches at the ends of the ramp gave the house an appearance of seclusion.

## CHAPTER XL

### *THE HOUSE OF THE TRAGIC POET*

IN the "Last Days of Pompeii" the house of the Tragic Poet is presented to us as the home of Glaucus. Though not large, it was among the most attractive in the city. It received its present form and decoration not many years before the eruption,

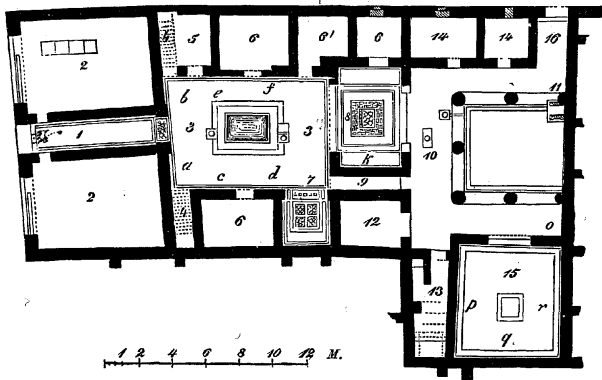


Fig. 152.—Plan of the house of the Tragic Poet.

- |                                 |                       |                   |                         |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Fauces.                      | 5. Porter's room.     | 8. Tablinum.      | 12, 14. Sleeping rooms. |
| 2, 2. Shops.                    | 6, 6. Sleeping rooms. | 9. Andron.        | 13. Kitchen.            |
| 3. Atrium.                      | 6'. Storeroom.        | 10. Peristyle.    | 15. Dining room.        |
| 4, 4. Stairways to upper floor. | 7. Ala                | 11. House shrine. | 16. Posticum.           |

apparently after the earthquake of 63, and well illustrates the arrangements of the Pompeian house of the last years.

The house received its name at the time of excavation, in consequence of a curious misinterpretation of a painting — now in the Naples Museum — which was found in the tablinum. The subject is the delivery to Admetus of the oracle which declared that he must die unless some one should voluntarily meet death in his place. On one side sits Admetus, with his devoted queen Alcestis; opposite them is the messenger who is

reading the oracle from a roll of papyrus. The excavators thought that the scene represented a poet reciting his verses; and since they found, in the floor of the tablinum, a mosaic picture in which an actor is seen making preparations for the stage, they concluded that the figure with the papyrus in the wall painting must be a tragic poet.

The plan (Fig. 152) presents slight irregularities; yet in essential points the arrangement of rooms does not differ mate-

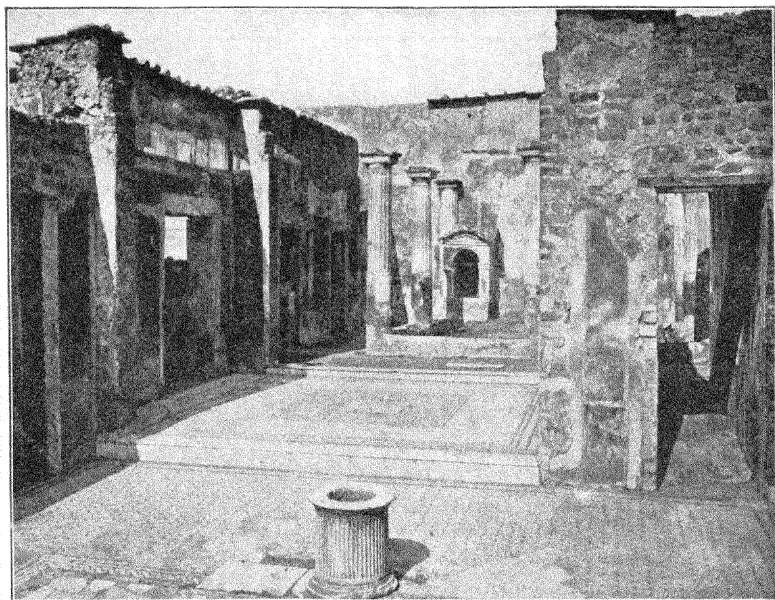


Fig. 153.--View of the house of the Tragic Poet, looking from the middle of the atrium through the tablinum toward the shrine at the end of the peristyle.

At the right, the andron. In the foreground, a cistern curb, at the rear of the impluvium.

rially from that which we have found in the houses of the pre-Roman time. As our section (Fig. 154) shows, all the parts of the house are comparatively low; the ceiling of the atrium and of the large dining room at the rear (15) were only a few feet higher than the colonnade of the peristyle. The entrances of the ala—here there is but one—and of the tablinum are not adorned with pilasters; plain wooden casings were used instead. The second story rooms are not an afterthought but

a part of the architect's design; the stairways (4) leading to them are symmetrically placed at the sides of the atrium. There was no upper floor, however, over the fauces, the atrium, or the tablinum. To a modern visitor this dwelling would have seemed more homelike and comfortable than the monumental houses of the earlier time.

The large shops (2) are both connected with the house by doors opening into the fauces (1). They were doubtless the proprietor's place of business. In one of them gold ornaments were found, but we should scarcely be warranted in assuming from this fact that the master of the house was a goldsmith.

In the floor of the fauces, immediately behind the double front door, is a dog, attached to a chain, outlined in black and white mosaic, with the inscription, *cave canem*, 'Beware of the dog!' The picture was for many years in the Naples Museum. The black and white mosaic is well preserved in the atrium, the tablinum (Fig. 153), and the dining room opening on the peristyle, as well as in the fauces.

The purpose of the various rooms is in most cases easy to determine. The first at the left of the atrium (5) was the room of the porter, *atriensis*. The three rooms marked 6 were sleeping rooms, as were also 12 and 14 opening on the peristyle; 6' was a storeroom, 13 the kitchen. There was a colonnade on three sides of the peristyle; against the wall at the rear stands the shrine of the household gods (seen in Fig. 153) in which was found a marble statuette of a satyr carrying fruits in the fold of a skin hanging in front of him.

The decoration of the large dining room (15) is especially effective. In the front of the room is a broad door opening into the colonnade of the peristyle; each of the three sides contains three panels, in the midst of a light but carefully finished architectural framework. In the central panels are large paintings: at *r*, a young couple looking at a nest of Cupids; at *g*, Theseus going on board ship, leaving behind him the beautiful Ariadne; and at *p* a composition in which Artemis is the principal figure. In four of the smaller panels are the Seasons, represented as graceful female figures hovering in the air; the

others present youthful warriors with helmet, shield, sword, and spear, all well conceived and executed with much delicacy.

The atrium, unlike most of those at Pompeii, was rich in wall paintings. Six panels, more than four feet high, presented a series of scenes from the story of the Trojan war, as told in the "Iliad." These were united with the decorative framework in such a way as to make a harmonious and pleasing whole; the main divisions of the right wall of the atrium, as well as of the fauces and tablinum, are indicated in Fig. 154.

In arranging the pictures, the decorators had little regard for the order of events. The subjects were the Nuptials of Zeus and Hera (at *a* on the plan); the judgment of Paris (*b*)—though this is doubtful, as the picture is now entirely obliterated.

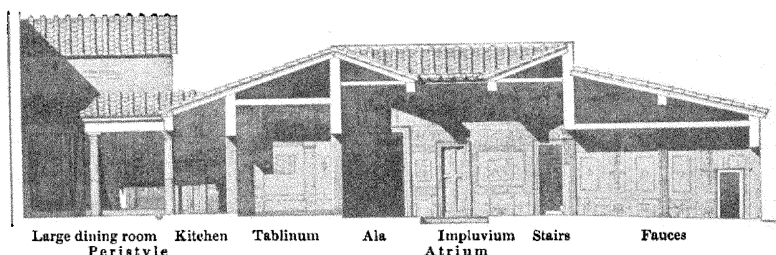


Fig. 154. — Longitudinal section of the house of the Tragic Poet, restored.

ated; the delivery of Briseis to the messenger of Agamemnon (*c*); the departure of Chryseis (*d*), and seemingly Thetis bringing arms across the sea to Achilles (*f*). Of the painting at *e* only a fragment remained, too small to make it possible to recognize the subject. The fragment at *f*, in which were seen a Triton, two figures riding on a sea horse, and a Cupid on a dolphin, is now entirely faded. Half of the painting in which Chryseis appears was already ruined at the time of excavation; the other half was transferred to the Naples Museum, together with the paintings that were best preserved, the Nuptials of Zeus and Hera, and the sending away of Briseis.

The two pictures last mentioned are among the best known of the Pompeian paintings, and have often been reproduced. In one (Fig. 273) we see Zeus sitting at the right, while Hypnos presents to him Hera, whose left wrist he gently grasps in his



right hand as if to draw her to him. Hera seems half reluctant, and her face, which the artist, in order to enhance the effect, has directed toward the beholder rather than toward Zeus, is queenly in its majesty and power. The scene is located on Mt. Ida. In the background stands a pillar, on which are three small figures of lions; below at the side are two pipes, cymbals, and a tambourine, all sacred to the potent

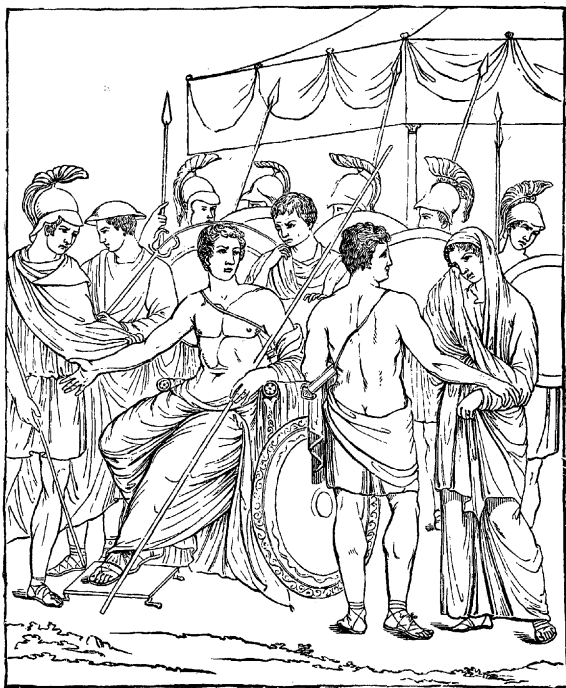


Fig. 155.—The sending away of Briseis.

Wall painting from the house of the Tragic Poet.

divinity of Mt. Ida, Cybele. Three youths, crowned with garlands, appear in the lower right hand corner of the picture; they are perhaps the Dactyli, demons skilled in the working of metals who followed in the train of Cybele.

A higher degree of dramatic interest is manifested in the other painting, which we present in outline (Fig. 155). In the

foreground at the right, Patroclus leads forward the weeping Briseis. In the middle Achilles, seated, looks toward Patroclus with an expression of anger, and with an impatient gesture of the right hand directs him to deliver up the beautiful captive to the messenger of Agamemnon, who stands at the left waiting to receive her. Behind Achilles is Phoenix, his faithful companion, who tries to soften his anger with comforting words. Further back the helmeted heads of warriors are seen, and at the rear the tent of Achilles.

The scene is well conceived. Yet in both this picture and the one previously described, the composition seems to lack depth and perspective. The artist is remarkably skilful in portraying facial expression, and foreground details; his limitations are apparent in the handling of groups. We have the feeling that the first designs were not made freely with brush or pencil, but that the artist was here translating into painting designs which he found already worked out in reliefs. The original paintings, of which these are copies, very likely go back to the fourth century B.C.

Another painting worthy of more than passing mention was found on a wall of the peristyle (at *o*), and removed to the Naples Museum. The subject is the sacrifice of Iphigenia, who was to be offered up to Artemis that a favorable departure from Aulis might be granted to the Greek fleet assembled for the expedition against Troy (Fig. 156).

At the right stands Calchas, deeply troubled, his sheath in his left hand, his unsheathed sword in his right, his finger upon his lips. The hapless maid with arms outstretched in supplication is held by two men, one of whom is perhaps Ulysses. At the left is Agamemnon, with face averted and veiled head, overcome with grief. Beside him leans his sceptre, and on a pillar near by we see an archaic statue of Artemis with a torch in each hand, a dog on either side. Just as the girl is to be slain Artemis appears in the sky at the right, and from the cloud opposite a nymph emerges bringing a deer, which the goddess accepts as a substitute.

In this painting, also, though the style is entirely different from that of the others, we perceive the limitations of the arti-

in the treatment of the background. Nevertheless the boldness of the conception, and the skill manifested in the handling of several of the figures, seem to point to an original of more than ordinary merit.

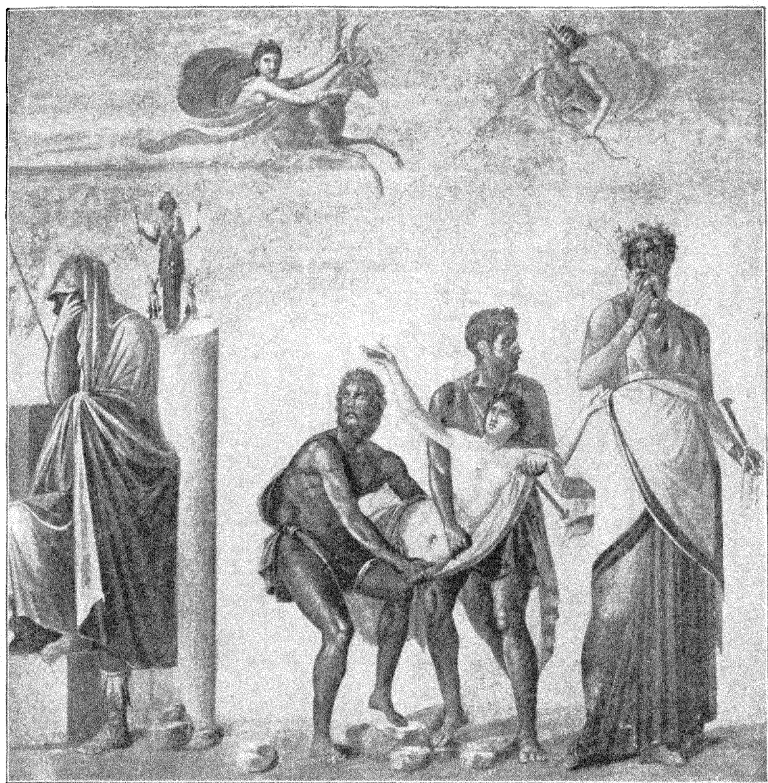


Fig. 156.— The sacrifice of Iphigenia. Wall painting.

Not far from 400 B.C. the sacrifice of Iphigenia was made the subject of a painting by Timanthes, in which the maiden was represented as standing beside the altar. We are told that the artist painted Calchas sorrowful, Ulysses more sorrowful, Ajax lamenting, and Menelaus in sorrow so deep that deeper sorrow could not be expressed; finding it impossible to portray the grief of the father, Agamemnon, Timanthes represented him with veiled head.

The veiled Agamemnon appears in our painting, and the figure of Calchas perhaps reflects the conception of Timanthes. For the rest, it is difficult to establish a relation between the two pictures; even if we did not know that Iphigenia, in the painting of Timanthes, stood beside an altar, we could scarcely believe that a great painter would have represented her thus awkwardly carried. Undoubtedly the Pompeian painting, or its original, is indebted to the masterpiece of the Greek artist; but the decorative painter has adapted this to suit his purpose, omitting the figures, the facial expression of which was most difficult to reproduce, and at the same time attempting to heighten the effect by making more prominent the helplessness and terror of the victim.

## CHAPTER XLI

### *THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII*

THE house of the Vettii, excavated in the years 1894-1895, bears the same relation to the other houses built in the Roman period that the house of the Faun does to those of the earlier

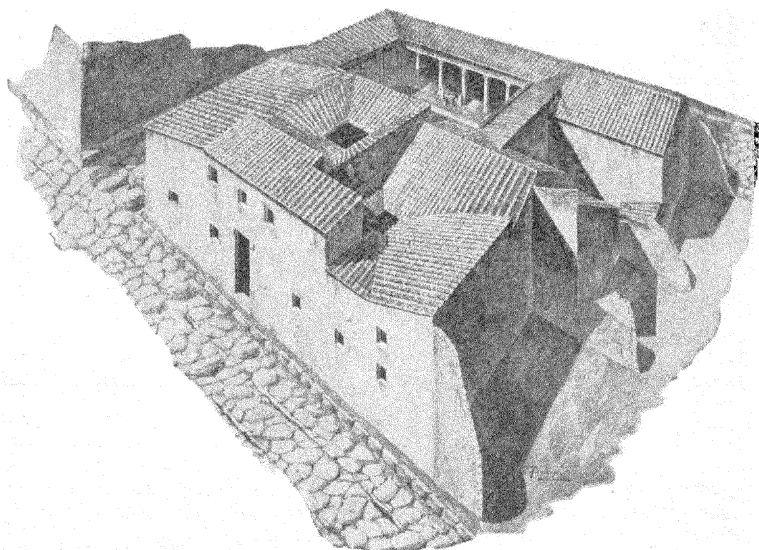


Fig. 157.— Exterior of the house of the Vettii, restored.

time ; it is the most important representative of its class. It was situated in a quiet part of the city, and was not conspicuous by reason of its size ; its interest for us lies chiefly in its paintings and in the adornment of the well preserved peristyle.

The relationship between the two owners, Aulus Vettius Restitutus and Aulus Vettius Conviva (p. 508) is not known. They were perhaps freedmen, manumitted by the same master ;

Conviva, as we learn from a painted inscription, was a member of the Brotherhood of Augustus, — *Vetti Conviva, Augustal[is]*.

The exterior of the house (Fig. 157) was unpretentious. The main entrance was on the east side, and there was a side door near the southeast corner; elsewhere the street walls were un-

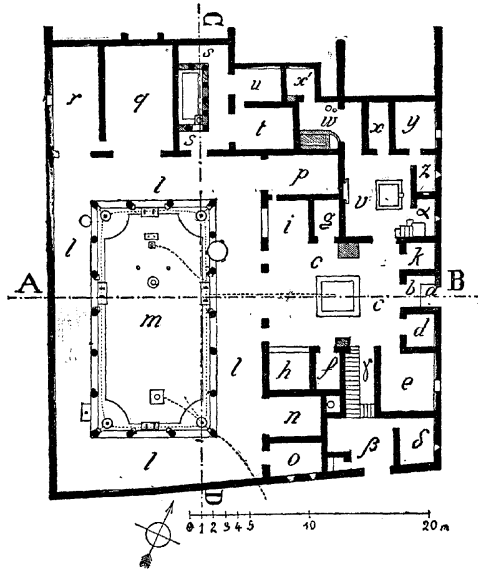


Fig. 158. — Plan of the house of the Vetti.

- |                                     |                               |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. Vestibule                        | s Small peristyle.            |
| b. Fauces.                          | t Dining room.                |
| c. Atrium                           | u Bedroom.                    |
| h, i. Alae                          | v. Side atrium.               |
| l. Colonnade of the peristyle.      | w Kitchen                     |
| m Garden                            | x'. Cook's room.              |
| n, p. Dining rooms.                 | y. Corridor leading to side   |
| q. Room with the Cupids and Psyche. | rooms (z, β) and nomenclator. |

broken except by small, square windows, part of which were in low second story rooms.

The vestibule (Fig. 158, a), as in the house of Epidius Rufus (p. 248), was connected with the fauces (b) by a large double door and also by a small door at the right. The atrium (c) is without a tablinum; at the rear it opens directly on the peristyle. One of the alae (h) at the time of the eruption was used as a wardrobe. At the sides of the atrium were two money chests; the one at the right is seen in Fig. 159.

Opening on the peristyle are three large apartments (n, p, q), and two smaller rooms (o, r). A door at the right leads into a small side peristyle (s, shown in Fig. 160), with a quiet dining room (t) and bedroom (u).

The domestic apartments were near the front of the house. At the right of the principal atrium is a small side atrium (v) without a separate street entrance. Grouped about it were rooms for the slaves and the kitchen (w) with a large hearth (Fig. 125). Beyond the kitchen is a room for the cook (x').

At the rear of the small atrium is the niche for the household gods (Fig. 127).

The corridor at the left of the principal atrium ( $\gamma$ ) led to an unimportant room ( $\beta$ ) with a door opening on a side street. In this corridor there was a stairway to the second story, which extended over this corner of the house (above  $e, f, h, n, o, \beta, \delta$ ). Along the front also were low chambers, over the fauces and the small rooms on either side ( $d, k$ ), and over the rooms adjoining the small atrium ( $x, y, z$ ).

In the accompanying sections two restorations of the interior are given. In the first (Fig. 159) we are looking toward the right side of the atrium and the inner end of the peristyle; the depth of the peristyle more than equals that of the atrium, together with the vestibule and fauces. The difference in height between the atrium and the peristyle, as in the house of the Tragic Poet, is much less than in the houses built in the pre-Roman period; and the corners of the *alae* were protected by simple wooden casings, altogether unlike the stately pilasters of the olden time.

The transverse section (Fig. 160) presents the long side of the peristyle next to the atrium, with the side of the small peristyle at the north end. The extent of the house is greater measured across the two peristyles (along the line C-D on the plan) than from front to rear. Of the three entrances from the atrium into the peristyle, that in the middle is broader and higher than the other two, which are not much wider than ordinary doors; the arrangement of the openings is similar to that in houses having a *tablinum* open toward the peristyle with an *andron* on one side, and on the other a room with a door corresponding with the door of the *andron*.

The columns of the peristyle are well preserved (Fig. 161). They are white, with ornate capitals moulded in stucco and painted with a variety of colors. Part of the entablature also remains; the architrave is ornamented with an *acanthus arabesque* in white stucco relief on a yellow background.

The roof of the greater part of the colonnade has been restored, and the garden has been planted with shrubs in accordance with the arrangement indicated by the appearance

of the ground at the time of excavation. Nowhere else in Pompeii will the visitor so easily gain an impression of the aspect presented by a peristyle in ancient times. The main

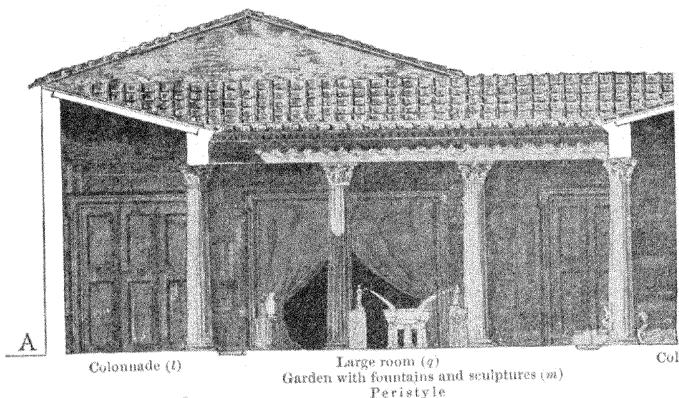


Fig. 159. — Longitudinal section

part of the house was searched for objects of value after the eruption, but the garden was left undisturbed, and we see in

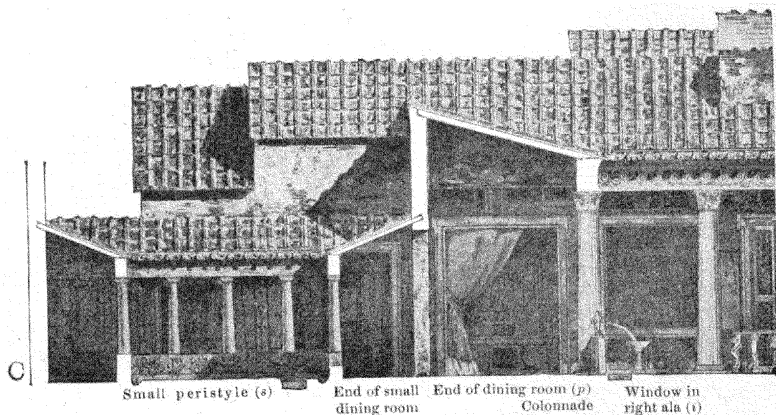


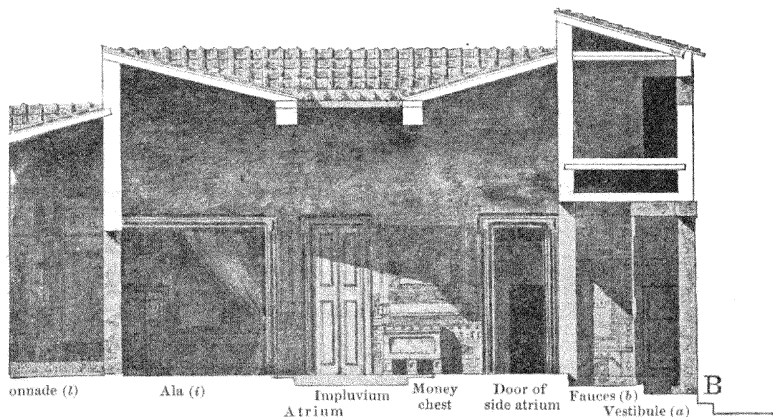
Fig. 160. — Transverse section of the house of the

it to-day the fountain basins, statuettes, and other sculptures placed there by the proprietor.

In each corner of the colonnade is a round fountain basin

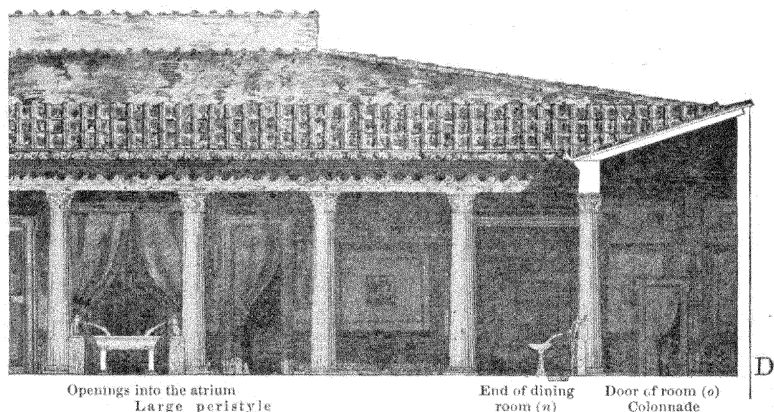


(indicated on the plan), at each side an oblong basin, all of marble. Jets fell into them from statuettes standing on pedestals beside the columns; there were two figures for each side



of the house of the Vettii, restored.

basin, one each for those at the corners. The two statuettes at the inner end of the colonnade (Fig. 162) are of bronze;



Vettii, restored, showing the two peristyles.

they represent a boy with a duck, from the bill of which the water spurted. The rest are of marble, and not of special interest. Among them are a Bacchus and two satyrs. The

water pipes were so well preserved that it has been found possible to place them in repair, and they are now ready for use. There were also two fountains in the garden.

Near the middle of the garden is a round, marble table. Three others stand under the colonnade, one of which, at the right near the inner end, is particularly elegant. The three feet are

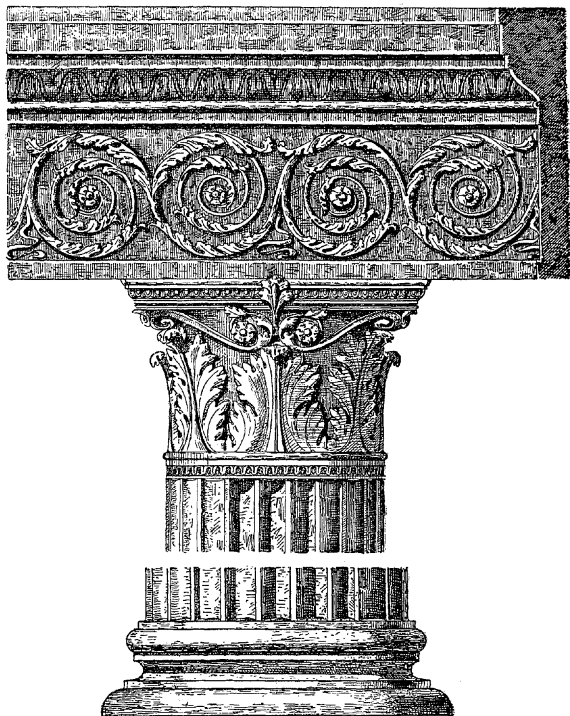


Fig. 161. — Base, capital, and section of the entablature from the colonnade of the peristyle.

carved to represent lions' claws; the heads above are well executed, and there are traces of yellow color on the manes. On two pillars in the garden are double busts, the subjects of which are taken from the bacchic cycle. One represents Bacchus and a bacchante (Fig. 257), the other Bacchus and Ariadne; there are traces of painting on the hair, beard, and eyes.

The wall paintings of this house are the most remarkable yet

discovered at Pompeii. Although the decoration of which they form a part is throughout of the fourth style, they fall into two groups, an earlier and a later, distinguished by differences in composition and handling that are easily perceived.

The earlier paintings are found in the atrium (*c*), the alae (*h*, *i*), and the large room at the end of the peristyle (*q*). At the time when they were painted the left ala (*h*) was connected with the room behind it (*n*) by a door, and had a large window

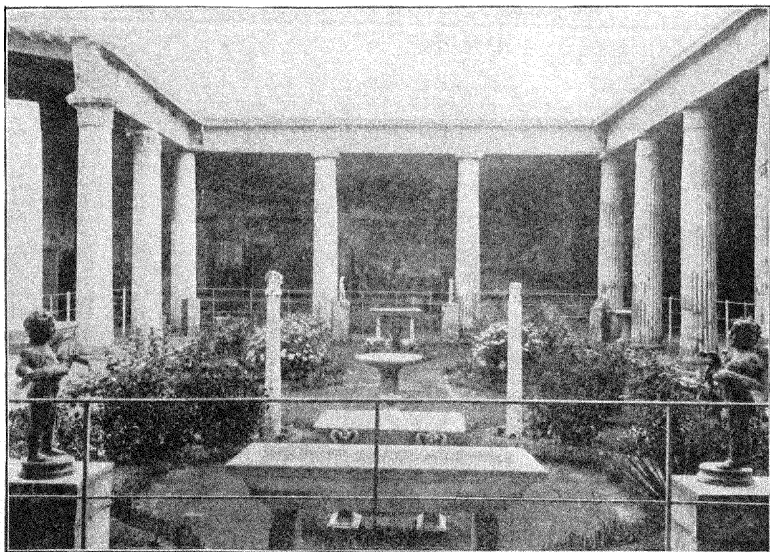


Fig. 162. — Peristyle of the house of the Vettii, looking south from the colonnade at the north end.

opening on the peristyle like that in the other ala (seen in Fig. 160). Afterwards both window and door were walled up and the ala was turned into a wardrobe. After this change had been made, as the remains of the masonry show, the earthquake of 63 threw down a part of the wall between the ala and the peristyle. The earlier paintings, then, must have been placed upon the walls before the year 63, in the reign of Claudius or the earlier part of the reign of Nero.

The later pictures are on the walls of the fauces (*b*), the large apartment at the left of the atrium (*e*), the colonnade of the

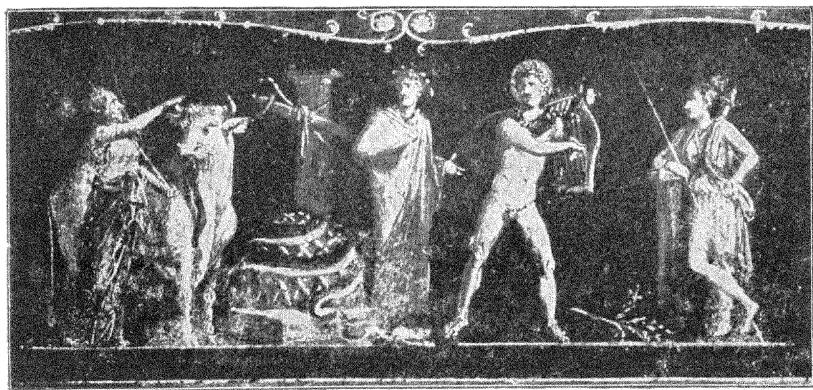
peristyle (*l*), the two dining rooms opening on the peristyle (*n*, *p*), and the small peristyle (*s*) with the adjoining rooms (*t*, *u*); to the same class belongs also the painting of the Genius with the Lares in the side atrium (*v*), which, aside from this, contains no pictures. The remaining rooms present nothing of interest.

The paintings of the first group are characterized by refinement in the choice of subjects, fertility in the composition, firmness of touch in the drawing, and exquisite finish in even the smallest details. The colors used are simple and harmonious, violent contrasts being avoided. A number of these pictures show the hand of a true artist, whose work has been found in no other house, and the system of decoration is the most effective of its kind in Pompeii.

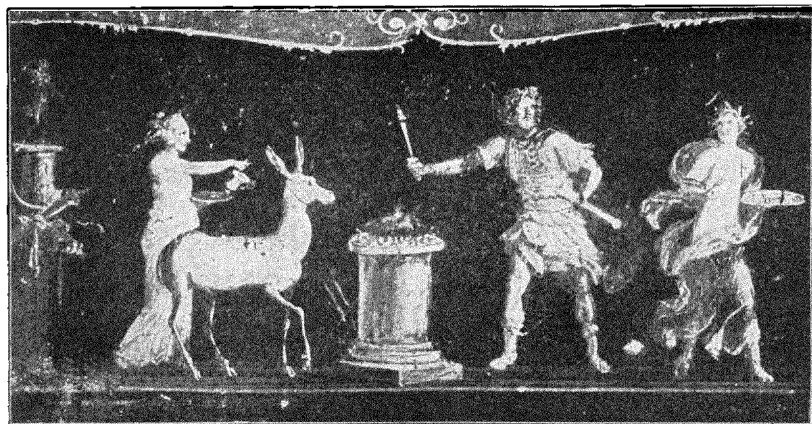
The decoration of the walls painted after the earthquake is not unlike that found in other houses upon walls of the fourth style. The designs are sketchy and without painstaking in the handling of details; the lines are coarse, the colors sometimes crude. The pictures in the panels are by different painters, some of whom were not without skill, yet none far above the average. One of the decorators had a fondness for representing mythological death scenes, manifesting a taste little short of barbarous.

The contrast between the earlier and the later decoration is so marked that it seems impossible to explain except on the assumption of a change of owners. We may well believe that about the middle of the first century this was the home of a family of culture and standing, who secured for the decoration of it the best artist that could be obtained, bringing him perhaps from Rome or from a Greek city. But within a score of years afterwards the house passed into the hands of the Vettii, freedmen, perhaps, whose taste in matters of art was far inferior to that of the former occupants, and a number of rooms were redecorated.

The excellent preservation of a large part of both the earlier and the later decoration gives the house the appearance of an art gallery. To describe fully and interpret all the paintings would require a small volume. The limitations of space make it possible to present here only the more important; we com-



APOLLO AFTER THE SLAYING OF THE DRAGON



AGAMEMNON IN THE SHRINE OF ARTEMIS

PLATE VIII.—TWO WALL PAINTINGS IN THE HOUSE OF THE VETTI



mence with those in the large room at the right of the peristyle, which are the most interesting of the entire series.

This apartment (7) may have been used either as a dining room or as a sitting room. The scheme of decoration is indicated in Fig. 163, which presents the division of the end wall; the side walls had five large panels instead of three.

The ground of the base is black. The stripe separating the base from the main part of the wall is red, except the small sections (4, 4), which have a black ground; the vertical stripes between the panels are black, and the same color forms the background of the border above. The ground of the panels is cinnabar red. The painting in the central panel (1) has not been preserved; in those at the sides (2) are floating figures. The upper division of the wall (6) is filled with an architectural framework upon a white background, against which many figures, skilfully disposed, stand out with unusual distinctness.

The floating figures in the side panels differ from those found elsewhere in the choice of subjects. Here instead of satyrs and bacchantes we find gods and heroes. In one panel is Poseidon with a female figure, perhaps Amymone; in another, Apollo with Daphne. Bacchus and Ariadne also appear, and Perseus with Andromeda.

The figures in the upper part of the wall at the end of the room belong to the bacchic cycle, — Silenus, satyrs, and bacchantes. Of those at the sides, one, near the right-hand corner, represents a poet with a roll of papyrus against his chin, the open manuscript case, *scrinium*, at his feet; opposite him sits a maiden clothed in white, drinking in his words. A comic mask on the left wall seems to suggest a writer of comedy, and the scene reminds one of the letter of Glycera to Menander, in Alciphron: "What is Athens without Menander, what Menander without Glycera? Without me, who make ready your masks, who

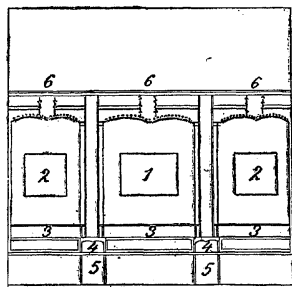


Fig. 163.—Scheme of wall division in the large room opening on the peristyle.

lay out your costume, and then stand behind the scenes pressing my finger tips into the palms of my hands till the applause breaks forth. Then all a-trembling I breathe again, and enfold you, godlike poet, in my arms."

The figures in which we are specially interested, however, are not those in the upper or middle division of the wall, but those in the black stripes (3), nine and ten inches wide, under the panels, in the narrow sections (4) and in the corresponding sections of the base.

In each of the sections at the bottom is a standing figure. In those of the end wall (5) are a satyr and a bacchante; in the two nearest the middle of each side wall are Amazons, in the rest female figures with implements of sacrifice. The Amazons,

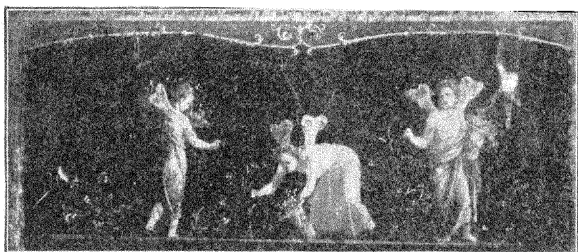


Fig. 164. — *Psyches gathering flowers.*  
Wall painting in the house of the Vettii.

armed with battle-axe and shield, are full of life; they are distinguished by the colors of their mantles and their Phrygian caps.

In the narrow sections on the end walls (4), and all but four of the others, were *Psyches* gathering flowers. Only a part of the scenes are preserved; in each are three figures, grouped with a pleasing variety and rendered with singular delicacy of touch. In one, the *Psyches* are sprightly children (Fig. 164); in another, young girls; and in a third we see a lady sitting at ease and plucking the flowers close at hand, while two maids gather the blossoms beyond her reach.

The two narrow sections nearest the middle panel of each side wall contained mythological scenes, of which three are preserved. The subjects are taken from the cycle of myths relating to Apollo and Artemis. In one of the pictures both the divini-



ties appear. Apollo has just slain the Python, which lies coiled about the Omphalos, the sacred symbol of the god as the giver of oracles at Delphi. His bow and quiver are hanging upon a column in the background, and he moves forward with vigorous step singing the Paean with an accompaniment upon the cithara. At the right, Artemis, with a quiver and long hunting spear, leans upon a pillar looking at her brother. Nearer the Omphalos are a priest and a female attendant, with a bull intended for sacrifice; the relation of these to the rest of the scene is not clear (Plate VIII.).

The companion picture takes us to a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis. At the left a gilt bronze image of the goddess, in hunting costume, stands upon a pillar, to the side of which a bow, quiver, and boar's head are fastened. On one side of the round altar in the middle is a white hind, sacred to the goddess; on the other, moving toward it with a sword in the uplifted right hand, is a kingly figure, the face turned with a wild and threatening look toward a frightened attendant; another attendant, back of the hind, seems not yet to have noticed the sacrilegious intruder. The composition is full of dramatic power; the subject can be none other than the slaying of the hind of Artemis by the impious Agamemnon (Plate VIII.).

The third of these small paintings presents a scene not infrequently met with on Pompeian walls, Orestes and Pylades at Tauris in the presence of King Thoas, and of Iphigenia, who is now a priestess of Artemis. The conception is akin to that of the painting in the house of the Citharist (Fig. 182), but the picture is partially obliterated.

The long stripe below the panels is preserved in more than half its length, on the end wall (3), on that at the right, and on the short sections of the front wall; there is also a fragment on the left side. It contains a series of charming pictures representing Cupids and Psyche. Some of the little creatures are engaged in sports, others are celebrating a festival, while others still are busying themselves with the manifold work of everyday life. The execution is less careful than in the small mythological pictures; yet the figures are so full of life, their movements are so purposeful, and their bearing so suggestive that we seem to

catch the expression of the tiny faces. The Cupids and Psyches, whether playing the part of children or of men and women in elegant attire, whether garland makers or vinedressers or smiths, are always Cupids and Psyches still; we instinctively recognize them as such, not by reason of outward attributes so much as by their bearing. Prosaic daily toil has nowhere been more happily idealized.

The Cupids at the left of the entrance are playing with a duck. One holds the duck under his arm ready to let it go; the other stretches out his hands to catch it as it tries to escape. The group on the other side are throwing at a wooden mark.

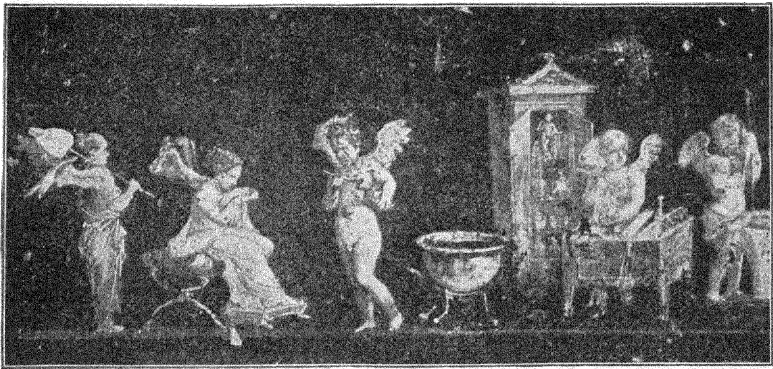


Fig. 165. — Cupids making  
Wall painting in the

One is setting up the target. Two are making ready to throw, one of them being mounted on the back of a companion; the successful contestant in such games was called "the king," the loser, "the ass," because he had to carry the others upon his back. A fifth stands ruefully beside the target, awaiting his turn to carry the victor.

Among the most attractive groups are those of the flower dealers, at the end of the right wall near the entrance. First we see the gardener leading to market a goat laden with roses; his little son trudges along behind the animal, carrying a basket of roses suspended from a stick on the left shoulder. Next is the dealer, who stands behind a broad marble table covered with garlands; he is handing two to a youth who already has

several, while a Psyche near by is placing the garlands in a basket. Beyond these, workmen are making garlands, which hang in profusion from a wooden frame. At the extreme left is a lady asking the price. One of the workmen holds up two fingers, signifying two asses. The price of a wreath is given in a graffito as three asses (p. 497).

In the following scene Cupids appear as makers and sellers of oil (Fig. 165). At the right is the oil press. It stands upon a square stone, the upper surface of which contains a semicircular incision to catch the oil and carry it to a round vessel standing in front. The two sides, each with a broad vertical opening,



and selling oil.  
house of the Vettii.

are securely fastened by a crosspiece at the top. The ends of four horizontal boards are fitted to the openings, in which they move up and down. The olives are placed under the lowest board; in the spaces between the others, and between the upper board and the crosspiece, thick wooden wedges are driven. As the workmen drive in the wedges with heavy mallets, the pressure upon the olives is increased, and the oil is forced out. The arrangement may be more plainly seen in Fig. 166, from a wall painting at Herculaneum, in which a similar press appears.



Fig. 166.— Oil press. From a wall painting found at Herculaneum.

At the left of the press is a large kettle resting on a tripod. The oil is being stirred as it is heated; a similar kettle appears in the scene in a shop presented in the other part of the picture. Further on are two figures beside a deep vessel, but the process represented is not clear.

The rest of the picture relates to the selling of oil. In the background is a cupboard, with a statuette — possibly an Aphrodite — on the upper shelf. In front is an open chest resting on four legs. Both the cupboard and the box contain bottles and jars of various shapes and sizes for holding oil; a Cupid

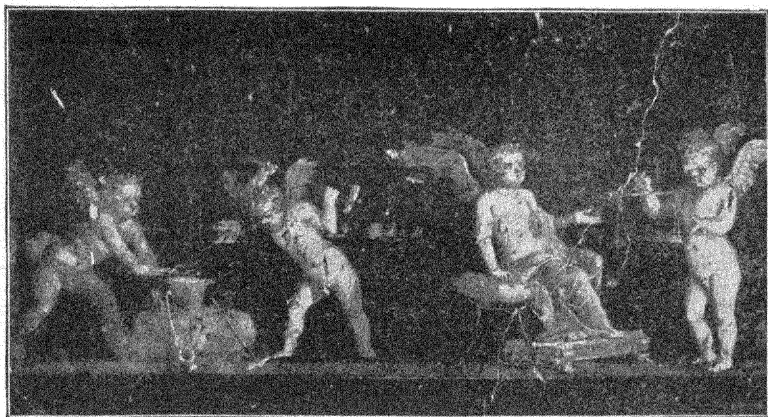


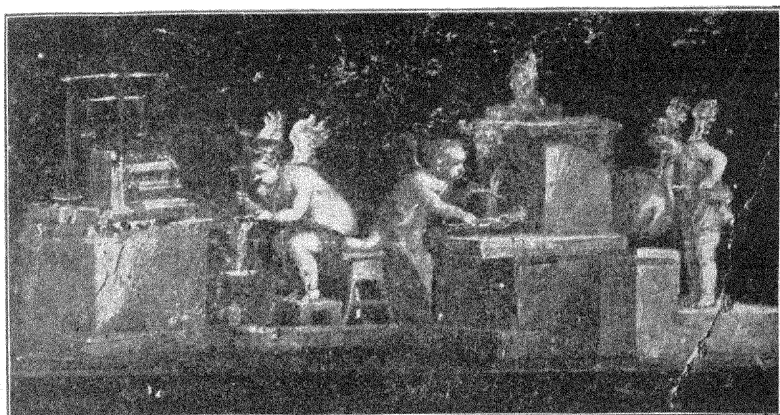
Fig. 167. — Cupids  
Wall painting in the

has just taken one up. On the top of the chest is a roll of papyrus with a pair of scales; oil was sold by weight. A memorandum on the wall of an adjoining house reads: *XIII. K. Fe. oli. p. DCCCXXXX*, — 'January 20, 840 pounds of oil.'

The central figure of the group at the left is the lady who has come to make a purchase. A cushioned seat has been placed for her, with a footstool; the maid stands motionless behind, a large fan resting on the right shoulder. The proprietor holds in his right hand a spoon containing a sample which he has just taken from the jar under his arm; the lady seems to be testing the quality on the back of her wrist. The article sold is doubtless the fine perfumed oil, not the common variety.

Hardly less animated are the scenes in which Cupids take the place of goldsmiths (Fig. 167). At the right is the furnace, adorned with the head of Hephaestus, the patron divinity of workers in metals. In front is a Cupid with a blowpipe and pincers. Behind it another is working with a graver's tool upon a large gold vessel. The pose, suggesting at the same time exertion and perfect steadiness, is rendered with remarkable skill.

Next is a figure at a small anvil; then the counter for the sale of jewellery, which is displayed in three open drawers. Be-



as goldsmiths.  
house of the Vettii.

hind the case containing the drawers a large and a smaller pair of scales are seen.

The first two figures in the other half of the picture represent a lady purchaser, seated, and the proprietor, who weighs out an object with a small pair of scales. The left hands of both point to the balance; they are deeply interested in the weighing. Lastly, we see two figures at an anvil. Nothing could be more natural than the pose of the one at the left, holding the metal upon the anvil for his companion to strike, yet drawing back as far as possible in order to avoid the sparks.

The processes of the fullery also are illustrated,—treading the clothes in vats, carding, inspection of the cloth to see if the

work is properly done, and folding the finished garments for delivery to the owners.

Three of the pictures—two on the end wall and one on the left side—relate to wine.

The first is a vintage scene (Fig. 168), of which only a part is distinct. At the left is a Cupid gathering grapes, from vines trained to run from tree to tree. The press is worked on a different principle from the one shown in Fig. 165. Here two Cupids are turning a windlass by means of long levers. The windlass is connected by a pulley with a press beam above; as the end of this is gradually lowered, the pressure upon the grapes underneath is increased.

The triumph of Bacchus is presented in another picture,

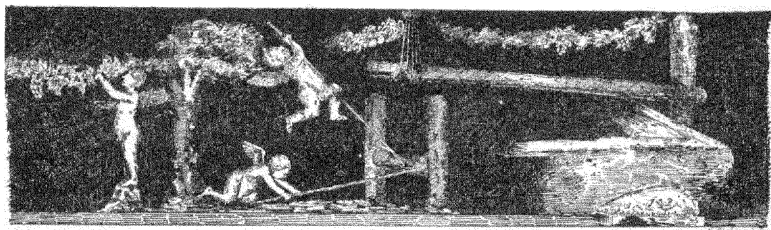


Fig. 168.—Vintage scene: Cupids gathering and pressing grapes.  
Wall painting in the house of the Vettii.

which is fortunately in a better state of preservation. At the head of the procession is a bacchante, riding on a panther. Bacchus sits in a four-wheeled chariot drawn by goats; the coachman is a satyr. Behind the triumphal car is Pan, dancing and playing the double flute; last comes a vine-crowned Cupid, dancing, with a large mixing bowl upon his shoulder. The skill shown in the pose of the dancing figures is especially noteworthy; they stand lightly erect, seeming not to feel their weight or the exertion of rapid movement.

In the last of this series, upon the left wall, Cupids appear as wine dealers; the part of the picture that has been preserved is shown in Fig. 169. The rustic bearing of the seller, at the left, is in pleasing contrast with the free and graceful carriage of the well-bred buyer, to whom he is handing a sample of the wine in a cup. At the right two servants are drawing another

sample from an amphora; one tips the amphora so cautiously that the other, who is holding the bowl, presses the neck gently with his left hand in order to make the slender stream flow faster.

Rapidity of movement reaches a climax in the middle picture of the right wall, which represents the games of the Circus. The scene is laid in the country; each goal is marked by three trees. Antelopes take the place of horses, and the groups are conceived with wonderful realism. The tiny, fluttering garments of the drivers display the colors of the four parties, — green, red, white, and blue.

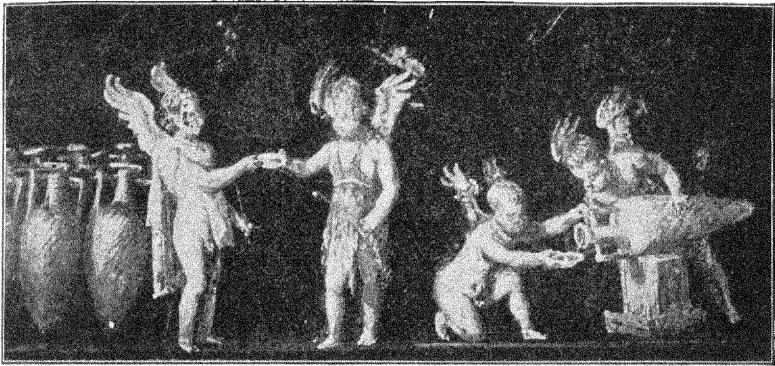


Fig. 169.—Cupids as dealers in wine.  
Wall painting in the house of the Vettii.

Two of the pictures on the end wall are so damaged that it is not easy to make out the details. One of them, like that just described, presents a purely Roman subject—the festival of Vesta (Fig. 170). Cupids and Psyche are reclining at ease about a serving table in the shape of a deep platter with two handles, on which drinking vessels are seen; in the background are two asses, sacred to Vesta (p. 98). Some, at least, of the Cupid pictures could not have been taken from Greek originals.

In the atrium also there was a black stripe containing Cupids similar to those already described, but the figures are not so well preserved. The most interesting scene represents a sacrifice to

Fortuna. Cupids appear also riding and driving. Some are mounted on goats and engaged in a contest. One stands on a crab, guiding the ungainly creature with reins and plying the whip; another is similarly mounted on a lobster. A few are in chariots, the chariot in one case being drawn by two dolphins.

In each division of the wall of the atrium near the bottom is the half-length figure of a child, painted on a dark red ground. The children are busied with vessels of all kinds, apparently intended for sacrifice. The seriousness of their task, the importance which they attach to their helpfulness, is finely expressed in the faces, which are individualized in the manner of a true artist.

We may dismiss the later paintings of the house with few words. In the fauces (*b*) are small monochrome panels contain-

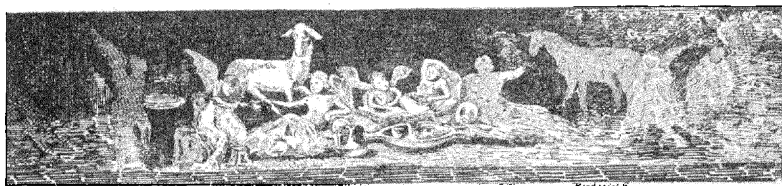


Fig. 170. — Cupids celebrating the festival of Vesta.  
Wall painting in the house of the Vettii.

ing a pair of deer, a cock fight, vases, and a wallet with a herald's staff, attributes of Mercury, who perhaps had a place among the Penates of the house.

In the room at the left of the atrium (*e*) is a painting of Cyparissus, the youth beloved of Apollo, with his wounded deer on the ground near him; in another part of the room is the wrestling match between Pan and Eros. Among the figures seen in the architectural framework of the upper division of the wall is Zeus, sitting on his throne, represented as a youth, unbearded; Leda with the swan also appears, and Danaë holding out her robe to catch the golden rain.

The direction of the owner's tastes is perhaps indicated by a painting in the peristyle, at the middle of the wall under the colonnade at the left. It contains a portrait, probably of an author; near by is a manuscript case with rolls of papyrus.



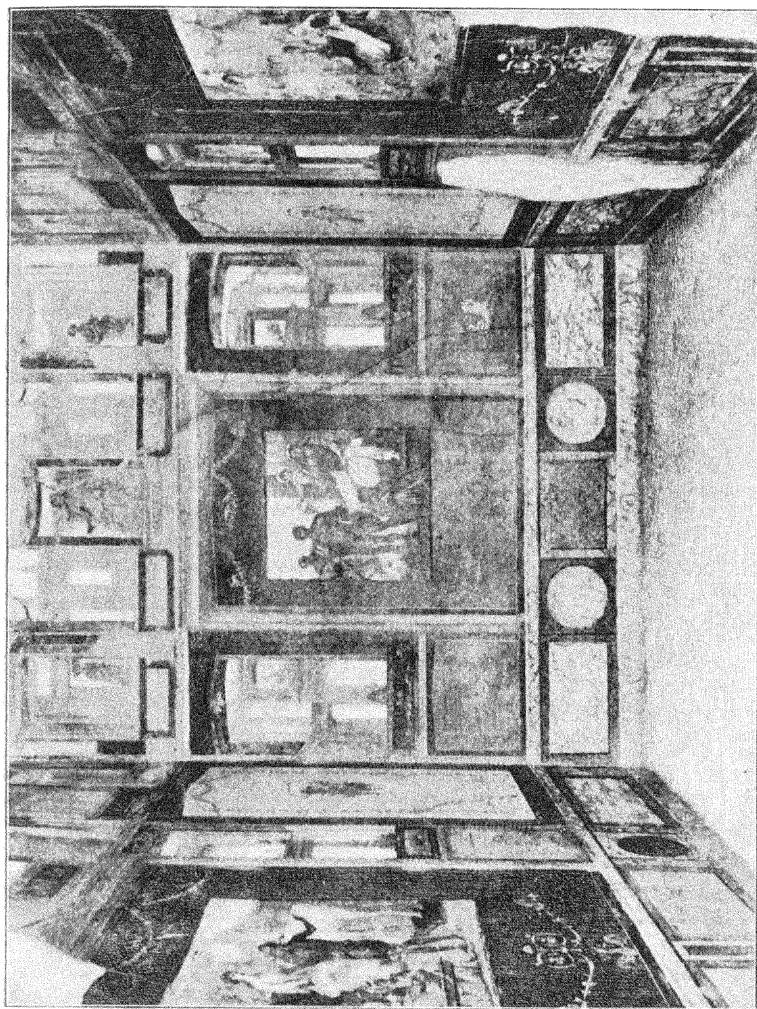


PLATE IX.—A DINING ROOM IN THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII



The paintings in the two dining rooms opening on the peristyle, *n* and *p*, are in a better state of preservation than those of any other part of the house. In the first room, *n*, the simple and restful decoration surrounding the large pictures is in striking contrast with the pictures themselves, one of which is placed at the middle of each of the three walls. Here we see the infant Hercules strangling the serpents, there Pentheus and the Maenads about to tear him in pieces; the subject of the third painting is the punishment of Dirce, the treatment being not unlike that of the sculptured Farnese group in the Naples Museum.

The decorative effect of the other room, *p*, is more harmonious. The divisions of the wall space, the relation of the three principal paintings to the decorative design, and the distribution of ornament are indicated in our illustration (Plate IX); but no reproduction can do justice to the richness of the coloring.

The painting in the middle panel at the right brings before us Bacchus with his train as they come upon the sleeping Ariadne. On the left wall opposite is Daedalus, pointing out the wooden cow that he has made to Pasiphae, who hands to him a golden arm band. The subject of the third picture is here met with for the first time at Pompeii—the punishment of Ixion.

The tragedy of the scene (Fig. 171) is plainly suggested, but not forced upon the beholder; we see, at the left, only half of the ever revolving wheel to which the wretched victim is bound. The other figures are more prominent and, with one exception, convey no suggestion of pain or sympathy in either pose or expression of face. Nearest the wheel is Hephaestus, who has just fastened Ixion upon it; his pincers, hammer, and anvil are lying upon the ground in the corner. In front of him is Hermes, who, in obedience to the command of Zeus, brought the offender to the place of punishment.

A sad-faced female figure with veiled head sits in the foreground—a personification of the spirit of one who has died, a shade introduced to indicate that the place of punishment is the Underworld. The left hand is involuntarily raised with the shock that the thought of the victim's suffering brings; the face

has been thought by some to resemble that often given to the Madonna.

The two figures at the right of the picture are of the upper world, not directly connected with the main action, yet well con-



Fig. 171. — The punishment of Ixion.  
Wall painting in the house of the Vettii.

ceived and skilfully introduced. Nearer the foreground Hera sits enthroned, her sceptre in her left hand ; behind her stands Iris, faithful messenger, who points out to her the well deserved fate of him who dared to offer an affront to the queen of heaven.

## CHAPTER XLII

### THREE HOUSES OF UNUSUAL PLAN

IN the houses described in the preceding chapters the distribution of the rooms is characterized by a certain regularity, which makes it possible to indicate the arrangements by reference to an ideal or normal plan. A wide departure, however, is occasionally noted; and by way of illustration three houses of unusual plan will be briefly presented here, first a house without an atrium, then one having an atrium but no compluvium, and, lastly, a large establishment built on terraces at different levels.

#### I. THE HOUSE OF ACCEPTUS AND EUHODIA

Sometimes a few rooms of a large house were cut off from the atrium and used as a separate dwelling; the original plan in such cases is easily determined. The number of houses built without an atrium in the beginning is exceedingly small. Among the pleasantest was the modest dwelling of Acceptus and Euhodia, on the south side of the double Insula in the eighth Region (VIII. v.-vi. 39); the names are taken from a couple of election notices painted on the front, in which they appear together.

From the street one passed directly under a colonnade (Fig. 172, *a*) in two stories, facing a small garden (*b*), from which it

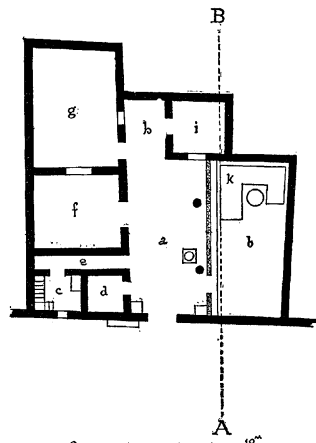


Fig. 172.—The house of Acceptus and Euhodia.

- |  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| <i>a</i> Colonnade.                        | <i>d</i> Bedroom.     |
| <i>b</i> Garden.                           | <i>f</i> Dining room. |
| <i>c</i> Kitchen.                          | <i>g</i> Garden.      |
| <i>i</i> Bedroom with places for two beds. |                       |

was separated by a low wall. At one end of the garden was an open-air triclinium (*k*), which still remains. The rest of the plot, used as a flower garden, was profusely ornamented; five

heads of herms, a frog and other objects of marble were found in it, besides a couple of alabaster basins and five statuettes of Egyptian divinities made of glazed pottery. In the corner of the colonnade, between the garden and the entrance, is a small hearth, conveniently placed for serving

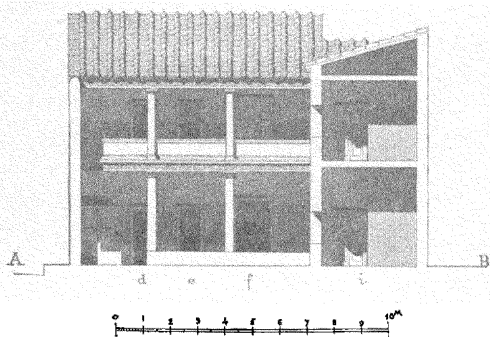


Fig. 173.—Longitudinal section of the house of Accepius and Euhodia, restored.

the open-air triclinium; in the opposite corner at the left the excavators found the remains of a cupboard, together with vessels of bronze, glass, and clay. At the further end of the colonnade one passed into another small garden (*g*).

A bedroom (*d*) opened on the colonnade near the entrance. A corridor (*e*) led to the kitchen (*c*) behind it. Beyond the corridor is the dining room (*f*). Another sleeping room (*i*) with places for two beds is entered through a kind of anteroom (*h*) at the rear of the house.

The rooms of the second story corresponded closely with those underneath, and were entered from the second story of the colonnade; the stairs, partly of wood, started in the kitchen. The appearance of the house as one looked from the garden at the right toward the colonnade may be inferred from our restoration, which gives a longitudinal section (Fig. 173); the letters under the section refer to the rooms as they are indicated in the plan.

The house was decorated in the fourth style. On the south wall of the kitchen there is a painting of Fortuna, with the usual attributes, a cornucopia and a rudder resting on a ball. The Genius and the Lares nowhere appear, and as a lotus blossom is

painted on the forehead of the goddess, who is thus conceived of as a form of Isis, we may suppose that Acceptus and his wife were adherents of the Egyptian cult. Besides the statuettes of Egyptian divinities there was found in the garden the foot of a marble table with a Greek inscription "of Serapion," an Egyptian name. Acceptus and Euhodia may have come from Alexandria and thence have introduced into Pompeii this type of house, so unlike the native form. The Latin name of Acceptus does not stand in the way of this explanation, for he was probably a freedman, who in Egypt may have had a Roman master.

## II. A HOUSE WITHOUT A COMPLUVIUM

The accompanying plan (Fig. 174) shows the arrangement of a small house on the north side of Nola Street in the fifth Region (V. v. 2). The problem of lighting the atrium (*e*), the roof of which sloped toward the back, was met in a simple way.

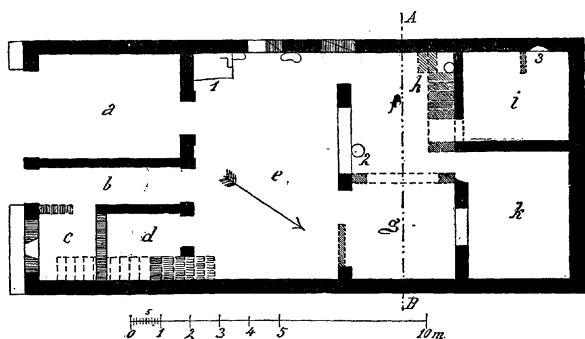


Fig. 174.—Plan of a house without a compluvium (V. v. 2).

*a* Shop. *b* Fauces. *e* Atrium. *f* Light court. *h* Dining room.  
*i* Hearth. *g* Cistern curb.

At the rear a light court (*f*) was constructed, which furnished light and air by means of broad windows, not only to the atrium, but also to the adjoining room *g* and indirectly to the dining room *h*, which had a window opening on *g*.

This arrangement, however, is in part the result of later changes. Originally the room marked *g* belonged to the court, *f*, and the house consisted of two parts, separated by a narrow area. The kitchen was then in the low room (*i*), above which

was a correspondingly low chamber, the height of the two rooms being only equal to that of the dining room (*k*). In later times,

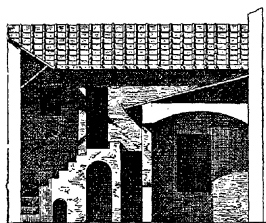


Fig. 175. — Transverse section of the house without a compluvium.

At the left, light court (*f*), with stairs (*h*) leading to an upper room over *i*. At the right, room *g*, with the window opening into the dining room *k*.

however, the hearth was moved to the corner of the atrium (*i*), the smoke being let out through a small window in the wall. A stairway, partly of wood, led to the upper rooms at the front of the house. Along the street ran a stone bench, protected by a roof projecting over it.

The water from the roofs fell into the light court *f*, and was collected in a cistern. We give a transverse section across *f* and *g* (Fig. 175), showing the arrangement of the roofs, doors, and window at the rear.

On the wall of *g* is scratched the inscription, *Fures foras, frugi intro*, — 'Let thieves keep out, let honest folk come in!'

### III. THE HOUSE OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH II

A good example of a house extended over terraces at different levels may be seen on the edge of the hill west of the Forum Triangulare (VIII. ii. 39), that of the Emperor Joseph II, *casa dell' Imperatore Giuseppe II*. The name was given in commemoration of a visit of this emperor to Pompeii, in 1769, when a special excavation in his honor was made in a part of the house.

The uppermost of the three terraces on which the house is built (Fig. 176, 1) is at the level of the street (Vico della Regina, Plan VI), the lowest (3) in part occupies the place of the old city wall; the middle terrace is adjusted to the intervening slope. The arrangement of the stairways between the terraces and the distribution of the rooms may be more easily understood from an inspection of the plan in connection with the key below than from description.

There was a second story over a part of the rooms on the upper terrace, as indicated by the stairways at *e* and *n* and in



the corner of *u*, but the extent of it is not easy to determine. The traces of the upper rooms of the middle terrace, however, are clearly seen, and their arrangement is indicated on the plan (4); the height of *h* and *κ*, which were in one story, was equal to that of the smaller rooms with the chambers above.

The front of the house, the large Tuscan atrium with the adjoining rooms, dates from the Tufa Period; the atrium was

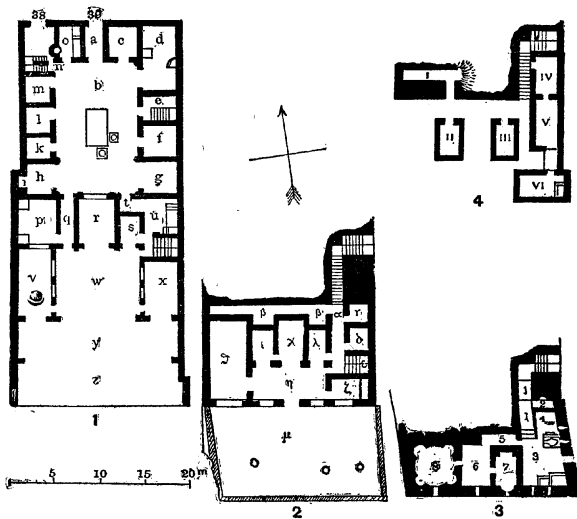


Fig. 176.—Plan of the house of the Emperor Joseph II.

1. Upper terrace at the level of the street.
  - a. Fauces.
  - b. Atrium.
  - c. House chapel
  - g, h. Alae, with a wardrobe (*z*) at the rear of *h*.
  - u. Room with two stairways, leading up to second floor and down to middle terrace
  - w. Middle room opening on a colonnade (*y*) which faces the rear of the terrace (*z*)
  - x, v. Dining rooms, opening on the colonnade
2. Middle terrace.
  - α. Corridor, entered from stairway in *u* above.
  - β. Corridor.
  - γ, δ. Low vaulted rooms.
  - ε. Stairway leading to lower terrace.
  - η. Middle room.
3. Lower terrace.
  - ι. Corridor leading down from the foot of the stairway in *ε*.
  - 3, 4. Bakery.
  - 6-8. Bath. (6 Tepidarium 7 Caldarium. 8 Frigidarium.)
4. Upper rooms of the middle terrace
  - I. Excavated room used as a cellar.
  - II, III. Rooms over *ι*, *λ*.
  - VI. Room over *ζ*, connected with V (over *γ*, *δ*) by a gallery over the stairway *ε*, and with *η* by a ladder or stairway.

originally one of the most richly decorated at Pompeii. The rooms back of the atrium opening toward the rear, and those of the middle and lower terraces, are a later addition, built after

the city wall at this point had been removed, perhaps not long before the end of the Republic; traces of the second style of decoration are found in one of the lowest rooms, the tepidarium of the bath. Remains of the first style are found in the fauces, but the greater part of the house is decorated in the last style.

One of the small rooms (*c*) opening on the atrium, originally a bedroom, was in later times turned into a house chapel. In the right wall is a small niche, on the back of which a Genius of the ordinary type is painted. Near him and also offering a libation is a female figure with the attributes of Juno, a diadem, and a sceptre. The two figures represent the Genii of the mas-

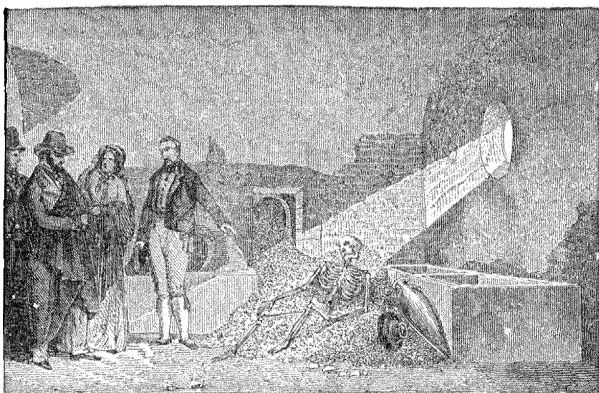


Fig. 177. — Corner of bake room in the lowest story of the house of the Emperor Joseph II, at the time of excavation.

ter and mistress of the house (p. 270). Under the niche, and at the sides are iron nails, driven into the plaster to hold wreaths and garlands.

On either side of the broad middle room (*w*) is a dining room (*v*, *x*), connected with it by two large windows. All three rooms open upon the colonnade (*y*), and this again opens out upon a terrace (*z*).

The principal room of the middle story (2. *η*, under *z*) takes the place of an atrium; it is lighted by a door and two windows opening upon a terrace (*μ*). Connected with it are two dining rooms (*θ*, *κ*), considerably higher than the other apartments of this story, and three sleeping rooms (*ι*, *λ*, *ζ*). A dark corridor

( $\beta$ ) separated these rooms from the solid earth at the rear, and furnished access, by means of ladders, to two low upper rooms (over  $\iota$  and  $\lambda$ ; see 4. II, III), perhaps used as storerooms. From  $\beta$  one could also reach, in the same way, an oblong chamber excavated in the earth (I), designed originally as a cistern, but used as a cellar at the time of the eruption. Of the remaining upper rooms one (IV) was built on the solid ground at the side of the stairway leading from the upper floor ( $\alpha$ ); the other two (V, over  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$  and VI, over  $\zeta$ ) were connected by a gallery or bridge over the stairway leading to the lower floor ( $\epsilon$ ); this gallery could be reached also by a ladder or wooden stairway in the large middle room ( $\eta$ ). The outermost room (VI) was perhaps a washroom; there is a rectangular basin in one corner.

The lower floor was given up to a bath (*frigidarium*, 8; *tepidarium*, 6; *caldarium*, 7) and to a bakery (3, 4).

In the vaulted ceiling of the *frigidarium* (8) and one of the rooms of the bakery (3) is a round hole for ventilation, opening upon the terrace above through a kind of chimney. The hollow walls of the *caldarium* (7) are carried to the crown of the vault, at the middle of which is a similar opening for the vent. The places of the three openings in the floor of the terrace are seen in the plan (2,  $\mu$ ).

At one end of the larger room of the bakery (3) is the oven; at the other two rectangular basins of masonry. In the corner near the basins was found the skeleton of a man who at the time of the eruption had taken refuge in this room and probably died of hunger. The appearance of the room at the time of excavation is shown in a sketch published by Mazois (Fig. 177).

The door near the corner, seen in the illustration, led outside the city. The proprietor of the house perhaps had a special permit enabling him to leave or enter the city at any time without surveillance; none of the other houses along the edge of the city have a private entrance of this kind.

## CHAPTER XLIII

### *OTHER NOTEWORTHY HOUSES*

THE houses accorded a detailed description in the previous chapters are few in comparison with the number of those worthy of special study. He alone who has wandered day after day among the ruins, returning again and again to explore the parts of the city which are rarely seen by the hasty visitor, can realize what a wealth of interesting material lies behind the barren walls lining the streets on either side.

The location of the houses mentioned incidentally is given in Plan VI, at the end of the volume. Such are, the house of Caecilius Jucundus, on Stabian Street (V. i. 26), the tablinum of which contains one of the most beautiful specimens of wall decoration yet discovered, in the third style; the house of Lucretius, on the same street (IX. iii. 5), with a little garden behind the tablinum adorned with quaint sculptures; the house of the Hunt on Nola Street (VII. iv. 48), so named from the large hunting scene on the wall at the rear of the garden; and further down on Nola Street (IX. vii. 6) the extensive house with three atriums and a large peristyle, excavated in 1879, eighteen centuries after the destruction of the city, and hence called the house of the Centenary, *casa del Centenario*.

In the same block with the house of the Hunt, opposite that of the Faun, is the house of the Sculptured Capitals, *casa dei Capitelli Figurati* (VII. iv. 57). It received its name from the figures carved in the tufa capitals of the pilasters at the entrance, one of which is shown in Fig. 178; the stucco with which the surface was coated has now fallen off. Such figures are not infrequently met with in pilaster capitals of the Tufa Period, the subjects being always taken, as here, from the bacchic cycle; the satyr at the left is well rendered. The plan of the house is

simple, like that of other houses of moderate size dating from the pre-Roman time.

Near the west end of Nola Street is the house of Pansa, which occupies the whole of the sixth Insula of Region VI. Although of approximately the same size as the house of the Faun, and built in the same period, it contained fewer large rooms; its proportions were less impressive, its finish less elegant. The walls present many evidences of repairs and alterations, but of the wall decoration nothing remains.

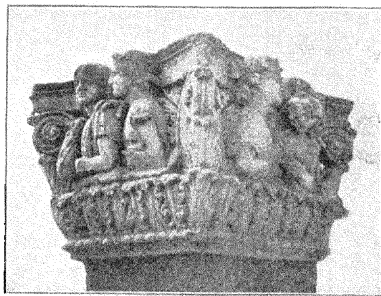


Fig. 178. — Capital of pilaster at the entrance of the house of the Sculptured Capitals.

The plan (Fig. 179) is of interest on account of its regularity. It well illustrates the extent to which, at Pompeii, rooms not required for household purposes were utilized as shops and small separate dwellings, which were rented to tenants, and doubtless formed an important source of income.

The vestibule and fauces have been mentioned previously (p. 249). The living rooms are grouped about a single atrium (2) and a large peristyle (9). A colonnade at the rear of the house faces the garden, which, as indicated by the appearance of the ground at the time of excavation, was used for vegetables. Opening on the colonnade is the gardener's room (*a*).

In the front were shops, one of which (35) was connected with the house and served as the proprietor's place of business; another (33) was used as a salesroom for the bakery, which occupied the rooms numbered 28–34. On the same side of the house were three small two-story dwellings, one of which (22–23) contained windows opening into an adjoining room (12) of the house and into the peristyle; it was doubtless occupied by some one connected with the household. The dwellings on the other street (A, B, C) were larger. Fiorelli thought that this Insula belonged to Alleius Nigidius Maius (p. 489); the name of Pansa was given to it from an election notice painted on the front.

There is a remarkable group of houses near the north end of Mercury Street. The first in importance is the house of Castor and Pollux (VI. ix. 6), which is so named from the figures of the Dioscuri, holding their horses by the bridle, painted on the walls of the principal fauces. Between the two atriums, one of which is of the Corinthian type, lies a large peristyle; and behind the Corinthian atrium is a garden with a colonnade in front. The decoration of the house is especially effective; that of the larger tablinum was by one of the best artists who worked at Pompeii. The paintings in the two central panels of this room

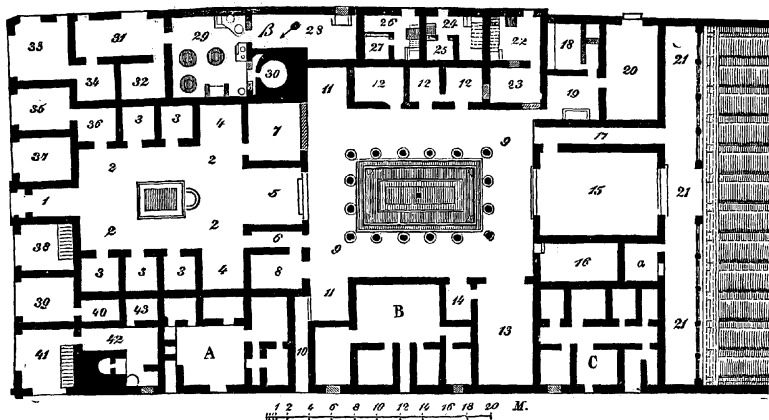


Fig. 179.—Plan of the house of Pansa.

- |                                  |   |   |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Fauces.                       | 15 Oecus.   | 24-25, 26-27. Two small separate dwellings. |
| 2. Atrium.                       | 19 Kitchen.   | 28-34. Bakery. (29. Mill room               |
| 4, 4. Alae.                      | 20 Room for a wagon   | 30. Oven.)                                  |
| 5. Tablinum.                     | 21 Colonnade opening on the garden.                               | 35, 37-40. Shops.                           |
| 6. Andron.                       | 22-23 Small dwelling with second story, connected with the house. | 41. Shop with back rooms.                   |
| 9. Peristyle                     |   | 42. Room with bake oven.                    |
| 10. Passage leading to posticum. |   | A, B, C. Separate dwellings.                |
| 13 Dining room.                  |   |   |

are often mentioned; on the right wall, the recognition of Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes; on the left, the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon. The representation of Venus Pompeiana shown in Fig. 4 is from the peristyle

Beyond the house of Castor and Pollux is that of the Centaur (VI. ix. 3), which received its name from a painting in which Hercules, Deianira, and Nessus appear; the end of a bedroom

in this house is shown in Fig. 122. The rest of the insula belongs to the large house of Meleager, named from a picture representing Meleager and Atalanta. The walls contained numerous mythological pictures, part of which were transferred to the Naples Museum; those left on the walls have suffered from exposure to the weather.

The house of Apollo also (VI. vii. 23), on the opposite side of the street, is noteworthy on account of its decoration, in the last style; the god appears in a series of paintings. Two houses in the next insula, on the south, have in their gardens fountain niches veneered with bright mosaics, the *casa della Fontana Grande* (VI. viii. 22) and the *casa della Fontana Piccola* (VI. viii. 23).

At the middle of the tenth Insula, in the same Region, is the house of the Anchor (VI. x. 7), so called from an anchor outlined in the black and white mosaic of the fauces. The peristyle here presents an interesting peculiarity of construction. The level of the street at the rear of the house was below that of Mercury Street. Instead of filling up the lot so as to raise the garden to the height of the front part, the builder

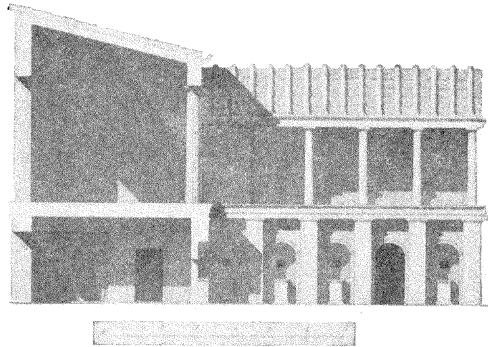


Fig. 180.—Section showing a part of the peristyle of the house of the Anchor, restored.

constructed a kind of basement under the colonnade of the peristyle, the floor of which was thus adjusted to the level of the floors in the front rooms; the garden and the floor of the basement were on the same level as the street at the rear. The colonnade was higher on the north than on the other three sides (Fig. 180). The effect of the whole was far from unpleasing. Whether the projections seen in the niches below, at the level of the garden, are pedestals or small altars cannot be determined. The niches at the front end were made larger, and

were three in number. In the middle niche was a diminutive temple; the other two had the form of an apse, and contained fountain figures.

Houses were sometimes enlarged at the expense of neighboring dwellings, which, in some cases, were destroyed to the

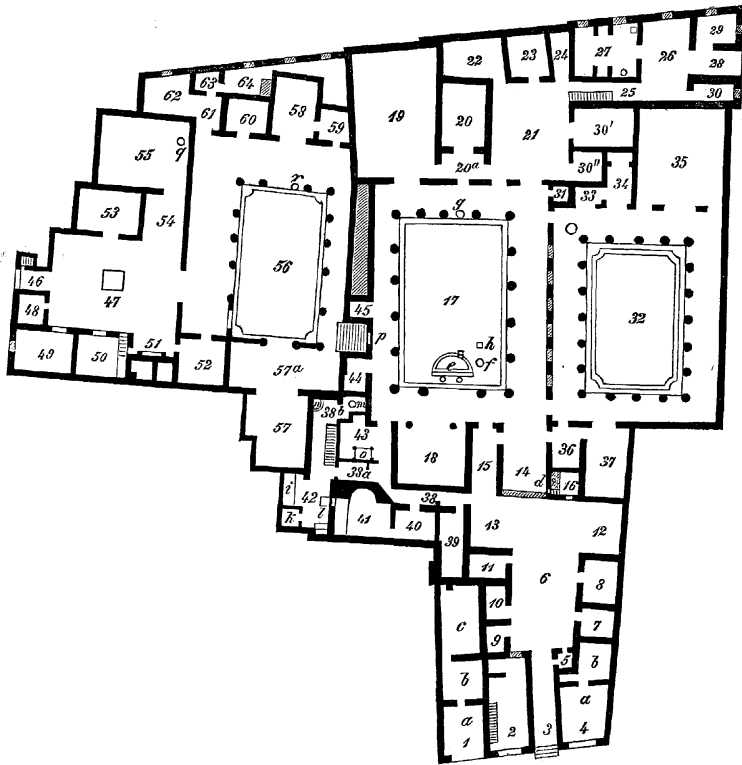


Fig. 181.—Plan of the house of the Citharist.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 6. West atrium with connecting rooms, entered from Stabian Street | 42. Kitchen.   |
| 17, 32. Peristyles belonging with the west atrium                 | 47. North atrium, entered from the continuation of Abbondanza Street |
| 40, 41. Bath—tepidarium and caldarium.                            | 56. Peristyle belonging with the north atrium                        |

foundations, in others remodelled or incorporated with slight change. An example is the house of the Citharist, which fills the greater part of the fourth Insula in Region I, on the east side of Stabian Street. A bronze statue of Apollo playing the cithara, found in the middle peristyle (Fig. 181, 17), gave its



name to the house. It is apparently a faithful copy of a Greek masterpiece at Sparta, and is now in the Naples Museum. The house is sometimes referred to as that of Popidius Secundus.

There are two atriums (6, 47) and three peristyles (17, 32, 56). A large part of the house, the west atrium (6), with the connect-



Fig. 182.—Orestes and Pylades before King Thoas.  
Wall painting from the house of the Citharist.

ing rooms and the two peristyles, 17 and 32, was built in the Tufa Period, in the place of several older houses. The rooms east of the two peristyles, and the north atrium (47) and peristyle (56), with the adjoining rooms, were added in Roman times, probably near the end of the Republic; the house was afterwards decorated in the second style. Remains of the third and fourth styles also are found in some parts of the house. The better apartments are grouped about the peristyles; the rooms about

the atriums were turned over to the slaves or used for domestic purposes.

In the large room (35) opening on the south peristyle were two paintings of unusual merit, both of which were transferred to the Naples Museum. The subject of one was the finding of the deserted Ariadne by Bacchus; in the other Orestes and Pylades appear as captives before Thoas, the king of Tauris (Fig. 182).

At the right of the picture sits Thoas, looking at the captives, his sword lying across his knees, his hands resting upon the end of his sceptre. Behind him stands a guard with a long spear in the right hand. Another guard with two spears stands behind Orestes and Pylades, whose hands are bound. Orestes, upon whose head is a wreath of laurel, looks downward, an expression of sadness and resignation upon his finely chiselled features. Pylades is not without anxiety, but is alert and hopeful. Between the two groups is an altar on which incense is burning. In the background Iphigenia is seen moving slowly forward; the head is entirely obliterated. It is unfortunate that the painting is so badly preserved. The faces of the two youths are individualized with remarkable skill, and the picture here used as the centre of a decorative framework of the fourth style is evidently a copy of a masterpiece.

On the south side of Abbondanza Street, opposite the Stabian Baths, is the house of Cornelius Rufus (VIII. iv. 15), a view of the interior of which has already been given. The name of the proprietor is known from the dedication on the herm (seen in Fig. 121), *C. Cornelio Rufo*; the carved table supports behind the impluvium are among the finest yet discovered.

In the same block is the house of Marcus Holconius (VIII. iv. 4), a good example of a house completely restored and decorated after the earthquake of 63. The right ala was fitted up with shelves, on which at the time of the eruption were kitchen vessels of bronze, iron, and terra cotta. The colonnade about the peristyle was in two stories. From the columns at the front six jets of water, at a height of about four feet, fell forward into the gutter; and there was an equal number at the rear. There was also a little fountain in the exedra at the rear of the peristyle.

## CHAPTER XLIV

### ROMAN VILLAS.—THE VILLA OF DIOMEDES

Two classes of villas were distinguished by the Romans,—the country seat, *villa pseudourbana*, and the farmhouse, *villa rustica*. The former was a city house, adapted to rural conditions; the arrangements of the latter were determined by the requirements of farm life.

The country seats manifested a greater diversity of plan than the city residences. They were relatively larger, containing spacious colonnades and gardens; as the proprietor was unrestricted in regard to space, not being confined to the limits of a lot, fuller opportunity was afforded for the display of individual taste in the arrangement of rooms. We can understand from the letters of Pliny the Younger, describing his two villas at Laurentum and Tifernum Tiberinum (now Città di Castello), and from the remains of the villa of Hadrian at Tivoli, how far individuality might assert itself in the planning and building of a country home.

The main entrance of a country seat, according to Vitruvius, should lead directly to a peristyle; one or more atriums might be placed further back. The living rooms would be grouped about the central spaces in the way that would best suit the configuration of the ground and meet the wishes of the owner. In farmhouses there would naturally be a court near the entrance; and the hearth, as we have seen, down to the latest times, was placed in the room that corresponded with the atrium of the city house. In most parts of Italy a large farmhouse would contain appliances for making wine and oil.

The arrangement of the two types of country house in the vicinity of Pompeii may be briefly illustrated by reference to an example of each, the villa of Diomedes and the farmhouse recently excavated at Boscoreale.

The location of the villa of Diomedes, beyond the last group

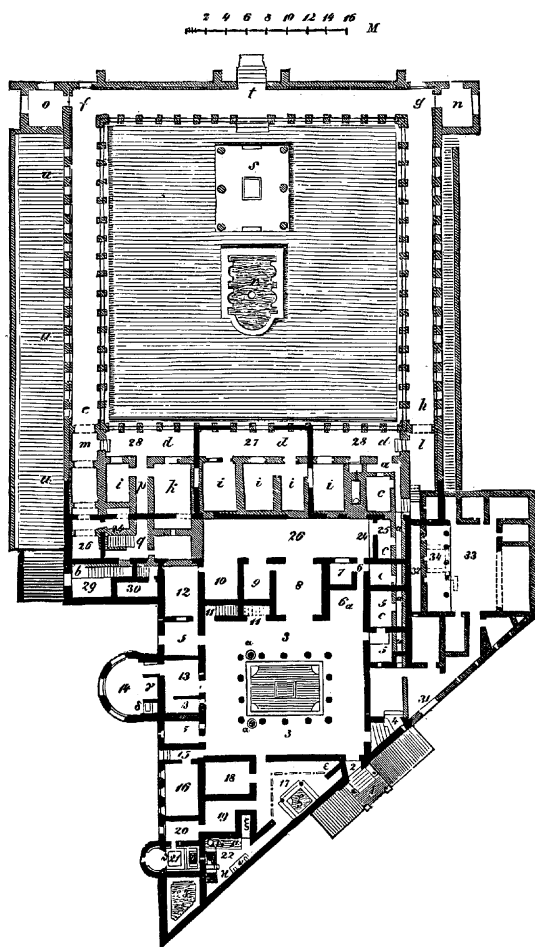


Fig. 183. — Plan of the villa of Diomedes.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Steps                                    | 19-21. Bath. (19 Apodyterium            |
| 3. Peristyle.                               | 20. Tepidarium. 21. Caldarium.)         |
| 8. Tablinum                                 | 22. Kitchen                             |
| 10. Exedra.                                 | 26. Colonnade, facing a terrace         |
| 12. Dining room.                            | (28) over the front rooms of            |
| 14. Sleeping room, with anteroom            | the lower part.                         |
| (13).                                       | <i>e, f, g, h</i> Colonnade enclosing a |
| 15. Passage leading to a garden             | large garden.                           |
| at the level of the street.                 | <i>i, k, l, m.</i> Rooms                |
| 17. Small court, with hearth ( $\epsilon$ ) | <i>r.</i> Fish pond.                    |
| and swimming tank ( $\zeta$ ).              | <i>s.</i> Arbor.                        |
| 18. Storeroom.                              |   |

of tombs at the left of the road leading from the Herculaneum Gate, is indicated in Plan V. An extensive establishment similar in character, the so-called villa of Cicero, lies nearer the Gate on the same side of the road; on the right there is a third villa, of which only a small part has been uncovered. The three seem to have belonged to a series of country seats situated on the ridge that extends back from Pompeii in the direction of Vesuvius. The villa of Diomedes, excavated in 1771-74, received its name from the tomb of Marcus Arrius Diomedes, facing the entrance, on the opposite side of the Street of Tombs (Plan V, 42).

The front of the villa forms a sharp

angle with the street. The orientation of the building was determined by an abrupt descent in the ground, which runs across the middle and divides it into two parts. The front part, the rooms of which are numbered on the plan (Fig. 183), is a few feet above the level of the street at the entrance. The rear portion, as may be seen from our section (Fig. 184), is considerably lower; on the plan the rooms of this portion are designated by letters. From traces of the second style of decoration found in two of the rooms, and from the character of the masonry, we infer that the villa was built in Roman times, but before the reign of Augustus.

In front of the door was a narrow porch (Fig. 184). The door opened directly into the peristyle (3 on the plan), in the middle of which was a garden. At the left is a small triangular court (17) containing a swimming tank (ζ) and a hearth (ε) on which a kettle and several pots were found; the Romans partook of warm refreshments after a bath. The wall back of the swimming tank was in part decorated with a garden scene, not unlike those in the frigidariums of the two older public baths. Over the tank was a roof supported by two columns, and on the other two sides of the court there was a low but well proportioned colonnade.

The arrangements of the bath were unusually complete, comprising an apodyterium (19), a tepidarium (20), and a caldarium (21), from which the tepidarium was warmed by means of an opening in the wall; the caldarium had a hollow floor and walls, and was heated from the kitchen (22). In the tepidarium were found four panes of glass about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches square, together with the remains of the wooden frame in which they were set. The caldarium, like those of the public baths, had a bath basin and a semicircular niche for the labrum.

A small oven stands on one end of the hearth in the kitchen, and a stone table is built against the wall on the long side. The room in the corner (23) was used as a reservoir for water, which was brought into it by means of a feed pipe and thence distributed through smaller pipes leading to the bath rooms and other parts of the house.

At the left of the peristyle is a passage (15) leading to a gar-

den which has not yet been excavated. The only apartment of special interest in this portion of the house is the semicircular sleeping room (14) built out into the garden. It faced the south, and had three large windows; it was separated from the rest of the house by an anteroom, *procoeton* (13), at one end of which is a small division ( $\beta$ ) designed for the bed of an attendant. In the semicircular room are an alcove for a bed ( $\gamma$ ) and a stationary wash bowl of masonry ( $\delta$ ). The plan is similar to that of a bedroom in Pliny's villa at Laurentum. Another sleeping room (9) was provided with both a large and a small door (p. 261).

The large room (8) at the rear of the peristyle may be loosely called a *tablinum*; it could be closed at the rear. Back of the

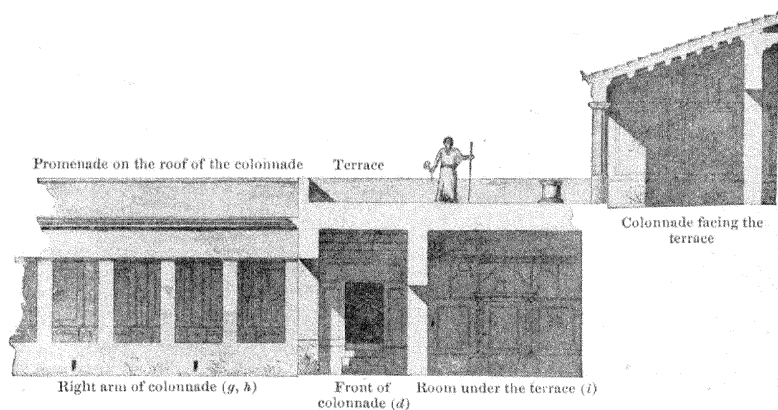


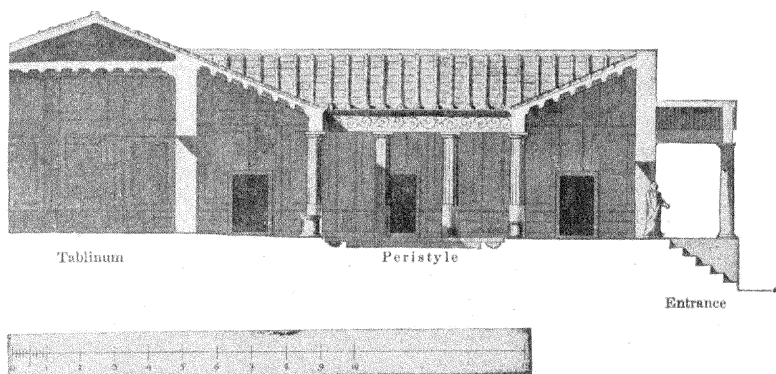
Fig. 184.—Longitudinal section of

*tablinum* was originally a colonnade (26), which was later turned into a corridor, with rooms at either end; the original form is assumed in our restoration. Beyond the colonnade was a broad terrace (28) extending to the edge of the garden. It commanded a magnificent view of Stabiae, the coast in the direction of Sorrento, and the Bay. Connected with it was an unroofed promenade over the colonnade (*e, f, g, h*) surrounding the large garden below. A rectangular room (27, indicated on the plan but not in the restoration) was afterwards built on the terrace.

Members of the family could pass into the lower portion of the villa by means of a stairway, at *b*; the slaves could use a

long corridor (*a*), which was more directly connected with the domestic apartments. The flat roof of the quadrangular colonnade (*e, f, g, h*) was carried on the outside by a wall, on the inside by square pillars (Fig. 184). The rooms (*i, k*) opening into the front of the colonnade were vaulted, and the decoration, in the last style, is well preserved; the ceiling of the corner rooms (*l, m*) is flat, and the decoration of one of them (*l*) is noteworthy; green and red stars are painted on a white ground. In the narrow space between *i* and *c* a cistern was built, from which water could be drawn by means of a faucet in front.

At the opposite corners of the colonnade were two airy garden rooms (*n, o*). Outside of the left arm (*e, f*) was a broad walk



the villa of Diomedes, restored.

(*u*), at the upper end of which were steps leading to the garden above.

The garden enclosed by the colonnade was planted with trees, charred remains of which were found at the time of excavation. In the middle was a fish pond (*r*), in which was a fountain. Back of it was a platform, over which vines were trained on a framework supported by six columns, making a pleasant arbor in which meals were doubtless often served.

The door at the rear of the garden led into the fields. Near it were found the skeletons of two men. One of them had a large key, doubtless the key of this door; he wore a gold ring

on his finger, and was carrying a considerable sum of money — ten gold and eighty-eight silver coins. He was probably the master of the house who had started out, accompanied by a single slave, in order to find means of escape.

The floor of the three sides of the colonnade was a few feet higher than that of the front. Underneath was a wine cellar, lighted by small windows in the wall on the side of the garden; it contained a large number of amphorae.

At the time of the eruption many members of the family took refuge in the cellar. Here were found the skeletons of eighteen adults and two children: at the time of excavation the impressions of their bodies, and in some instances traces of the clothing, could be seen in the hardened ashes. Among the women was one adorned with two necklaces and two arm bands, besides four gold rings and two of silver. The victims were suffocated by the damp ashes that drifted in through the small windows. According to the report of the excavations, fourteen skeletons of men were found in other parts of the house, together with the skeletons of a dog and a goat.





## KEY TO PLAN IV

### A. COURT.

- 1, 5. Cistern curbs.
2. Wash basin of masonry.
3. Lead reservoir from which water was conducted to the reservoir in the kitchen supplying the bath.
4. Steps leading to the reservoir.

### B. KITCHEN.

1. Hearth.
2. Reservoir containing water for the bath.
3. Stairway to rooms over the bath.
4. Entrance to cellar under the inner end of the first wine press, in which were the fastenings of the standard of the press beam.

### C-F. BATH.

- C. Furnace room.
- D. Apodyterium.
- E. Tepidarium.
- F. Caldarium.

### H. STABLE.

### J. TOOL ROOM.

### K, L. SLEEPING ROOMS.

### N. DINING ROOM.

### M. ANTEROOM.

### O. BAKERY.

1. Mill.
2. Oven.

### P. ROOM WITH TWO WINE PRESSES.

- 1, 1. Foundations of the presses.
- 2, 2. Receptacles for the grape juice, *dolia*.
3. Cistern for the product of the second pressing, *lacus*.
4. Holes for the standards of the press beams.
- 5, 5. Holes for the posts at the

ends of the two windlasses used in raising and lowering the press beams.

6. Pit affording access to the framework by which the windlass posts were tied down.

### Q. CORRIDOR.

1. Round vats, *dolia*.

### R. COURT FOR THE FERMENTATION OF WINE.

1. Channel for the fresh grape juice coming from P.
2. Fermentation vats, *dolia*.
3. Lead kettle over a fireplace.
4. Cistern curb.

### S. BARN, *nubilarium* (?).

### T. THRESHING FLOOR, *area*.

### U. OPEN CISTERN FOR THE WATER FALLING ON THE THRESHING FLOOR.

### V-V. SLEEPING ROOMS.

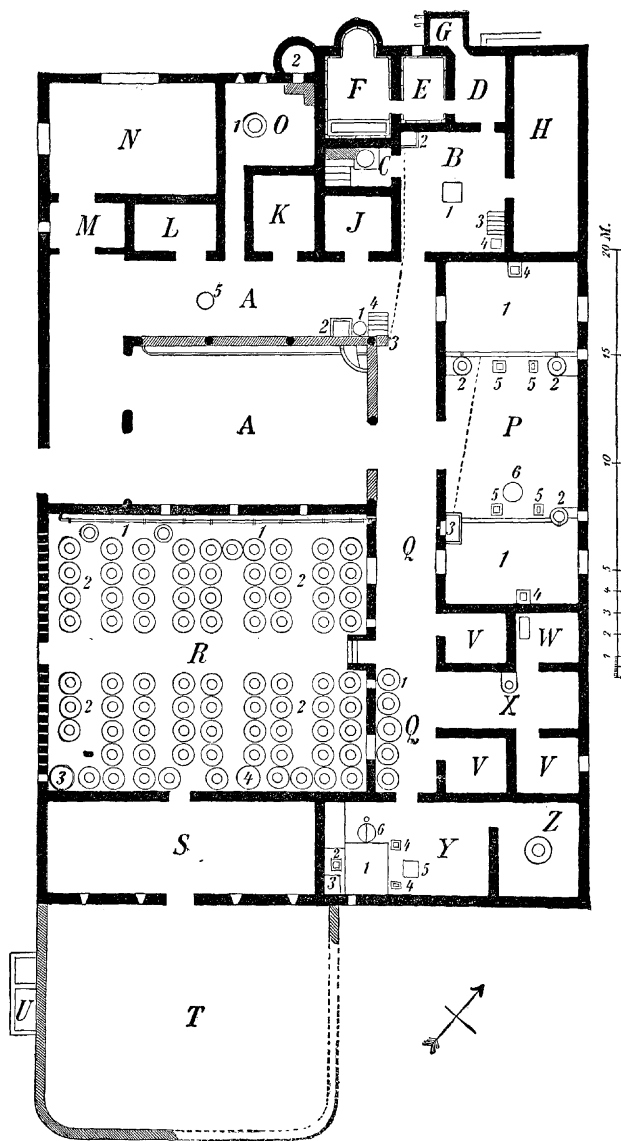
### W. ENTRANCE TO CELLAR UNDER THE INNER END OF THE SECOND WINE PRESS; see B. 4.

### X. ROOM WITH HAND MILL.

### Y. ROOM WITH OIL PRESS.

1. Foundation of the press.
2. Hole for the standard of the press beam.
3. Entrance to cellar with appliances for securing the press beam.
4. Holes for the windlass posts.
5. Hole affording access to the fastenings of the windlass posts.
6. Receptacle for the oil, *gemellar*.

### Z. ROOM CONTAINING THE OLIVE CRUSHER.



PLAN IV.—PLAN OF THE VILLA RUSTICA AT BOSCOREALE.



## CHAPTER XLV

### *THE VILLA RUSTICA AT BOSCOREALE*

LESS than two miles north of Pompeii, near the village of Boscoreale, a farmhouse was excavated in 1893-94 on the property of Vincenzo de Prisco. In the last century similar buildings were brought to light in the vicinity of Castellammare, but they were covered up again. Especial importance attaches to this villa rustica, both on account of the extreme rarity of examples of the type and because of the character of the remains, which makes it possible to determine the arrangements with certainty.

The living rooms, the stable, and the rooms used for the making of wine and oil were all under one roof. The size of the building is not so great as might have been assumed from the variety of purposes which it served; the enclosed area, exclusive of the threshing floor, measures about 130 by 82 feet. The plan (Plan IV) is regular, the principal entrance being near the middle of the southwest side.

The entrance was wide enough for carts and wagons, which were kept in the court (*A*). Along three sides of the court ran a colonnade, over which at the front were upper rooms; the roof on the left side and the rear rested on columns connected by a parapet. Under the colonnade at the further corner is a cistern curb (1), on one side of which is a large wash basin of masonry (2); on the other is a pillar supporting a small reservoir of lead (3). The reservoir, reached by means of steps (4), was filled from the cistern.

In a Roman farmhouse the kitchen was the large, central room (p. 253). Vitruvius recommends that it be placed on the warmest side of the court; and in our villa rustica it lies at the north corner (*B*) where, in winter, it would receive the full benefit of the sunshine. The hearth (1), on which remains of

fire were found, stands in the middle of the room; in the wall at the rear is a niche, ornamented to resemble the façade of a diminutive temple, in which were placed the images of the household gods.

A large door in the right wall of the kitchen opened into the stable (*H*). Near it was a stairway (3) leading to upper rooms; in the corner was a pit (4) affording access to a small cellar in which the standard of the press beam in the adjoining room (*P*, 4) was made fast. In the opposite corner was a reservoir of lead (2) standing on a foundation of masonry; it received water from the reservoir in the court (*A*, 3) and supplied the bath. On the same side of the room is the entrance to the bath and to the closet (*G*).

The arrangements of this bath are in a better state of preservation than those of any other Roman bath yet discovered; the

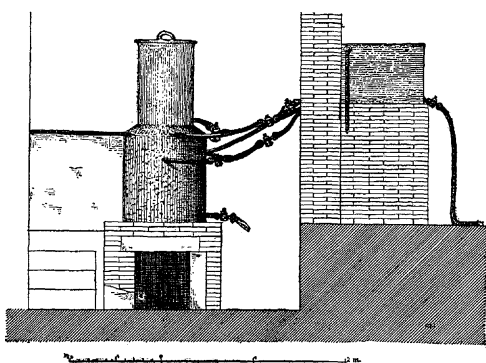


Fig. 185.—Hot water tank and reservoir for supplying the bath in the villa rustica at Boscoreale.

tank and reservoir with the connecting pipes may now be seen at Pompeii in the little Museum near the Forum fitted up for the exhibition of the objects found in this villa. The bath rooms comprised an apodyterium (*D*), a tepidarium (*E*), and a caldarium (*F*) with a bath basin at one end and a labrum in a semi-

circular recess at the other. The bath was heated from a small furnace room (*C*). Over the hot air flue leading from the furnace into the hollow space under the floor of the caldarium was a water heater in the form of a half cylinder similar to the one found in the Stabian Baths (p. 194). The tepidarium, as well as the caldarium, had a hollow floor and walls.

Over the furnace stood a round lead tank, the lower part of which was encased in masonry; the pipes connecting it with the reservoir in the corner of the kitchen and with the bath

rooms were found in place, and are shown in Fig. 185. The middle pipe supplied the tank with cold water; the flow could be regulated by means of a stopcock. The lower pipe started from the reservoir, but before reaching the tank was divided, the left arm leading into the tank, the other into the bath basin. As there were stopcocks in the main pipe and in the arm entering the tank, by adjusting these the bath basin could be supplied with either hot or cold water through a single pipe. The upper pipe was divided in the same way, one arm leading to the labrum. In the public baths there was a separate tank for lukewarm water; here a moderate temperature was obtained by mixing hot and cold water.

At the bottom of the tank (seen at the right) is a short bibcock used when the water was drawn off. On the side of the reservoir we see the end of the feed pipe leading from the reservoir in the court; at the right is a supply pipe which conducted to the stable (*H*) water not needed for the bath.

On the same side of the court is a tool room (*J*), in which were found remains of tools; several sickles were hanging on the walls. Next are two sleeping rooms (*K*, *L*); a passage between them leads to the bakery, with a single mill (1) and oven (2). In the corner is a dining room (*N*), in which the remains of three couches were found; it was separated from the court by an anteroom (*M*).

Over the colonnade on the front side of the court was a sleeping room with a large room adjoining, perhaps the bedroom of the overseer, *villicus*, which, according to Varro should be near the entrance.

The oblong room at the northeast side of the court contained appliances for making wine. At each end was a large press with a raised floor (*forum*, 1). The presses were operated on the same principle as that previously described (p. 336, Fig. 168).

At the rear of each press was a strong standard (*arbor*, 4), to which the inner end of the press beam (*prelum*) was attached. In front stood two posts (*stipites*, 5-5), to which were fitted the ends of a horizontal windlass. By means of a pulley and a rope passed around the windlass, the outer end of the press beam could be raised or lowered. When it was lowered in order to

increase the pressure on the grapes, both standard and windlass posts would be pulled out of the ground unless firmly braced. Under the rear of each press was a small cellar, in which was placed a framework for holding the standard in place. One was entered from a pit in the corner of the kitchen (*B*, 4), the other from a similar depression in a small separate room (*W*); at 6 was a pit for fastening the windlass posts.

The grape juice ran into round vats (2, 2) sunk in the ground. In front of the first press are two, in front of the second only one; a cistern of which the curb (3) is indicated on the plan, here takes the place of the other vat. The cistern could be filled also from the first press by means of a lead pipe under the floor. The round vats were for the pure juice of the first pressing. Into the other was conducted the product of the second pressing; the remains of the grapes, after the juice had ceased to flow, were drenched with water and again subjected to pressure.

In Pliny's "Natural History" (XIV. xxi. 136) we read that in Campania the best wine underwent fermentation in the open air, exposed to sun, rain, and wind. This villa supplies an interesting confirmation of the statement; the round fermentation vats fill a large court (*R*), the walls of which are pierced with openings in order to give readier access to the wind. Along one side runs a channel of masonry about three feet above the ground (1), protected by a narrow roof; thence the grape juice was distributed through lead pipes to the vats. During the vintage season, the inner end of the channel was connected with the press room by means of a temporary pipe or channel entering the wall above the cistern (*P*, 3).

The surface of this court is higher than that of the rest of the building; instead of excavating in order to set the large earthen vats in the ground, the proprietor filled in with earth around them. In one corner is a lead kettle (3) with a place for building a fire underneath; perhaps wine was heated in it. The vats in the court seem not to have been used exclusively for wine. In one were found remains of wheat, in another of millet. Other vats stood in the passageway on the side of the court (*Q*, 1).

Three of the small rooms toward the rear were sleeping rooms (*V-V*). In another (*X*) was found a hand mill. At the end of



the passageway was a double room containing the appliances for making oil, a press (in *Y*) and a crusher (in *Z*). The press was like the wine press described above, only much smaller, with a raised floor (1), a standard for the press beam (2), a pit for bracing the standard of the press beam (3), two posts at the ends of the windlass (4, 4), a pit from which a crosspiece connecting these posts could be reached, and a vat (6) at one side for receiving the oil. This vat, for some reason not understood, was divided into two parts by a partition in the middle.

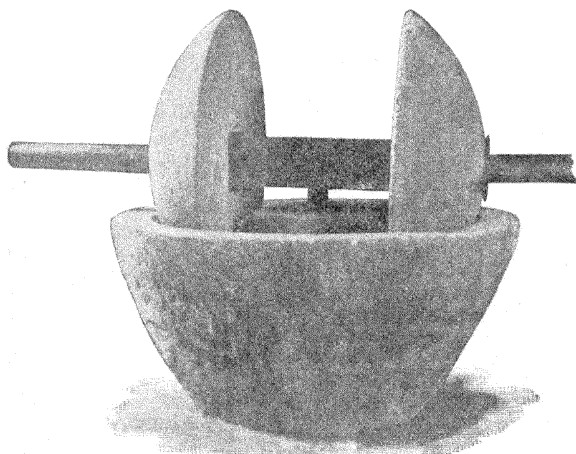


Fig. 186.—Olive crusher.

The olive crusher, *trapetum*, now in the Museum at Pompeii mentioned above, is shown in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 186). It was designed to separate the pulp of the olives from the stones, which were thought to impair the flavor of the oil. It consists of a deep circular basin of lava, so hollowed out as to leave in the centre a strong standard of the stone, *miliarium*. In the top of this standard was set an iron pin, on which was fitted a revolving wooden crosspiece (shown in Fig. 186, restored). This carried two wheels of lava, having the shape of half a lens, which travelled in the basin. The wheels were carefully balanced so that they would not press against the side of the basin and crush the stones of the olives.

In the long room *S* remains of bean straw and parts of a wagon were found. South of it is the threshing floor (*T*), the surface of which is raised above the ground and covered with Signia pavement. The water that fell upon the threshing floor was conducted to a small open cistern (*U*).

For at least a part of the year the proprietor of the villa probably lived in it. So elaborate a bath would not have been built for the use of slaves; and in the second story was a modest but comfortable series of apartments (over *V*, *W*, *X*, and part



Fig. 187.—Silver patera with a representation of the city of Alexandria in high relief.  
From the Boscoreale treasure.

of *Q*), apparently designed for the master's use, as was also the dining room (*N*) with *K* and *L*.

In a place where such a find would least have been anticipated—the cistern in the room of the wine presses—was made a remarkable discovery of treasure. Here a man had taken refuge, and with his skeleton were found about a thousand gold coins, four gold bracelets, ear-rings, a gold chain, and the beautiful collection of silver ware (p. 380) afterwards presented by Baron Rothschild to the Louvre.

## CHAPTER XLVI

### *HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE*

MUCH less large furniture has been found at Pompeii than is ordinarily supposed. In not a single sleeping room has a bed been preserved; and in only one of all the dining rooms have sufficient remains of the dining couches been found to make it possible to reconstruct them. Beds, couches, chairs, and tables

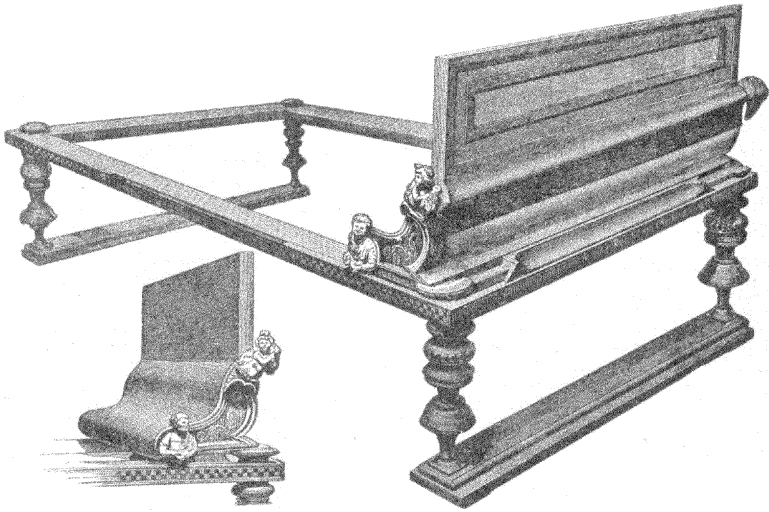


Fig. 188.— Dining couch with bronze mountings, the wooden frame being restored.

were ordinarily of wood, which crumbled away, leaving slight traces. Reference has been made elsewhere to the marble tables standing in the atrium, and occasionally in other parts of the house. Tables of bronze are infrequently met with, while bronze chairs are almost as rare as bronze couches.

Wood was not a suitable material for many classes of smaller articles, and these, made of bronze, clay, glass, or stone, are

found in great numbers. Such are the lamps, the bronze lamp stands, the kitchen utensils, the table furnishings, and the toilet articles of bronze, ivory, or bone.

The wooden frame and end board of one of the dining couches just mentioned was completely charred, but the form was clearly

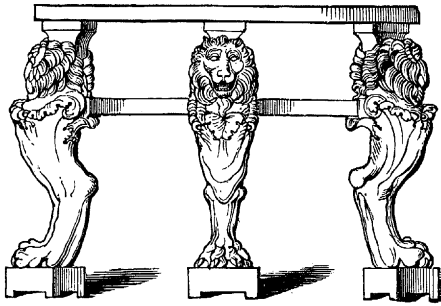


Fig. 189. — Round marble table.

indicated, and the wood-work has been restored (Fig. 188). The couch is now in the Naples Museum, as are also the other articles of furniture illustrated in this chapter. The half figures on the front of the end board, shown more plainly in the detail at the left of the illustration, were cast; the rest of the mounting was *repoussé* work. The bronze on the side toward the table was inlaid with silver. The end boards were placed at the head of the upper couch and the foot of the lower one (p. 263); the middle couch did not have a raised end. The mattress rested on straps stretched across the frame. The dining room in which the couches were found adjoins the tablinum of a house in the seventh Region (VII. ii. 18).

The carved marble supports of a gartibulum are shown in Fig. 121; a complete table of a plainer type is seen in Plate VII. An example of a round marble table, found in 1827 in a house near the Forum, is presented in Fig. 189. The three legs are carved to represent those of lions, a lion's head being placed at the top of each. A table of similar design was found in the peristyle of the house of the Vettii, with traces of yellow color on the manes of the lions (p. 326).

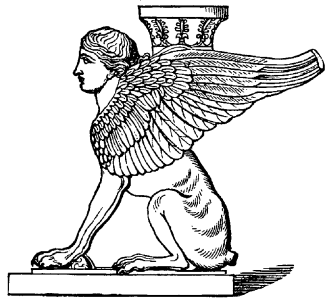


Fig. 190. — Carved table leg, found in the second peristyle of the house of the Faun.

Among the best examples of ornamental carving is the marble table leg in the form of a sphinx, found in the second peristyle of the house of the Faun (Fig. 190). Effective also is the bold carving of the gartibulum in the north atrium of the house of Siricus (VII. i. 25).

Small tables or stands of bronze supported by three slender legs were called tri-pods. The top was flat, but not infrequently surrounded by a deep rim, making a convenient receptacle for light objects. The rim of the example shown in Fig. 191 is ornamented with festoons and bucrania, while the upper parts of the legs are modelled to represent winged sphinxes. This stand was not found in the temple of Isis, as is often stated, but probably in Herculaneum.

The bisellium, the 'seat of double width,' was a chair of simple design without a back, used in the Theatre and Amphitheatre by members of the city council and others upon whom the "honor of the bisellium" had been conferred.

The remains of one with bronze mountings have been restored. The restoration, however, does not seem to be correct in all particulars, and instead of presenting it we may refer the

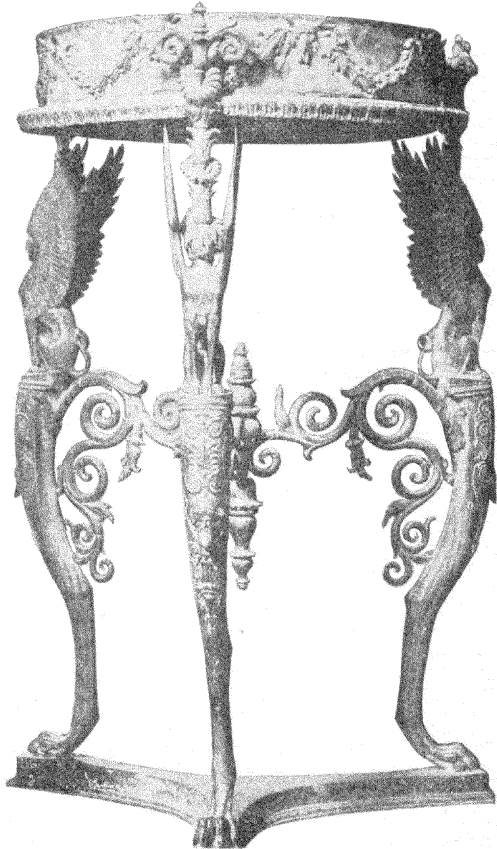


Fig. 191.—Bronze stand with an ornamented rim around the top.

reader to the somewhat conventional bisellium carved on the tomb of Calventius Quietus (Fig. 242).

The lamps are found in a great variety of forms. The essential parts are the body, containing the oil, which was poured in through an opening in the top, and the nozzle with a hole for the wick (Fig. 192). Hand lamps were usually provided with a handle, hanging lamps with projections containing holes through which the chains could be passed.



Fig. 192. — Lamps of the simplest form, with one nozzle.

The opening for the admission of oil was often closed by an ornamental cover (Figs. 195, 196). In front of it, near the base of the nozzle, was frequently a much smaller orifice through which a large needle could be inserted to pick up the wick when it had burned out and sunk back into the oil, and air could be admitted when the cover was closed.

The material of the lamps was clay or bronze. The bronze lamps were more costly and ordinarily more freely ornamented. Those of clay were left unglazed, or covered with a red glazing like that of the Arretian ware; lamps with a greenish glaze are occasionally found.

The light furnished by the wicks was dim and smoky. A more brilliant light was obtained by increasing the number of

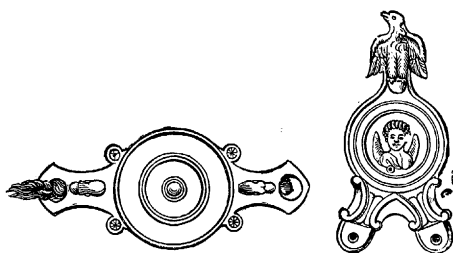


Fig. 193. — Lamps with two nozzles. At the left, a hanging lamp; at the right, a hand lamp.

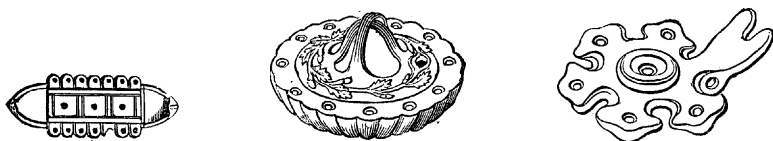


Fig. 194. — Lamps with more than two nozzles.

nozzles. Lamps with two nozzles are often found. These were sometimes placed at one end, the handle being at the other; sometimes in the case of hanging lamps, at opposite ends, as in the example shown in Fig. 193.

Lamps with several nozzles are not infrequently met with. The shape is often circular, as in two of the examples presented in Fig. 194, one of which had six wicks, the other twelve. Sometimes a more ornamental form was adopted. Lamps having the shape of a boat are not uncommon; the one represented in Fig. 194 was provided with nozzles for fourteen wicks.



Fig. 195.—Bronze lamps with ornamental covers attached to a chain.

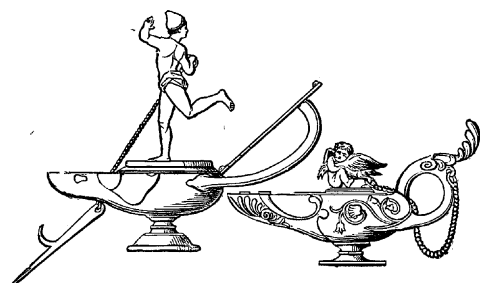


Fig. 196.—Bronze lamps with covers ornamented with figures.

The hanging lamps were sometimes made with a single nozzle, as the curious one having the shape of a mask shown in Fig. 197, at the left; sometimes with two nozzles (Fig. 193). Bronze hanging lamps with three arms, each of which contained a place for a wick, are occasionally found; an example is given in Fig. 197, at the right. Still more elaborate are those with a large number of nozzles, as the one represented in the same illustration, which had nine wicks.

The name of the maker is often stamped upon the bottom of the lamp, sometimes in the nominative case, as PULCHER, in the example given in Fig. 192, more often in the genitive and in an abbreviated form.

The variety displayed in the ornamentation of lamps was as great as that manifested in the forms. Ornament was applied to all parts,—the body, the handle, the cover, and even the nozzle. The covers of the two bronze lamps shown in Fig. 196 are adorned with figures. On one is a Cupid struggling with a

goose. The chain attached to the right hand of the figure on the other is fastened to a hooked needle for pulling out the wick.

The object of which we give a representation in Fig. 198, often erroneously classed as a lamp, is a nursing bottle, *biberon*.

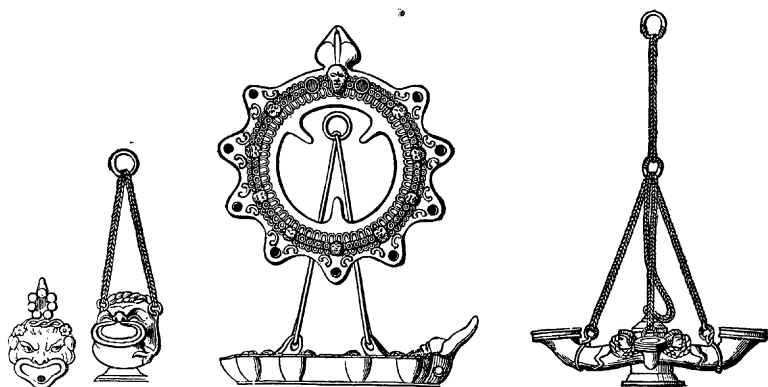


Fig. 197. — Three hanging lamps.

The one at the left and the middle one are presented in two views.

The material is clay, and the figure of a gladiator is stamped on it, symbolizing the hope that the infant will develop strength and vigor. On some bottles of this kind the figure of a thriving child is seen, on others a mother suckling a child.

Three kinds of supports for lamps may be distinguished according to their size: lamp standards, which stood on the floor and ranged in height from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 feet; lamp holders, not far from 20 inches high, which were placed on tables; and small lamp stands, also used on the table. The general term *candelabrum* was originally applied to candle holders containing several candles (*candelae*). Such candle holders have been found in Etruscan graves, but the candelabra met with at Pompeii were all designed to carry lamps.

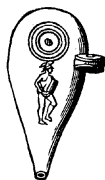


Fig. 198. — A nursing bottle.

The lamp standards, of bronze, are often of graceful proportions and ornamented in good taste. The feet are modelled to represent the claws (Fig. 199) or hoofs of animals. The slender



shaft rises sometimes directly from the union of the three legs at the centre, sometimes from a round, ornamented disk resting on the legs. Above the shaft is usually an ornamental form, a sphinx, as in our illustration, a head, or a vase-like capital sustaining the round flat top on which the lamp rested. Occasionally the shaft is replaced by a conventional plant form.

Adjustable standards also occur; the upper part slides up and down in the hollow shaft of the lower part, so that the height can be changed at will.

The bronze lamp holders were sometimes designed to support a single lamp (Fig. 200). Frequently the main part divides into two branches, each of which sustains a small round disk for a lamp; often the arms or branches were designed to carry hanging lamps. The example shown in Fig. 201 is from the villa of Diomedes.

In the lamp holders conventional plant forms are more frequently met with than in the standards. The trunk of a tree with spreading branches is especially common (Fig. 202).

The lamp stands, which resemble diminutive bronze tables, are found in a pleasing variety of form and ornament. The top is sometimes a round disk resting on a single leg supported by three feet; sometimes, as in the example presented in Fig. 203, the legs are carried to the top, and the intervening spaces are utilized for ornamentation.

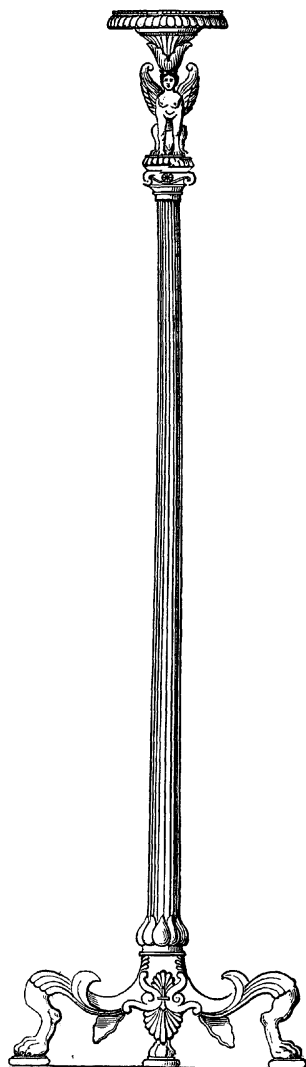


Fig. 199.—Lamp standard, of bronze.

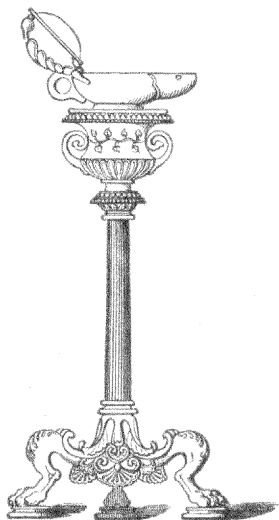


Fig. 200. — Lamp holder for a hand lamp.

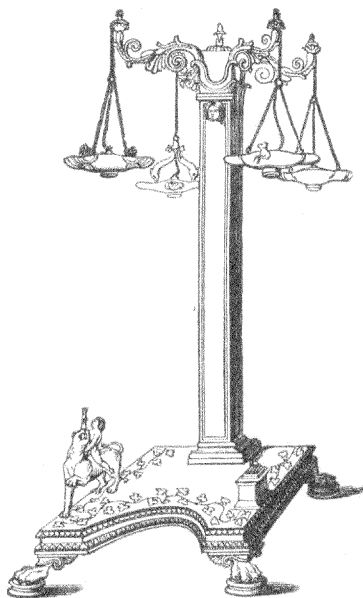


Fig. 201. — Lamp holder for hanging lamps.

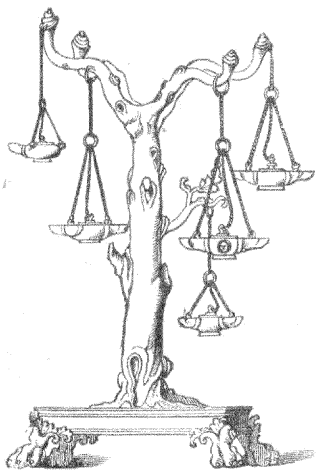


Fig. 202. — Lamp holder in the form of a tree trunk.



Fig. 203. — Lamp stand, of bronze.

The lamp seen in this illustration is the same as that shown more clearly in Fig. 196, at the right.

Kitchen utensils of bronze and red earthenware have been found in great quantity; table furnishings more rarely. A group of typical examples is presented in Fig. 204. The forms are so similar to those of the utensils found in modern households that few words of explanation are needed.

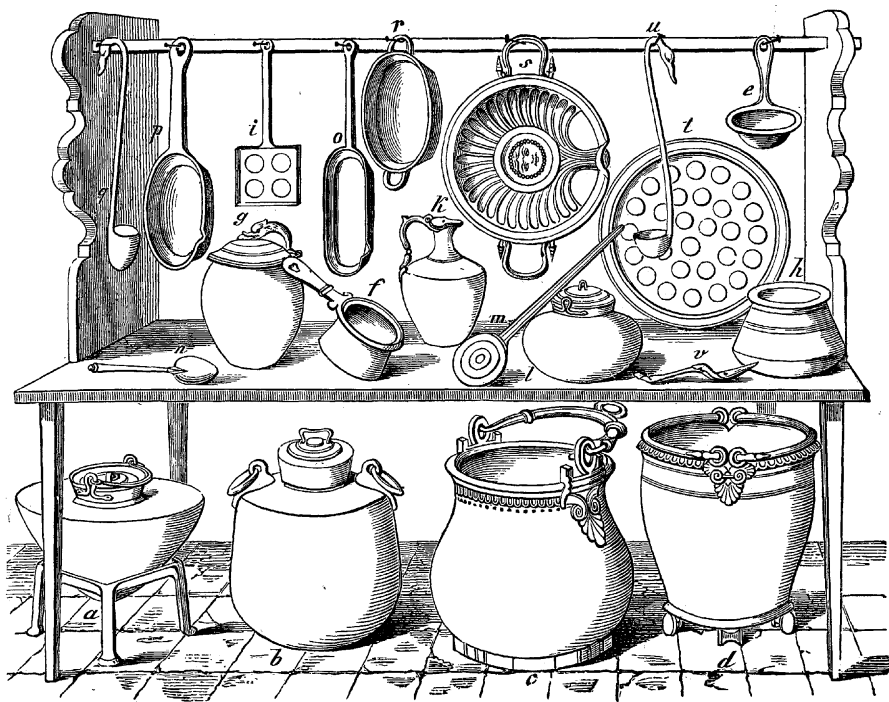


Fig. 204. — Bronze utensils.

- |   |                      |                             |                            |
|---|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>a</i> . Kettle mounted on a tripod ready to be placed on the fire. | <i>c, d</i> . Pails. | <i>k</i> . Pitcher.         | <i>s</i> . Pastry mould.   |
| <i>b, g, h, l</i> . Cooking pots.                                     | <i>e</i> . Ladle.    | <i>m</i> . Kitchen spoon.   | <i>g, u</i> . Wine ladles. |
| <i>i, t</i> . Baking pans for small cakes.                            | <i>f</i> . Dipper.   | <i>n, v</i> . Table spoons. | <i>r</i> . Two-handed pan. |
|   |                      | <i>o, p</i> . Frying pans.  |                            |

The pastry mould (*s*) is of good size and neatly finished, and must have left a clear impression. Besides the two types of table spoons illustrated here (*n, v*) a third is represented by examples found at Pompeii, the *cochlear*, which had a bowl at one

end and ran out into a point at the other. The point was used in picking shellfish out of their shells, the bowl in eating eggs.

The two long ladles were used in dipping wine out of the mixing bowl into the cups. The ancients ordinarily drank their wine mingled with water; for mixing the liquids they used a large bowl of earthenware or metal, which was often richly ornamented. The mixing bowl presented in Fig. 205 was found in a house on Abbondanza Street, near the entrance of the building of Eumachia. It is in part inlaid with silver, and nearly twenty-two inches high.

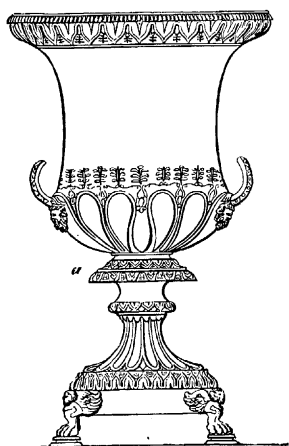


Fig. 205.—Mixing bowl, of bronze in part inlaid with silver.

Hot water was often preferred for mixing with wine, and small heaters of ornamental design were sometimes used upon the table. The ancient name for these utensils is *authepsa*, 'self-cooker'; the appropriateness of it is apparent from an example found

at Pompeii, in which the coals of fire were entirely concealed from view.

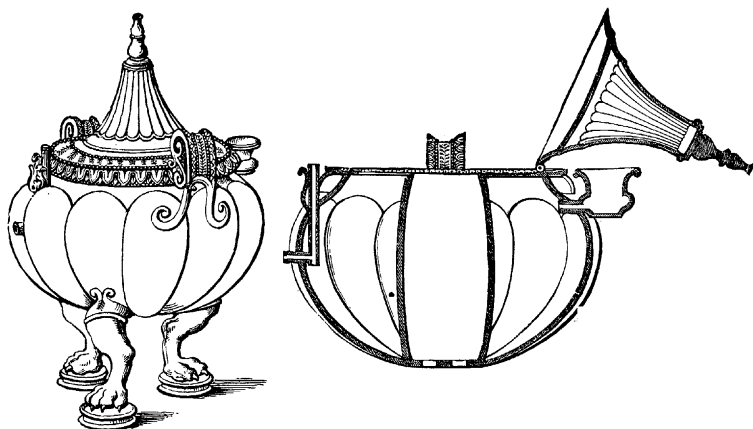


Fig. 206.—Water heater for the table, view and section.

This heater (Fig. 206) has the form of an urn. In the middle is a tube, the bottom of which is closed by a diminutive grate; the arrangement is shown in the section at the right. In this tube the coals were placed, and when the water in the urn was hot, it could be drawn off by means of a faucet at the side. Back of the faucet is a small vertical vent tube.

In some cases the appearance of a heater was more suggestive of its purpose. One (Fig. 207) has the form of an ordinary brazier, the water being heated in the hollow space about the



Fig. 207. — Water heater in the form of a brazier.

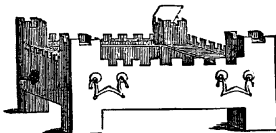


Fig. 208. — Water heater in the form of a brazier representing a diminutive fortress.



Fig. 210. — Combs.

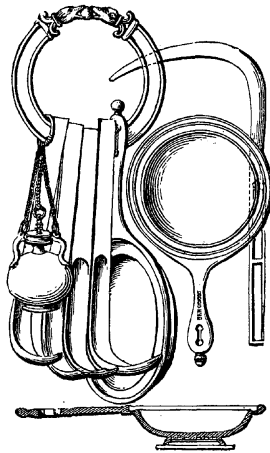


Fig. 209. — Appliances for the bath.

fire pan. In another instance (Fig. 208) the brazier is ornamented with towers and battlements like those of a diminutive fortress; the faucet can be seen in our illustration, on the left side.

An interesting group of toilet appliances for the bath was found in the Baths north of the Forum (Fig. 209). Hanging from a ring were an unguent flask, four scrapers (*strigiles*), and a shallow saucer with a handle in which the unguent was poured out when it was to be applied. One of the scrapers is repeated in a side view at the right, and both side and front views of the unguent saucer are given.

Small articles of toilet are discovered in a good state of preservation. The forms in most cases do not differ greatly from those to which we are accustomed.

The fine comb seen in Fig. 210 *a* is of bone; the two coarse combs (Fig. 210 *b* and Fig. 214 *d*) are of bronze.

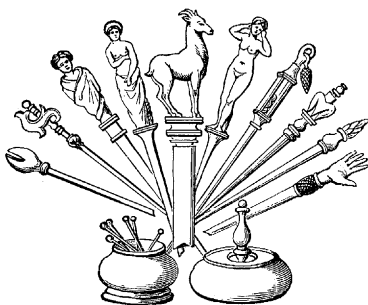


Fig. 211. — Hairpins. Underneath, two small ivory toilet boxes.



Fig. 212. — Glass box for cosmetics.

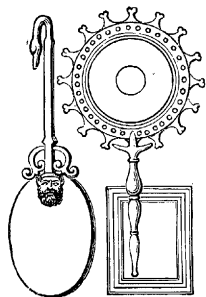


Fig. 213. — Hand mirrors.

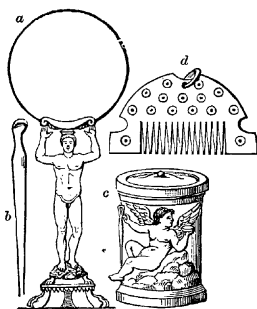


Fig. 214. — Group of toilet articles.

- |                            |                                   |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>a.</i> Standing mirror. | <i>c</i> Ivory box for cosmetics. |
| <i>b.</i> Ear cleaner      | <i>d</i> Bronze comb.             |

The ends of the hairpins were often ornamented with figures. The specimens shown in Fig. 211 are of ivory. The designs in which female figures appear are in keeping with the use, but the ornamentation for the most part seems excessive.

The toilet boxes, of glass or ivory, were used for a variety of purposes. Of those presented in our illustrations, one (Fig. 211, at the right) probably contained perfumed oil. The round

glass box (Fig. 212) was used for cosmetics, as was also the ivory box seen in Fig. 214, the outside of which is carved in low relief.

The mirrors were of metal, highly polished. The one seen in Fig. 214 was designed to stand upon a dressing case; the other three (Fig. 213) are hand mirrors. The frame of the rectangular mirror is modern; whether or not this had a handle is not clear.

Jewellery of gold and silver and other small objects wrought in the precious metals have now and then been found. A characteristic example of the jewellery is the large gold arm band in the form of a serpent, with eyes of rubies, found in the house of the Faun (Fig. 215). It weighs twenty-two ounces; to judge from the size, it must have been intended for the upper arm.

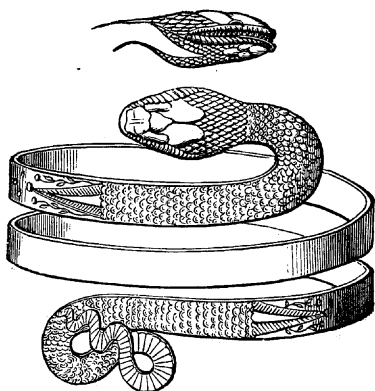


Fig. 215.—Gold arm band.

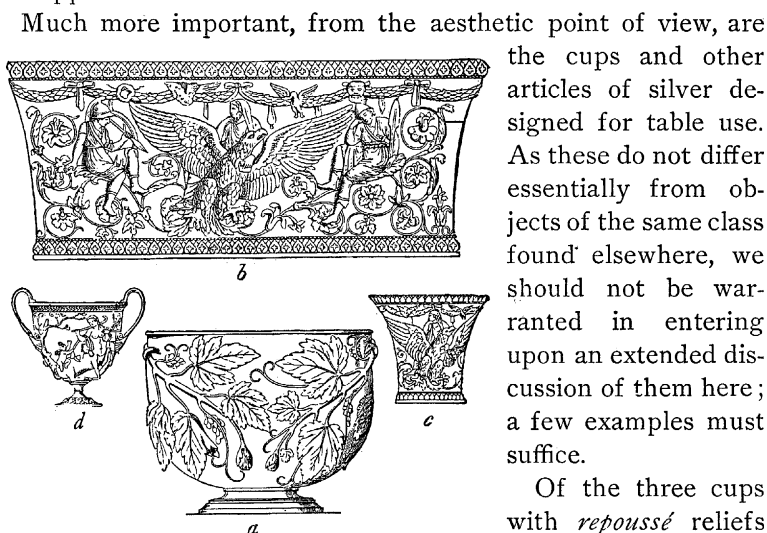


Fig. 216.—Silver cups.

Much more important, from the aesthetic point of view, are the cups and other articles of silver designed for table use. As these do not differ essentially from objects of the same class found elsewhere, we should not be warranted in entering upon an extended discussion of them here; a few examples must suffice.

Of the three cups with *repoussé* reliefs shown in Fig. 216, one

(*a*) has a simple but effective decoration of leaves. Another (*c*) presents the apotheosis of Homer; the bard is being carried to heaven by an eagle, while on either side (detail in *b*) sits an allegorical figure—the Iliad with helmet, shield, and spear, and



*d*  
Fig. 216 *e*.—Detail of cup with Centaurs.

the Odyssey with a sailor's cap and a steering paddle. On the third (*d*, detail in Fig. 216 *e*) we see a male and a female Centaur, with Bacchic emblems, conversing with Cupids posed gracefully

on their backs. This last is one of a pair found in 1835.

The Boscoreale treasure contained a hundred and three specimens of silver ware, undoubtedly the collection of an amateur.

Of the purely decorative pieces the finest is the shallow bowl (*phiale*, *patera*)  $8\frac{7}{8}$  inches in diameter, with an allegorical representation of the city of Alexandria, in high relief (Fig. 187). The city is personified as a female divinity—alert, powerful, majestic. Upon her head are the spoils of an elephant; the trunk and tusks project above, while the huge ears, hanging down behind, are skilfully adjusted to the outline of the goddess's neck.

In the fold of her chiton, held by the right hand, and in the cornucopia resting on the left arm, are fruits of Egypt, among which grapes and pomegranates are easily distinguished. A representation of Helios appears in low relief upon the upper part of the cornucopia; below is the eagle, emblem of the Ptolemies. A lion is mounted on the right shoulder of the goddess; in her right hand she holds an asp, sacred to Isis, with head uplifted as in the representation described by Apuleius (Met. XI. 4); facing the asp is a female panther.

Around the group in low relief are the attributes (not all distinguishable in our illustration) of various divinities—the bow and quiver of Artemis, the club of Hercules, the sistrum of Isis, the forceps of Vulcan, the serpent of Aesculapius entwined around a staff, the sword of Mars in a scabbard, and the lyre of



Apollo. A dolphin in the midst of waves (under the right hand) symbolizes the maritime relations of the city.

The central medallion (*emblemata*) was made separately and attached to the bottom of the patera. Between it and the outer edge of the bowl is a band of pleasing ornament, composed of sprays of myrtle and laurel. The surface of the medallion was all gilded except the undraped portions of the goddess. The ears of the goddess were pierced for ear-rings, which were not found. The date of the patera can not be determined; it is perhaps as old as the reign of Augustus.

Among the cups, sixteen in number, two are especially noteworthy. They are four inches high, and form a pair; they are ornamented with skeletons in high relief, so grouped that each cup presents four scenes satirizing human life and its interpretation in poetry and philosophy.

Two scenes from one of the cups are shown in Fig. 217. At the left the Stoic Zeno appears, standing stiffly with his philosopher's staff in his left hand, his wallet hanging from his neck; with right hand extended he points the index finger in indignation and scorn at Epicurus, who, paying no heed to him, is taking a piece of a huge cake lying on the top of a small round table. Beside Epicurus an eager pig with snout and left foreleg up-lifted is demanding a share. Over the cake is the inscription: τὸ τέλος ἡδονή, 'the end of life is pleasure.' The letters of the inscription, as of the names of the philosophers, are too small to be shown distinctly in our illustration.

No names are given with the figures in the other scene; a kind of genre picture is presented. The skeleton in the middle is placing a wreath of flowers upon his head. The one at the right holds in one hand a skull which he examines contemplatively — we are reminded of Hamlet in the scene with the gravedigger; in the other hand (not seen in the illustration) is a wreath of flowers. The third of the principal figures holds in his right hand a bag exceedingly heavy, as indicated by the adjustment of the bones of the right arm and leg; over the bag is the word φθόνοι, 'envyings.' The object in the left hand is so light that its weight is not felt; it is a butterfly, held by the wings, and above it is inscribed ψύχιον, a diminutive of ψυχή,

'soul'; we shall later find another instance of the representation of a disembodied soul as a butterfly (p. 398). It was perhaps the design of the artist to represent the figure as holding the bag behind him while presenting the butterfly to the one who is putting on the wreath.

On either side of the middle figure are two others less than half as large. One, under the butterfly, is playing the lyre; over his head is the word *τέρψις*, 'pleasure.' The second is

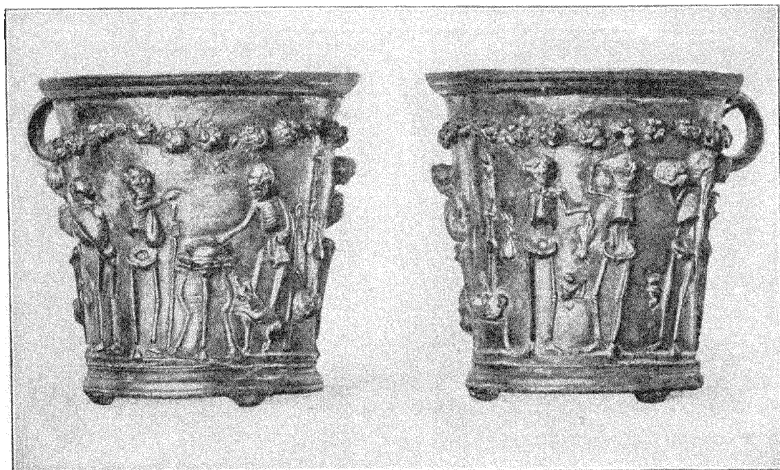


Fig. 217. — Silver cup with skeleton groups. From the Boscoreale treasure.

clapping his hands, and above him is a Greek inscription which gives the thought of the whole design: 'So long as you live take your full share' of life, 'for the morrow is uncertain.'

Both cups had evidently long been in use; there are still some traces of gilding, which, however, seems not to have been applied to the skeletons. While the explanatory inscriptions are in Greek, a Latin name, *Gavia*, is inscribed on the under side of the second cup, in the same kind of letters as the record of weight (p. 508). The *Gavii* were a family of some prominence at Pompeii; we are perhaps warranted in concluding that the cups were made by a Greek for this Pompeian lady, and that afterward they came into the possession of another lady, *Maxima*, who formed the collection.

## PART III

### TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS

#### CHAPTER XLVII

##### *THE TRADES AT POMPEII.—THE BAKERS*

IN antiquity there was no such distinction between trades and professions as exists to-day. In the Early Empire all activity outside the field of public service, civil and military, or the management of estates, was considered beneath the dignity of a Roman; the practice of law, which had received its impulse largely from the obligation of patrons to protect their clients, was included among public duties. The ordinary work of life was left mainly to slaves and freedmen. Not only the trades, as we understand the term, but architecture and engineering, — in antiquity two branches of one occupation, — the practice of medicine, and teaching, were looked upon as menial. A Roman of literary or practical bent might manifest an interest in such vocations, but it was considered hardly respectable actively to engage in them.

This attitude of mind, especially toward the higher occupations, is only explicable in the light of the social conditions then existing. Men who kept slaves of every degree of intelligence and training, and were at all times accustomed to command, were not disposed to hold themselves in readiness to do another's bidding, excepting in the service of the State alone; and work committed to slaves and freedmen naturally came to be considered unworthy the employment of a gentleman. The freemen of the same craft were often united in guilds or corporations, for the administration of certain matters of mutual interest; but nothing is known in regard to the activities of such organizations at Pompeii.

In a city as large as Pompeii, all the occupations corresponding to the needs of daily life must have been represented. The remains of the appliances and products of labor are of the most varied character, sometimes far from satisfactory, raising more difficulties than they solve; yet often revealing at a glance the ancient methods of work, and casting light upon the economic background of Greek and Roman culture. The excavations have brought before us three sources of information, inscriptions, paintings, and the remains of buildings or rooms used as workshops.

The inscriptions refer to more than a score of occupations; from farming to innkeeping, and from hairdressing to gold-working. Most of them are election notices, in which the members of a craft unite, or are exhorted to unite, in recommending a certain candidate for a municipal office. These are painted in red letters on the walls along the streets, and are much alike, though some are fuller than others. The simplest form contains only three words, as *Trebius aed. tonsores*, — ‘The barbers recommend Trebius for the office of aedile.’ The more elaborate recommendations may be illustrated by the following: *Verum aed. o. v. f.* (for *aedilem, oro vos, facite*), *unguentari, facite, rog[o]*, — ‘Do make Verus aedile, perfumers, elect him, I beg of you.’ The whole craft of goldsmiths favored the election of Pansa: *C. Cuspium Pansam aed. aurifces universi rog[ant]*, — ‘All the goldsmiths recommend Gaius Cuspium Pansa for the aedileship.’

The recommendations of the fruit sellers are particularly conspicuous. On one occasion they joined with a prominent individual in the support of a ticket: *M. Holconium Priscum II vir. i. d. pomari universi cum Helvio Vestale rog.*, — ‘All the fruit sellers, together with Helvius Vestalis, urge the election of M. Holconius Priscus as duumvir with judiciary authority.’ There may have been some special reason why the fruiterers wished to keep in favor with the city authorities, and so took an active part in the elections; the dealers in garlic (*aliari*) also had a candidate.

Among the representatives of other employments that joined in the support of candidates were the dyers (*offectores*), cloak-

cutters (*sagarii*), pack-carriers (*saccarii*), mule-drivers (*muliones*), and fishermen (*piscicapi*). The inscription in which reference is made to the gig-drivers is mentioned elsewhere (p. 243).

The paintings in which we see work going on are numerous. By far the most pleasing are those in which the workmen are Cupids, busying themselves with the affairs of men. Several pictures of this kind have already been described (pp. 97, 332–337); but we ought to add to those mentioned two scenes from Herculaneum, often reproduced, in which Cupids are represented as carpenters and as shoemakers.

Among the more important paintings in which the figures of men appear are those which picture the life of an inn and those that present the processes of cleaning cloth; both groups are reserved for later discussion. In a house in the ninth Region (IX. v. 9) a stuccoer is pictured at work putting the finishing touches on a wall with a smoothing tool, and in the house of the Surgeon an artist is seen painting a herm (Fig. 133).

In only a few instances are the remains of workshops sufficiently characteristic to indicate their purpose. Among the most impressive, to the visitor at Pompeii, are the ruins of the bakeries, with their large millstones (Fig. 218). Equally important, also, are the remains of the fulleries, and of a large tannery, which, as well as those of the inns and wineroms, will be discussed in separate chapters.

A few out of the hundreds of shops opening on the streets contain remains of the articles exposed for sale. The discovery of charred nuts, fruits, and loaves of bread in the market stalls north of the Macellum has already been noted (p. 96). We know the use of other shops from the remains of paints found in them. The arrangements of such places of business were discussed in connection with those of the Pompeian house.

Several establishments which contain large lead kettles set in masonry, with a place for a fire underneath, have been identified as dyehouses. In the case of one on Stabian Street (VII. ii. 11), the identification seems complete. Nine such kettles stood in the peristyle, which has a direct connection with the street; in a closet were numerous bottles, part of which contained coloring materials. There was formerly a painting on the

wall of the entrance, representing a man carrying on a pole an object which had the appearance of a garment fresh from the dye.

On the opposite side of the street is the election notice: *Postumium Proculum aed. offectores rog[ant]*, — 'The dyers request the election of Postumius Proculus as aedile.' The house on which this inscription is painted (IX. iii. 2) contained three kettles similar to those already mentioned; the dyers of

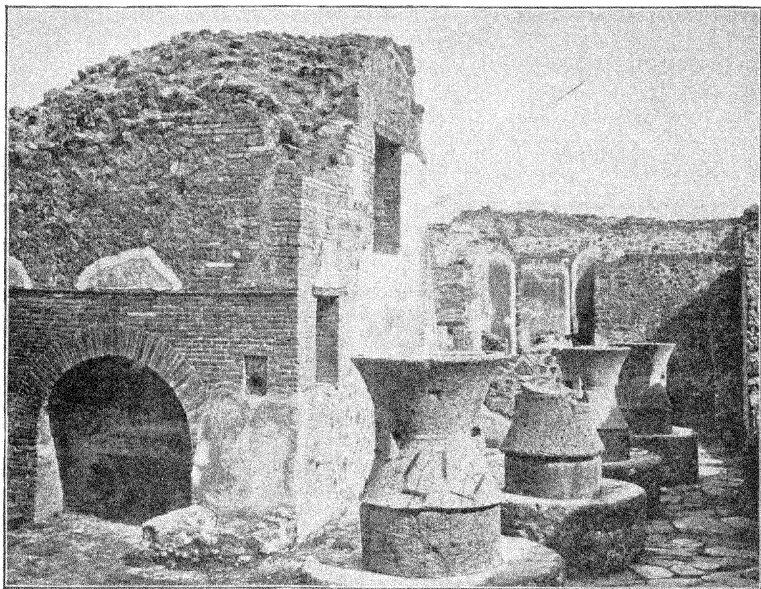


Fig. 218. — Ruins of a bakery, with millstones.

both establishments may have united in supporting the candidacy of Proculus.

A potter's workshop, with two ovens, is located outside the Herculaneum Gate, where the streets divide opposite the villa of Diomedes (Plan V, 29-30). The ovens, which are not large, have an upper division, in which were placed the vessels to be baked, and a firebox underneath, the floor above being pierced with holes to let the heat through. The vault of one of the ovens was constructed of parallel rows of jars fitted into one another.

There was a shoemaker's shop on the northwest corner of

Insula VII. i opening upon two streets. It is connected with the entrance hall of the adjoining house (No. 40), and near the middle is a small stone table. The identification rests upon the discovery here of certain tools, particularly leather-cutters' knives with a crescent-shaped blade; there was also an inscription on the wall, making record of some repairing done 'July 14, with a sharp-cornered knife (*scalpro angulato*) and an awl.' Apparently the porter of the house (*ostiarius*) was at the same time a cobbler, as frequently in Italy to-day.

On the same wall is another scribbling: *M. Nonius Campanus mil. coh. VIII pr. > Caesi*,— 'Marcus Nonius Campanus, a soldier of the ninth praetorian cohort, of the century led by Caesius.' The name of the centurion, M. Caesius Blandus, is scratched twice on the columns of the peristyle in the same house. Captain and private may have come from Rome in the escort of an emperor. Perhaps the centurion was quartered in this house; the soldier, waiting to have his shoes mended, scratched his name upon the wall.

The better houses were so freely adorned with statuettes and other ornaments of marble that there must have been marble-workers in the city. The workshop of one was found, in 1798, on Stabian Street, near the Large Theatre. It contained various pieces of carving, as herms, table feet, and table tops; there was also an unfinished mortar, together with a slab of marble partly sawed, the saw being left in the cut.

Signs of shops are not often seen in Pompeii, but two or three may be mentioned. In the wall of a shop-front in the block containing the Baths north of the Forum, there is a terra cotta plaque with a goat in relief, to indicate the place of a milk dealer; and not far away we find a sign of a wineshop, a tufa relief of two men carrying between them an amphora hung from a pole supported on their shoulders.

Not all such reliefs, however, are signs of shops. Near the Porta Marina (at the northwest corner of Insula VII. xv), a tufa block may be seen near the top of the wall, showing a mason's tools in relief; above it is the inscription, *Diogenes structor*, 'Diogenes the mason.' This is not a sign—the inscription can hardly be read from below; it is, moreover, on the

outside of a garden wall, with no house or shop entrance near it. It is rather a workman's signature; Diogenes had built the wall, and wished to leave a record of his skill.

In antiquity the miller and the baker were one person. We rarely find in Pompeii—and then only in private houses—an oven without mills under the same roof. There were many bakeries in the city. The portion already excavated contains more than twenty, each of them with three or four mills; bread was furnished, therefore, by a number of small bakeries rather than by a few large establishments.

The appearance of a bakery to-day, with its mills and its large oven, may be seen in Fig. 218. The arrangements can more easily be explained, however, from the plan of another establishment, one of the largest, in the third Insula of Region VI. (Fig. 219). Entering from the street through the fauces, we find ourselves in an atrium of simple form (8) with rooms on either side; the tablinum (14) is here merely an entrance to the mill room (15). In the corner of the atrium is a stairway leading to a second story, which was particularly needed here, because the living rooms at the rear were required for the bakery; the floor of the second story was supported by brick pillars at the corners of the impluvium, joined by flat arches.

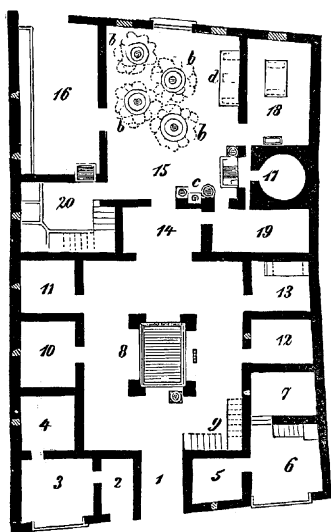


Fig. 219.—Plan of a bakery.

- |                |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|
| 8. Atrium.     | 17. Oven.          |
| 15. Mill room. | 18. Kneading room. |
| 16. Stable.    | 19. Storeroom.     |

The four mills (*b*), were turned by animals; the floor around them is paved with basalt flags like those used for the streets. In the same room, at *d*, were the remains of a low table; at *c* there is a cistern curb, with a large earthen vessel for holding water on either side, while the wall above was ornamented with a painting representing Vesta, the patron god-



dess of bakers, between the two Lares. On one side of the oven (17) is the kneading room (18), on the other the storeroom (19). The room at the left (16) is the stall for the donkeys that turned the mills.

The mills of Pompeii, with slight variations, are all of one type; if there were water-mills on the Sarno, no trace of them has been found. The millstones are of lava (p. 15). The lower stone, *meta*, has the shape of a cone resting on the end of a cylinder, but the cylindrical part is in most cases partially concealed by a thick hoop of masonry, the top of which was formed into a trough to receive the flour, and was covered with sheet lead (Fig. 220). A square hole, five or six inches across, was cut in the top of the cone, in which was

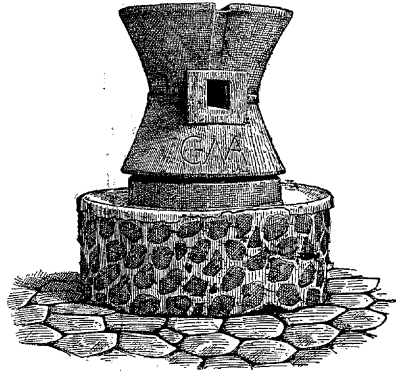


Fig. 220.—A Pompeian mill, without its framework.

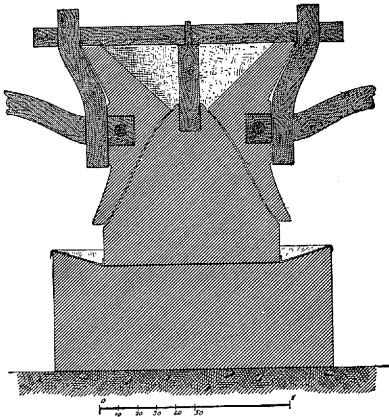


Fig. 221.—Section of a mill, restored.

inserted a wooden standard; this supported a vertical iron pivot on which the frame of the upper millstone turned.

The shape of the upper millstone, *catillus*, may best be seen in Fig. 221. It was like a double funnel, the lower cavity being fitted to the cone of the lower millstone, while that in the upper part answered the purpose of a hopper. The two cavities were connected at the centre by an opening similar to that of an

hourglass, which left room for the standard and allowed the grain to run down slowly, when the *catillus* was turned, to be ground between the two stones. The flour ran out at the base of the

cone and fell into the trough, ready to be sifted and made into bread.

The upper millstone was nicely balanced over the lower, the surface of which it touched but lightly; it could not have rested on the under stone with full weight, for in that case the strength of a draft animal would not have sufficed to move it. The stones could be set for finer or coarser grinding by changing the length of the standard.

The arrangement for turning the mill was simple. In shaping the upper millstone, strong shoulders were left in the narrowest part (Fig. 220), on opposite sides. In these square

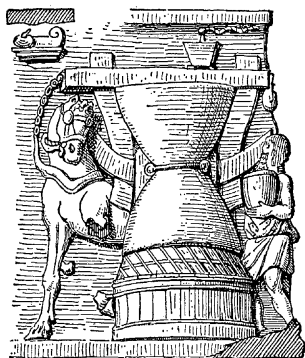


Fig. 222. — A mill in operation.  
Relief in the Vatican Museum.

sockets were cut, in which the ends of shafts were inserted and firmly fastened by round bolts passing through the shoulders (Fig. 221). The shafts were tied to the ends of the crossbeam above by curved vertical pieces of wood, or by straps of iron, which were let into grooves in the stone and so made firm. The crosspiece above, which turned on the pivot in the end of the standard, was sometimes of iron, sometimes of wood with an iron socket fitting the pivot. The framework must necessarily have

been exceedingly strong. One of the mills at Pompeii (IX. iii. 10) has lately been set up with new woodwork, and grinds very well.

The smaller mills were turned by slaves, the larger by draft animals. Men pushed on the projecting shafts, but animals wore a collar which was attached by a chain or rope to the end of the crosspiece at the top. The links of the chain running to the crossbeam are distinctly shown in a relief in the Vatican Museum (Fig. 222), in which a horse is represented turning a mill. Blinders are over the eyes of the horse, which seems also to be checked up in order to prevent eating. A square hopper rests on the crossbeam, and the miller is bringing a measure of wheat to pour into it. On a shelf in the corner of the room is a lamp.

The ovens were not unlike those still in use in many parts of Europe. They were shaped like a low beehive, generally with some kind of a flue in front to make the fire burn inside while they were being heated. The oven in the bakery described above, however, has a special device for saving as much heat as possible (Fig. 223); it is entirely enclosed in a smoke chamber (*b*), with two openings above (*d*) for the draft. Fires were kindled in such ovens with wood or charcoal; the latter was probably used here. When the proper temperature for baking had been reached, the ashes were raked out (in Fig. 223, *e* is an ashpit), the loaves of bread shoved in, and the mouth closed to retain the heat. A receptacle for water stands in front of our oven (*f*), a convenience for moistening the surface of the loaves while baking. The front of the oven (at *c*) was connected with

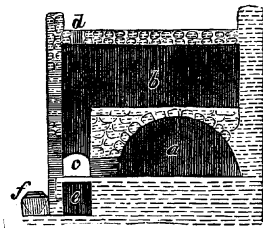


Fig. 223.—Section of bake oven.

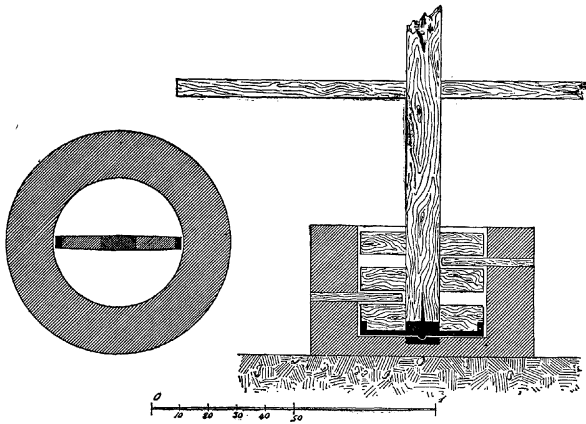


Fig. 224.—Kneading machine, plan and section.

the rooms on either side, as may be more clearly seen by referring to Fig. 219. In the kneading room (18), where were found remains of a large table and shelves, the loaves were made ready, and could be passed through one opening to the front of the oven; the hot loaves could be conveniently passed through the other opening into the storeroom (19).

In many establishments a machine was used for kneading; the best example is in a bakery on the north side of *Insula xiv* in *Region VI*. Such kneading machines are seen also in ancient representations of the baker's trade, as in the reliefs of the tomb of *Eurysaces*, near the *Porta Maggiore* at Rome.

The dough was placed in a round pan of lava a foot and a half or two feet in diameter. In this a vertical shaft revolved, to the lower part of which two or three wooden arms were attached (three in *Fig. 224*); the one at the bottom was strengthened by an iron crosspiece on the under side, the projecting centre of which turned in a socket below. The side of the pan was pierced in two or three places for the insertion of wooden teeth, so placed as not to interfere with the revolution of the arms. As the shaft was turned, the dough was pushed forward by the arms and held back by the teeth, being thus thoroughly kneaded. Modern kneading machines are constructed on the same principle, but have two sets of teeth on horizontal cylinders revolving toward each other.

## CHAPTER XLVIII

### *THE FULLERS AND THE TANNERS*

THE work of the ancient fuller was twofold, to make ready for use the cloth fresh from the loom, and to cleanse garments that had been worn. As the garments used by the Romans were mainly of wool, and needed skilful manipulation to retain their size and shape, they were ordinarily sent out of the house to be cleansed; in consequence the trade of the fuller was relatively important. In the part of Pompeii thus far excavated we find two large fulleries and one smaller establishment that can be identified with certainty; and there were doubtless many laundries, with less ample facilities, the purpose of which is not clearly indicated by the remains. The following account of the processes employed relates exclusively to woollen fabrics.

At the time of the destruction of Pompeii, soap, a Gallic invention, was only beginning to come into use; the commonest substitute was fuller's earth, *creta fullonia*, a kind of alkaline marl. For raising the nap, teasel does not seem to have been used, as with us, but a species of thorn (*spina fullonia*) the spines of which were mounted in a carding tool resembling a brush (*aena*); the skin of a hedgehog also was sometimes utilized for this purpose.

The fulling of new cloth involved seven or eight distinct processes, — washing with fuller's earth, or other cleansing agents, to remove the oily matter; beating and stretching, to make the surface even; washing and drying a second time, for cleaning and shrinking; combing with a carding tool to raise the nap, brushing in order to make it ready for clipping, and shearing to reduce the nap to proper length; then, particularly in the case of the white woollens so commonly used, bleaching with sulphur fumes; and finally, smoothing in a large press. The process of cleaning soiled garments was more simple.

A series of paintings in the largest of the fulleries, on the west side of Mercury Street, picture several of these processes with great clearness. They were on a large pillar at the front end of the peristyle, from which they were removed to the Museum at Naples; they supplement admirably the scenes of

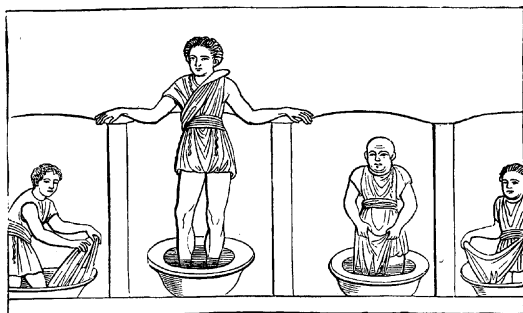


Fig. 225. — Scene in a fullery: treading vats.

the Cupids' fullery in the house of the Vettii, mentioned in a previous chapter (p. 335). In the first picture (Fig. 225), the clothes are being washed. They are in four round treading vats, which stand in niches formed by a low wall. One of the workmen is still treading his allotment, steadying himself by resting his arms on the walls of the niche at both sides; the other three have finished treading and are standing on the bottom of their tubs, rinsing the garments before wringing them out.

The next scene (Fig. 226) is threefold. In the foreground at the left sits a richly dressed lady, to whom a girl brings a garment that has been cleaned; that the woman is not one of those employed in the fullery is evident

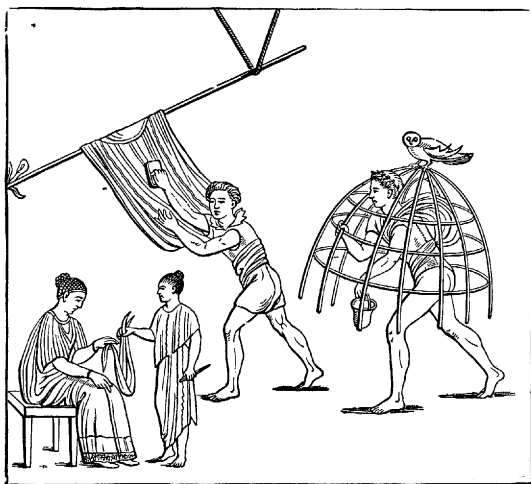


Fig. 226. — Scene in a fullery: inspection of cloth; carding; bleaching frame.

the woman is not one of those employed in the fullery is evident

from her elaborate headdress, necklace, and bracelets. In the background a workman dressed in a tunic is carding a large piece of cloth. Near by another workman carries on his shoulders a bleaching frame, over which garments were spread to receive the fumes of the sulphur; he holds in his left hand the pot in which the brimstone was burned. An owl, symbol of Minerva, who was worshipped by fullers as their patron divinity, sits upon the frame; and the man underneath has on his head a wreath of leaves from the olive tree, which was sacred to the same goddess.

In the third picture a young man hands a garment to a girl; at the right a woman is cleaning a carding tool. The fourth (Fig. 227) gives an excellent representation of a fuller's press, worked by two upright screws; it is so much like our modern presses as to need no explanation. The festoons with which it is adorned are of olive leaves.

With these pictures before us, it will be easy to understand the plan of the fullery on the west side of Stabian Street, opposite the house of Caecilius Jucundus (Fig. 228). It was excavated in 1875. The building was not originally designed for a fuller's establishment, but for a private house, and part of the rooms were retained for domestic use, as the well preserved kitchen (*d*), and some of the other rooms opening off from the atrium (*b*). The furniture of the atrium — a table in front of the impluvium, with a pedestal for a fountain figure, and a marble basin to receive the jet — is like that of the house the interior of which is shown in Plate VII.

The fuller's appliances are found in the shop next to the entrance (*21*), and in the peristyle (*q*). In the former are the

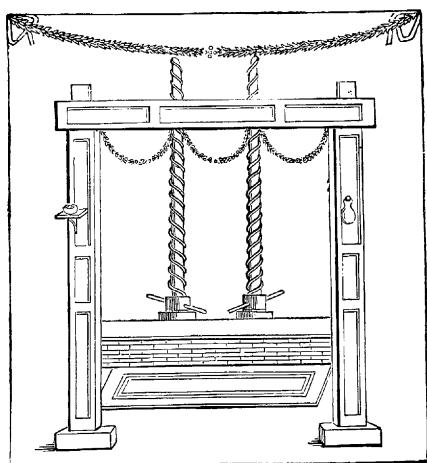


Fig. 227. — A fuller's press.

foundations of three treading vats, and on the opposite side an oblong depression in which the press was placed. The peristyle contains three large basins of masonry for soaking and rinsing the clothes. A jet of water fell into the one next the rear wall (3), from which it ran into the other two through holes in the sides. Along the wall is a raised walk (4) on a level with the top of the basins, into which the workmen descended by means of steps. At the ends of this walk are places for seven treading vats, five in one group, two in the other. The wall above is

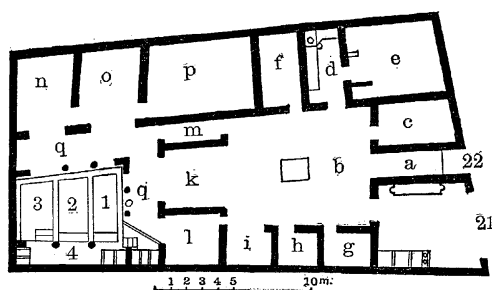


Fig. 228.—Plan of a fullery.

decorated with a long sketchy painting, in which the fullers are seen engaged in the celebration of a festival, — doubtless the Quinquatrus, the feast of Minerva; the celebration is followed by a scene before a magistrate, resulting from a fight engaged in by the celebrants. A mass of fuller's earth was found in the passage at *m*.

From the receipts found in the house of Caecilius Jucundus, it appears that this thrifty Pompeian, in the years 56–60 A.D., rented a fullery belonging to the city. In view of the nearness of this establishment to his house, it seems likely that he was in charge of the business here. At the time of the eruption, however, the enterprise was in the hands of Marcus Vesonius Primus, who lived in the house next door (No. 20), where a portrait herm, dedicated to him by his cashier (*arcarius*), stands in the atrium; the house is often called the house of Orpheus, from the large painting on the rear wall of the garden.

To judge from the election notices painted on the front of the fullery and on the houses at either side, Primus must have taken an active interest in local politics. He was an ardent partisan, as witness this inscription: *Cn. Helvium aed. d. r. p.* (for *aedilem, dignum re publica*) *Vesonius Primus rogat*, — 'Vesonius Primus urges the election of Gnaeus Helvius as aedile, a man



worthy of public office.' The endorsement of Gavius Rufus is even stronger: *C. Gavium Rufum II vir. o. v. f. utilem r. p. (duumvirum, oro vos, facite, utilem rei publicae) Vesonius Primus rogat*, — 'Vesonius Primus requests the election of Gaius Gavius Rufus as duumvir, a man serviceable to public interests; do elect him, I beg of you.'

In one of the shorter recommendations, Primus names his occupation: *L. Ceium Secundum II v. i. d. Primus fullo ro[gat]*, — 'Primus the fuller asks the election of Lucius Ceius Secundus as duumvir with judiciary authority.' On one occasion he united with his employees in favoring a candidate for the aedileship: *Cn. Helvium Sabinum aed. Primus cum suis fac [it]*, — 'Primus and his household are working for the election of Gnaeus Helvius Sabinus as aedile.'

The fullery on Mercury Street, like that just described, had<sup>d</sup> been made over from a private house, built in the pre-Roman period. Among other changes, the columns of the large peristyle were replaced by massive pillars of masonry supporting a gallery above for the drying of clothes. At the rear are four square basins, the two larger of which are more than seven feet across; the water passed from one to the other as in the basins of Primus's fullery. In the corner near the last basin are six rectangular niches for treading vats, separated by a low wall, the purpose of which is clear from Fig. 225. There is a vaulted room at the right of the peristyle, with a cistern curb, a large basin of masonry, and a stone table. Here a substance was found which the excavators supposed to be soap, but which was doubtless fuller's earth, like that found in the establishment on Stabian Street.

There were naturally fewer tanners than fullers; and so far only one tannery has been discovered. That is a large establishment, however, filling almost an entire block near the Stabian Gate (Ins. I. v), excavated in 1873. Like the two larger fulleries, it occupied a building designed for a house. The appliances of the craft are found in only a small part of the structure; they relate to two processes, — the preparation of the fluids used for tanning, and the manipulation of the hides.

The mixture for the tan vats was prepared in a tank under a colonnade opening on the garden. It could be drawn off through two holes in the side into a smaller basin below, or conducted by means of a gutter running along the wall to three large earthen vessels.

The vats, fifteen in number, are in a room formerly used as an atrium (Fig. 229). They are about 5 feet in diameter, and

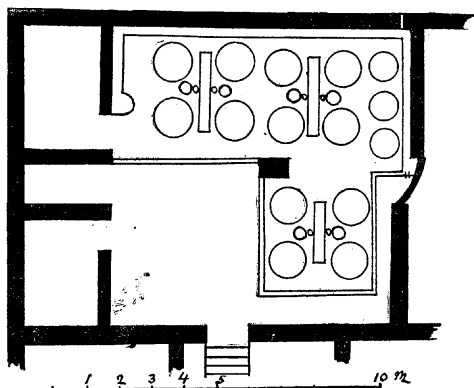


Fig. 229.—Plan of the vat room of the tannery.

from 4 to about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep; they were built of masonry, and plastered; two holes were made in the side of each to serve as a convenience in climbing in and out. Between adjacent pairs of pits was an oblong basin about twenty inches deep, lined with wood. On either side of this was a large earthen jar, sunk in the earth; a

small, round hole between the basin and each jar seems to mark the place of a pipe tile, connected with the former at the bottom. The large pits were for ordinary tanning; the oblong basins were probably used in making fine leather (*aluta*), a process in which alum was the principal agent, the chemicals being placed in the jars on either side, and supplied to the basins through the pipe tiles.

In the same building four tools were found, similar to those used by tanners at the present time. One was a knife, of bronze, with a charred wooden handle on the back of the blade; two were scraping irons, with a handle on each end; and there was another iron tool with a crescent-shaped blade.

The garden on which the colonnade opened contains an open-air triclinium. The table was ornamented with a mosaic top, now in the Naples Museum, with a characteristic design (Fig. 230). The principal motive is a skull; below is a butterfly on the rim of a wheel, symbols of the fluttering of the disembodied

soul and of the flight of time. On the right and on the left are the spoils that short-lived man leaves behind him, — here a wanderer's staff, a wallet, and a beggar's tattered robe; there, a sceptre, with a mantle of royal purple. Over all is a level, with the



Fig. 230. — Mosaic top of the table in the garden of the tannery.

plumb line hanging straight, symbolic of Fate, that sooner or later equalizes the lots of all mankind. The thought of the tanner, or of the earlier proprietor of the house, is easy to divine: *Mors aurem vellens, Vivite, ait, venio,*

‘Death plucks my ear, and says,  
“Live!” for I come.’

## CHAPTER XLIX

### INNS AND WINESHOPS

WINESHOPS, *cauponaë*, were numerous in Pompeii, and the remains are easily identified. Like the Italian *osterie*, they were at the same time eating houses, but the arrangements for drinking were the more conspicuous, and give character to the ruins. The Roman inn, *hospitium*, or simply *caupona*, was a wineshop with accommodations for the night, provision being also made in most cases for the care of animals. Keepers of inns, *caupones*, are frequently mentioned in Pompeian inscriptions, sometimes in election notices, more often in graffiti.

Several inns have been identified from signs and from scribblings on the walls within. At the entrance of one (west side of Ins. IX. vii) is painted *Hospitium Hygini Firmi*, 'Inn of Hyginus Firmus.' The front of the 'Elephant Inn' (west side of Ins. VII. i) was ornamented with the painting of an elephant in the coils of a serpent, defended by a pygmy. The name of the proprietor is perhaps given at the side: *Sittius restituit elephantu[m]*, 'Sittius restored the elephant,' referring no doubt to the repainting of the sign. Evidently the owner, whether Sittius or some one else, was anxious to rent the premises; below the elephant is the painted notice: *Hospitium hic locatur — triclinium cum tribus lectis*, — 'Inn to let. Triclinium with three couches.' The rest of the inscription is illegible.

The plan of another inn in the same region (west side of VII. xii) well illustrates the arrangements of these hostelries (Fig. 231). The main room (*a*), which probably served as a dining room, is entered directly from the street. At one side is the kitchen (*h*); six sleeping rooms (*b-g*) open upon the other sides. But the landlord did not provide merely for the entertainment of guests from out of town; he endeavored to attract local patronage also, by means of a wineshop (*n*), which opened

upon the street and had a separate dining room (*o*). A short passage (*i*) led from the main room to the stalls (*k*), in front of which was a watering trough. The vehicles were probably crowded into the recess at *m*, or the front of *a*. The two side rooms (*l* and *p*) were closets.

The walls of several of the rooms contain records of the sojourn of guests. C. Valerius Venustus, 'a pretorian of the first cohort, enrolled in the century of Rufus,' scratched his name on the wall of *c*, to which also an affectionate husband confided his loneliness: 'Here slept Vibius Restitutus all by himself, his heart filled with longings for his Urbana.' Four players, one of them a Martial, passed a night together in the same apartment. In the next room (*d*) a patriotic citizen of Puteoli left a greeting for his native town: 'Well be it ever with Puteoli, colony of Nero, of the Claudian line; C. Julius Speratus wrote this.' This city, as we learn from Tacitus, received permission from Nero to call itself Colonia Claudia Neronensis. Lucifer and Primigenius, two friends, spent a night in room *f*, Lucceius Albanus of Abellinum (Avellino) in *g*.

The arrangement of rooms here is so unlike that of an ordinary house that the building must have been designed at the beginning for a tavern. Sometimes a dwelling was turned into an inn, as in the case of the house of Sallust, which, as we have seen, in the last years of the city must in part at least have been used as a hostelry.

Inns near the gates had a paved entrance for wagons, interrupting the sidewalk. A good example is the inn of Hermes, in the first block on the right as one came into the city by the Stabian Gate (Fig. 232). On either side of the broad entrance (*a*), are winerooms (*b*, *d*). Behind the stairway at the right, which leads from the street to the second story, is a hearth with a water heater. On the wall at the left was formerly a painting with the two Lares and the Genius offering sacrifice; below was the figure of a man pouring wine from an amphora into an earthen hogshead (*dolium*), and beside it was written *Hermes*,

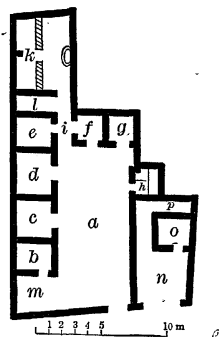


Fig. 231. — Plan of an inn.

apparently the name of the proprietor. The wagons stood in the large room at the rear (*f*), with which the narrow stable (*k*) is connected; in one corner is a watering trough of masonry. On the ground floor were only three sleeping rooms (*e*, *g*, and *h*),

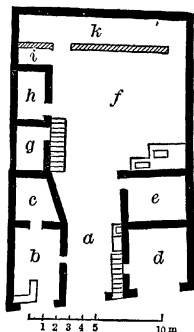


Fig. 232.—Plan of the inn of Hermes.

but there were upper rooms at the rear, reached by a flight of stairs in *f*; these were probably not connected with the upper rooms of the front part, which (over *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*), having a street entrance, may have been rented separately.

The Pompeian inns were doubtless fair representatives of their class in the different Roman cities. Those of Rome must have been numerous, but are rarely mentioned, and inn-keepers are generally referred to in terms of disrespect. The ordinary charges seem to have been low, and the accommodations were of a corresponding character. Owing to the universal custom of furnishing private entertainment to all with whom there existed any ground of hospitality, places of public entertainment tended to become the resorts of the vicious.

The wineshop of which the plan is here given (Fig. 233) is on the east side of Mercury Street, at the northwest corner of Ins. VI. x. It was designed not only for the accommodation of guests who would go inside to partake of refreshments, but also for the sale of drinks over the counter to those who might stop a moment in passing. This is evident from the arrangement of the main room (*a*), which has a long counter in front, with a series of small marble shelves arranged like stairs on one end of it, for the display of cups and glasses; on the other is a place for heating a vessel over a fire. Large jars are set in the counter, in which liquids and eatables could be kept. In the corner of the room, at the right as one enters, a hearth is placed. In view of the provision for heating water, we are safe in calling this a *thermopolium*, a wineshop which made a specialty of furnishing hot drinks. The passage at the rear of the hearth (*c*)

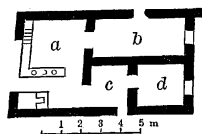


Fig. 233.—Plan of a wineshop.

is connected with a small room (*d*) and also with the adjoining house, which may have been the residence of the proprietor, or may have been used for lodgings.

The long room with an entrance from the side street (*b*, now walled up) was intended for the use of those who preferred to eat and drink at their leisure. The walls are decorated with a series of paintings presenting realistic scenes from the life of such places. We see the guests eating, drinking, and playing with dice. Some are standing, others sitting on stools; it is the kind of public house that Martial calls a 'stool-ridden cookshop,' in which couches were not provided, but only seats without backs (Mart. Ep. V. lxx. 3).

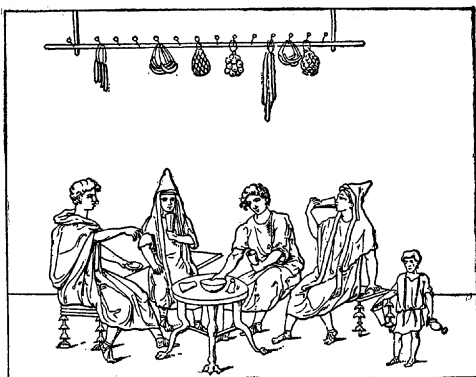


Fig. 234.—Scene in a wineshop. Wall painting.

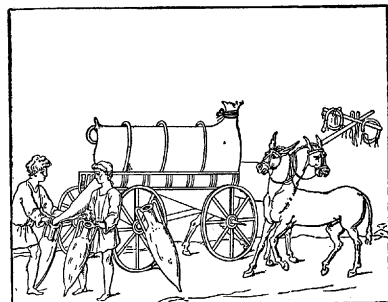


Fig. 235.—Delivery of wine. Wall painting.

In one of the scenes (Fig. 234) four men are drinking, about a round table, while a boy waits on them; two of the figures have pointed hoods like those seen to-day in Sicily and some parts of Italy. Strings of sausage, hams, and other eatables hang from a pole suspended under the ceiling.

Some of the figures in the pictures are accompanied by inscriptions. Thus by the side of a guest for whom a waiter is pouring out a glass of wine is written: *Da fridam pusillum*, 'Add cold water—just a little.' In a similar connection we read, *Adde calicem Setinum*, 'Another cup of Setian!' The Setian wine came from a town in Latium at the

foot of the hills bordering the Pontine Marshes, now Sezze; we infer that our wineshop sold not merely the products of neighboring vineyards, but choice brands from other regions as well. Wines from the locality were probably brought to town in amphorae; the delivery of a consignment from a distance is shown in a separate scene (Fig. 235), in which amphorae are being filled from a large skin on a wagon; the team of mules is meanwhile resting, unharnessed, the yoke hanging on the end of the pole.

The pictures present the life of a tavern from the point of view of the landlord; but occasionally we have a suggestion of the other side, as in the following couplet, the faulty spelling of which we can forgive on account of its pithiness: *Talia te fallant utinam me[n]dacia, copo, Tu ve[n]des acuam et bibes ipse merum*,—

‘Landlord, may your lies malign  
Bring destruction on your head!  
You yourself drink unmixed wine,  
Water sell your guests instead.’

The wineshop in which this graffito is found (I. ii. 24) is larger than that on Mercury Street, and has several dining rooms. Connected with it is a garden with a triclinium, once shaded by vines, which calls to mind the invitation of the barmaid in the Copa:—

‘Here a garden you will find,  
Cool retreat, with cups and roses,  
Lute and pipe, for mirth designed,  
Bower that mask of reeds encloses:  
  
‘Come, weary traveller, lie and rest  
’Neath the shade of vines o’er-spreading,  
Wreath of roses freshly pressed  
On your head its fragrance shedding.’

All the pictures found in Pompeian wineshops bear out the inference, based upon numerous allusions in classical writers, that such places everywhere were in the main frequented by the lower classes; among the adjectives applied to taverns by the poets are ‘dirty,’ ‘smoky,’ and ‘black.’ They were haunted by gamblers and criminals, and the life was notoriously immoral.





# KEY TO THE LEFT SIDE

## 24. VILLA OF DIOMEDES.

## 16-23. TOMBS — GROUP III.

16. Unfinished tomb.
17. Tomb of Umbricius Scaurus.
18. Round tomb.
19. Sepulchral enclosure.
20. Tomb of Calventius Quietus.
21. Sepulchral enclosure of Istacidius Helenus.
22. Tomb of Naevoleia Tyche.
23. Triclinium Funebre.

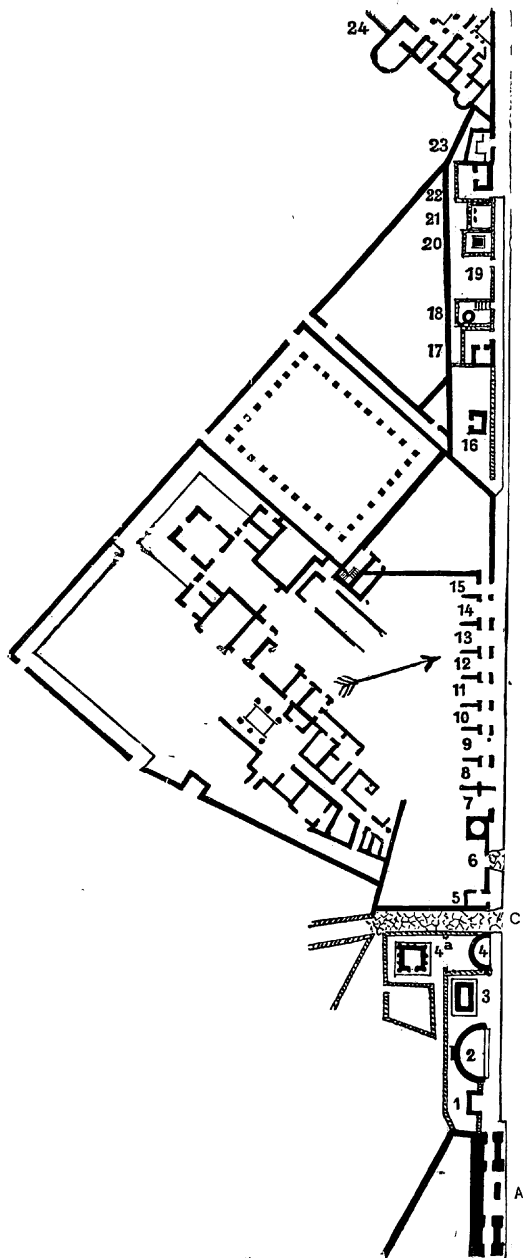
## 5-15. SO-CALLED VILLA OF CICERO.

## 1-4 *a*. TOMBS — GROUP I.

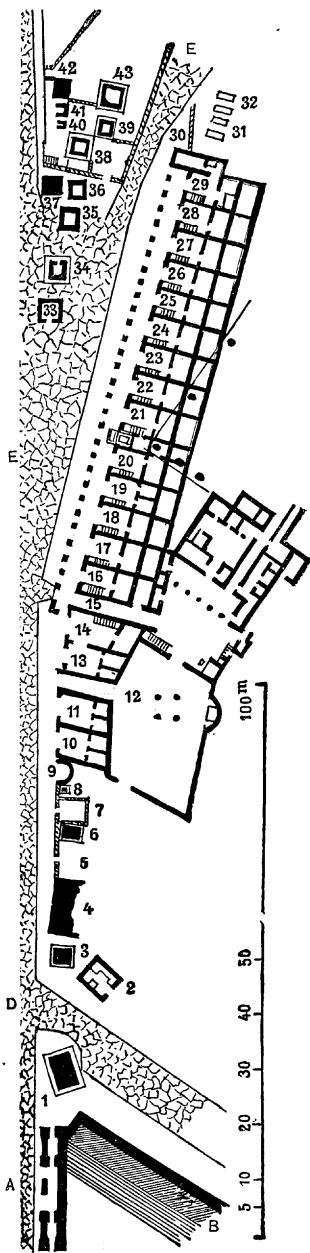
1. Sepulchral niche of Cerrius Restitutus.
2. Sepulchral bench of A. Veius.
3. Tomb of M. Porcius.
4. Sepulchral bench of Mamia.
- 4 *a*. Tomb of the Istacidii.

A. HERCULANEUM GATE.

C. BAY ROAD.



PLAN V.—THE STREET



OF TOMBS.

## KEY TO THE RIGHT SIDE

### 33-43. TOMBS — GROUP IV.

- 33. Unfinished tomb.
- 34. Tomb with the marble door.
- 35. Unfinished tomb.
- 36. Sepulchral enclosure with small pyramids.
- 37. Tomb of Luccius Libella.
- 38. Tomb of Ceius Labeo.
- 39. Tomb without a name.
- 40. Sepulchral niche of Salvius.
- 41. Sepulchral niche of Velasius Gratus.
- 42. Tomb of M. Arrius Diomedes.
- 43. Tomb of Arria.

### 31-32. SAMNITE GRAVES.

### 10-30. VILLA.

- 10, 11, 13, 14. Shops.
- 12. Garden belonging to Tombs 8 and 9.
- 15. Street entrance of Inn.
- 16-28. Rooms belonging to the Inn.
- 29-30. Potter's establishment.

### 1-9. TOMBS — GROUP II.

- 1. Tomb without a name.
- 2. Sepulchral enclosure of Terentius Felix.
- 3, 4. Tombs without names.
- 5. Sepulchral enclosure.
- 6. Garland tomb.
- 7. Sepulchral enclosure.
- 8. Tomb of the Blue Glass Vase.
- 9. Sepulchral niche.

A. HERCULANEUM GATE.

B. CITY WALL.

D. ROAD ALONG CITY WALL.

E-E. VESUVIUS ROAD.



## PART IV

### THE TOMBS

#### CHAPTER I

##### *POMPEIAN BURIAL PLACES.—THE STREET OF TOMBS*

THE tombs of Pompeii, like those of Rome, were placed in close array along the sides of the roads that led from the city gates. Only a few have been uncovered; how many still lie concealed under the mantle of volcanic débris that rests upon the plain, no one has yet ventured to conjecture. The tombstone of a magistrate of one of the suburbs was found at Scafati, a mile and a half east of the ancient town; and others have been brought to light on the east, south, and west sides. The most interesting and best known tombs are those of the Street of Tombs, in front of the Herculaneum Gate; but important remains have been found also near the Stabian and Nocera gates, and burial places of a humbler sort lie along the city wall near the Nola Gate.

Most of the tombs thus far excavated belong to the Early Empire, having been built between the reign of Augustus and 79 A.D. Two or three date from the end of the Republic; and a small corner of an Oscan cemetery has been uncovered on the northwest side of the city. Remains of skeletons were found only in the Oscan graves; the Roman burial places were all arranged with reference to the practice of cremation, the ashes being deposited in urns.

The tombs present so great a variety of form and construction that it is impossible to classify them in a summary way, or to dismiss them with the presentation of two or three typical examples. The character of the monument varied not merely accord-

ing to the taste and means, but also according to the point of view or religious feeling of the builder. Some deemed it more fitting that the ashes of the dead should be covered over with earth; others preferred to place them in a conspicuous tomb that would please the eye and impress the imagination of the beholder. To many the matter of paramount importance seemed to be the provision for the worship of the dead, the arrangement of the tomb so that offerings could easily be made to the ashes. Others still desired to have the sepulchre convenient for the living, who at times would gather there, and tarry near the resting place of the departed. And there were not a few who attempted, in the construction of a monument, to accomplish at the same time several of these ends. The architectural designs were suggested by the form of an altar, a temple, a niche, a commemorative arch, or a semicircular bench, *schola*.

On account of this diversity of aim and of type, it will be most convenient to study the tombs in topographical groups, commencing with those at the northwest corner of the city.

The highway that passes under the Herculaneum Gate runs almost directly west, descending with a gentle grade. Above it on the north side is the ridge formed by the stream of lava on the end of which the city lay; here, before the eruption, were sightly villas. Below, to the south, was the sea, not so far away as now, over the shimmering surface of which the traveller, as he rode along, could catch charming glimpses of the heights above Sorrento and of Capri. A short distance from the gate on the left, a branch road, which for convenience we may call the Bay Road, led directly to the sea. Another branch, on the right, followed the direction of the city wall; further from the gate on the same side, a third, which may be designated as the Vesuvius Road, ran off from the highway in the direction of the mountain. The highway itself, so far as excavated, has been named the Street of Tombs.

The tombs that have been uncovered here are distributed in four groups. The first, on the left side, extends from the gate to the Bay Road; it comprises Nos. 1-4 *a* on Plan V. The second, on the right (Nos. 1-9), includes the tombs between the

gate and the beginning of the Vesuvius Road. The third group, on the left, lies between the ruins of the villa to which the name of Cicero has been attached and the villa of Diomedes; the tombs are numbered on the plan 16-23. The monuments of the fourth group occupy the tongue of ground at the right between the highway and the Vesuvius Road (33-43). The outer parts of the two villas by which the continuity of the series of tombs on both sides is interrupted, appear to have been used as inns; along the street in front of each there was a colonnade supported by pillars, behind which were small rooms opening toward the street.

At the further end of the villa on the right (10-29) is the potter's workshop (29-30), mentioned in a previous chapter (p. 386). Beyond this are the Oscan graves (31-32), several of which have been explored. In them were found rough stone coffins, made of slabs and fragments of limestone, containing remains of skeletons together with small painted vases, of the sort manufactured in Campania in the third and second centuries B.C. Two coins were found, in separate graves, with Oscan legends that have not yet been deciphered; apparently they were from Nola. The burial places lie close together, and evidently belong to a cemetery for people of humble station; there are no headstones to mark the graves. This is the only place at Pompeii in which painted vases have been found.

A narrow strip of land on each side of the road belonged to the city, and burial lots therein were granted by the municipal council to citizens who had rendered public service. Others, however, might obtain lots by purchase; private ownership may be assumed unless the gift of the city is indicated in the inscription. The location of several tombs — 1, 3, 4, 6 on the right, 3 on the left — shows that the direction of the street near the gate was changed after sepulchral monuments had begun to be erected.

An interesting inscription referring to the municipal ownership of land was found at the further corner of the Bay Road: *Ex auctoritate imp. Caesaris Vespasiani Aug. loca publica a privatis possessa T. Suedius Clemens tribunus causis cognitis et mensuris factis rei publicae Pompeianorum restituit*, — 'By virtue

of authority conferred upon him by the Emperor Vespasian Caesar Augustus, Titus Suedius Clemens, tribune, having investigated the facts and taken measurements, restored to the city of Pompeii plots of ground belonging to it which were in the possession of private individuals.'

To judge from the location of the inscription, the land which the military tribune sent as commissioner by Vespasian gave back to the city, must have been at the sides of the Bay Road. A marble statue of a man dressed in a toga and holding a scroll in his hand, was found near by. It was probably a portrait of Suedius Clemens, and may have stood in a niche in the villa of Cicero.

There is an implied reference to the Bay Road also in another inscription which was found out of its proper place, in the court of the adjoining inn: THERMAE · M · CRASSI · FRŪGI · AQVA · MARINA · ET · BALN · AQVA · DVLCI · IANVÁRIVS · L — 'Bathing establishment of Marcus Crassus Frugi. Warm sea baths and freshwater baths. (Superintendent) the freedman Januarius.' We learn from Pliny the Elder that M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, who was consul in 64 A.D., and was afterwards (in 68) put to death by Nero, owned a hot spring which gushed up out of the sea. This spring, then, was at Pompeii, and was utilized for baths. The inscription is at the same time an advertisement and a sign directing people down the Bay Road to the bath house.

A general view of the Street of Tombs is given in Plate X. It is taken from the high ground beyond the fourth group, as one looks toward the Herculaneum Gate. The rugged mass of Monte Sant' Angelo looms up in the distance; at the right the trees skirting the edge of the excavations form an effective background. The beauty of the surroundings, especially on a summer morning, the associations of the street, its deserted appearance, and the unbroken, oppressive stillness give rise to mingled feelings of pleasure and sadness in the visitor.

We commence our survey with the first group of tombs at the left as one passes out from the Herculaneum Gate. Close by the gate is the tomb of Cerrinius Restitutus (1 on the plan, left side). It is simply a low vaulted niche, having



seats at the sides. Against the rear wall stood a marble tombstone, with a place for a carved portrait; in front of it was a small altar under which doubtless was placed the urn containing the ashes. Both altar and tombstone (now in the Naples Museum) have the inscription: *M. Cerrinius Restitutus, Augustalis, loc. d. d. d.* (for *locus datus decurionum decreto*), — ‘Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus, member of the brotherhood of Augustus. Place of burial granted by vote of the city council.’ The tomb here was designed as a structure to which relatives might repair on anniversary days in order to make offerings to the dead.

The remains of the other tombs in the first group are shown

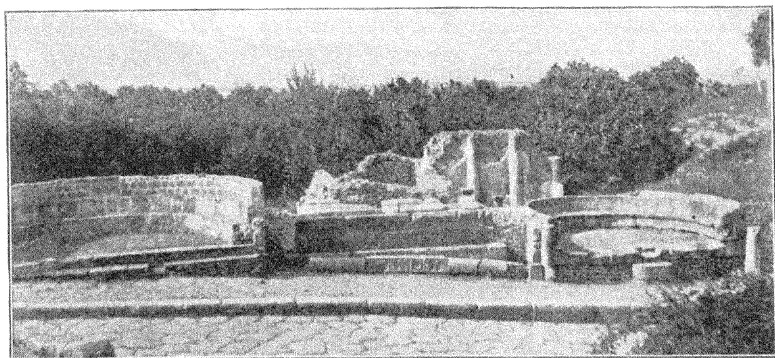


Fig. 236.—Sepulchral benches of Veius and Mamia; tombs of Porcius and the Istacidii.

in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 236). We notice first two large semicircular benches. That at the left (2 on the plan) marks the resting-place of Veius. It is of tufa, and nearly twenty feet wide at the front. The ends are modelled to represent winged lion's paws, the carving of which is full of vigor and may be compared with that of the lion's paws in the Small Theatre (Fig. 70). The statue that once stood at the rear, on a high pedestal, has disappeared, but the inscription remains: *A. Veio M. f. II vir. i. d. iter. quinq. trib. milit. ab populo ex d. d.*, — ‘To the memory of Aulus Veius, son of Marcus, twice duumvir with judiciary authority, quinquennial duumvir, military tribune by the choice of the people. (Erected) by order of the city council.’ The city not only gave a burial place, but built

the tomb as well. The cinerary urn was probably placed in the earth in the narrow unwallled space behind the bench.

This monument was intended at the same time to do honor to the dead and render service to the living. Here, on feast days of the dead, relatives could gather and partake of a commemorative meal; but at all times the inviting seat and conspicuous statue served to maintain that friendly relation with the living, the desire for which so often finds expression in Roman epitaphs. The portrait and inscription made it seem as if Veius himself offered a friendly greeting to those that passed by, and was greeted by them in turn as they looked upon his face and read his name.

The other bench (4) was evidently built by the heirs of a priestess, Mamia, upon a lot given by the city. The inscription appears in large letters on the back of the seat: *Mamiae P. f. sacerdoti publicae; locus sepultur[ae] datus decurionum decreto*,—‘To the memory of Mamia, daughter of Publius Mamius, priestess of the city. Place of burial granted by order of the municipal council.’ In this instance, also, the cinerary urn was probably buried in the earth behind the bench. A certain delicacy in the modelling of the lion’s paws seems to indicate for this monument a somewhat later date than that of the monument to Veius,—possibly the end of the reign of Augustus, or the reign of Tiberius. The date of erection is not given in the case of any Pompeian tomb.

Between the two benches we see a lava base and the core of a superstructure; they belong to the tomb of Marcus Porcius. The name is known from a boundary inscription which appears on two small blocks of lava at the corners of the lot in front: *M. Porci M. f. ex dec. decret. in frontem ped. xxv, in agrum ped. xxv*,—‘(Lot) of Marcus Porcius son of Marcus, granted by order of the city council; twenty-five feet front, twenty-five feet deep.’

This Porcius may have been one of the builders of the Small Theatre and the Amphitheatre, or a son of that Porcius, whose name appears on the altar of the temple of Apollo. The tomb was in the form of an altar; the terminal volutes at the top, of travertine, have been preserved. The sides were of tufa blocks,

which may have been carried off for building purposes after the tomb was damaged by the earthquake of 63. The interior was made hollow to save expense; there was no sepulchral chamber,

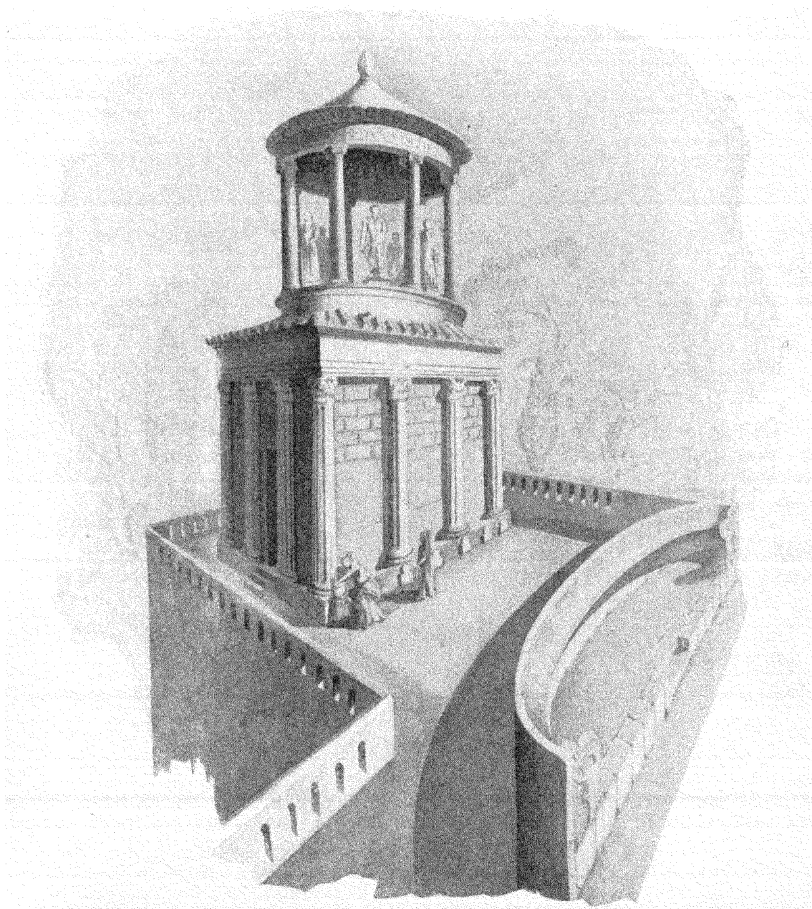


Fig. 237. — The tomb of the Istacidii, restored.

the ashes being placed in the earth under the monument. This tomb is the oldest of the group.

The conspicuous monument of the Istacidii (4 a) stands behind the tombs of Mamia and Porcius, at the left of the Bay Road. It is raised upon a narrow terrace, enclosed by a balustrade of

masonry, and has the appearance of a temple, with half-columns at the sides. The remains of the lower story alone are seen in Fig. 236; above this was a circular structure formed by columns supporting a roof, under which were placed statues of members of the family (Fig. 237). The lower story contains a sepulchral chamber, entered by a door at the rear; in the middle of the chamber is a massive pillar reaching to the vaulted ceiling. The decoration of the room is simple, of the third style. On one side is a large niche, for two urns, those of the head of the family and his wife; the other three sides contain ten smaller niches.

The principal inscription of the tomb has not been found, but a number of names are preserved on the commemorative stones set up in the plot of ground about it. These stones are of a peculiar type, met with elsewhere only at Capua and Sorrento; we shall call them bust stones. The outline resembles that of a human head and neck terminating below in a pillar, but the front was left smooth, and an inscription was cut or painted on the bust. Difference of sex was indicated by the treatment of the hair; an example may be seen in Fig. 240. The bust stones of men are generally larger than those of women; those of children are still smaller, the size perhaps varying with the age.

The bust stones here may refer to those whose ashes were deposited in urns in the tomb, or to others whose urns were buried in the plot of ground in which it stands. From them we learn that the head of the family was Numerius Istacidius, and that he had a daughter, Istacidia Rufilla, who was a priestess. Representatives of two other families, the Melissaei and the Buccii, are named on similar stones found in a plot connected with that of the Istacidii at the rear. The three families were perhaps closely connected by intermarriage. The bust stone of one of the Melissaei, Gnaeus Melissaeus Aper, duumvir in 3-4 A.D., stood in the same enclosure with those of the Istacidii.

Only one of the nine tombs in the second group (2) bears a name. In the case of two (3 and 4) the superstructure has completely disappeared, leaving only the lava bases in place. Another (5) has not been excavated; the front of the burial lot has been cleared, but the monument, lying further back, is still covered.

The first tomb lies in the angle between the highway and the branch road along the wall, which was evidently laid out after the monument was erected. It has the form of an altar, and must have resembled in appearance the tomb of Porcius on the opposite side of the street. Here, however, there is a sepulchral chamber in the base, entered by a low, narrow passage, which was closed until 1887 by a block of stone. In corners of this chamber two cinerary urns, in lead cases, were found covered with earth and with the remains of a funeral pyre—bits of wood and iron nails used in building the pyre, together with pieces of a richly carved ivory casket and broken perfume vials of terra cotta. Among the fragments of bone in each urn was a coin of Augustus. Though the ashes of the dead were here placed in a burial vault, it was nevertheless considered important to cover them with earth. It was not thought necessary, however, to leave the vault accessible for the performance of sacred rites in honor of the dead; the entrance, securely closed, was only to be unsealed for the admission of new urns.

The next tomb (2) is of an entirely different type from any of those previously described. It is an unroofed enclosure, entered by a door at one end. As we learn from the inscription, it was built in honor of Terentius Felix by his widow, the city furnishing the burial lot and a contribution of two thousand sesterces (about \$90) toward the expense: *T. Terentio T. f. Men. Felici maiōri aedil[i]*; *huic publice locus datus et HS ∞ ∞. Fabia Probi f. Sabina uxor*,—‘To the memory of Titus Terentius Felix the Elder, son of Titus, of the tribe Menenia, aedile. The place of burial was given by the city, with two thousand sesterces. His wife, Fabia Sabina, daughter of Fabius Probus (built this monument).’ Pompeians who were Roman citizens were enrolled in the tribe Menenia.

The cinerary urn of Felix was of glass. It was protected by a lead case and placed in an earthen jar, which was buried in the earth under a small altar or table of masonry against the wall on the left as one enters. Here also was a tombstone, with the inscription, ‘To the elder Terentius’; he probably left a son with the same name. In the urn, or near it, were found two coins, one of Augustus, the other of Claudius, deposited to

pay the fare of Charon. The right side of the enclosure was set off by a low wall; here several urns belonging to other members of the household were buried. Shells of oysters and other shellfish were found in the main room, remains of a banquet in honor of the dead; the libations were poured upon the earth above the urns. The plan of this tomb closely re-



Fig. 238.—View of the Street of Tombs.

At the left, the Bay Road and remains of the so-called villa of Cicero; at the right, Garland tomb, foundation of the tomb of the Blue Glass Vase, and semicircular niche.

sembles that of the enclosure in front of the Doric temple in the Forum Triangulare (p. 139).

Of the remaining tombs of the second group, two are prominent, and may readily be distinguished in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 238), the so-called Garland tomb (6 on the plan), and the roofed semicircular niche at the end (9). The Garland tomb has the shape of a temple, with pilasters instead of columns, between which hang festoons of leaves and flowers. It is solid; the cinerary urn was probably placed underneath.

The form of the second story cannot be determined. The material is tufa, coated with white stucco, and the monument is one of the oldest in the series, dating from the end of the Republic.

Adjoining the Garland tomb is a simple sepulchral enclosure (7) with an entrance from the street. Between this and the roofed niche we see in Fig. 238 the limestone base of a tomb, like those seen in Plate X, at the right; the altar-shaped superstructure has disappeared (8). This is called the tomb of the Blue Glass Vase. The base contains a sepulchral chamber, entered by a door at the rear. Here three urns, two of glass and one of terra cotta, were found, standing in niches. On the floor were several statuettes, a couple of small figures of animals, and a mask with a Phrygian cap, — all of terra cotta.

In beauty of material, harmony of design, and skill of workmanship, one of the glass urns, which gave the name to the tomb and is now preserved in the Naples Museum, ranks with the finest examples of its class in the world. Among specimens of ancient glass it stands second only to the famous Portland vase in the British Museum, which was found in a tomb near Rome. The urn has the form of an amphora; the support seen at the bottom (Fig. 239) is modern. It is decorated with reliefs cut in a layer of pure white on a background of dark blue. Near the bottom is a narrow band, showing goats and sheep in pasture. Resting on this are two bacchic masks, on opposite sides of the vase; vines laden with clusters rise in graceful arabesques above the masks, dividing the body of the vase into two fields, which present scenes from the vintage.

One of these scenes is reproduced in Fig. 239. The vintage is interpreted as a festival of Bacchus. Above is a festoon of fruits and flowers. At the sides are two boys on elevated seats, one playing the double flute, the other holding a Pan's pipe in his hands, ready to take his turn; the grapes are gathered and pressed to an accompaniment of Bacchic airs, the two players following each other with alternate strains. A third boy, treading the grapes in a round vat, shakes the thyrsus in honor of the Wine-god, while a companion empties in fresh bunches. The scene is full of action; no reproduction can do justice to the delicacy and finish of the original.

A bench of masonry runs along the inner wall of the semi-circular niche (9), which is covered by a roof in the form of a



Fig. 239. — Glass vase with vintage scene, found in the tomb of the Blue Glass Vase.

half dome and opens upon the street as do the large unroofed monuments of Veius and Mamia. A blank marble tablet was placed in the gable; the builder of the monument, who was doubtless living at the time of the eruption, preferred to leave it



to his heirs to add the memorial inscription, but the disaster interfered with the fulfilment of his wishes. It was probably intended to bury the cinerary urn either in the floor of the niche or in the ground at the rear. The effect of the double series of pilasters at the corners, placed one upon the other without an intervening entablature, and of the fantastic stucco decoration of the gable, is not unpleasing, although the designs are far from classical; the tiles shown in the illustration are modern. The inner wall is painted in red and black panels; the vaulted ceiling, from which the stucco has now fallen, was moulded to represent a shell.

Both the niche and the tomb of the Blue Glass Vase seem to have belonged to the adjoining villa. The stucco decoration of the villa in its main features is identical with that of the niche; and the plot of ground behind the tombs is connected by a gateway with a garden of the villa (12 on the plan), which was too richly adorned to have been intended for the use of the occupants of the inn. In the middle of the garden was a pavilion supported by four mosaic columns (now in the Naples Museum), similar to that in the garden of the villa of Diomedes, and to others belonging to city houses. A mosaic fountain niche was made in the rear wall facing the entrance from the street, and in two corners were short columns on which were placed small figures,—on one a boy with a hare, in marble, on the other a frog of glazed terra cotta.

Nevertheless, the garden seems to possess a distinctly sepulchral character. Besides the entrances from the tombs and from the street, there was a third, which led into a court of the villa, with which the peristyle and living rooms were connected by a passageway; in the corner of the court nearest the garden, and facing the entrance from the street (15), was an elaborate domestic shrine, dedicated, as shown by the symbolical decoration, to Apollo, Bacchus, Hercules, and Mercury. The relation of the garden with the living rooms of the villa was only indirect; and we conclude that it was intended for gatherings and sacred rites in honor of the dead. Relatives could partake of the sepulchral banquet under the pavilion.

The tombs of the third group, as may be seen from Plate X,

form a stately series. The prevailing type is that which was in vogue at the time of the destruction of the city — a high base, with marble steps at the top leading up to a massive superstructure in the form of an altar, faced with marble. The burial plot was enclosed by a low wall. In the base of the tomb was a sepulchral chamber, entered by a door in the rear or at one side; it was now the custom for relatives to enter the burial vault when they wished to pour libations on the ashes.

The first of the series (16 on the plan, seen in Plate X next to the cypress) was unfinished at the time of the eruption. Part of the marble veneering had not yet been added, the walls of the sepulchral chamber were in the rough, and there were no urns in the five niches designed for their reception. In the burial plot surrounding the tomb, however, a marble bust stone was found (Fig. 240) with the inscription, *Iunoni Tyches*



Fig. 240. — Bust Stone of Tyche, slave of Julia Augusta.

*Iuliae Augustae Vener[iae]*, — 'To the Genius of Tyche, slave of Julia Augusta, — of the cult of Venus.'

The reference is plainly to a female slave of Livia, the wife of Augustus; how her ashes came to be deposited here it is not worth while, in default of information, to conjecture. In sepulchral inscriptions of women *Iunoni* sometimes takes the place of *genio* in men's epitaphs. Tyche was seemingly a member

of a sisterhood for the worship of Venus, to which, as to the organization of the 'Servants of Mercury and Maia,' and of the 'Servants of Fortuna Augusta,' slaves were admitted.

The tomb of Umbricius Scaurus (17) is conspicuous by reason of its size and noteworthy on account of its decoration. The inscription on the front of the altar-shaped superstructure gives interesting details in regard to the man the memory of whom is here perpetuated: *A. Umbricio A. f. Men. Scauro, II vir i. d.; huic decuriones locum monum[ento] et HS ∞ ∞*

*in funere et statuam equestr[em in f]oro ponendam censuerunt. Scaurus pater filio,*—‘To the memory of Aulus Umbricius Scaurus son of Aulus, of the tribe Menenia, duumvir with judiciary authority. The city council voted the place for a monument to this man and two thousand sesterces toward the cost of the funeral; they voted also that an equestrian statue in his honor should be set up in the Forum. Scaurus the father to the memory of his son.’

Why these honors were conferred upon Scaurus, who probably became a duumvir early in life and died soon after his term of office, is not clear. The upper part of the base of the tomb in front was adorned with stucco reliefs—now for the most part gone—in which gladiatorial combats and a venatio were depicted; but a painted inscription along the edge of one of the scenes indicates that the show thus commemorated was given by another man, *N. Fistijs Ampliatus*; *Munere [N. Fis]ti Ampliati die summo*. Perhaps the last two words mean that ‘on the last day’ the younger Scaurus, a relative or friend of Ampliatus, shared the cost of the exhibition under some such arrangement as that between Lucretius Valens and his son (p. 222). If this be the correct explanation, it is evident that Scaurus could have given no shows in the Amphitheatre during his duumvirate, else the father would have taken pains to mention the fact in the inscription. His term of office may have come after the year 59, when such exhibitions were prohibited at Pompeii for ten years (p. 220).

The gladiatorial scenes, if space permitted, would merit a detailed presentation—they are so full of human interest. Two gladiators are fighting on horseback, the rest on foot. The vanquished with uplifted thumbs are mutely begging for mercy. The plea of some of them is heeded by the populace; in other groups we see the victor preparing to give the death thrust. Beside each gladiator was painted his name, school, and number of previous combats, as in a programme; and letters were added to give the result of this fight. One combatant, who was beaten and yet by the vote of the audience permitted to live, died on the sand from his wounds. We see him resting on one knee, faint from loss of blood; the letter M

beside his name, for *missus*, is followed by the death sign ☉, the first letter of the Greek word for death, ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ.

The animals shown in the venatio are mainly wild boars and bears, but we recognize also a lion and a bull. Lions were doubtless much more rarely seen in such exhibitions at Pompeii than at Rome.

As more attention came to be given to the outward appearance of tombs, less was bestowed upon the adornment of the sepulchral chamber. So in the tomb of Scaurus the burial vault is low, cramped, and with plain white walls. A massive pillar, as in the tomb of the Istacidii, supports the vaulted ceiling. It is pierced by two openings, forming four niches, two on each side. Three of these, when the tomb was opened, were closed by panes of glass, and there were traces of a curtain that hung over the one opposite the entrance. There were fourteen other niches in the walls at the sides.

No name is associated with the third tomb (18 on the plan) which, as shown by Plate X, is simply a large cylinder of masonry, the top of which probably had the shape of a truncated cone; the material is brick, with a facing of white stucco lined off to give the appearance of blocks of marble. The base is square; the enclosing wall is adorned with miniature towers. The structure illustrates in its simplest form the type of the massive tomb, or mausoleum, found at Rome; we are at once reminded of the imposing monument of Caecilia Metella on the Appian Way, and of Hadrian's Mausoleum in the city.

A blank tablet was placed by the builder on the front of the enclosing wall to receive an inscription after his death. The heirs, however, preferred to put the memorial on the tomb itself, where the place of an inscription is plainly seen, the slab itself having disappeared. The sepulchral chamber is in the superstructure; it was decorated with simple designs in the fourth style on a white ground. There were only three niches, perhaps for father, mother, and child; the urns were let into the bottoms of the niches, as often in the Roman columbaria.

One of the miniature towers on the enclosing wall is ornamented with a relief presenting a singular design; a woman in mourning habit is laying a fillet on a skeleton reclining on a

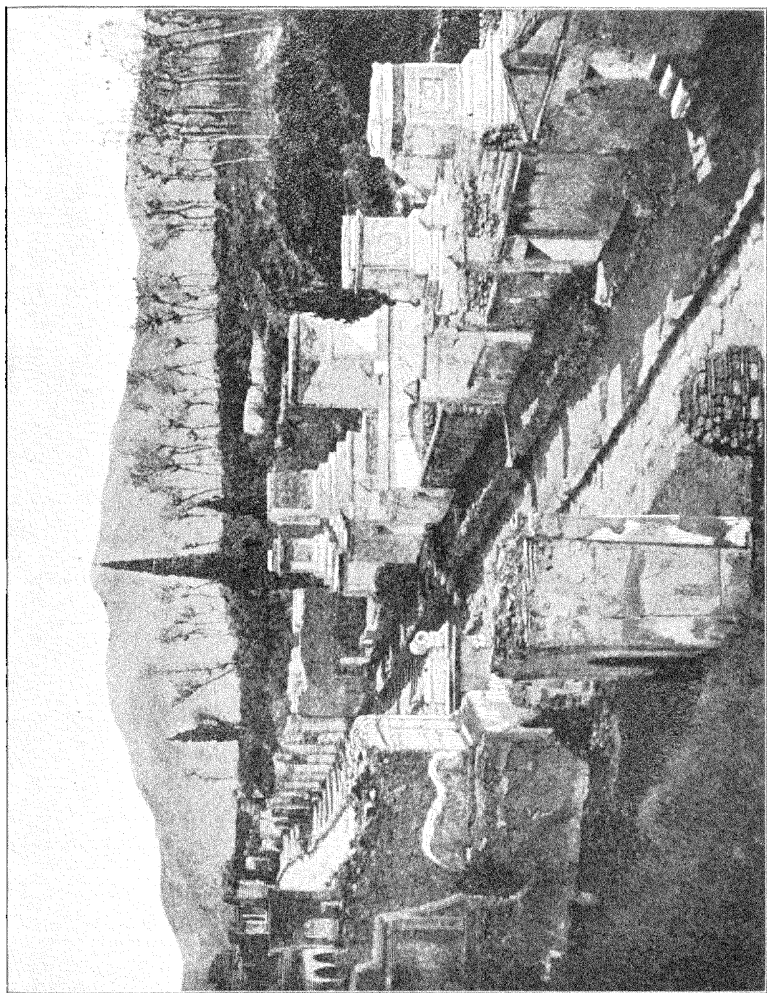


PLATE X. — THE STREET OF TOMBS, LOOKING TOWARD THE HERCULANEUM GATE



heap of stones (Fig. 241). The scene may be interpreted as symbolizing the grief of a mother for a dead son.

There is only a simple bust stone in the burial lot (19) beyond the round monument. Next comes the beautiful tomb of Calventius Quietus (20), which may be seen in Plate X, as well as the tomb of Naevoleia Tyche (22; further to the right). Between these two is a walled enclosure (21) without a door, in which are three bust stones. The largest stone bears the name N. Istacidius Helenus; in front of one of the others a small jar was set to receive offerings for the dead. On the front of the enclosing wall is a tablet on which the names of N. Istacidius Januarius and of Mesonia Satulla appear with that of Helenus; they were all freedmen of the Istacidii (p. 412).

The monuments of Quietus and of Tyche are the finest examples of the altar type at Pompeii. Both are ornamented in good taste, but the carvings of the former are more delicate, while the motives of the latter are more elaborate. Quietus was a man of some prominence, as we see from the epitaph: *C. Calventio Quieto Augustali; huic ob munificent[iam] decurionum decreto et populi conse[n]su bisellii honor datus est*, — 'To the memory of Gaius Calventius Quietus, member of the Brotherhood of Augustus. On account of his generosity the honor of a seat of double width was conferred upon him by the vote of the city council and the approval of the people.'

At the Theatre and the Amphitheatre, Quietus had the privilege of sitting on a bisellium, as if he were a member of the city council. Below the inscription is a representation of the 'seat of double width,' shown in Fig. 242. The square footstool at the middle implies that the seat was intended for a single person. The ends of the tomb were ornamented with finely carved reliefs of the civic crown, which was made of oak leaves and awarded to those who had saved the life of a Roman citizen (Fig. 243). As the inscription does not record any deed of

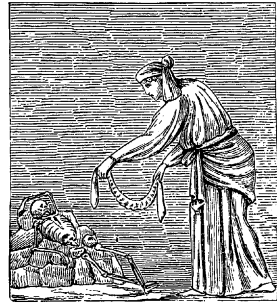


Fig. 241. — Relief, symbolic of grief for the dead.

valor, it may be that the crown is used here merely as a decorative device.

Though the monument of Quietus was built in the last years of the city, when such structures were generally provided with

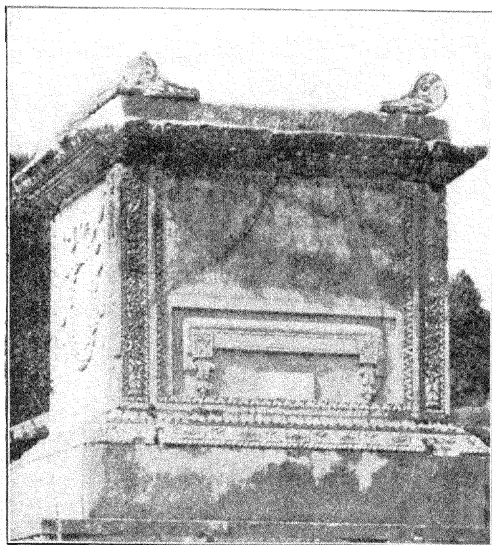


Fig. 242.—Front of the tomb of Calventius Quietus, with bisellium.

sepulchral chambers, it has no burial vault, and the enclosing wall is without a door. It is perhaps a cenotaph, a monument erected in honor of a man whose remains were interred elsewhere; it is also possible that Quietus had no relatives who wished to have an accessible sepulchral chamber in order to make libations to his ashes, and that for this reason the monument was made solid, the urn

being buried in the earth underneath. The small turrets on the enclosing wall were adorned with reliefs; among them Oedipus solving the riddle of the Sphinx, and Theseus after the slaughter of the Minotaur. The suggestion is obvious: he who is commemorated here had solved the riddle of existence, had found an exit from the labyrinth of life.

Around the front and sides of the tomb of Naevoleia Tyche runs a border of acanthus arabesques, forming panels in which reliefs are placed. The border in front is interrupted at the middle of the upper side by the portrait of Tyche; the lower half of the panel is devoted to a ceremonial scene in which offerings appear to be made to the dead, while in the upper half, under the portrait, we read the inscription: *Naevoleia L. lib[erta] Tyche sibi et C. Munatio Fausto Aug[ustali] et pagano, cui decuriones consensu populi bisellium ob merita eius decreve-*



*runt. Hoc monimentum Naevoleia Tyche libertis suis libertabusq[ue] et C. Munati Fausti viva fecit,* — ‘Naevoleia Tyche, freedwoman of Lucius Naevoleius, for herself and for Gaius Munatius Faustus, member of the Brotherhood of Augustus and suburban official, to whom on account of his distinguished services the city council, with the approval of the people, granted a seat of double width. This monument Naevoleia Tyche built in

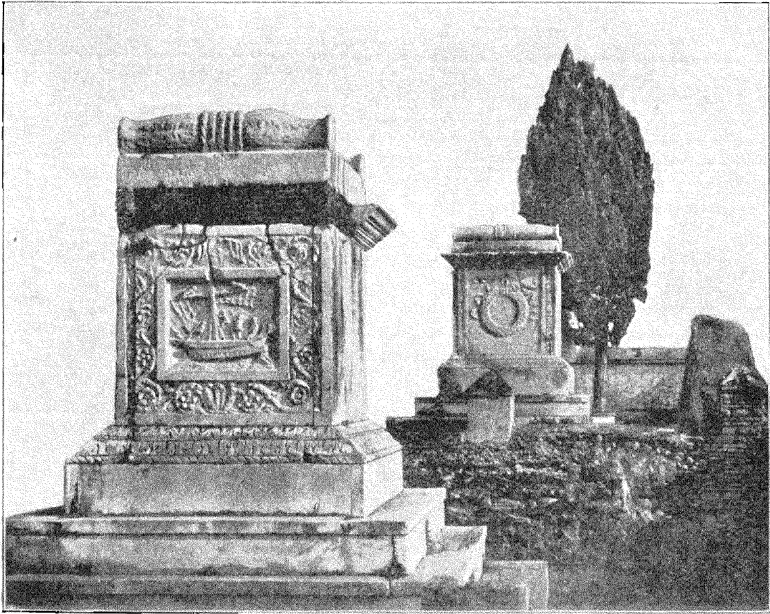


Fig. 243. — End of the tomb of Naevoleia Tyche, with relief of a ship entering port; beyond, end of the tomb of Calventius Quictus, with the civic crown.

her lifetime also for the freedmen and freedwomen of herself and of Gaius Munatius Faustus,’ who was seemingly her husband.

The bisellium of Faustus is shown in one of the end panels; in the other we see a ship sailing into port (Fig. 243). The carving of the relief is bold, though crude; we see the sailors furling the sail, as the vessel glides into still water. The scene is symbolic of death, — the entrance of the soul after the storms of life into a haven of rest. The thought is expressed by Cicero with deep feeling in his essay on Old Age: ‘As for myself, I find

the ripening of life truly agreeable; the nearer I come to the time of death, the more I feel like one who begins to see land and knows that sometime he will enter the harbor after the long voyage.'

The sepulchral chamber of this tomb has a large niche opposite the entrance; the urn standing in it apparently contained the cinerary remains of two persons, Tyche and Faustus. Other urns were found in the smaller niches in the walls and on the bench of masonry along the sides. Three were of glass, protected by lead cases; one of them is shown in Fig. 244. They contained ashes and fragments of bone, with remains of a liquid mixture, which was shown by chemical analysis to have consisted of water, wine, and oil. Lamps were found on the bench, one for each urn, and there were others in a corner; they were used on anniversary days to light the chamber.

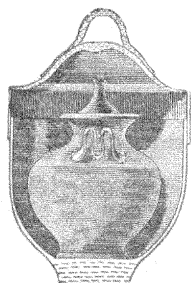


Fig. 244. — Cinerary urn in lead case.

The last monument consists of a walled enclosure, with a table and couches of masonry like those often found in the gardens of private houses (Fig. 245). In front of the table is a small round altar for libations. This was a place for banquets in honor of the dead, *triclinium funebre*; a tomb designed to serve the convenience of the living, like the niche of Cerrinius Restitutus and the benches of Veius and Mamia. The walls were painted in the last style.

Over the entrance in front we read: *Cn. Vibrio Q. f. Fal. Saturnino Callistus lib.*, — 'To the memory of Gnaeus Vibrius Saturninus son of Quintus, of the tribe Falerna; erected by his freedman Callistus.' As Saturninus did not belong to the tribe Menenia, he was very likely not a native of Pompeii. His ashes were probably placed in an urn and buried in the earth between the altar and the entrance.

There is every reason to suppose that the series of tombs on the south side of the highway is continued beyond the villa of Diomedes; but it has not yet been found possible to carry the excavations further in that direction.

The tombs of the fourth group present no new types of

design or construction. Several of them are of interest, however, on account of peculiarities of arrangement. At the time of the eruption two of the monuments (33, 35) were in process of building ; it is impossible to tell what form they were to have. A third (36) had been commenced on a large scale, but apparently the money of the heirs gave out, and little pyramids were set up at the corners of the walled enclosure, the urns being buried in the earth.

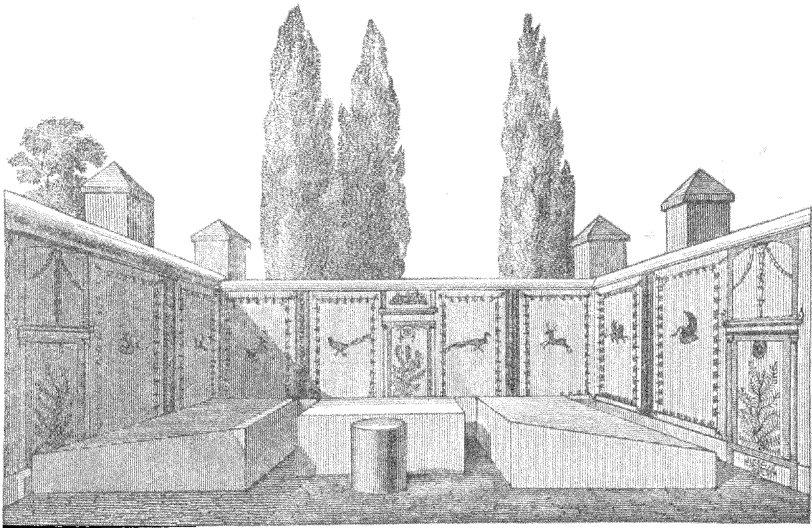


Fig. 245. — Sepulchral enclosure with triclinium funebre.

Two of the monuments were erected for children (40, 41). They stand near together on the high ground in the angle formed by the Vesuvius Road. They are small vaulted niches, ornamented with reliefs in white stucco, most of which has fallen off. The urn in each was placed in the earth under the bottom of the niche, with a small pipe tile leading to the surface, through which libations could be poured down upon it. A tablet is set in the sustaining wall at the side of the street below the larger niche (41), with the simple inscription, *N. Velasio Grato, vix[it] ann. XII*, — 'To the memory of Numerius Velasius Gratus, who lived twelve years.' The inscription belong-

ing to the other niche was even more simple, giving no first name: *Salvius puer vixit annis VI*, — 'The boy Salvius lived six years.'

One tomb (34) is noteworthy on account of its door. This has the appearance of a double door, but it is made of a single slab of marble, and swings, like an ordinary Roman door, by means of pivots which are fitted into sockets in the threshold and lintel. It was also provided with a lock. The exterior of the tomb was unfinished; the reticulate masonry still lacked its facing of more costly material. The sepulchral chamber, however, contained several cinerary urns; one of them, of alabaster, was in a large niche facing the entrance, and a gold seal ring, with the figure of a deer in an intaglio, was found in it among the ashes and fragments of bone. There were also several lamps, a small altar of terra cotta, and a few glass perfume vials. Two amphorae, of the sort used for wine, stood against the sides of the chamber; such were sometimes utilized as repositories for ashes.

One of the volutes of the well preserved limestone tomb of M. Alleius Luccius Libella (37) is seen in Plate X. The monument has the shape of an altar, and is apparently solid. It was erected by the widow, Alleia Decimilla, priestess of Ceres, in memory of her husband, who was duumvir in 26 A.D., and of a son of the same name, who was a member of the city council and died in his eighteenth year. The burial plot was given by the city. As no opening was left in the monument, Decimilla evidently planned to have her ashes deposited in another tomb, perhaps that of her father's family.

The remaining four tombs are of the same type; the idea is that of a temple, the columnar construction being suggested not by projecting half-columns, as in the tomb of the Istacidii, but by more or less prominent pilasters at the corners and on the sides. Two of the tombs (38 and 39) stand where the tongue of land between the highway and the Vesuvius Road begins to descend to the level of the pavement.

The remains of the tomb of Ceius Labeo (38) are shown in Plate X (in the foreground, at the left). The appearance of this monument was somewhat like that of the Istacidii; there

was a second story, the roof of which was supported entirely by columns; between these, statues of members of the family were placed, of both men and women, some of marble, others of tufa coated with stucco. The base was ornamented with stucco reliefs, which have almost entirely disappeared; above, in front, were two portrait medallions.

The large sepulchral chamber can be seen in the plate. The floor was more than six feet below the surface of the ground. A vaulted niche in the rear wall was connected with the outside by means of a small opening at the top, through which libations could be poured or offerings dropped upon the urn below. In the vicinity of the monument was found the inscription: *L. Ceio L. f. Men. Labeoni iter[um] d. v. i. d. quinq[ue]n[nali] Menomachus l[ibertus]*, — ‘To the memory of Lucius Ceius Labeo son of Lucius, of the tribe Menenia, twice duumvir with judiciary authority, also quinquennial duumvir; erected by his freedman, Menomachus.’

There were bust stones in the plot belonging to this monument, and also about the adjoining tomb (39); the names of those whose ashes were deposited under the stones, in part, at least, seem to have been painted upon the base of Labeo’s tomb, but they were illegible at the time of excavation. The adjoining tomb (39) is without a name, but was built after that erected in honor of Labeo.

The tombs at the end of the fourth group (42, 43) belong to one household. In the sustaining wall along the highway a sepulchral tablet of tufa is seen with the inscription: *Arriae M. f. Diomedes l[ibertus] sibi suis*, — ‘Diomedes, a freedman, for Arria, daughter of Marcus Arrius, for himself and for his family.’ On the elevation directly above is his tomb, the end of which is seen in Plate X (in the foreground). It bears the inscription: *M. Arrius C. l. Diomedes sibi suis memoriae, magister pag[i] Aug[usti] Felic[is] suburb[ani]*, — ‘Marcus Arrius Diomedes, freedman of Arria, magistrate of the suburb Pagus Augustus Felix, in memory of himself and his family.’

The abbreviation *C. l.* takes the place of *Gaiae libertus*, ‘freedman of Gaia,’ the letter C, which stands for Gaius, being reversed; Gaia is used, as in legal formulas, to show that the

person referred to is a woman. The slave Diomedes, after receiving his freedom, was entitled to the use of the family name, and was known as Marcus Arrius Diomedes. His mistress, as Roman ladies generally, was called not by a first name, but by the feminine form of the family name, Arria, which was as plainly suggested to a Roman reading the name Arrius followed by the symbol as if it had been written in full.

On the front of the tomb we observe in stucco relief two bundles of rods, *fascēs*, with axes, having reference to the official position of Diomedes as a magistrate of a suburb. The axes are quite out of place. Suburban officers did not have the 'power of life and death'; the lictors of such magistrates carried bundles of rods without axes. The vain display of authority reminds one of the pompous petty official held up to ridicule by Horace in his Journey to Brundisium; it suggests also the rods and axes painted on the posts at the entrance of the dining room of Trimalchio, in Petronius's novel. The tomb was constructed without a burial vault, but there were two bust stones near by with names of freedmen of Diomedes.

The monument to Arria (43) lies further back; it fronts on the Vesuvius Road. Diomedes found a way to reconcile happily his own love of display with his duty to his former mistress; he built a larger monument for her, but chose for his own the more conspicuous position. The small sepulchral chamber of Arria's tomb contained nothing of interest and is now walled up.

## CHAPTER LI

### *BURIAL PLACES NEAR THE NOLA, STABIAN, AND NOCERA GATES*

No part of the highway leading from the Nola Gate has yet been excavated. In the year 1854, however, excavations were made for a short distance along the city wall near this gate, and thirty-six cinerary urns were found buried in the earth. In or near them were perfume vials of terra cotta with a few of glass. Here in the pomerium, the strip of land along the outside of the walls, which was left vacant for religious as well as practical reasons, the poor were permitted to bury the ashes of their dead without cost. In some cases the place of the urn was indicated by a bust stone; often the spot was kept in memory merely by cutting upon the outside of the city wall the name of the person whose ashes rested here.

There was another cemetery of the poor a short distance southwest of the Amphitheatre, south of the modern highway. It lay along a road which branched off from the highway leading to Stabiae and ran east in the direction of Nocera. Sepulchral remains were found here in 1755-57, and again in 1893-94, when further explorations were made. They consist of cinerary urns, buried in the earth, with small glass perfume vials in or near them, and a bust stone to mark the spot. A few of the stones are of marble and bear a name; the great majority are roughly carved out of blocks of lava, and if a name was painted on the front it has disappeared.

Of special significance, in connection with these burial places, is the arrangement for making offerings to the dead. In order that libations might be poured directly upon the cinerary urns, these were connected with the surface of the ground by means of tubes. In one instance a lead pipe ran from above into an opening made for it in the top of the lead case inclosing an urn.

More often the connection was made by means of round tiles; in the case of one urn, three tiles were joined together, making a tube five feet long. The upper end of the libation tube did not project from the ground, but was placed just below the surface and covered with a flat stone; over this was a thin layer of earth, which the relatives would remove on the feast days of the dead. Pagan antiquity was never able to dissociate the spirit of the dead from the place of interment; the worship of ancestors was in no small degree the product of local associations.

In the vicinity of these remains is a sepulchral monument of modest dimensions, which, as we learn from the tablet over the entrance, was erected by Marcus Petasius Dasius in memory of his two sons, Severus and Communis, and of a freedwoman named Vitalis. There was no floor in the burial chamber; the urns were placed in the earth and marked by bust stones, among which was one set up for Dasius himself, with the initials M. P. D.

The Stabian Road has been excavated for but a short distance near the gate. The only monuments completely cleared are two large, semicircular benches, like those of Veius and Mamia (p. 409). At the rear of each is a small sepulchral enclosure in which the urns were buried. The memorial tablet belonging to the monument nearest the gate has disappeared, but two boundary stones at the corners of the lot bear the inscription: *M. Tullio M. f. ex d[ecurionum] d[ecreto]*,—‘To Marcus Tullius son of Marcus, in accordance with a vote of the city council.’ The Tullius named was perhaps the builder of the temple of Fortuna Augusta (p. 132).

The inscription of the second bench, like that of Mamia, is cut in large letters on the back of the seat: *M. Alleio Q. f. Men. Minio, II v. i. d.; locus sepulturae publice datus ex d. d.*,—‘To the memory of Marcus Alleius Minius son of Marcus, of the tribe Menenia, duumvir with judiciary authority. The place of burial was given in the name of the city by vote of the municipal council.’

A third bench, close to the second, lies under a modern house and has not been uncovered. Further from the gate a rectangular seat, probably belonging to the same series of monuments,



was discovered in 1854; it was built in memory of a certain Clovatus, duumvir, as shown by a fragment of an inscription that came to light at the same time. From still another tomb are reliefs with gladiatorial combats, now in the Naples Museum.

With the exception of those near the Herculaneum Gate, the most important tombs yet discovered at Pompeii are in a group beyond the Amphitheatre, excavated in 1886-87. They are six in number, and lie close together on both sides of a road which ran east from the Nocera Gate, bending slightly to the north (Fig. 246). This road was not in use in the last years of the city; the stones of the pavement and sidewalk had been removed. The monuments, however, were large and stately, erected by people of means, and the ruins are characteristic and impressive. The tombs were built of common materials, stucco being used on exposed surfaces instead of marble. The simplicity of construction, and the shapes of the letters in the election notices and other inscriptions painted on them, suggest a relatively early date, which is confirmed by the age of the coins found in the urns; the monuments belong to the early decades of the Empire.

The first tomb at the right (No. 1 on the plan) was built in the form of a commemorative arch, with pilasters at the corners. Above was a low cylinder surmounted by a truncated cone, on which stood a terminal member in the shape of a pine cone, found near by. The cinerary urn was buried in the earth below an opening in

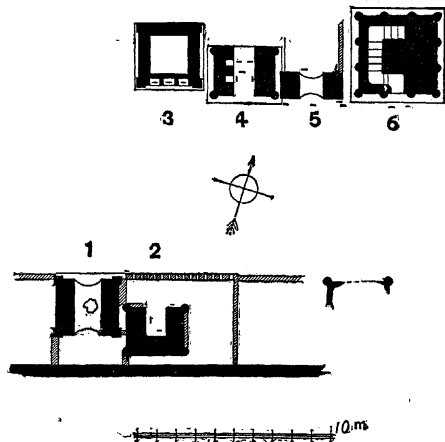


Fig. 246.—Plan of the tombs east of the Amphitheatre.

the floor of the passage under the arch (shown in the plan). No name appears in connection with this monument.

Another monument of the arch type, that of Mancius Diogenes, is seen on the opposite side of the street (5; Fig. 248). The structure is shallow, the vaulted opening low. On the top of the arch were three niches, in which stood three travertine statues; two of these, both of women, have been preserved, and are of indifferent workmanship. A marble tablet was placed in front, over the vault, with the inscription, *P. Mancio P. l[iberto] Diogeni ex testamento arbitrato Manciac P. l[ibertae]*

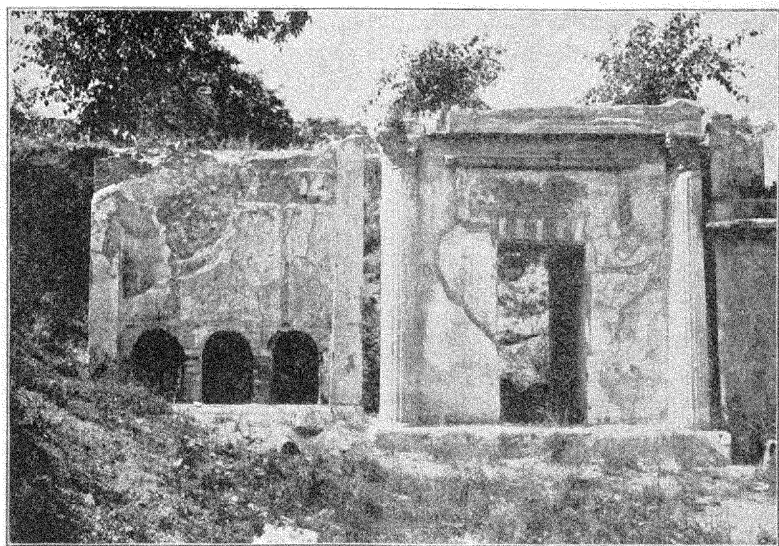


Fig. 247. — View of two tombs east of the Amphitheatre.  
That at the left is No. 3 on the plan; the next is No. 4.

*Dorinis*, — ‘To the memory of Publius Mancius Diogenes, freedman of Publius Mancius; (the monument was erected) in accordance with the terms of his will, under the direction of Mancia Doris, freedwoman of Publius Mancius.’

There is a curious ambiguity in this inscription; we cannot tell whether Doris, seemingly the wife of Diogenes, was manumitted by the Publius Mancius who gave him his freedom, or by Diogenes himself after he had gained his freedom and was entitled to use the name Publius Mancius. Four bust stones stood in front of the tomb and two at the rear,

arranged as indicated on the plan; those in front are seen in our illustration.

The tomb at the left of that just described (4; Fig. 247) is of interest as showing the result of an attempt to blend the arch type with that of the temple. A passage roofed with a flat vault runs through the middle of the first story. The second story had the appearance of a diminutive temple with four Corinthian columns in front. The niche representing the cella was of the full width of the tomb, and occupied two thirds of the depth; the other third was given to the portico. Four statues of tufa coated with stucco that were found here probably stood under the portico or in the intercolumniations, where they would best be seen from below; three were statues of men, the fourth of a woman.

The arrangement of the five bust stones in the vaulted passage is indicated on the plan. The three nearest the street entrance bear the name of a freedman, *L. Caesius L. l. Logus*, — ‘Lucius Caesius Logus, freedman of Lucius Caesius,’ and of Titia Vesbina and Titia Optata, both evidently freedwomen manumitted by a lady named Titia. We are probably safe in assuming that the two inmost stones, without names, are those of Caesius and Titia, husband and wife, who gave Logus, Vesbina, and Optata their freedom, and built the monument. It was not necessary to place the names of the builders upon the commemorative stones, because they were doubtless given in the memorial tablet in front, which has disappeared. Coins of Augustus and Tiberius were found in the urns.

One tomb (2) has the form of a niche, resembling those of the two children near the end of the Street of Tombs (p. 425), but larger and more costly than they. The corners are embellished with three-quarter columns, which have Doric flutings and composite capitals. On the walls at the entrance we see, modelled in stucco, doorposts with double doors swung back. Two marble bust stones, the places of which are indicated on the plan, show where the urns of the two most important members of the family, Apuleius and his wife Veia, were buried; their names doubtless appeared in an inscription on the front of the monument. In one of the urns was found a coin of

Tiberius of the year 10 A.D. The other was enclosed in a lead case, and a lead libation tube was extended from the ashes through both covers to the surface.

The names of Apuleius and Veia are obtained from two other bust stones, in front of the niche. One reads, *Festae Apulei filiae vix[it] ann[os] XVII*,—‘To the memory of Festa, daughter of Apuleius, who lived seventeen years.’ The other

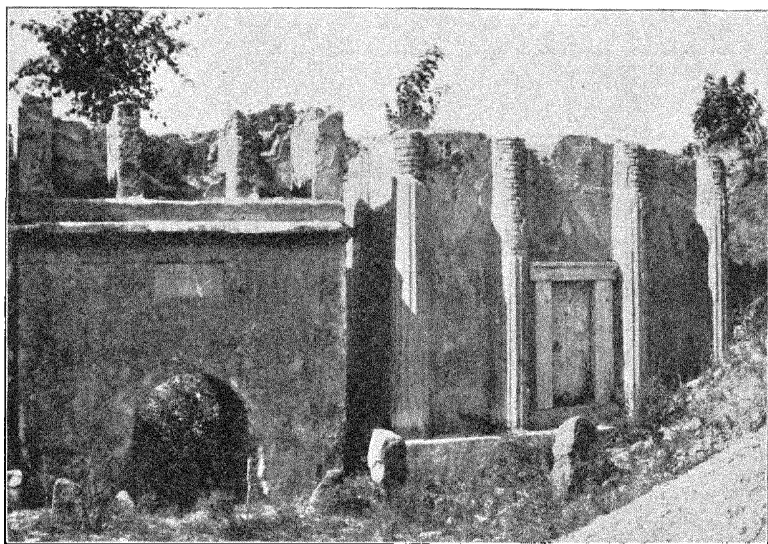


Fig. 248.— Two other tombs east of the Amphitheatre.  
Nos. 5, 6 on the plan.

has simply [*C*]onviva Veiaes vix an. XX,—‘Conviva, slave of Veia, lived twenty years.’ An as of the time of the Republic was found in the urn of Conviva; and a square tile, the upper end of which was closed by a piece of marble, served as a libation tube for the urn of Festa.

The two remaining tombs are of the temple type, one (3; Fig. 247) having pilasters at the corners, the other half-columns at the corners and on the sides (6). The first has a vaulted sepulchral chamber, entered from the rear. On the inside of the wall next the street are three low niches, the top of which is nearly on a level with the sidewalk; each of them con-

tained an urn. Directly over the inner niches, in the outside of the wall and opening toward the street, are three other niches, shown in the illustration, in the bottom of which were libation tubes leading to the urns below. Relatives could thus pour their offerings of wine or oil upon the urns without entering the sepulchral chamber. Lava bust stones were placed against the back of the outer niches. The hair on one of them is treated in a manner to indicate that a woman is represented. The entrance of the tomb was closed by a large block of lava. On account of the arrangement for offering libations from the outside, it was not necessary to make the burial vault easy of access.

The entrance to the other tomb (6; Fig. 248) was in front, and closed by a door of limestone. It led, not to a sepulchral chamber, but to a stairway by which one ascended to the second story. Here statues were placed, but the exact form of the upper part cannot be determined. The finding of five tufa capitals suggests that the second story may have been a columnar structure, like that of the tomb of the Istacidii; when the excavations are carried further east enough other fragments will perhaps be found to make a complete restoration possible. One of the statues is of a man holding a roll of papyrus in his hand, with a round manuscript case, *scrinium*, at his feet.

Among the inscriptions painted on these tombs were two, relating to gladiatorial combats, which have already been mentioned (p. 221). One of the election notices, oddly enough, refers to a candidate for an office in Nuceria: *L. Munatium Caeserninum Nuceriae II vir. quinq. v. b. o. v. f.* (for *duumvirum quinquennalem, virum bonum, oro vos, facite*), — ‘Make Lucius Caeserninus quinquennial duumvir of Nuceria, I beg of you, he’s a good man.’ As long as the relations of the Pompeians and Nuceriaans were friendly, the highway between the two towns was doubtless much travelled by the citizens of both places.

If the visitor pauses to think of the religious feeling which the ancients manifested generally in relation to their burial places, it gives somewhat of a shock to see notices even of a semi-public character painted in bright red letters upon tombs.

All such inscriptions, however, are surpassed in ludicrous incongruity with the purpose of the monument by the following advertisement regarding a stray horse: *Equa siquei aberavit cum semuncis honerata a. d. VII Kal. Septembres* (corrected into *Decembres*), *convenito Q. Deciu[m] Q. l. Hilarum . . . L. l. . . chionem, citra pontem Sarni fundo Mamiano*, — ‘If anybody lost a mare with a small pack-saddle, November 25, let him come and see Quintus Decius Hilarus, freedman of Quintus Decius, or . . . (the name is illegible), freedman of Lucius, on the estate of the Mamii, this side of the bridge over the Sarno.’ The two freedmen were very likely in partnership, working a farm belonging to the family, one representative of which we have already met, Mamia the priestess (p. 410).

A more serious desecration of burial places, after offerings to the dead ceased to be made by relatives, or a family became extinct, was probably not uncommon. Different families had different gods, and those of one household were quite independent of those of another. Ordinarily a man had no reason to fear or respect the gods of his neighbor; notwithstanding the associations of worship connected with tombs, the general feeling toward them was very different from that manifested toward temples, where local divinities or the great gods were worshipped. The most stringent regulations of the emperors could not prevent the ransacking of the tombs about Rome for objects of value, and the removal of their materials of construction for building purposes. The superstructure of two of the monuments near the Herculaneum Gate had disappeared apparently before the destruction of the city, and of the tomb of Porcius only the core remained.

## PART V

### POMPEIAN ART

#### CHAPTER LII

##### *ARCHITECTURE*

IN the preceding pages the principal buildings of Pompeii have been described, and reference has been made to many works of art. We shall now offer a few observations of a more general nature in regard to the remains of architecture, sculpture, and painting.

The different periods in the architectural history of the city have been defined in a previous chapter. The most significant of these, from every point of view, is that which we have called the Tufa Period, which corresponds roughly with the second century B.C. Its importance is chiefly due to the fact that it records for us a phase of architectural development, a style, of which only slight traces are found elsewhere, — in the East. It is the last offshoot of untrammelled Hellenistic art in the field of construction; the architecture of the following period was still derived from Hellenistic sources, but was dominated by Roman conceptions, and received from Rome the impulse that determined the direction of its development. The remains of the Tufa Period at Pompeii furnish materials for a missing chapter in the history of architecture.

As we have seen, the stone preferred in this period for all purposes was the gray tufa. Where used for columns, pilasters, and entablatures, it was covered with stucco; in plain walls it appeared in its natural color. Unfortunately, the covering of stucco is preserved in only a few cases; the best example is presented by an Ionic capital in the first peristyle of the house of the Faun. The stucco was generally white, but color was sometimes

employed, as in the Corinthian columns and pilasters of the exedra in the same house, which are painted a deep wine red.

No other period of Pompeian art shows in an equal degree the impress of a single characteristic and self-consistent style, alike in public buildings, temples, and private houses, in the interior decoration as well as in the treatment of exteriors. The wall decoration of the first style is simply the adaptation of tufa construction to decorative use. The motives are identical. The forms are the same, but these naturally appear in a freer handling upon interior walls, the effect being heightened by the use or imitation of slabs of marble of various colors.

This style throughout gives the impression of roominess and largeness. It is monumental, especially when viewed in contrast with the later architecture of Pompeii. No building erected after the city became a Roman colony can be compared, for ample dimensions and spatial effects, with the Basilica. In the same class are the temples of Jupiter and Apollo, with the impressive two-storied colonnades enclosing the areas on which they stand; the contrast with the later temples, as those of Fortuna Augusta and Vespasian, is striking. All the more important houses of this period are monumental in design and proportions, with imposing entrances, large and lofty atriums, and high doors opening upon the atrium; the shops in front also were high, and in two stories.

In point of detail, the architecture of the Tufa Period reveals less of strength and symmetry than its stately proportions and modest material would lead us to expect. The ornamentation is a debased descendant of the Greek. It is characterized by superficial elegance, together with an apparent striving after simplicity and an ill-concealed poverty of form and color. Though the ornamental forms still manifest fine Greek feeling, they lack delicacy of modelling and vigor of expression. They are taken from Greek religious architecture, but all appreciation of the three orders as distinct types, each suited for a different environment, has disappeared. In consequence, we often find a mixture of the orders, a blending of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian elements; and still more frequently do we meet with a marked departure from the original proportions.



Thus in the court of the temple of Apollo and in the first peristyle of the house of the Faun we see Ionic columns supporting a Doric entablature; in the house of the Black Wall, Doric columns with an Ionic entablature. The Doric architrave, contrary to rule, appears divided into two stripes, not only in the colonnade of the Forum, where the stripes represent a difference of material, but also in the house of the Faun, where the architrave is represented as composed of single blocks reaching from column to column (p. 51). In the Palaestra (p. 165), and in many private houses, the Doric column was lengthened, in a way quite out of harmony with the original conception, in order to make it conform to the prevailing desire for height and slender proportions. The shaft nowhere appears with the pronounced entasis and strong diminution characteristic of the type, and the capital has lost the breadth and graceful outline of the Greek Doric.

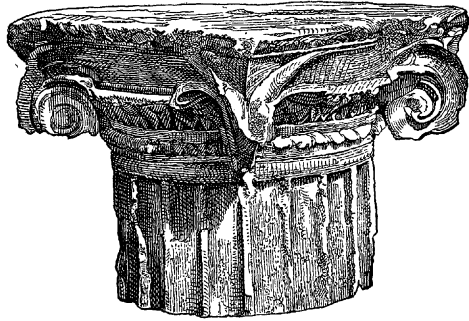


Fig. 249. — Four-faced Ionic capital. Portico of the Forum Triangulare.

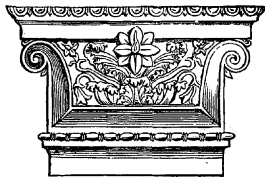


Fig. 250. — Capital of pilaster. Casa del duca d'Aumale.

The Ionic columns in the cella of the temple of Jupiter (p. 65) are of the Greek type, with volutes on two sides; elsewhere we find only the so-called Roman Ionic, with four volutes, a type that appears in several well defined and pleasing examples. One of these, a capital from the portico at the entrance of the Forum Triangulare, is shown in Fig. 249. The deep incisions of the egg-and-dart pattern, which give the egg almost the appearance of a little ball, is characteristic; it is found only at Pompeii, and there not after the Tufa Period. A still freer handling of the Ionic is seen in the capital of a pilaster in the casa del duca d'Aumale (Fig. 250).

The Corinthian capital appears in the usual forms, but the projecting parts are shallow, on account of the lack of resisting qualities in the stone. The best examples are the capitals of the columns and pilasters of the exedra in the house of the Faun. The workmanship here is fine, the realistic treatment of the acanthus leaves being especially noteworthy. An interesting series of variations from the normal type is seen in the capitals of the pilasters at house entrances; we have already met with a striking example of this series, ornamented with projecting busts of human figures (Fig. 178). The design is often so fantas-

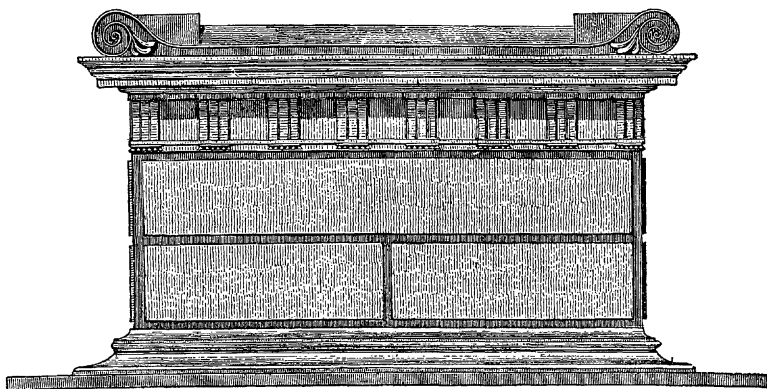


Fig 251. — Altar in the court of the temple of Zeus Milichius.

tic that the essential character of the Corinthian capital seems entirely lost sight of.

The entablatures of the temples built in the Tufa Period, as of those erected in later times, have all perished. The entablatures of the colonnades, however, are at least in part well preserved in a number of instances, and are of two types, the Doric, characterized by the use of triglyphs, and the Ionic, distinguished by the dentils of the cornice.

Both types are found also in the wall decoration, the first rarely, the second very frequently. On the altar of the temple of Zeus Milichius, which is of tufa coated with stucco, the Doric entablature appears in association with the characteristic decoration of the first style, the imitation of large blocks of marble; on the top are terminal volutes of Ionic origin, as generally

upon Roman altars and altar-shaped tombs (Fig. 251). On walls decorated in the first style, however, only Ionic entablatures are seen, — sometimes even twice upon the same wall, as in the example shown in Fig. 122. From this we infer that in the temple construction of the Tufa Period, the simple and elegant Ionic entablature was the prevailing type.

Notwithstanding its free adaption of Greek forms, the Tufa Period availed itself very sparingly of polychrome decoration for architectural members. The stucco of the Ionic capital in the house of the Faun is white; white likewise are most of the capitals of pilasters found in the houses, and also the numerous Ionic cornices on the walls.

There are, nevertheless, scanty traces of the application of color. In the wall decoration of the house of Sallust we find a Doric frieze with the metopes painted red. The frieze under the Ionic cornices on the walls also is usually made prominent with color, — red, yellow, or blue; and a red frieze is seen in the peristyle of the house of the Black Wall, above the pilasters of the garden wall. The lower stripe of the painted architrave in the house of the Faun, already referred to, is yellow.

It seems probable that in some cases color was applied to the projecting figures of the peculiar capitals used in houses; at the time of excavation, traces of coloring were distinctly seen upon those belonging to the alae of the house of Epidius Rufus (p. 309). The exposed capitals at the entrances (Fig. 178), if originally painted, would naturally have lost all traces of the coloring before the destruction of the city, unless it were from time to time renewed. Notwithstanding these exceptions, we must conclude that the stucco coating upon public buildings and temples was generally white, in the case of capitals and cornices as well as of the shafts of columns and outside walls; colors were used to a limited extent, upon friezes and perhaps other parts of entablatures.

The architectural remains of the half century immediately succeeding the Tufa Period, between the founding of the Roman colony at Pompeii and the establishment of the Empire, present nothing specially characteristic outside of the peculiarities of construction mentioned in chap. 6.

In the earlier years of the Empire, the Pompeians, as Roman subjects everywhere, commenced to build temples and colonnades of marble. The style, which was distinctively Roman, can be studied to better advantage elsewhere; the remains at Pompeii are relatively unimportant, and the chief points of interest have been mentioned in connection with our study of individual buildings.

The stylistic development of Roman architecture in the next period, — the gradual transition from the simplicity of the Augustan Age to the more elaborate ornamentation of the Flavian Era, — is marked by two opposing tendencies, one conservative, holding to the traditions of marble construction, the other re-

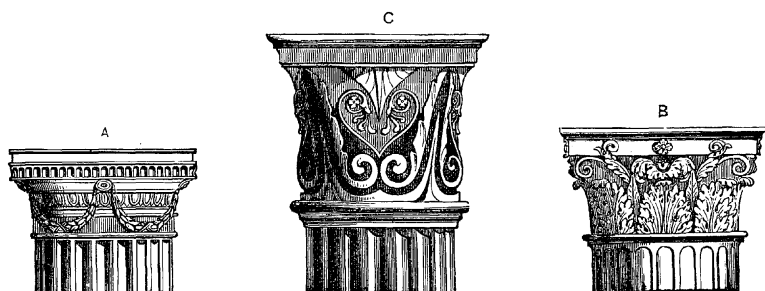


Fig. 252. — Capitals of columns, showing variations from typical forms.

A. Orate Doric, from the house of Sallust. B. Modified Corinthian. C. Fantastic Corinthian.

actionary. The latter tendency manifests itself so strongly at Pompeii that it merits special comment.

First in the East, it appears, men wearied of seeing the ornamental forms of the Greek religious architecture repeated over and over again in every kind of building, and attempted to break away from them entirely. The reaction reached Italy in the earlier years of the Empire, and began to exert an influence upon ornamental forms, especially of domestic architecture, at the time when the third style of wall decoration was coming into vogue.

At Pompeii, this revolt from tradition affected not only the ornamentation of private houses, but also that of public buildings, as the Stabian Baths, and even of temples, as those of Apollo and Isis, rebuilt after the earthquake of the year 63.

Greek forms were replaced by fantastic designs of every sort, worked in stucco. The capitals of columns and pilasters retained a semblance of Doric and Corinthian types, but were adorned with motives from many sources; the variety of form and treatment can best be appreciated by inspecting the examples shown in our illustrations (Figs. 242, 253, 254).

The entablatures no longer retained the ancient division of architrave, frieze, and cornice, but were made to represent a single broad stripe, sometimes, however, with a projecting cornice; this stripe was ornamented with stucco reliefs, and was frequently painted in bright colors. Sometimes the decorative theme is taken from a vine, as in the entablature of the portico in front of the temple of Isis (Fig. 80) and that of the peristyle of the house of the Vettii (Fig. 161). In some cases the stripe is divided into vertical sections; the broad sections correspond with the intercolumniations, the narrow ones with the

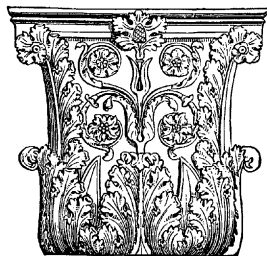


Fig. 253. — Capital of pilaster, modified Corinthian type. <sup>6</sup>

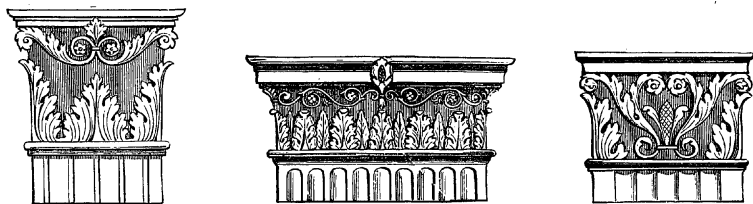


Fig. 254. — Capitals of pilasters, showing free adaptations of the Corinthian type.

spaces above the columns; and the ornamental design is varied accordingly, as in the palaestra of the Stabian Baths (p. 198), the court of the temple of Apollo (Fig. 31), and the peristyle of the house of the Silver Wedding. In many instances the background is white, frequently part of the details of ornament as well; but colors were freely used, particularly red, blue, and yellow, in all parts of the entablature.

The lower third of the columns also was painted a bright red or yellow — a treatment that would have been abhorrent to the

taste of the Tufa Period. The desire for variety and brilliancy of color increased, and was more pronounced in the years immediately preceding the eruption than at any previous time.

Consistently with this change in the standard of taste in regard to details, the Pompeians no longer had pleasure in the ample dimensions of the olden time. Houses were not now built with high rooms, great doorways, and lofty columns as in the Tufa Period. The rooms were smaller and lower, and also, we may add, more homelike. But curiously enough, the columns were often made thick as well as short, doubtless in order to afford more space for the display of color on the capitals and the lower part of the shaft.

Roman public and religious architecture in most cities still adhered to the forms of marble construction, a suggestion of which we find in the white walls of the temple of Isis ; but the lower third of the columns in the colonnade about this temple was painted red, and the entablature was no doubt ornamented with colored designs, as was that of the temple of Apollo. The best preserved example of this last phase of Pompeian architectural ornamentation is in the semicircular vaulted niche at the right of the Street of Tombs.

Thus we see accomplished at Pompeii, in less than two centuries, a complete revolution in matters of taste, so far as relates to architecture. An entirely new feeling has been developed. The beauty of contour and of symmetrical proportion found in the Greek architecture had no charm for the Pompeian of the later time ; its place had been usurped by a different form of beauty, that produced by the use of a variety of brilliant colors in association with forms that were intricate, and often grotesque.



PLATE XI.—ARTEMIS. COPY OF AN ARCHAIC WORK





## CHAPTER LIII

### *SCULPTURE*

THE open squares and public buildings of Pompeii were peopled with statues. The visitor who walked about the Forum in the years immediately preceding the eruption, saw on all sides the forms of the men of past generations who had rendered service to the city, as well as those of men of his own time.

Besides the five colossal images of emperors and members of the imperial families, places were provided in the Forum for between seventy and eighty life size equestrian statues; and behind each of these was room for a standing figure. Whether all the places were occupied cannot now be determined, but from the sepulchral inscription of Umbricius Scaurus (p. 418) it is clear that as late as the time of Claudius or Nero, there was yet room for another equestrian figure. Statues were placed also in the Forum Triangulare and occasionally at the sides of the streets.

In the portico of the Macellum were twenty-five statues; the sanctuary of the City Lares contained eight, while the portico of the Eumachia building furnished places for twenty-one. But only one of the hundreds of statues erected in honor of worthy citizens has been preserved, that of Holconius Rufus, the re-builder of the Large Theatre; the figure was dressed in the uniform of a military tribune, and stood on Abbondanza Street near the Stabian Baths. With this should be classed the portrait statues in the temple of Fortuna (p. 131), and those of Octavia (Fig. 38), Marcellus (Fig. 39), and Eumachia.

The statue of Eumachia is an interesting example of the ordinary portrait sculpture of the Early Empire (Fig. 255). The pose is by no means ungraceful, the treatment of the drapery is modest and effective. The tranquil and thoughtful

face is somewhat idealized, and without offensive emphasis of details. The statue is not a masterpiece; nevertheless, it gives us a pleasant impression of the lady whose generosity placed the fullers under obligation, and affords an insight into the artistic resources of the city.



Fig. 255. — Statue of the priestess Eumachia.

A number of portrait statues belonging to sepulchral monuments were found when the tombs east of the Amphitheatre were excavated (Chap. 51). Most of them are of tufa covered with stucco; the rest are of fine-grained limestone. From the aesthetic point of view they are valueless.

Sculptured portraits of a different type were set up in private houses. Relatives, freedmen, and even slaves sometimes placed at the rear of the atrium, near the entrance of the tablinum, a herm of the master of the house. At each side of the square pillar supporting the bust, there was usually an arm-like projection (seen on

the herm of Cornelius Rufus, Fig. 121), on which garlands were hung upon birthdays and other anniversary occasions. Both the herm of Rufus and that of Vesonius Primus previously mentioned (p. 396) are of marble; the head belonging to the herm of Sorex (p. 176) is of bronze.

The most striking of the portrait herms is that of Lucius

Caecilius Jucundus (Fig. 256), which was set up in duplicate, for the sake of symmetrical arrangement, in the atrium of his house on Stabian Street. The pillar is of marble; the dedication reads *Genio L[ucii] nostri Felix l[ibertus]*, — ‘Felix, freedman, to the Genius of our Lucius.’

The bust, of bronze, is modelled with realistic vigor. There is no attempt to soften the prominent and almost repulsive features by idealization. We see the Pompeian auctioneer just as he was, a shrewd, alert, energetic man, with somewhat of a taste for art, and more for the good things of life, — a man who would bear watching in a financial transaction.

Houses were adorned also with heads and busts of famous men of the past, — poets, philosophers, and statesmen. An extensive collection of historical portraits was discovered at Herculaneum, but Pompeii thus far has not yielded many examples. In a room in one of the houses was found a group of three

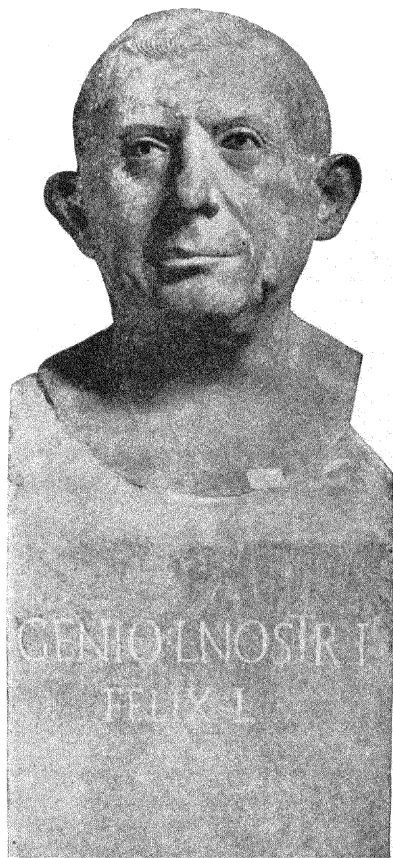


Fig. 256. — Portrait herm of Caecilius Jucundus.

life size, representing Epicurus, Demosthenes, and apparently the Alexandrian poet Callimachus, whose works were particularly valued in the time of the Early Empire. The identification of the third head is not certain, but whether Callimachus or some other poet is intended, the group reveals the direction of the owner's literary tastes; he was interested in philosophy, oratory, and poetry.

Two portrait busts of distinguished men, which evidently belong together, were found in another house, laid one side. In the Naples Museum they bore the names of the Younger Brutus and Pompey, but both identifications are erroneous; the features in neither case agree with the representations upon coins. The faces, as shown by the physiognomy and the treatment of the hair, are those of Romans of the end of the Republic or the beginning of the Empire. Recently a new identification has

been proposed which has much in its favor. It rests chiefly upon the resemblance of one of the busts to the mosaic portrait of Virgil, discovered in 1896 at Susa, in Africa. The full, round face of the other agrees very well with what we know of the appearance of Horace. It may be that we have here a pair of poets, the two most prominent of the Augustan Age.



Fig. 257. — Double bust, Bacchus and bacchante. Garden of the house of the Vettii.

Frequently the gardens of the peristyles, as those of the houses of the Vettii and of Lucretius, were profusely adorned with sculptures of all kinds. We find in them statuettes, herms, small figures of animals, and diminutive groups. Fig-

ures derived from the myths of the bacchic cycle, Bacchus, Silenus, satyrs, and bacchantes, are particularly common. The artistic value is slight; among the best examples is the double bust, with Bacchus on one side and a bacchante on the other, found in the garden of the house of the Vettii (Fig. 257).

Characteristic among these sculptures are the figures designed for the adornment of fountains; a number of them are exhibited in the Museum at Naples. Bacchic figures are met with most frequently. A good example is the marble Silenus in the garden

of the house of Lucretius; the water spurts from the opening in the wineskin which the old man carries. The design of the small bronze satyr in the peristyle of the house of the Centenary is more pleasing; an opening in the wineskin, held under the left arm, cast a jet against the outstretched right hand in such a way that the water was thrown back upon the satyr's body.

Fountains were adorned also with genre groups and animal forms. We have already noticed the two bronze groups in the peristyle of the house of the Vettii, each representing a boy holding a duck, from the bill of which sprang a jet of water (Fig. 162). The largest collection of animal forms was about the basin in the middle peristyle of the house of the Citharist; it comprised two dogs, a boar, a lion, a deer, and a snake, each throwing a jet into the basin below. The fountain jets, however, were not in all cases so closely related to the ornamental pieces. A number of those in the house of the Vettii sprang from lead pipes near the figures. The familiar bronze statue of the seated fisherman, in the Naples Museum, belonged to a fountain, in which the jet was thrown forward, not from the figure, but from the mouth of a mask projecting from the stump on which the fisherman sits.

Of the statues of divinities set up for worship in the temples, there are unfortunately but few remains. The most important fragment is the head of Jupiter, discussed in a previous chapter (Fig. 22). Three wretched terra cotta statues of the gods of the Capitol were found, as we have seen, in the temple of Zeus Mili-chius; and mention has been made also of the herms and other specimens of sculpture in the courts of the temples of Apollo and Isis, and in the palaestra. More numerous than any other class of sculptures, however, are the small bronze images of tutelary divinities preserved in the domestic shrines. These are of interest rather from the light which they shed on the practices of domestic worship than from their excellence as works of art, and it seems unnecessary to add anything here to what has already been said in regard to them in the chapter dealing with the arrangements of the Pompeian house. But occasionally there were large domestic shrines, in which statues of merit were placed; among these are two worthy of mention.

In the corner of a garden belonging to a house in the first Region (I. ii. 17) is a shrine faced with white marble, in which was a small marble statue of Aphrodite, partly supported by a figure commonly identified as Hope, *Spes*. The carving is in no way remarkable, but the statue is of interest on account of the well preserved coloring applied to the eyes, hair, and dress. The group is now in the Naples Museum.

A more important example, from the aesthetic point of view, is the statue of Artemis, of one half life size, shown in Plate XI. It was found in a house near the Amphitheatre which was excavated in 1760 and covered up again. It is a careful copy, made in the time of Augustus, of a Greek masterpiece produced in the period of the Persian Wars. The original was probably the Artemis Laphria mentioned by Pausanias. This was a work of Menaechmus and Soedias, two sculptors of Naupactus. Previous to the battle of Actium it stood in a sanctuary in Calydon, whence it was removed by Augustus, who presented it to the colony founded by him at Patras.

The goddess appears in this statue as a huntress, moving forward with a firm but light step; the bow in the left hand has disappeared. The copyist was remarkably successful in impressing upon his work the gracious and pleasing character of the original; the later archaic Greek art, in spite of its conventions, is full of human feeling. The copy preserved also the coloring of the model; but the tinting of the Roman colorist was probably less delicate than that of the Greek limner who added the polychrome decoration to the marble original. The hair was yellow. The pupils of the eyes were brown, the eyelashes and eyebrows black. The rosettes of the diadem were yellow, and the border of the outer garment was richly variegated in tints of yellow, rose color, and white. Traces of rose-colored stripes are visible also about the openings of the sleeves, on the edge of the mantle at the neck, and on the border of the chiton.

Besides the bronze statues of Apollo and Artemis already mentioned (pp. 88, 352), four others of those found at Pompeii are worthy of more than passing notice,—the dancing satyr from which the house of the Faun received its name, the

small Silenus used as a standard for a vase, the so-called Narcissus and the Ephebus found in 1900.

The dancing satyr is shown in Fig. 258. It was found lying on the floor of the atrium in the house of the Faun, but the pedestal could not be identified. The figure is instinct with rhythmic motion.

Every muscle of the satyr's sinewy frame is in tension as he moves forward in the dance, snapping his fingers to keep time; the pose is a marvel of skill. The unhuman character of the half-brute is indicated by the horns projecting from the forehead, and the pointed ears. The face, marked by low cunning, offers no suggestion of lofty thought or moral sense. We have here the personification of unalloyed physical enjoyment. The satyr, unvexed by any care or qualm of con-

science, is intoxicated with the joy of free movement, and dances on and on, unwearied, with perfect ease and grace.

Muscular tension is skilfully indicated in the Silenus, who stands holding above his head with his left hand a round frame, in which, as shown by the fragments, a vase of colored glass was standing at the time of the eruption. The head, crowned with ivy, leans forward and to the right, and the right hand is moved

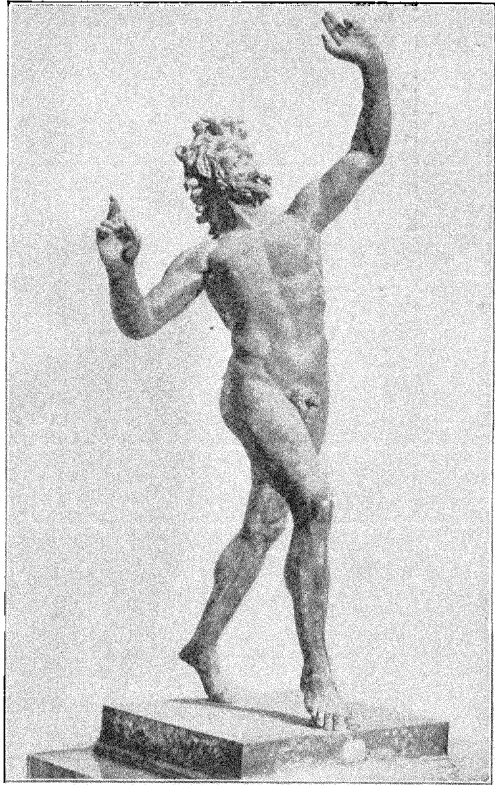


Fig. 258. — Dancing Faun. Bronze statuette, now in the Naples Museum.

away from the body in the effort to balance the weight supported by the left. The frame is awkwardly designed to represent a snake. The thick-set figure of Silenus is about sixteen

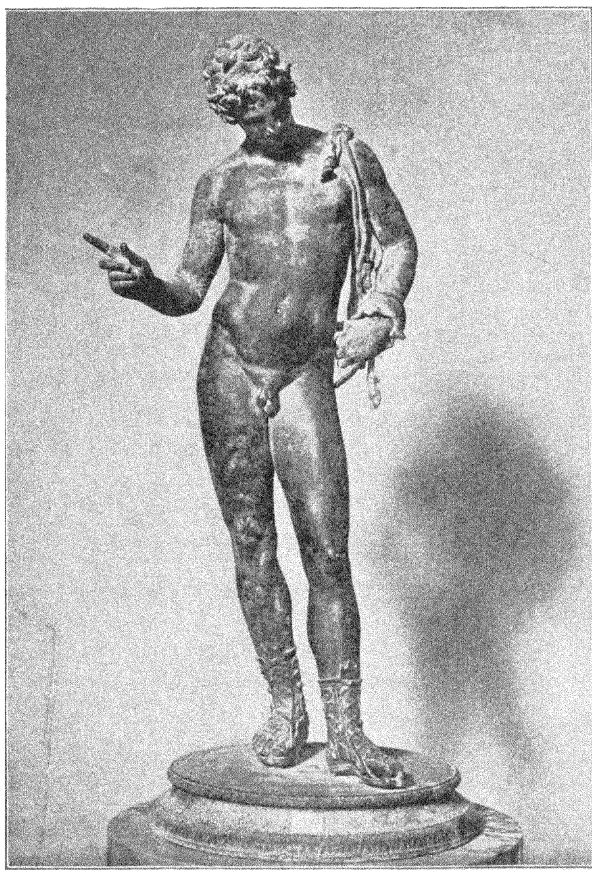


Fig. 259. — Listening Dionysus, wrongly identified as Narcissus. Bronze statuette in the Naples Museum.

inches high. This bronze was discovered in 1864, in the house of Popidius Priscus (VII. ii. 20).

The third of the bronzes mentioned is also a statuette, about two feet high (Fig. 259). It was found in 1863 in a house of the seventh Region (VII. xii. 21). The figure is that of a youth of



remarkable beauty. The face wears an expression of childlike innocence and pleasure. The head leans forward in the attitude of listening; the index finger of the right hand is extended, and the graceful pose is that of one who catches the almost inaudible sound of a distant voice.

The name Narcissus, given to the figure by Fiorelli immediately upon its discovery, is surely wrong; that unhappy youth did not reciprocate the love of the nymph Echo, and could not have been imagined with so cheerful a face. The figure has also been called Pan, from a myth in which Pan and Echo appear together; but the characteristic attributes are lacking, and the rough god of the shepherds would not have been represented in so lithe and graceful a form.

This beautiful youth, with an ivy crown upon his head and elaborate coverings for the feet, and with the skin of a doe hanging over his shoulder, is none other than Dionysus himself. The mirthful god of the vine is not playing with his panther — the base is too small to have been designed for two figures, and the attitude of listening is not consistent with this interpretation. The youthful divinity has fixed his attention upon some distant sound, — the cries of the bacchantes upon some mountain height, or the laughter of naiads in a shady glen.

Of unusual interest is the bronze statue of an ephebus, discovered in November, 1900, outside the city on the north side, about a hundred paces from the Vesuvius Gate; it was laid away in an upper room of a house presenting nothing else worthy of note. It is apparently a Greek original, and is of three-quarters life size (Fig. 257).

The statue represents a youth about fourteen years of age, of slender but well-developed form, and finely chiselled features. Advancing with firm but graceful step, he rests the right foot, and is bringing the left foot forward. In his right hand, extended, he carried some object — a branch, it may be, or a crown, which was to be laid upon an altar; the eye naturally follows the movement of the hand.

Especially effective is the rhythmic movement of the body. The right thigh, sustained by the resting foot, is carried slightly forward; the chest on the left side swings back, while in conse-

quence of the extension of the right hand the shoulders remain horizontal. Notwithstanding the felicity of the pose, it must be confessed that the modelling as a whole is somewhat lacking in vigor, the treatment of details being superficial.

In Greece, before it was carried off to Italy, the figure may

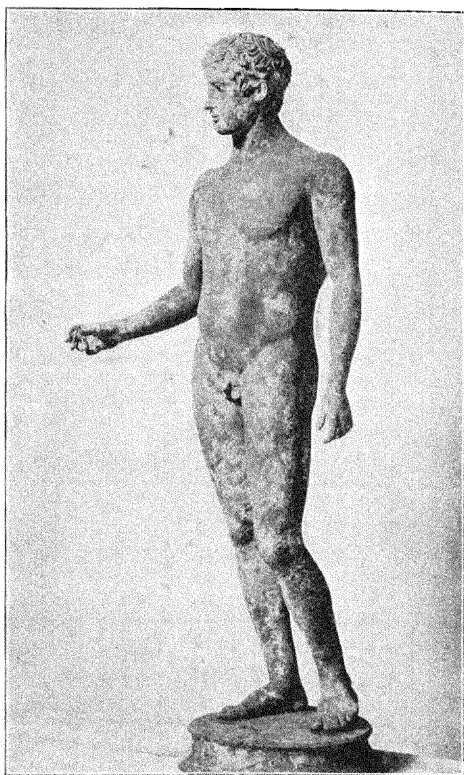


Fig. 260. — Bronze youth. Naples Museum.

have been set up as a votive offering in some sanctuary, or have stood in a gymnasium. From indications on the under side of the feet it is clear that the statue, after the manner in vogue in Greece, was mounted on a stone pedestal, being joined to the pedestal with melted lead; the round bronze base found with it is of Italian origin. Probably when it was being transported from Greece the eyes, of marble became loose in their sockets and fell down into the hollow interior of the statue; they were replaced by glass eyes. The breaking of the right arm, which was severed

when found, made possible the recovery of the original eyes, which have now again been set in place.

Insensible to the charm of the figure when seen as the sculptor designed it, the Pompeian owner, deciding to turn it to practical use, converted it into a lampholder. In the right hand was placed a short bar of bronze, to either end of which was fastened a small ornament with a projecting arm, for a hanging lamp;

the whole statue was then coated with silver. However barbarous the taste that prompted the transformation, the decorative effect of the silvered statue with its lighted lamps must have been far from unpleasant.

Regarding the place of the statue in relation to the development of Greek sculpture, it is yet too early to speak.

Had the ruins of Pompeii not been systematically searched, after the disaster, for works of art and other objects of value, they would have yielded a far richer store of sculptures. But while the specimens recovered add little to our knowledge of types, they give a new insight into the application of the sculptor's art in antiquity to the beautifying of the surroundings of everyday life.

## CHAPTER LIV

### *PAINTING.—WALL DECORATION*

THE inner walls of houses and public buildings at Pompeii were plastered, and usually decorated with colors; only store-rooms, kitchens, and apartments designed for the use of slaves were left in the white. Outer walls were as a rule plastered, except when built of hewn stone, a kind of construction not employed after the Tufa Period. Stucco was occasionally used on façades of ashlar work where special ornamentation seemed to be needed, as at the entrance of the house of the Faun; and in later times, now and then, a front with reticulate or brick facing was left unplastered. Previous to the time of Augustus the stucco coating of outer walls ordinarily remained uncolored. Afterwards color was employed, but only to a limited extent, as in the addition of a dark base to a wall the rest of which remained white.

The painting upon Pompeian walls, as shown by the painstaking investigations of Otto Donner, was fresco, that is, executed in water colors upon the moist stucco of a freshly plastered surface. The method of preparing the wall was less elaborate than that recommended by Vitruvius, who advises the use of seven coats of plaster, first a rough coat, then three of sand mortar and three of stucco made with powdered marble, each coat being finer than the one preceding. In the better rooms, however, we find upon the walls at least one, often several, layers of sand mortar, and one or more coats of marble stucco; the entire thickness of the plastering varies from two to three inches. In unfinished or neglected rooms walls are sometimes found with a single coat of sand mortar. Occasionally powdered brick was used in the stucco as a substitute for marble dust.

Plastering so thick as that ordinarily used must have remained moist for a considerable length of time, much longer than the

plastering of our day ; yet it could not have retained its moisture long enough to complete the painting of an entire wall as one piece. Walls which are elaborately decorated sometimes show traces of a seam, where a moist section was laid on next to one that had already become partially dry. When the decorative design included pictures, usually the divisions and borders and other decorative elements were finished rapidly while the surface was moist ; then a square or round hole was cut where a picture was to be inserted, and filled with fresh stucco, on which the picture was painted. In this way a carefully executed painting could be set in a wall already dry.

In the last years of the city pictures were sometimes painted on the dry surface of a wall that had previously received its decorative framework ; some of the figures seen in the middle of the large panels furnish examples of this method of work. A size of some kind must have been used in such cases, but chemical analysis thus far has failed to determine its nature. The distemper painting was much less durable than the fresco, the colors of which became fixed with the hardening of the wall.

Sometimes, as in the house of Lucretius, the place of paintings upon stucco was taken by paintings upon wood, the wooden panels being let into the wall. As these panels were thin and lacked durability, we may perhaps believe that the paintings which they contained were of inferior quality.

The artistic value of Pompeian painting varies from the routine work of indifferent decorators to pictures of genuine merit, such as those found in the house of the Tragic Poet, the house of the Vettii, and the house of Castor and Pollux. Viewed as a whole, the wall decoration has a peculiar interest for us ; it not only richly illustrates the application of painting by the ancients to decorative uses, but also affords a striking example of the evolution of decorative designs from simple architectural motives to intricate patterns, in which the scheme of coloring is hardly less complicated than that of the ornamental forms.

The four styles of wall decoration were briefly characterized in the Introduction, in connection with our survey of the periods

of construction. It now remains to illustrate these by typical examples and to trace their inner connection. We are here concerned only with the decorative designs, or ornamental framework of the walls; the paintings, which formed the centre of interest in the later styles, are reserved for consideration in a separate chapter.

The development of ancient wall decoration came comparatively late, after the art of painting, in the hands of the Greek masters, had reached and passed its climax. Yet we know almost nothing in regard to the earlier stages. Apparently the system which we find at Pompeii originated in the period following the death of Alexander the Great, and received its impulse of development from the contact of Greece with the Orient. But whatever the origin, from the time to which the earliest specimens at Pompeii belong—the second century B.C.—to the destruction of the city, we can trace an uninterrupted development, which, nevertheless, comes to an end in the latter part of the first century A.D.

The decline is characterized by increasing poverty of design, with feeble imitation of past styles. Just as it is setting in, however, extant examples become rare. Some specimens of the wall decoration of later times, as of the period of the Antonines and the reign of Septimius Severus, are preserved, but they are isolated and not sufficient in number to enable us to follow the stages of the decline. Thus it happens that the only period in the history of ancient wall decoration in regard to which we have the materials for a full and satisfactory study, is the period exemplified in the remains at Pompeii, the chronological sequence of which extends over two centuries.

The oldest houses, those belonging to the Period of the Limestone Atriums (p. 39), have preserved no traces of wall decoration beyond the limited application of white stucco.

The remains of the decoration of the Tufa Period are fairly abundant, and are well preserved on account of the excellent quality of the stucco to which the colors were applied. They belong to the first or Incrustation Style. A good example has already been given, the end wall of a bedroom in the house of the Centaur (Fig. 122); we present here, for more detailed

examination, the left wall of the atrium in the house of Sallust (Fig. 261).

Notwithstanding the lack of color in our illustration, the divisions of the wall are plainly seen — a dado, painted yellow; a relatively low middle division, the upper edge of which is set off by a projecting cornice; and an upper part reaching from the first cornice, which appears in three sections on account of the doors, to the second. The surface of the main part of the wall is moulded in stucco to represent slabs or blocks with bevelled edges, which are painted in imitation of different kinds of marble. Above the high double doors opening into rooms connected with the atrium, frames of lattice-work for the admission of air and light have been assumed in our restoration.

The dado in the Incrustation Style is generally treated as a separate member; in rare instances the imitation of marble blocks is extended to the floor. It has a smooth surface and is painted a bright color, usually yellow; there is no suggestion of the practice of later times, which gave a darker color to the base than to the rest of the wall. This independent handling is undoubtedly to be explained as a survival from a previous decorative system, in which the lower part of the wall, as at Tiryns, was protected by a baseboard; the conventional yellow color with which it is painted, as in the case of the lower stripe of the Doric architrave in the house of the Faun (p. 51), is a reminiscence of the use of wood. The upper edge of the dado was ordinarily distinguished by a smooth, narrow projecting band or fillet.

The blocks moulded in slight relief upon the main part of the wall are of different sizes. In our illustration we see first a series of three large slabs, which are painted black. Above these are three narrow blocks of magenta. The rest present a considerable variety of size and color, until we reach those just under the cornice, which again are all of the same shade, magenta.

The cornice in this style is always of the Ionic type, with dentils. In many cases, as that of the bedroom in the house of the Centaur, it serves as an upper border for the decoration, the wall above being unpainted. Sometimes, however, the

imitation of marble is carried above the cornice, the wall surface being divided to represent smoothly joined blocks without bevelled edges, or painted in plain masses of color separated by a narrow white stripe, as in the atrium of the house of Sallust. Above these brilliant panels we see in Fig. 261 a second cornice of simple design; the wall between this cornice and the ceiling was left without decoration.

This system made no provision for paintings; their place was taken in the general scheme of decoration by elaborate mosaic

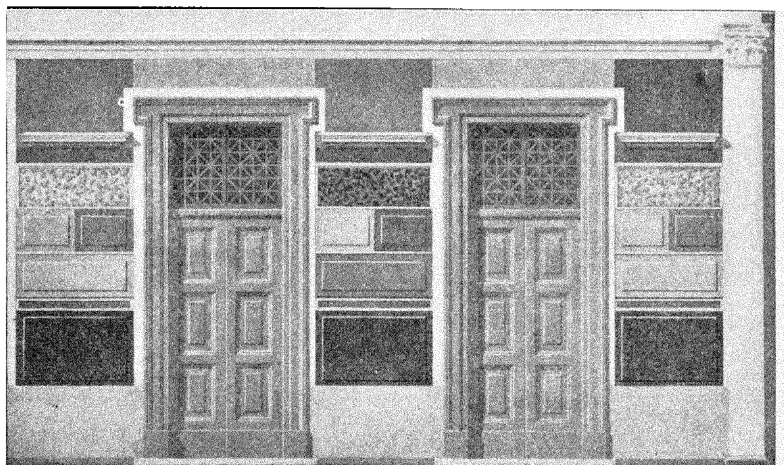


Fig. 261. — Wall decoration in the atrium of the house of Sallust. First or Incrustation Style.

pictures upon the floor. The taste of the age evidently preferred representations in mosaic; otherwise the painting of pictures upon the walls, which was brought to so high a degree of perfection by Polygnotus and his contemporaries, would not have been abandoned.

The Incrustation Style, as exemplified at Pompeii, is in a secondary stage; it must have been worked out originally in genuine materials, at a time when walls were actually veneered, to a certain height, with slabs of various kinds of marble, cut and arranged to represent ashlar work; above the cornice marking the upper edge of the veneering, the surface was left in the white. The use of different varieties of marble points



to an active commercial intercourse between the countries about the Mediterranean Sea, such as first became possible after the conquests of Alexander. So characteristic a style, requiring the use of costly materials, could only have been developed in an important centre of wealth and culture.

In view of all the circumstances, we are probably safe in concluding that the Incrustation Style originated in Alexandria, in the third century B.C. From Alexandria it spread to other cities of the East and West, stucco being used in imitation of

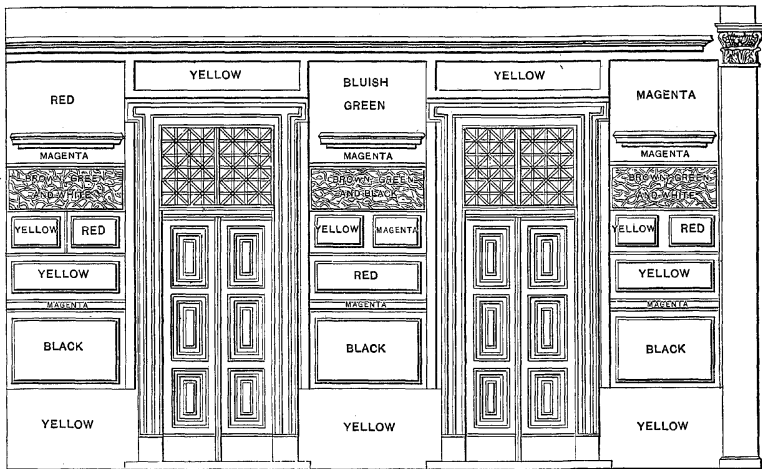


Fig. 262.—Distribution of colors in the section of wall represented in Fig. 261.

marble, where marble could not be procured; scanty remains similar to those at Pompeii, and of approximately the same period—the second century B.C.—have been found at Pergamon, on the island of Delos, and lately in Priene. This style represents for us the wall decoration of the Hellenistic age. It is characterized by the same poverty of form and obvious striving after simplicity which we have noticed in the architecture of the Tufa Period. The projecting cornice above the body of the wall is always of the same type; yet the second century B.C. enjoyed a rich heritage of architectural forms, and lack of variety in this and other details of ornamentation was due, not to dearth of materials, but to the prevailing taste.

The earliest known example of the decoration of the second or Architectural Style, is on the walls of the Small Theatre, which was built soon after 80 B.C. The style remained in vogue till the middle of the reign of Augustus; it may be loosely characterized as the wall decoration of the first century B.C. It shows an interesting development from simpler to richer and more complex forms. The more elaborate and finished designs are not so well exemplified at Pompeii as in Rome, where two beautiful series have been found, both dating from the earlier part of the reign of Augustus. One series is in the so-called house of Livia or Germanicus on the Palatine. The other was found in a house on the right bank of the Tiber, excavated in 1878; the paintings were removed to the new Museo delle Terme. The specimen shown in Plate XII, however, is from a Pompeian wall; the room in which it was found opens off from the peristyle of a house in the fifth Region (V. i. 18).

The oldest walls of the second style closely resemble those of the first, with this characteristic difference: the imitation of marble veneering is no longer produced with the aid of relief; color alone is employed, upon a plane surface, as in the cella of the temple of Jupiter (Fig. 20). The earlier division of the wall into three parts is retained, but the painted cornice, no longer restricted to the dentil type, appears in a variety of forms. The base also is treated with greater freedom. Frequently it is painted in strong projection, as if the rest of the wall above it were further from the eye, while upon the shelf thus formed are painted columns reaching to the ceiling and seemingly in front of the main part of the wall; such columns and pillars, with Corinthian capitals, are seen in Plate XII, at the right and the left.

Thus the designs of this style at first comprised only simple elements, a wall made up of painted blocks or panels with a dado painted in projection supporting columns that seemed to carry an architrave on which the ceiling rested; there is an excellent example in the house of the Labyrinth, on the walls of a room at the rear of the garden. But the designs gradually became more complex, partly through the differentiation of the simple elements, partly through the introduction of new motives, until

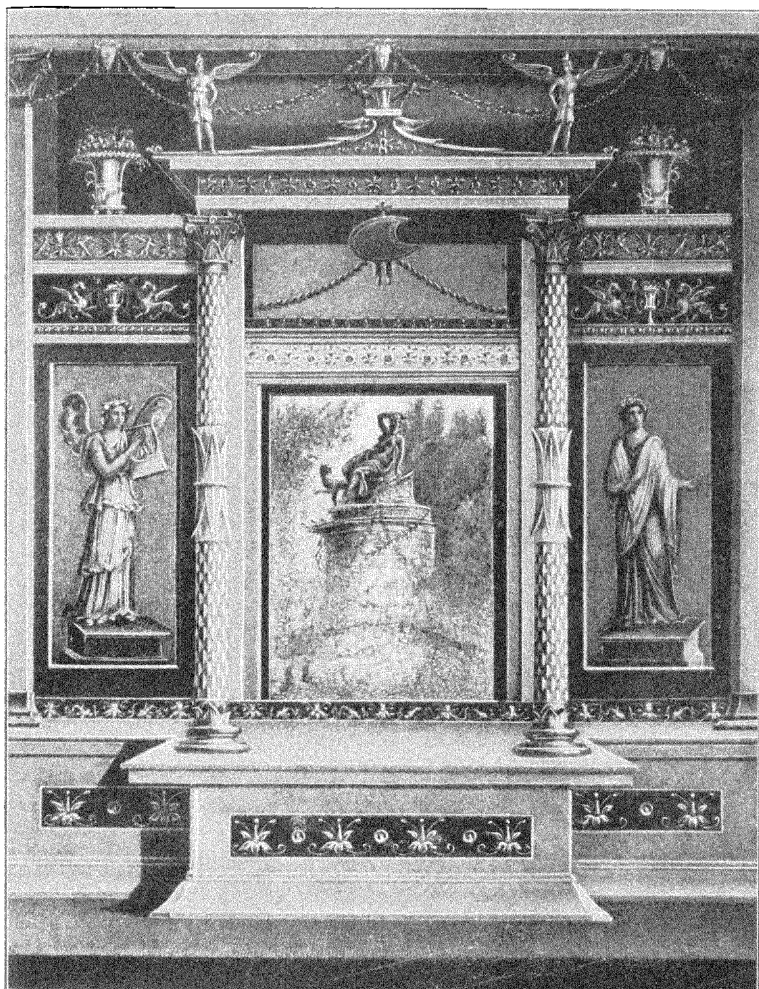


PLATE XII.—SPECIMEN OF WALL DECORATION, SECOND OR  
ARCHITECTURAL STYLE



a complete architectural system was developed. This system differs from that of the fourth style, which is also architectural, in that it adheres in the main to actual or possible structural forms, while those of the fourth style are fantastic in their proportions and arrangement.

In this process of development two clearly defined tendencies become manifest, one affecting the treatment of the upper division of the wall, the other the elaboration of a characteristic motive which now first appears, a framework for the principal painting; for architectural designs are well adapted for the display of pictures, and wall paintings now begin to have a prominent place in Pompeian decoration.

The upper division tends more and more to be represented as an open space, behind the plane of projection in which the main part appears. Thus in Plate XII we see on either side a silver vase with fruits and vine leaves, standing on the cornice of the main wall, in the open. Often the upper space is painted blue, as if one caught a glimpse of the sky above the wall; sometimes the outline of a wall further beyond is seen, or columns in the rear connected with those in front by a decorative framework; and not infrequently small architectural designs, in perspective, rest upon the cornice where the vases are shown in our plate. But in all the designs of this style, complex as well as simple, the threefold division of the wall carried over from the first style is retained; very often the distinction between the base, main wall, and upper portion is emphasized by painting them so that they seem to be in three planes of projection.

The ornamental framework for the painting, consistently with the architectural character of the decoration as a whole, is generally conceived as a pavilion projecting from the wall; so in Plate XII, where we see two columns sustaining a roof, upon the front of which winged figures stand, each with a hand extended upward to the entablature of the large pillars at the sides. The design of the pavilion is suggested by that of a shrine, such a shrine as the one in the apse of the sanctuary of the City Lares (Fig. 41).

This conception is here borne out by the subject of the painting, which represents a statue of Dionysus resting, ivy-crowned,

with a thyrsus in his left hand ; the right hand is thrown gracefully over the head, and at the feet of the god the lifelike figure of a panther is seen. The round high pedestal supporting the group is in the open, and the background affords a charming vista among the trees.

This framing of the principal painting led further to the division of the body of the wall vertically into three sections, a broad central section, included within the outline of the pavilion, and two panels, one at each side. The arrangement is well illustrated in our plate, the side panels of which are adorned with painted statues of tastefully draped figures, one of them holding a lyre. The later styles of decoration retained this symmetrical division of the wall space, which made prominent the picture of greatest interest without detracting from the finish of the decorative setting ; but in the fourth style it is often obscured by the intricacy of the designs.

The third style came into vogue during the reign of Augustus, and was prevalent until about 50 A.D. ; we shall call it the Ornate Style, from its free use of ornament. It was developed out of the second style in the same way that the second style was developed out of the first ; but the transition was not accomplished at Pompeii, which, like the provincial cities of our day, received its fashions from the great centres.

The characteristics of the Ornate Style, as regards both the main design and the ornamentation, may easily be perceived from the example presented in Fig. 263, especially if this is viewed in contrast with the specimen of the preceding style shown in Plate XII. The architectural design has now lost all semblance of real construction. Columns, entablatures, and other members are treated conventionally, as subordinate parts of a decorative scheme ; they are, with few exceptions, reduced to narrow bands or stripes of color dividing the surface of the wall. The elaborate border of the central painting suggests a pavilion, yet the projecting base, which in the second style gave this design its significance, is lacking. Hardly less noteworthy is the treatment of the upper portion of the wall. Fanciful architectural forms and various ornaments stand out against a white background, suggestive of the open sky ; yet in our

example, as often in this style, there is no organic connection between the decoration of the main part of the wall and that of the ceiling.

Every part of the framework of the third style is profusely ornamented. The ornamental system is seen to have a certain affinity with that of Egypt, and Egyptian figures occasionally appear; whence we infer that it was developed in Alexandria. Early in the reign of Augustus, in consequence of the relations with Egypt following the battle of Actium, a new impulse may well have been given to the introduction into Italy of Alexandrian art.

The specimen of the third style shown in Fig. 263 is from the beautiful decoration of the house of Spurius Mensor, portions of which are well preserved. The base of our specimen consists of two parts, a lower border and a broad stripe of black divided into sections of different shapes and sizes by lines of light color. In the small sections ornaments are seen painted in delicate shades, two of them being faces.

The large painting presents a mythological scene, but the subject is not clear. The priestess seems to be performing a ceremony of expiation in order to free from the taint of some crime the young man who, with a wreath on his head and a sword, pointed downward, in his right hand, bends over the hind just slain as a sacrifice. The colors are subdued and effective; the painting from the technical point of view is among the best found at Pompeii.

Around the painting are narrow black stripes separated by white lines; in the broader stripe underneath, between the columns, are two light blue birds upon a dull red ground. The small squares in the flat cornice above are of many colors, shades of green, pink, and brown predominating. The broad panels on either side of the painting are of the color often called Pompeian red; they have an ornamented border, and a small winged figure in the centre. The stripe below these shows vases and other ornaments on an orange-yellow ground; that above, interrupted by the cornice over the painting, is black, with various ornaments, as baskets of fruit, sistrums, and geese, painted in neutral colors. Among the ornaments of the upper

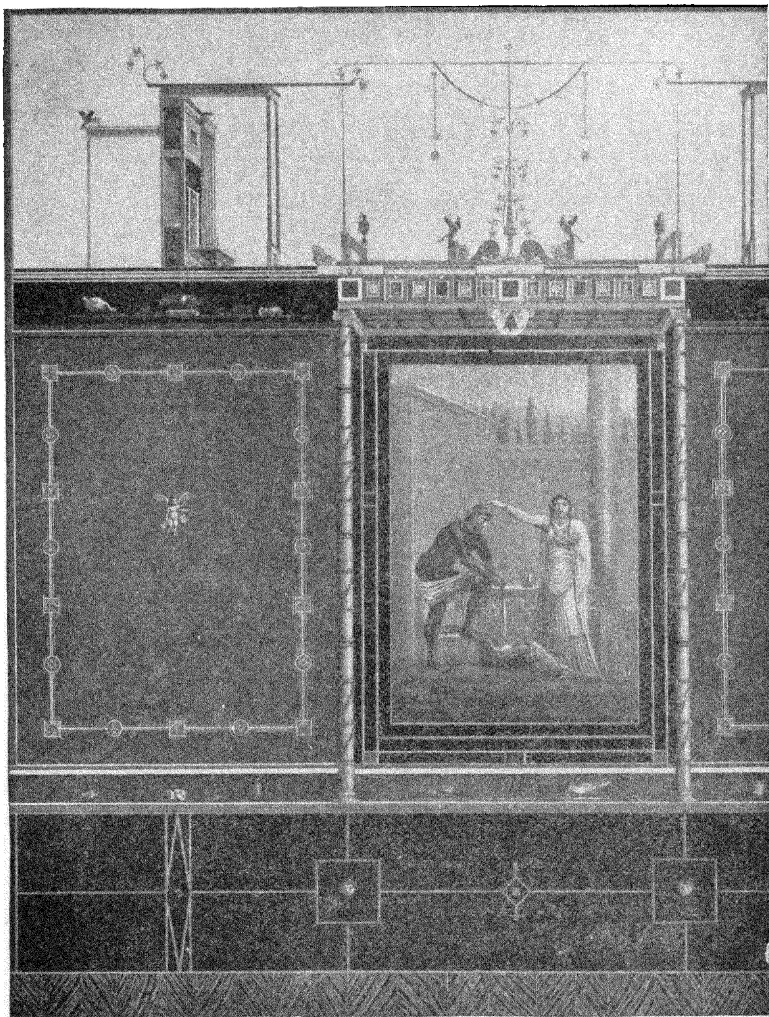


Fig. 263.—Specimen of wall decoration. Third or Ornate Style.  
From the house of Spurius Mesor.

part of the wall, festoons of leaves, vines, vases, parrots, and griffins can be distinguished, painted in light shades of brown, blue, green, and yellow.

The effect of the Ornate Style, with its symmetrical forms and variety of detail, is pleasing; but the free use of neutral



tones gives the walls a somewhat cold and formal appearance when we bring into contrast the warm coloring of the next period.

The fourth or Intricate Style first appears about the middle of the first century A.D. It started, as did the third, with the symmetrical division of the wall developed in the second style; it differs from the third in that it always retained a sense of architectural form. The columns are often fluted, as in a specimen in the Naples Museum (Fig. 264). The entablatures and coffered ceilings, light and airy as they often seem, have nevertheless a suggestion of reality; we know that architectural forms are presented, and not mere stripes of color. Yet the difference between the fourth and the second style is no less apparent. In the latter the architectural designs are not inconsistent with real construction; in the former the imagination of the designer had free scope, producing patterns so fantastic and intricate that the fundamental idea at the basis of the wall divisions seems entirely lost sight of at times.

The preference for architectural forms was carried so far that between the large panels of black, red, or yellow, vertical sections of wall were left which were filled with airy structures on a white background; the parts represented as nearest the beholder were painted yellow, those further back were adorned with all the colors of the rainbow, thus forming a kind of color perspective (Fig. 265). The designs of the main part were extended into the upper division, and frequently the whole wall appears as an intricate scaffolding, partially concealed by the large panels; these sometimes have the appearance of tapestries hanging suspended from the scaffolding, and are so treated, as in the case of the curtains shown in Plate XIII. The fundamental conception of the decorative system is lost when the background of the upper part and of the airy scaffoldings is no longer left white, but painted the same color as the rest of the wall, so that the effect of distance and perspective is obscured. Occasionally, also, the architectural framework of the upper portion of the wall has no connection with that of the main part.

The ornaments of the fourth style were taken largely from the domain of plastic art. Groups of statuary as well as single

figures appear either upon projecting portions of the architectural framework, as in Fig. 264, or in the background. They

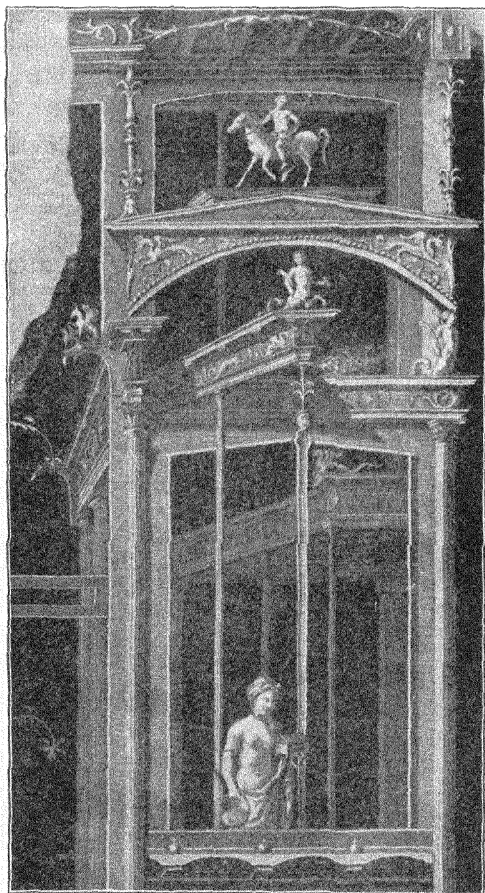


Fig. 264.—Specimen of wall decoration. Fourth style.

are frequently painted yellow, suggesting the gilding applied to ancient statues, particularly those of bronze, and present a striking contrast to the masses of strong color in the large panels and the brilliant shades of the architectural designs. They are in harmony with the taste of the period, which, as we have seen, manifested a fondness for ornamentation in stucco relief, the effect of which was heightened by the free use of color.

The large panels contained paintings of various sizes, sometimes copies of masterpieces, more often a simple floating figure or a Cupid; groups are also found, as Cupid and Psyche, or a satyr with

a bacchante. The appearance of a picture worked in tapestry is given by a border just inside the framework of the panel, as often in the decoration of the fourth style.

The fourth style cannot have been derived from the third. It is organically related with the second, out of which it was developed by laying stress on precisely that element, the architectural, the suppression of which gave rise to the third style

of decoration. The most reasonable explanation of the relations of the four styles, briefly stated, is this :

The Incrustation Style, a direct offshoot of Hellenistic art, was prevalent in eastern cities, where it was naturally followed by the Architectural Style ; this may have been developed at one centre or, in different phases, at different centres contemporaneously.

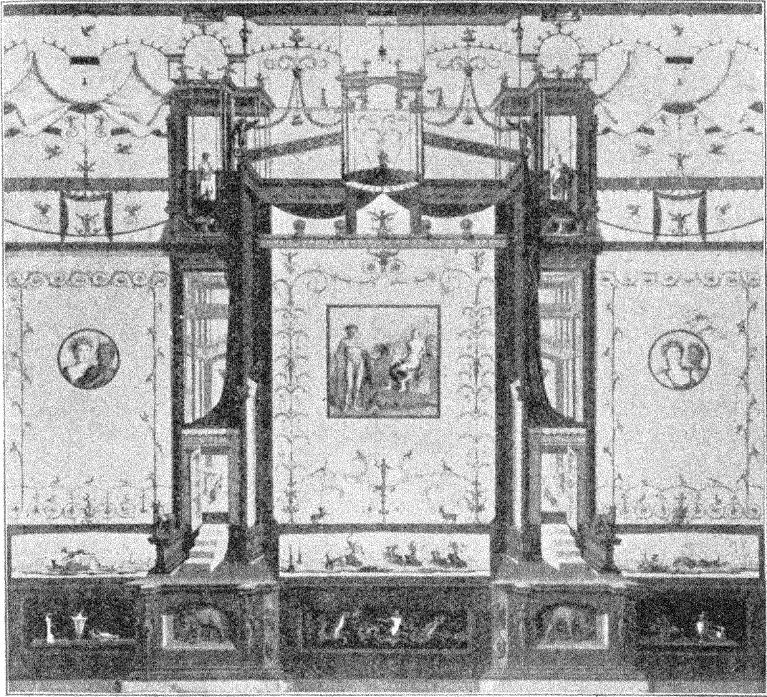


Fig. 265.—Specimen of wall decoration. Fourth style.

In the middle panel, mythological scene in which Hercules is the principal figure ; in each of the panels, a satyr and a bacchant.

At some prominent centre, probably Alexandria, the Architectural Style passed over into the Ornate Style, which was introduced into Italy in the reign of Augustus and remained in vogue till the middle of the first century A.D.

Meanwhile, at some other centre of culture, possibly Antioch, the Architectural Style, by an equally natural course of develop-

ment, had passed over into the Intricate Style, which was first brought to Pompeii about 50 A.D. and remained in fashion till the destruction of the city.

The earthquake of the year 63 threw down some buildings and made necessary the thorough-going repair of many others. Between that year and 79, more walls were freshly decorated, probably, than in any previous period of equal length in the history of the city. For this reason, examples of decoration in the Intricate Style are much more numerous than might have been expected from the length of time that it was in vogue; they give the prevailing cast to the remains of painting in the ruins, and this style is ordinarily thought of when Pompeian wall decoration is referred to. The complex designs and brilliant colors form a decorative scheme which is often most effective, although the system of the third style reveals a finer and more correct taste.

If no remains of the two earlier styles had survived to modern times, the antecedents and relations of the other two could not possibly be understood. But with the first two in mind, we are able to see clearly how the most complex forms of the later decoration may be reduced, in last analysis, to simple elements. Even in the example of the Intricate Style given in Plate XIII, we find a suggestion of the threefold division of the wall into base, main part, and upper part, which was so prominent in the Incrustation Style; and also an elaborate structural form at the middle of the wall recalling the pavilion framework of the second style, with a symmetrical arrangement of the architectural designs on either side, suggesting the panels at the sides of the principal painting.

The slabs of colored marble in the Incrustation Style are represented by panels for pictures or ornamental forms of all shapes and sizes; and the architectural designs, so simple at the beginning, have by almost imperceptible changes and additions become decorative patterns so varied and intricate that taken by themselves they give no hint of their origin.

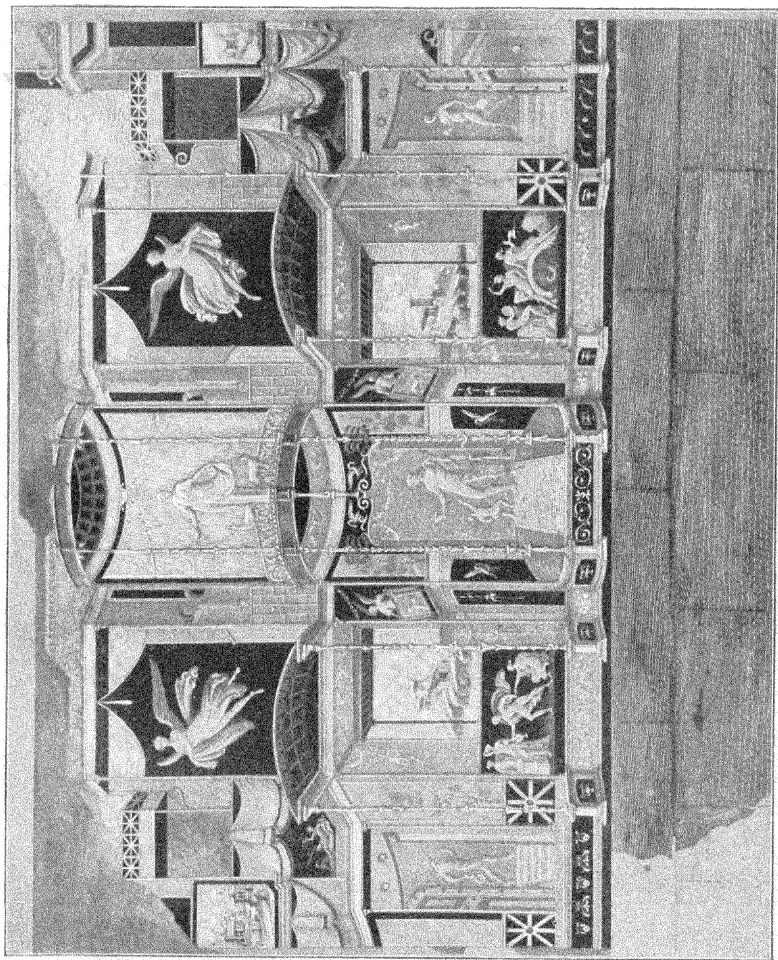


PLATE XIII. — SPECIMEN OF WALL DECORATION. FOURTH OR INTRICATE STYLE



## CHAPTER LV

### *THE PAINTINGS*

THE hanging of pictures upon the walls seems not to have been in vogue at Pompeii during the period to which the remains belong. The system of decoration left no room for framed paintings, and no traces of any such have been discovered. The paintings which have been preserved at Pompeii, not merely the small groups and single figures introduced to enliven the design, but the large compositions as well, all formed a part of the wall decoration.

The number is relatively large. In the catalogue by Helbig, published in 1868, there are nearly two thousand entries, including a few paintings from Herculaneum and other Campanian sites. The supplement compiled by Sogliano in 1879 records more than eight hundred pictures brought to light in the preceding decade. We are probably safe in estimating the whole number of Pompeian paintings still in existence, or known from description, as about thirty-five hundred.

In all this wealth of examples, however, it is not possible to find any evidence of a progressive development either in composition or in technique. There are indeed slight differences, mainly in regard to technical handling and color scheme, which distinguish the paintings found in the decoration of the third style from those of the other two styles in which paintings appear; but, on the other hand, the distinction between those of the second and those of the fourth style is much less marked.

The period from 80 B.C. to 79 A.D. was as little creative in the field of painting as in that of sculpture. No new types appear, no improvements are worked out; the painter, as the sculptor, was an eclectic, who drew upon the creations of the past as suited his fancy, and contented himself with copying or imitating. In

the adaptation of paintings to decorative use the artist reproduced either entire compositions or single motives which seemed to answer his purpose. The general preference was for paintings of the Hellenistic age, after the death of Alexander; yet examples of earlier styles are occasionally found, as the Sacrifice of Iphigenia (Fig. 156) and the dramatic scene in which Orestes and Pylades appear before King Thoas (Fig. 182).

New discoveries and the progress of research will sometime, perhaps, make it possible to present a general survey of the Pompeian paintings from the historical and critical point of view. No such comprehensive treatment is yet possible, however, and we must content ourselves with offering a few observations in regard to the distribution of the paintings among the different decorative styles and the classes of subjects represented.

The Incrustation Style, as previously remarked, left no place for paintings upon the walls. Nevertheless, in isolated cases, we find a simple pictorial representation upon the surface of one of the blocks painted in imitation of marble, as if the veins of the stone had run into a shape suggestive of an object, as a vase or a bird; in one instance, curiously enough, a wrestling match is outlined, between Hercules and Antaeus. In the Tufa Period the desire for paintings was satisfied by the mosaic pictures upon the floor.

The earlier walls of the second style in this respect resemble those of the first; the examples in the house of the Labyrinth have no paintings. The later walls, however, are rich in pictures, but those of Pompeii are not so abundantly adorned as those in Rome (p. 462). The elaborate painting shown in the pavilion frame in Plate XII is exceptional among the Pompeian remains of this style.

The great majority of the paintings are found upon walls of the third and fourth styles. On the older walls of the third style, as we have seen, the principal painting appears in a frame, the design of which is taken from that of the conventional pavilion of the second style. In later examples the close relation between the picture and the frame is no longer maintained; the frame simply encloses a large panel of uniform



color, in the middle of which a relatively small picture is seen. This arrangement was carried over into the fourth style, but the conception of a pavilion frame is entirely lost sight of; the painting is in the middle of a large panel of brilliant color, around which the architectural framework is extended. A Pompeian room well decorated in either of the later styles contained four of these prominent paintings, in case there was no door at the middle of one of the sides; if a door interfered, there were only three.

Paintings were also placed in the divisions of the wall at the right and the left of the central panel. In Plate XII we noticed a single figure on either side of the pavilion, but such additions are rare in the second style. In the third style the side panels are uniformly adorned with paintings. In Fig. 263 the small figure in the middle of the panel at the left is a Cupid; frequently a flying swan is seen, or a landscape lightly sketched in monochrome on the ground of the panel. Sometimes the painting is set off by a separate frame; if this is round, a bust is usually represented. Groups of two figures were preferred for the side panels of the fourth style, the favorite subject being a satyr and a bacchante, as in Fig. 265; these sometimes appear as busts, but are more often represented as floating figures.

Characteristic of the fourth style, in respect to the distribution of paintings, is the use of single figures and simple compositions to add life to the fantastic architectural designs in the upper part of the wall and in the divisions between the large panels. Here we may see satyrs and bacchantes, young girls and solemn-visaged men with implements of sacrifice; the figures appear in great variety of type and subject. Sometimes groups are broken up, and the elements of a mythological scene, as that of Admetus and Alcestis, are distributed as single figures in the architectural framework.

At the time of the eruption the fondness for pictorial representations was increasing, and they were being introduced into every part of the decoration, including the frieze of the main part of the wall, the use of which in this way commenced in the time of the third style (Fig. 263), and the stripe below, between the main part of the wall and the base (Fig. 265);

how elaborate this intermediate decoration might become we have already seen in the case of the house of the Vettii.

Frequently in the fourth style the lower part of the architectural framework separating two large panels appears to be closed, as in Plate XIII, by a narrow panel, above which a painting is seen. The pictures found in these places often represent still life. Seafights are also a favorite subject; such may be seen in the temple of Isis, the Macellum, and one of the rooms in the house of the Vettii. Generally on the walls of the fourth style, wherever there is available space, we find small pictures in great variety, the most common being landscapes, simply painted, with the use of few colors.

It is by no means easy to make a satisfactory classification of Pompeian paintings according to subject. Nevertheless, with a few exceptions, they may be roughly grouped in four general classes, mythological paintings, genre paintings, landscapes, and still life. Most of the large and important pictures belong to the first class. The mythological paintings will therefore be

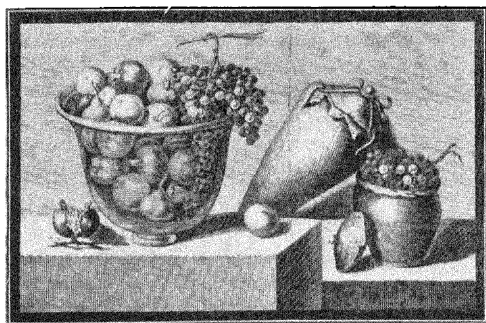


Fig. 266.—A fruit piece, Xenion.

discussed at somewhat greater length; the other three classes will require only a brief characterization.

The still-life paintings represent all kinds of meat, fish, fowl, and fruits. According to Vitruvius, this kind of picture was called *Xenion*. The reason given

for the name recalls a curious custom of ancient Greece. When a guest, *xenos*, was received into a Greek home, says this writer, he was invited to sit at the table for one day. After that provisions were furnished to him uncooked, and he prepared his own meals. A portion of unprepared victuals thus came to be called *xenion*, 'the stranger's portion,' and the name was afterwards transferred to pictures in which such provisions appear. A fruit piece, now in the Naples Museum, is shown in Fig. 266.

Landscapes are numerous and of all sizes. Occasionally a garden wall of the fourth style is covered with a single large painting, in which villas, gardens, roads, and harbors are realistically presented. Such pictures are of Italian origin; the name of the artist who first painted them is probably Sextus Tadius, but the reading of the passage in which the name occurs (Plin. N. H. XXXV. x. 116) is uncertain.

Common to the third and fourth styles are garden scenes, in which, behind a light barrier, the plants of a garden appear, with birds, statues, and fountains. The finest extant example is in the villa of Livia, at Prima Porta, near Rome.

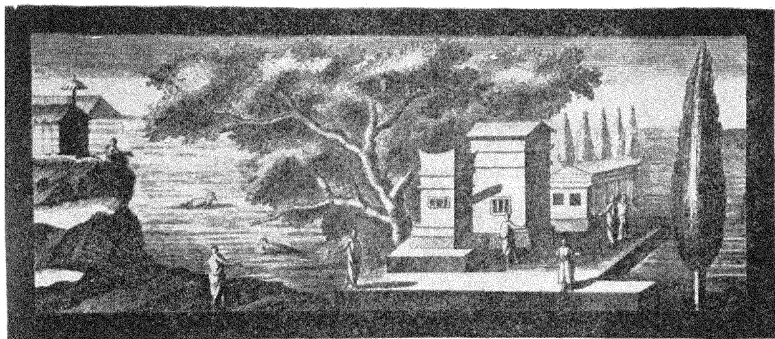


Fig. 267. — A landscape painting.

Large landscapes sometimes have a place in the principal panels of the walls. These are all of Hellenistic origin, and are found almost without exception in the decoration of the third style. They generally represent a quiet nook of woodland, with high cliffs; in the foreground is a shrine—perhaps more than one—with figures of men sacrificing or coming to offer worship.

The great majority of the landscapes, however, are introduced into various parts of the decoration outside of the large panels, and are quite small. In them we see little shrines or villas by the seaside; a river with a bridge on which a traveller appears crossing the stream; or buildings on an island or peninsula in the edge of a body of water, as in Fig. 267. Often they are

simply light sketches; now and then one of these small landscapes is painted in a peculiar tint, as if the scene were represented by moonlight.

The genre paintings are of special importance on account of the light they shed on the life and customs of the ancients. A number have already been described or illustrated in the chapter



Fig. 268. — Group of women, one of whom is sounding two stringed instruments.

on the house of the Vettii, and in the part devoted to the trades and occupations. To these we should add the picture of an artist in the house of the Surgeon (Fig. 128), and the scenes from the life of the Forum (Figs. 16, 17).

Here belong also the groups in which figures are seen with a roll of papyrus or a writing tablet, suggestive of literary pursuits, and figures with musical instruments. A group of mu-

sicians is shown in Fig. 268, in which are four women, one of whom is tuning a couple of stringed instruments to sound in unison.

In the same class are included two small painted busts not infrequently met with, that of a girl with a writing tablet in her left hand holding the end of a stylus against her lips, as if pondering what to write, and that of a young man with one end



Fig. 269.—Paquius Proculus and his wife.

of a roll of papyrus, in which he has been reading, under his chin. A Pompeian baker, Publius Paquius Proculus, brought these two ideal busts into one painting, substituting for the faces of the youth and maiden those of himself and his wife (Fig. 269). The portraits are realistic, but the faces are not unattractive; that of Proculus seems more kindly and ingenuous than the face of Caecilius Jucundus (Fig. 256).

Two ideal painted busts have recently been found, each of a youth with a roll of papyrus. Their chief interest lies in the

fact that each roll is provided with a narrow tag or label, of the sort that the Romans called *index*, on which the names *Plato* and *Homerus* can be plainly read. The two types of face well correspond with the trend of taste suggested by the titles: the delicate features and upturned gaze of the one indicate a poetic temperament; the other has a high forehead and an air of meditation, appropriate for a student of philosophy.

The mythological paintings rarely present rapid movement. To the few exceptions belong the two familiar pictures placed opposite each other in the tablinum of the house of Castor and Pollux, Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes on the island of Scyros, and the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon. Only part of the latter painting is preserved, but both are strong compositions, and are repeated on other walls.

Scenes of combat, the interest of which lies in the display of physical force, are still more infrequently met with, and seem out of harmony with the prevailing taste. Two pictures from Herculaneum represent Hercules putting forth his strength; in one he is struggling with the Nemean lion, in the other carrying the Erymanthian boar. The few paintings of this kind at Pompeii are badly preserved. In two of them Meleager appears, engaged in combat with the boar; in another we see Achilles before the walls of Troy with drawn sword in one hand, with the other grasping by the hair Troilus, an effeminate Trojan youth, attired in Oriental fashion, who mounted on his horse is vainly trying to escape; a fourth represents a combat between a heavy-armed warrior and an Amazon. But such paintings are the more conspicuous by reason of their rarity, and those that have thus far been discovered are all found upon walls of the third style.

A much larger number of mythological compositions represent a moment of dramatic interest, the artist relying for his effect upon the bearing and facial expression of the persons appearing in the scene. The interest is purely psychological, and several of the pictures that have been preserved give us an exceedingly favorable idea of the ability of ancient painters to express emotion, especially when we remember that these paint-

ings are merely decorative copies of masterpieces the originals of which in most cases had probably never been seen by the workmen who painted the copies on the walls.

Among the more familiar examples is the face of Orestes in the painting found in the house of the Citharist (Fig. 182), and that of Io, watched by Argus, in the Macellum. Emotion is expressed with even greater skill in the face of Io in a painting of the temple of Isis. The goddess welcomes the wanderer to Egypt after her long season of suffering; the traces of the suffering are clearly seen, yet are illumined by the ineffable and serene joy of final deliverance.

One of the most beautiful specimens of ancient painting is a fragment, badly preserved, in the tablinum of the house of Caecilius Jucundus. The composition probably represented Priam turning back toward Troy with the body of Hector, which he had just ransomed. In the fragment, shown in Fig. 270, we see the aged Hecuba, together with a daughter or maidservant, looking with unutterable anguish from an upper window down upon the scene. The gray-haired queen, whose features still retain much of their youthful beauty, gazes upon the dust-stained body of her son with grief too deep for tears.



Fig. 270.— Hecuba with a younger companion looking from an upper window as Priam brings back the body of Hector.

In the majority of paintings the subjects of which are taken from myths the characters are represented either in a relation of rest, not suggestive of intense emotion, or in a lasting situation of dramatic interest, which is devoid of momentary excitement and does not suggest the display of evanescent feeling. The situation is sometimes cheerful, sometimes calculated to arouse sympathy; if the characters were not mythological, the scenes might pass for those of everyday life. Thus we see Narcissus

looking at the reflection of his face in a clear spring in the forest; Polyphemus, on the seashore, receiving from the hands of a Cupid a letter sent by Galatea; and Apollo playing on the lyre for Admetus, while the herd grazes around him.

To the same series of cheerful or idyllic pictures belong the Selene hovering over the sleeping Endymion; Paris and Oenone on Mt. Ida, Paris cutting the name of his sweetheart in the bark of a tree; and Perseus with Andromeda looking at the reflection of the head of Medusa in a pool. With these we may class also the representations of Bacchus as he moves along with his rollicking band and suddenly comes upon the sleeping Ariadne; and Hercules with Omphale, sometimes sitting in woman's attire beside her and spinning, sometimes staggering in his cups or lying drunk upon the ground while she stands or sits near him.

Examples of a pathetic situation are equally abundant. We find Aphrodite caring for the wounded Adonis, and Cypris grieving over the dead stag. The pathos of the scene, however, is not always so obviously suggested. The familiar painting of Europa represents the maiden playfully sitting upon the bull, which one of her girlish companions is caressing. The situation, from one point of view, is idyllic, yet it brings to mind the unhappy fate of the girl, borne far away from home over the sea to a distant land, and the effect is heightened by giving her a wonderfully beautiful form.

Not infrequently a similar result is produced by placing figures of incongruous type in sharp contrast; so in the oft-repeated composition in which the beautiful Thetis in elegant attire sits in the workshop of Hephaestus, looking at the shield which the rough and grimy smith is finishing for Achilles. In another composition Pasiphaë is seen in the shop of Daedalus, who points out the wooden cow; and a similar idea of contrast must have been present in the mind of the artist who painted Danaë after she had been cast ashore in a chest on the island of Seriphus, sitting on the beach with little Perseus in her lap, while two fishermen standing near make inquiry concerning her strange fate.

The symmetrical arrangement of the paintings in a Pompeian room can hardly have failed to influence the choice of com-



positions for the principal panels, especially in cases in which mythological scenes were to be represented. Sometimes, though not so frequently as might have been expected, pictures were grouped according to subject. We have already noticed the relation of two paintings, in the house of Castor and Pollux, in which Achilles is the principal figure. The first of these, Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes, is found in a room of another house in a group of three; one of the companion pieces represents Thetis in the smithy of Hephaestus looking at the weapons which are being made for Achilles, while in the other she is seen riding over the sea on a Triton, bringing them to her son. There is another group of three pictures related by subject in a room in the house of the Vettii; they belong to the Theban cycle, and represent the infant Hercules strangling the serpents, the death of Pentheus, and the binding of Dirce.

Similarity of scene and of treatment influenced the selection of paintings for a room much more often than unity of subject. A good illustration is the pair of pictures several times found together, one of which represents Polyphemus on the beach receiving from a Cupid a letter written by Galatea; in the other Aphrodite is seen on the seashore fishing, with Cupids all about her. The suggestion of Love is common to both paintings, but the juxtaposition of the two as counterparts is due to the similarity of scene. Opposite the picture of Europa referred to above, is a Pan playing on his pipe, with nymphs around him; the two pictures, which appear in a room of the third style, from the decorative point of view form an effective pair.

A sleeping room of the same style—though in respect to grouping no difference between the styles is apparent—offers an interesting example of a double group. The four principal paintings form two pairs. In one pair we see, on one side, Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides approaching an altar around which three maidens are standing; on the other, a shrine of Artemis in a forest with three worshippers drawing near, one of whom brings a garland. The two pictures harmonize in the character of the scenery and in the arrangement of the figures.

The effectiveness of the other pair as a decorative counterpart can be seen in our illustrations; the subject of one of the

paintings is the fate of the pipes which Athena cast aside (Fig. 271), and of the other the fall of Icarus (Fig. 272).

In the first of the two pictures we have one of the few extant examples of a kind of painting associated with the name of

Philostratus, in which different scenes representing the successive stages of an action are united in one composition.

In the foreground at the left sits Athena, with her shield on the ground beside her, playing the double pipe; a nymph in front rising from the surface of a stream holds up a mirror in which the goddess may see her face reflected as she plays.

The next two scenes lie just across the brook. At the foot of the cliff sits the divinity of the country, Phrygia, in which the story of Marsyas is localized.



Fig. 271.—Athena's pipes and the fate of Marsyas.

Above, at the left, we see the satyr with a shepherd's crook in his left hand blowing a Pan's pipe; he has not yet espied the pipes thrown away by Athena.

At the right he appears again, near the tree, having found the pipes discarded by the goddess and picked them up. Lastly, in the middle of the background, we see him playing the pipes

in the presence of the Muses, who are serving as judges in the contest of skill between the satyr and Apollo.

The final scene with the flaying of Marsyas, which was sometimes represented in sculpture, and appears also in several Pompeian paintings, is here omitted.

The inner connection of the other picture is not so clear. It is perhaps a confused form of a composition in which Icarus, lying on the ground after his fall, was the central figure; the local divinities and natives of the region were looking upon the body of the hapless youth with pity; while Daedalus, hovering in the air above, was trying to find the spot where he had fallen.

Our artist, however, thinking to heighten the effect, represented Icarus as plunging headlong through the air, with the result shown in the illustration; neither Daedalus nor the figures in the foreground seem yet to have become aware of the catastrophe.

We can in no way more appropriately bring to a close our brief survey of the Pompeian paintings than by presenting a reproduction of the scene in which Zeus and Hera appear on

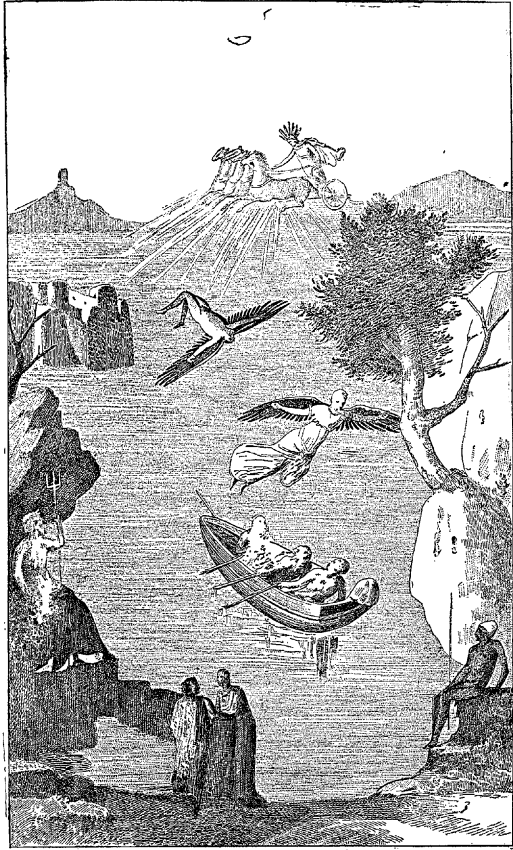


Fig. 272. — The fall of Icarus.

Mt. Ida (Fig. 273). This painting has been sufficiently discussed in another connection (pp. 316-317); though preserved



Fig. 273.—Zeus and Hera on Mt. Ida. Wall painting from the house of the Tragic Poet.

in a damaged condition, it clearly represents an original of no slight merit.

## PART VI

### THE INSCRIPTIONS OF POMPEII

#### CHAPTER LVI

##### *IMPORTANCE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS. — MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS AND PUBLIC NOTICES*

THE inscriptions discovered at Pompeii number more than six thousand. They cover a wide field, ranging from commemorative tablets put up at public expense to the scribblings of idlers upon the plastered walls. It would be an exaggeration to say that they contribute to our knowledge of antiquity much that is new; their value lies rather in the insight which they give into the life of the city and its people.

In one respect the evidence derived from inscriptions, though often of the most fragmentary character, is especially satisfactory. We feel that we are handling original documents, without the intervention of that succession of copyists which stands between the author of a Greek or Roman masterpiece and the modern reader. The shapes of the letters and the spelling are just as they were left by the stonecutter or the scribbler; the various handwritings can still be as plainly distinguished on the charred tablets of Caecilius Jucundus as though the signatures were witnessed only yesterday. Through the inscriptions we are brought into contact with the personality of the Pompeians as in no other way.

The inscriptions may be classified either according to the subject matter or according to the form in which they appear, whether cut in stone, or painted, or scratched upon a smooth surface with a stylus. No detailed classification need be given here; it will be sufficient for our purposes to discuss the main divisions briefly under four heads,—monumental inscriptions and

public notices, graffiti, and inscriptions relating to business affairs.

Monumental inscriptions include those which are cut in hard material and are intended to be read by all who see them. They are found at Pompeii chiefly in or upon public buildings, on pedestals of statues and on sepulchral monuments. They are characterized by extreme brevity. A few are in the Oscan language, the rest are in Latin. The more important examples have been presented in the preceding pages in connection with the monuments to which they belong. A list of them is given in the Index under "Inscriptions."

The public notices are painted upon the walls along the sides of the streets, ordinarily in a bright red color; a few are in black. The most important are the election notices, in which a candidate is recommended for a public office. These are about sixteen hundred in number, and the names of more than a hundred different candidates appear in them.

The election notices fall into two classes, distinguished both by the style of writing and by the manner of expression,—earlier, from the time of the Republic, and later, belonging to the Imperial period. The shapes of the letters in those of the former class are irregular, and bear the mark of an unpractised hand. The later notices, on the contrary, have a more finished appearance; they are executed in a kind of calligraphic style that suggests the employment of skilled clerks who made the painting of electoral recommendations a part of their business. We have already met with the name of one painter of notices who signed his work, Aemilius Celer (p. 223). His house has been discovered, near the northeast corner of the ninth Region; it was identified by means of an inscription painted on the outside: *Aemilius Celer hic habitat*, — 'Aemilius Celer lives here.'

The language of the earlier recommendations is of the simplest. We find the name of the candidate with no suggestion of praise excepting occasionally the letters *v. b.*, for *virum bonum*, 'good man.' The name of the office is given in an abbreviated form, but that of the person who makes the recommendation nowhere appears. In one example the elements of

the common formula *o. v. f.*, for *oro vos, facite*, are given almost in full: *M. Marium aed. faci., oro vos*, — 'Make Marcus Marius aedile, I beg of you.' The following notice appears on Stabian Street in letters nearly 8 inches high: *P · FVR · II · V · VB · O · F*, that is *Publium Furium duumvirum, virum bonum, oro vos, facite*, — 'Make Publius Furius duumvir, I beg of you; he's a good man.'

Some of the later election notices are almost equally brief, presenting merely the name of the candidate, the office for which he is recommended, and the formula *o. v. f.*, as in this instance: *Herennium Celsum aed[ilem] o. v. f.*, — 'Make Herennius Celsus aedile, I beg of you.' Occasionally even the formula is omitted, and we have simply the name of the candidate and of the office, both invariably in the accusative case, as *Casellium aed.*, which appears in several places, and *M. Holconium Priscum II. vir. i. d.*

More frequently the recommendation includes a reference to the good qualities of the candidate. Sometimes he is simply styled 'a good man,' as in the earlier notices; but the most common formula in this connection is *d. r. p.*, for *dignum re publica*, 'worthy of public office.' In some instances the characterization is more definite. More than one candidate is affirmed to be 'an upright young man' (*iuvenem probum*), or 'a youth of singular modesty' (*verecundissimum iuvenem*). In regard to one aspirant for office we are informed that 'he will be the watch-dog of the treasury' — *hic aerarium conservabit*.

The names of those who make the recommendations often appear in the later notices. Now and then individuals assume the responsibility, as Vesonius Primus (p. 396), and Acceptus and Euhodia (p. 341), who were undoubtedly owners of the property on which the notices appear. Thus the candidate's neighbors are sometimes represented as favoring his election, as in the case of Claudius Verus: *Ti. Claudium Verum II. vir. vicini rogant*, — 'His neighbors request the election of Tiberius Claudius Verus as duumvir.' Electoral recommendations are painted on all sides of the house of Verus — the extensive establishment in the ninth Region known as the house of the Centenary.

The class of election notices in which we find the members of

a craft united in the support of a candidate has been sufficiently illustrated in another connection (p. 384). To these we may add a recommendation found on a wall facing the temple of Isis: *Cn. Helvium Sabinum aed. Isiaci universi rog[ant]*, — 'The worshippers of Isis, as a body, request the election of Gnaeus Helvius Sabinus as aedile.' A suburb also might have a candidate, as in the following instance: *M. Epidium Sabinum aed. Campanienses rog.*, — 'The inhabitants of the Pagus Campanus ask for the election of Marcus Epidius Sabinus as aedile.'

Sometimes all those who are engaged in an occupation are urged to support a candidate. 'Innkeepers, make Sallustius Capito aedile,' we read in one notice. In others, various classes of citizens having a common bond, as the ballplayers, and the dealers in perfumes, are exhorted to work for the election of a candidate presumably favorable to their interests. In one instance there is a direct appeal to an individual, involving a pledge of future support: *Sabinum aed[ilem], Procule, fac, et ille te faciet*, — 'Proculus, make Sabinus aedile, and he will do as much for you.'

In view of the deep interest in the municipal elections, revealed by these notices, it is not surprising to find that the support of a candidate by a man of unusual prominence was extensively advertised. In three different parts of the city the attention of voters was directed to the fact that Suedius Clemens, the commissioner sent by Vespasian to decide the ownership of certain plots of ground (p. 407), favored the election of Epidius Sabinus as duumvir. One of the notices reads: *M. Epidium Sabinum II. vir. iur. dic. o. v. f., dignum iuvenem, Suedius Clemens sanctissimus iudex facit vicinis rogantibus*, — 'At the request of the neighbors, Suedius Clemens, most upright judge, is working for the election of Marcus Epidius Sabinus, a worthy young man, as duumvir with judiciary authority. He begs of you to elect this candidate.'

So public a method of pressing a candidacy put a formidable weapon into the hands of the candidate's enemies, and the form of a recommendation was sometimes used against an office seeker with telling effect. *Vatiam aed. furunculi rog.*, — 'The sneak thieves request the election of Vatia as aedile,' we find



conspicuously painted on a wall on Augustales Street. According to other notices near by, 'The whole company of late drinkers' (*seribibi universi*) and 'all the people who are asleep' (*dormientes universi*) favored the candidacy of the same unhappy Vatia. The last notice which we shall present in this connection may have been painted on the order of the girl who appears in it: *Claudium II. vir. animula facit*, — 'His little sweetheart is working for the election of Claudius as duumvir.' The reference is probably to the Tiberius Claudius Verus mentioned above.

The other kinds of public notices are represented by relatively few examples. Of special interest are the announcements of gladiatorial combats, which were discussed in a previous chapter (p. 221). Next in importance are perhaps the advertisements of buildings to rent. One of these, relating to the Elephant Inn, has already been mentioned (p. 400). We present here two others, which have to do with large properties. The first, which has now disappeared, was painted on a wall in the sixth Region, at the south end of the third Insula. It reads as follows:—

INSULA ARRIANA  
 POLLIANA CN. ALLEI NIGIDI MAI  
 LOCANTUR EX K[alendis] IULIS PRIMIS TABERNAE  
 CUM PERGULIS SUIS ET CENACULA  
 EQUESTRIA ET DOMUS. CONDUCTOR  
 CONVENITO PRIMUM, CN. ALLEI  
 NIGIDI MAI SER[vum].

'To rent, from the first day of next July, shops with the floors over them, fine upper chambers, and a house, in the Arrius Pollio block owned by Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius. Prospective lessees may apply to Primus, slave of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius.'

The word *equestria*, translated 'fine,' is used colloquially with *cenacula*, in the sense 'fit for a knight.' The Insula named after Arrius Pollio was thought by Fiorelli to be the so-called house of Pansa, across the street from the block on which the advertisement was found. The identification may be correct,

but a notice painted in so prominent a place might refer to a block in any part of the city.

The following inscription was found in the last century near the Amphitheatre, on a wall of the extensive establishment named from it the villa of Julia Felix:—

IN PRAEDIS IULIAE SP. F. FELICIS  
LOCANTUR  
BALNEUM VENERIUM ET NONGENTUM, TABERNAE, PERGULAE,  
CENÁCULA EX IDIBUS AUG PRIMIS IN IDUS AUG SEXTÁS, ANNÓS  
CONTINUOS QUINQUE  
S. Q. D. L. E. N. C.

‘To let, for the space of five years, from the thirteenth day of next August to the thirteenth day of the sixth August thereafter, the Venus bath, fitted up for the best people, shops, rooms over shops, and second story apartments in the property owned by Julia Felix, daughter of Spurius.’

The bath may have received its name from Venus Pompeiana. The word *nongentum* is difficult to understand. The interpretation given is based upon a passage of Pliny the Elder, from which we understand that in colloquial language the knights were known as ‘the nine hundred.’ A bath ‘of the nine hundred’ would then be one designed to attract the patronage of the best people. The seven letters at the end of the inscription have not yet been satisfactorily explained.

Advertisements of articles lost or found are also met with. A notice in regard to a stray horse, painted on one of the tombs east of the Amphitheatre, is given on p. 436. On the east side of Insula VIII. v.–vi. we read:—

VRNA AENIA PEREIT · DE · TABERNA  
SEI·QVIS · RETTVLERIT DABVNTVR  
HS LXV · SEI · FVREM  
DABIT · VND . . .

‘A copper pot has been taken from this shop. Whoever brings it back will receive 65 sesterces. If any one shall hand over the thief’ . . . (the rest of the inscription is illegible).

## CHAPTER LVII

### THE GRAFFITI

THE graffiti form the largest division of the Pompeian inscriptions, comprising about three thousand examples, or one half of the entire number; the name is Italian, being derived from a verb meaning 'to scratch.' Writing upon walls was a prevalent habit in antiquity, as shown by the remains of graffiti at Rome and other places besides Pompeii, a habit which may be accounted for in part by the use of the sharp-pointed stylus with wax tablets; the temptation to use such an instrument upon the polished stucco was much greater than in the case of pens and lead pencils upon the less carefully finished wall surfaces of our time. Pillars or sections of wall are covered with scratches of all kinds, — names, catchwords of favorite lines from the poets, amatory couplets, and rough sketches, such as a ship, or the profile of a face. The skit, occasionally found on walls to-day,

‘Fools’ names, like their faces,  
Are always seen in public places,’

has its counterpart in the couplet preserved as a graffito both at Pompeii and at Rome: *Admiror, paries, te non cecidisse ruinis, Qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas*, —

‘Truly ’tis wonderful, Wall, that you have not fallen in ruins,  
Forced without murmur to bear the taint of so many hands.’

Of a similar vein is a Greek line scratched upon a wall on the Palatine hill in Rome: ‘Many persons have here written many things; I alone refrained from writing.’

Taken as a whole, the graffiti are less fertile for our knowledge of Pompeian life than might have been expected. The people with whom we should most eagerly desire to come into direct contact, the cultivated men and women of the ancient city, were

not accustomed to scratch their names upon stucco or to confide their reflections and experiences to the surface of a wall. Some of the graffiti, to judge from the height at which we find them above the floor, were undoubtedly made by the hands of boys and girls; for the rest, we may assume that the writers were as little representative of the best elements of society as are the tourists who scratch or carve their names upon ancient monuments to-day. Nevertheless, we gain from these scribblings a lively idea of individual tastes, passions, and experiences.

A few graffiti have reference to events, as the siege of Sulla, in 89 B.C. (p. 240). The most interesting historical examples are those which relate to the conflict between the Pompeians and the Nucerians, in the year 59 A.D. (p. 220). An ardent Pompeian wrote: *Nucerinis infelicia*, — ‘Down with the Nucerians!’ From a scribbling by a partisan of the other side it appears that the inhabitants of Puteoli sympathized with the Nucerians, while those of Pithecusae — the island of Ischia — favored the Pompeians: *Puteolanis feliciter, omnibus Nucherinis felicia, et uncu[m] Pompeianis [et] Pitecusanis*, — ‘Hurrah for the Puteolaneans, good luck to all Nucerians; a hook for the Pompeians and Pithecusans.’ The hook referred to in this connection was that used by executioners and the attendants of the Amphitheatre in dragging off the dead. Another Pompeian wrote: *Campani, victoria una cum Nucerinis peristis*, — ‘Campanians, you were conquered by the same victory with the Nucerians.’ The Campani were not the inhabitants of Campania, but of the suburb called Pagus Campanus.

Two inscriptions, attesting the presence of members of the Praetorian Guard in Pompeii, have been previously mentioned (pp. 387, 401). Another praetorian left his name in a house of the eighth Region (VIII. iii. 21): *Sex. Decimius Rufus milis coh[ortis] V pr[aetorianae] 3 Martialis*, — ‘Sextus Decimius Rufus, a soldier of the fifth praetorian cohort, of the century led by Martialis.’ To the same division of the army probably belonged a centurion of the first rank, Q. Spurennius Priscus, whose name was found in a house of the first Region (I. iii. 3). The first, fifth, and ninth praetorian cohorts, mentioned in the graffiti, may have come to Pompeii with different emperors, or

on different occasions with the same emperor ; it is unlikely that the three were united to form a single escort.

Graffiti are sometimes useful for the identification of buildings ; so in the case of the Basilica and of several inns. The dated examples throw some light on the age of the stucco on which they are found. They are for the most part late, and afford little help in determining the time of commencement of the various decorative styles ; but in several cases they indicate a later limit clearly. In this way we learn that the decoration of the Basilica, in the first style, was finished before October 3, 78 B.C. — how long before we cannot tell ; and that in 37 B.C. the plastering of the Small Theatre was already on the walls, decorated in the second style. The gladiatorial graffito in the house of the Centenary (p. 226) proves that the decoration of the room in which it is found — a late example of the second style — was finished before November, A.D. 15. A dated inscription of the reign of Nero is given in the chapter on the house of the Silver Wedding (p. 305).

Several hundred graffiti present merely the name of the scribbler, sometimes with the addition *hic fuit*, — ‘was here,’ or simply *hic* ; as, *Paris hic fuit*, *Sabinus hic*.

A large number contain a greeting, perhaps in some cases intended for the eye of the person mentioned, as *Aemilius Fortunato fratri salutem*, — ‘Aemilius greets his brother Fortunatus.’ In this as in other examples it is interesting to note that one brother is designated by the gens name, the other by the cognomen. Sometimes the greeting is the reverse of cordial, as in this instance : *Samius Cornelio, suspendere*, — ‘Samius to Cornelius : go hang yourself.’ Hardly less naïve is the message to a friend who has died : *Pyrrhus Chio conlegae sal[utem] : moleste fero, quod audiui te mortuom ; itaq[ue] vale*, — ‘Pyrrhus to his chum Chius : I’m sorry to hear that you are dead ; and so, Good-by.’

The most prominent theme of the graffiti is love, which is constantly reappearing, in prose scribblings and in snatches of verse. The verse form is usually the elegiac distich. Some of the lines are taken from the poets ; others were made up for the occasion, and not a few verses were finished in prose,

as if the would-be versifier found original composition more difficult than he had anticipated.

Several distichs extol the power of love, as the following, which, taken from some unknown poet, is found in several places: *Quisquis amat, valeat, pereat qui nescit amare; Bis tanto pereat quisquis amare vetat:—*

‘Good health be with you, lovers all;  
Who knows not how to love, be cursed;  
But oh may double ruin fall  
On him who sets out love to worst!’

A similar thought finds expression in a single line, perhaps also a quotation: *Nemo est bellus nisi qui amavit mulierem*, — ‘He who has never been in love can be no gentleman.’

Not all the Pompeians, however, viewed the matter so seriously. To the first line of the couplet just quoted a scribbler of a cynical turn in one instance joined a parody, to the effect that those who are in love may well avoid the use of hot baths, on the principle that ‘the burnt child dreads the fire,’ — *Nam nemo flammas ustus amare potest*.

The uselessness of interference with the course of love is also made prominent. In this distich, apparently from some poet, the scribbler seems to have made a slight change to meet a specific case, substituting *obiurgat* for *custodit* or some similar word: *Alliget hic auras, si quis obiurgat amantes, Et vetat assiduas currere fontis aquas*, —

‘Whoever has a mind  
To hinder lovers’ way,  
Let him go zephyrs bind  
Or running waters stay.’

Ancient lovers nevertheless had their fears, and the following couplet, which is no doubt borrowed from a poet, appears also, in a slightly different form, on a wall in Rome: *Si quis forte meam cupiet violare puellam, Illum in desertis montibus urat Amor*, —

‘If any man shall seek  
My girl from me to turn,  
On far-off mountains bleak  
May Love the scoundrel burn.’

Of extant elegiac poets Ovid, Propertius, and Tibullus are quoted or paraphrased. Among the quotations is the familiar couplet of Propertius: *Nunc est ira recens, nunc est discedere tempus; Si dolor afuerit, crede, redibit amor*,—

‘Now is it time to depart,  
Now anger freshly burns;  
When one ceases to feel the smart,  
Believe me, love returns.’

If it was written by a lover after a quarrel, reconciliation was not far off. Another discouraged suitor perhaps consoled himself by writing on the wall of the Basilica this distich from Ovid’s “Art of Love,” the form of which differs slightly from that given in the manuscripts: *Quid pote tam durum saxo aut quid mollius unda? Dura tamen molli saxa cavantur aqua*,—

‘What is so hard as rock, or what can be softer than water?  
Hard rocks nevertheless by water are worn away.’

Amatory inscriptions often have the form of a message or greeting to a loved one, as in this example: *Victoria, vale, et ubique es, suaviter sternutes*,—‘Health to you, Victoria, and wherever you are may you sneeze sweetly,’ that is, may good luck follow you. Often the greeting is more ardent, as that to Cestilia: *Cestilia, regina Pompeianorum, anima dulcis, vale*,—‘Cestilia, queen of the Pompeians, sweet soul, greeting to you.’

Sometimes the lover avoided writing the lady’s name: *Pupa quae bella es, tibi me misit qui tuus est; vale*,—‘Maiden who are so beautiful, he who is yours sent me to you; good-by.’ Now and then we find an inscription of this class that leaves an unfavorable impression. The following is repeated several times on the outside of a house in the first Region: *Serenae sodales sal[utem]*,—‘Greeting to Serena, from her companions!’

Spurned lovers also confided their woes to graffiti, sometimes adding an appeal to the obdurate one, as in this wretched couplet, which can scarcely have been taken from a poet; the play upon words in the last clause was apparently intentional: *Si quid amor valeat nostri, sei te hominem scis, Commiseresce mihi, da veniam ut veniam*,—

‘If you a man would be, —  
 If you know what love can do, —  
 Have pity, and suffer me  
 With welcome to come to you.’

It was probably a lover in straits who scratched on the wall a line of the Aeneid (IX. 404) as a prayer to Venus: *Tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori*, —

‘Thou, goddess, with thy present help  
 Our sore distress relieve.’

Another unsuccessful suitor found the lines of a single poet inadequate to express his feelings, and joined together a couplet from Ovid (Am. I. viii. 77-78) and one from Propertius (IV. v. 47-48) in order to voice his complaint against a miserly mistress who barred her door upon all except wealthy lovers. But the climax is reached in four lines of irregular verse in which the rejected lover proposes to vent his anger on the goddess of love herself: ‘All lovers, come! I purpose to break the ribs of Venus and to smash the small of her back with clubs; if she can bore a hole in my tender breast, why can I not break her head with a cudgel?’ From the psychological point of view the complete identification of the goddess with a statue representing her is noteworthy.

Occasionally a pair of lovers left on a wall a record of a meeting; thus, *Romula hic cum Staphylo moratur*, — ‘Romula tarried here with Staphylus.’ Staphylus, however, was apparently a flirt; in the house of Caecilius Jucundus a similar meeting with another maiden is recorded on a column of the peristyle: *Staphylus hic cum Quieta*. But Staphylus does not seem to have gained the confidence of the fair sex to the extent that another Pompeian gallant did, of whom we find it written: *Restitutus multas decepit saepe puellas*, — ‘Restitutus has many times deceived many girls.’

The names of husband and wife are sometimes joined together, as in a room of a house in the ninth Region: *L. Clodius Varus, Pelagia coniunx*; there is a similar example in a house ruined by the earthquake of the year 63, *[Ba]lbus et Fortunata, duo coniuges*.



We find a pleasing instance of marital affection in a graffito in which a lonely wife sends a greeting to an absent husband and other relatives: *Hirtia Psacas C. Hostilio Conopi coniugi suo manuductori et clementi monitori et Diodot[a]e sorori et Fortunato fratri et Celeri suis salutem semper ubique plurimam, et Primigeniae suae salutem*, — ‘Hirtia Psacas at all times and in all places sends heartiest greeting to Gaius Hostilius Conops, her husband and guide and gentle adviser, and to her sister Diodota, her brother Fortunatus and her Celer; and she sends a greeting to her Primigenia, too.’ The names of both husband and wife are Greek, *psacas* signifying ‘dewdrop,’ and *conops* ‘gnat.’

Many happenings are chronicled on the walls; and there are memoranda of every description. The programmes of gladiatorial combats have already been mentioned (p. 223). One man records the result of a trip to Nuceria, where he won at the gaming table—without cheating, he takes pains to add—a sum amounting to \$130: *Vici Nuceriae in alia* (for *alea*)  $\times$  *DCCCLVS*, *fide bona*, — ‘At Nuceria, I won 855.5 denarii by gaming, fair play.’

Another Pompeian counted the steps as he walked up and down the colonnade at the side of his garden (in the house VII. ii. 41) for exercise; he recorded 640 paces for ten turns back and forth.

In the peristyle of a house in the first Region the advent of young pigs, or of puppies, is noted: *XV K[alendas] Nov[embres] Puteolana peperit mascul[os] III, femel[as] II*, — ‘On October 17 Puteolana had a litter consisting of 3 males and 2 females.’

The inscriptions relating to business transactions are reserved for another chapter. We may notice here, however, that memoranda of accounts were sometimes scratched on walls, usually containing only the figures indicating measure or price, as in the shops on the south side of the Macellum. The following is from a bakery in the first Region (I. iii. 27): *Oleum, l[ibra], a[ssibus] IV; palea a. V; faenum a. XVI; diaria a. V; furfure a. VI; viria I a. III; oleum a. VI*, — ‘Oil, a pound, 4 asses; straw, 5 asses; hay, 16 asses; a day’s wages, 5 asses; bran, 6 asses; one wreath for the neck, 3 asses; oil, 6 asses.’

The value of the as varied; in the Early Empire it was nearly equivalent to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pence, or 3 cents.

Children scratched upon walls the alphabet that they were learning. The frequent quotations from Virgil, generally incomplete, are likewise an echo of lessons at school, where this author was carefully studied; we find very often the beginnings of lines at the opening of a book, as *Arma virumque cano*, or *Conticuere omnes*. The first word of the poem of Lucretius, *Aeneadum*, also occurs several times.

Occasionally gnomic quotations are found, in most cases, perhaps, from writers of comedy. Among them is the well-known maxim, *Minimum malum fit contemnendo maximum*, — ‘The smallest evil, if neglected, will reach the greatest proportions.’ A proverb more concrete in its form of statement is the following: *Moram si quaeres, sparge milium et collige*, — ‘If you want to waste your time, scatter millet and pick it up again.’

## CHAPTER LVIII

### *INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO BUSINESS AFFAIRS*

THE most important inscriptions relating to business transactions are the receipts, discovered in 1875, which formed a part of the private accounts of L. Caecilius Jucundus (p. 447). They were written on wax tablets, which were carefully packed in a wooden box. The box, which was in the second story of the house, crumbled to pieces when the volcanic dust about it was removed; but many of the tablets, 154 in number, still retained their shape and were taken to the Naples Museum. The wood of the tablets had turned to charcoal, but the writing has been for the most part deciphered. One receipt dates from 15 A.D., another from the year 27; the rest belong to the decade immediately preceding the earthquake, 52-62 A.D. The documents are of the greatest interest as casting light on the business methods of antiquity.

Most of the tablets are triptychs. The three leaves were tied at the back so as to open like the leaves of a book, making six pages (Fig. 274). The average height is about 5 inches, the width varies from 2 to 4 inches. Pages 1 and 6 served as covers, being left smooth and without writing. Pages 2, 3, and 5 were hollowed out, leaving a polished surface with a raised rim around it. On this surface a thin layer of wax was spread, in which the letters were made with a stylus; the writing could be easily read because the wood, which was of a light color, showed through wherever a scratch was made in the wax coating.

Two pages facing each other, 2 and 3, were devoted to the receipt. Page 4, as shown in Fig. 275, was not hollowed out but was divided into two parts by a broad, flat groove running across the middle. When the document was ready to be sealed, the first two leaves were brought together and tied by a thread

which passed around the middle, the ends meeting in the groove on page 4. In this groove at convenient distances melted wax was then dropped, on which the witnesses, ordinarily seven in number, impressed their seals. The names of the witnesses were written with pen and ink in a line with the seals, parallel with the sides of the page, sometimes at the right, as in Fig. 275,

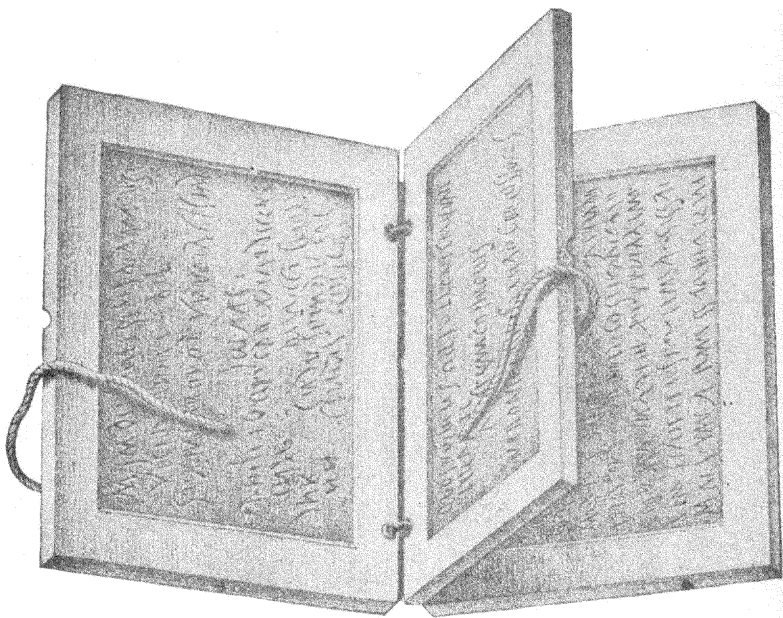


Fig. 274. — Tablet with three leaves, opened so as to show the receipt and part of the memorandum on page 5, restored.

sometimes divided, the first name and the gens name being at the left of the seal, the cognomen at the right.

This arrangement made it impossible to consult the receipt without cutting the thread or disturbing the seals of the witnesses. To meet the difficulty a memorandum, which was practically a duplicate receipt, was placed on page 5; this could be read at any time.

The difference in form between the receipt, on pages 2 and 3, and the memorandum will be plain from the examples. The receipt, with few exceptions, is simply a record of an oral ac-

knowledge in the presence of witnesses that a sum of money was received, *accepti latio*. In nearly all the tablets this acknowledgment and the names of the witnesses, on page 4, are in the same handwriting, which must have been either that of Jucundus himself or of his secretary. It did not matter who wrote the receipt; in case of a dispute the seals of the witnesses would alone be sufficient to prove its genuineness. The memorandum, however, was ordinarily in a different hand,

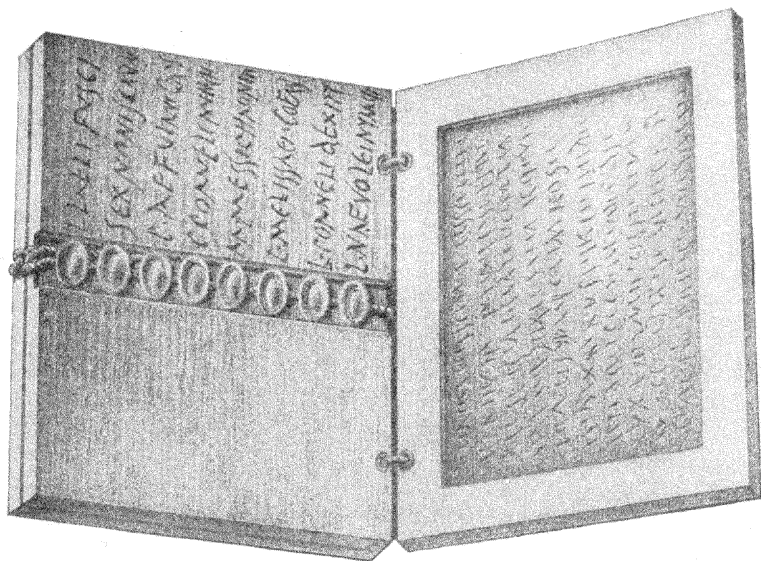


Fig. 275. — Tablet, restored, with the two leaves containing the receipt tied and sealed, and with the signatures of the witnesses at the right of the seals.

either that of the person who gave the receipt, or of some one authorized to write for him. As it was not under the seals of witnesses, the handwriting might become a matter of importance if any question should arise in regard to the document.

The entire tablet, with its receipt, memorandum, and names and seals of witnesses was called *perscriptio*, 'entry of account.' This word appears ordinarily on the edge of the tablet, with the name of the person who gave the receipt in the genitive case.

Nearly all the tablets record transactions connected with auction sales, the person whose effects were thus disposed of giving

Jucundus a receipt in full for the proceeds of the sale less a commission, *mercede minus*. A few contain receipts for rent which Jucundus paid for the use of property belonging to the city — a fullery (p. 394), the rent of which altogether amounted to 1652 sesterces, about \$75; a pasture, for the use of which he paid 2675 sesterces, about \$130; and a piece of arable land, *fundus*, on which he paid 6000 sesterces, about \$300, in rents.

We present an example of both classes of receipts. The first, which we may call Tablet A, was given by a lady, Umbricia Januaria, for the proceeds of an auction sale; it is dated December 12, A.D. 56. The other, Tablet B, is the receipt for the rent of public pasture land and belongs to the year 59 A.D.

## TABLET A

### TITLE

*Perscriptio Umbriciae Januariae*, 'Entry of account of Umbricia Januaria.'

### RECEIPT. Pages 2 and 3

*HS n. CC | 22 ∞ XXXVIII, quae pecunia in stipulatum L. Caecili Jucundi venit ob auctionem Umbriciae Ianuariae mercede minus persoluta habere se dixit Umbricia Ianuaria ab L. Caecilio Iucundo.*

*Act[um] Pompeis pr[idie] id[us] Dec[embres] L. Duvio, P. Clodio cos.*

'Umbricia Januaria declared that she had received from L. Caecilius Jucundus 11,039 sesterces, which sum came into the hands of L. Caecilius Jucundus by agreement as the proceeds of an auction sale for Umbricia Januaria, the commission due him having been deducted.

'Done at Pompeii on the twelfth day of December, in the consulship of Lucius Duvius and Publius Clodius.'

### NAMES OF THE WITNESSES. Page 4

The seals of the witnesses, nine in number, appear in the groove at the middle of the page. The names are in the genitive case, as if dependent on *sigillum*, 'seal.'

<i>Q. Appulei Severi.</i>	<i>M. Epidi Hymenaei.</i>
<i>M. Lucreti Leri.</i>	<i>Q. Grani Lesbi.</i>
<i>Ti. Iuli Abascanti.</i>	<i>T. Vesonii Le. . . .</i>
<i>M. Iuli Crescentis.</i>	<i>D. Volci Thalli.</i>
<i>M. Terenti Primi.</i>	

‘Seal of Quintus Appuleius Severus, Marcus Lucretius Lerus, Tiberius Julius Abascantus, M. Julius Crescens, M. Terentius Primus, M. Epidius Hymenaeus, Q. Granius Lesbus, Titus Vesonius Le. . . . , D. Volcius Thallus.’

# MEMORANDUM. Page 5

*L. Duvio Avito, P. Clodio Thrasea cos., pr. id. Decembr. D. Volcius Thallus scripsi rogatu Umbriciae Ianuariae eam accepisse ab L. Caecilio Iucundo HS n.  $\overline{XI}$  xxxix ex auctione eius mercede minus ex interrogatione facta tabellarum [signatarum]. Act. Pompeis.*

‘On December 12, in the consulship of Lucius Duvius Avitus and Publius Clodius Thrasea, I, Decimus Volcius Thallus, having examined the tablets put under seal, at the request of Umbricia Januaria declared in writing that she had received from L. Caecilius Jucundus 11,039 sesterces as the proceeds of an auction sale after deducting his commission. Done at Pompeii.’

Tablet A gives the ordinary form of the receipt and the memorandum. There are occasional variations. A few tablets have only two leaves and four pages. In such cases, the leaves are tied and sealed in the same way as the first two of the triptych, but only half of the fourth page is left for the signatures of the witnesses; the memorandum is written on the other half with pen and ink, and so appears on the outside of the tablet.

In two of the older tablets, dated 27 and 54 A.D., the memorandum, as the receipt, is a record of an oral acknowledgment; it may be that this was the proper legal form in use to the end of the reign of Claudius. In a few of the later examples, as Tablet B, the receipt as well as the memorandum has the form of a voucher in the handwriting of the person who receives the money, or his agent.

## TABLET B

## RECEIPT. Pages 2 and 3

*L. Veranio Hupsaeo, L. Albucio Iusto duumviris iure dic[undo] XIII K[alendas] Iulias Privatus coloniae Pompeian[orum] ser[vus] scripsi me accepisse ab L. Caecilio Iucundo sestertios mille sescentos septuaginta quinque nummos, et accepi ante hanc diem, quae dies fuit VIII idus Iunias, sester[tios] mille nummos, ob vectigal publicum pasqua [for pasquorum].*

*Act[um] Pom[peis] Cn. Fonteio C. Vipstano cos.*

‘On June 18, in the duumvirate of L. Veranius Hypsaeus and L. Albucius Justus, I, Privatus, slave of the colony of Pompeii, declared in writing that I had received from L. Caecilius Iucundus 1675 sesterces, and previous to this day, on June 6, I received 1000 sesterces, as rent for the public pasture.

‘Done at Pompeii in the consulship of Gnaeus Fonteius and Gaius Vipstanus.’

## NAMES OF THE WITNESSES. Page 4

In the groove in the middle of the page are four seals. As the receipt was given for the city, the witnesses were the two duumvirs and the slave Privatus, who received the money. The name of Privatus appears twice with seal, under that of each duumvir. In antiquity municipalities, as well as individuals, owned slaves.

*L. Verani Hypsaei*

*Privati, c. c. V. C. ser. (for colonorum coloniae Veneriae Corneliae servi)*

*L. Albuci Iusti*

*Privati, c. c. V. C. se.*

*Chirographum Privati c. c. V. C. ser.*

‘Seal of Lucius Veranius Hypsaeus; Privatus, slave of the citizens of the colony of Pompeii; L. Albucius Iustus; Privatus, slave of the citizens of the colony of Pompeii.

‘Autograph of Privatus, slave of the citizens of the colony of Pompeii.’

## MEMORANDUM. Page 5

*L. Veranio Hupsaeo L. Albucio Iusto d[uumviris] i[ure] d[icundo] XIV K. Iul. Privatus c. c. V. C. ser. scripsi me acce-*



*pisce ab L. Caecilio Iucundo HS ∞ DCLXXV et accepi ante hanc diem VIII idus Iunias HS ∞ nummos ob vectigal publicum pasquorum.*

*Act. Pom. C. Fonteio C. Vips. cos.*

The language of the memorandum is so nearly identical with that of the receipt that it is unnecessary to add a translation.

A considerable number of the amphorae found at Pompeii bear inscriptions, generally written with a pen in black ink, but sometimes painted with a brush in red or white. Most of them contained wine. The percentage of Greek inscriptions is large, an evidence of the strength of the Greek population in the region about the city.

The wine underwent fermentation in large round vats of baked clay, *dolia*, which stood in the wine cellar of the villa, *cella vinaria*, or in a court (p. 364); from these the amphorae were filled. The vats containing the common wines were ordinarily emptied before the next vintage, when they were needed for the new wine, but the better sorts were allowed to remain in the *dolia* for a longer time. The wine of one Pompeian amphora was left in the vat till after the harvest of the second year: *C. Pomponio C. Anicio cos., ex fund[o] Badiano, diff[usum] id. Aug., bimum*,—‘Consulship of Gaius Pomponius and Gaius Anicius. From the Badian estate. Poured (into amphorae) August 13. Two years old.’ In what year Pomponius and Anicius were consuls we do not know.

The earliest amphora of which the date is certain was filled in 25 A.D.: [*Cosso Len*]*tulo M. Asinio cos. fund.* The place from which it came, however, is not so easily determined, since *fund.* may refer to the town of Fundi, or stand for *fundus*, ‘estate,’ the name that followed having been obliterated. The names of two such estates were lately recovered from amphorae in the house of the Vettii, *fundus Satrianus* and *fundus Asinianus*.

In addition to the product of Italian vineyards the Pompeians used also imported wines from the coast of Asia Minor and the islands near by. One dealer, M. Fabius Euporus, kept wine from Cnidus, *Cnidium*. Wine from the island of Cos is fre-

quently mentioned, as in this inscription: *Coum vet[us] P. Appulei Bassi*, — ‘Old Coan of Publius Appuleius Bassus.’

Different kinds of wine were sometimes designated by characteristic names. A certain Greek, M. Pomponius Teupon, produced a brand which he called ‘Frenzy Wine’ (Λύττιος), as if so strong that it would make the drinker frantic. Another Greek, Timarchus, named one of his wines ‘White Drink,’ Λευκοννάριον.

An amphora in the house of the Vettii was labelled *Gustaticium*, ‘Breakfast Drink’; it no doubt contained *mulsum*, a kind of mead made by mixing honey with wine, which the ancients drank with the first meal of the day. The word *mulsum* occurs on another amphora discovered previously.

Fruits and other edibles of all kinds were kept in amphorae. On one was written: *Oliva alba dulce* (for *olivae albae dulces*) *P. C. E.*, — ‘White sweet olives of P. C. E.’; the name cannot be determined from the initials. On other amphorae the words for bean meal (*lomentum*), honey, and lentils appear, the last being designated by the Greek word.

A large number of small jars contained the fish sauces, — *garum*, *liquamen*, and *muria*, — of which the ancients were so fond; reference has already been made to Umbricius Scaurus (p. 15), who seems to have had several establishments for the making of the sauces, conducted by slaves, freedmen, and perhaps by members of his family.

The best quality of *garum*, which was probably a thick preparation, a kind of fish jelly, was designated by the letters *g. f.*, for *garum — flos*, ‘garum blossom,’ as in the following inscription: *g[arum] — f[los] scombr[i] Scauri ab Eutyche Scauri*, — ‘Scaurus’s tunny jelly, blossom brand, put up by Eutyches, slave of Scaurus.’ We frequently find *liquamen optimum*, ‘best liquamen.’

The *muria* was apparently a fish pickle, certain parts of the fish, or certain varieties, being preserved in brine. According to Pliny the Elder some fish sauces were prepared in a special way, to be used by the Jews on fast days; two of these, as already noted, appear in the inscriptions upon Pompeian jars, *garum castum* and *muria casta* (p. 18).

In these inscriptions upon jars of various sizes the name of the proprietor is sometimes given, in the genitive case, as *M. Caesi Celeris*, — ‘Of M. Caesius Celer.’ The name of the man to whom the consignment is made is put in the dative, as *Albucio Celso*.

The name of the consignor sometimes follows that of the consignee, as *liquamen optimum A. Virnio Modesto ab Agathopode*, — ‘Best liquamen, for Aulus Virnius Modestus, from Agathopus.’

An inscription similar to that just mentioned, on an amphora found in the house of Caecilius Jucundus, illustrates the extent to which family pride might assert itself in the naming of children: *Caecilio Iucundo ab Sexsto Metello*, — ‘To Caecilius Jucundus from Sextus Metellus.’ The sender and the recipient were both sons of Lucius Caecilius Jucundus. According to common usage, one of the sons would have received the name Lucius Caecilius Jucundus, after the father; while the other would have been called Lucius Caecilius, with a cognomen derived perhaps from the name of the mother. But the prosperous Pompeian wished to suggest a relationship with the distinguished family of the Caecilii Metelli, so he named one son Sextus Caecilius Jucundus Metellus, and the other Quintus Caecilius Jucundus, the name Quintus being common in the family of the Caecilii Metelli. The names of the two sons are found together in an election notice: *Q. S. Caecili Iucundi*, — ‘Quintus and Sextus Caecilius Jucundus.’

Besides the names of the makers, inscriptions relating to weight and ownership are found on the cups and other objects of the Boscoreale treasure. Thus on the under side of the Alexandria patera (Fig. 187, and p. 380) we find the following record, the letters of which are outlined with points: *Phi[ala] et emb[lema] p[endentia] p[ondo libras] II, uncias X, scrupula VI. Phi[ala] p[endens] p[ondo libras] II, uncias II, semunciam; emb[lema] p[endens] p[ondo] uncias VII, semunciam*, ‘The bowl and the relief medallion’ together ‘weigh 2 pounds, 10 ounces, and 6 scruples. The bowl weighs 2 pounds,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ounces; the relief medallion weighs  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ounces.’ In giving the items separately no account was taken of the

scruples. Reckoning the Roman pound as 327.453 grammes, the weight of the patera with its relief was 934.608 grammes, or 2.504 Troy pounds. This differs from the present weight by less than a gramme.

Occasionally a name in the genitive case is found with the record of weight, written with the same kind of letters; in such cases it is probably safe to assume that the name is that of the original owner. On the under side of one of the pair of cups ornamented with skeletons (Fig. 217) is the inscription: GAVIAE P·II·SĒIIII; a later hand, writing with a fine point, added VAS II in the space after GAVIAE, as if to supply an obvious omission, so that the inscription in full would read, *Gaviae. Vas[a] II [pendentia] p[ondo libras] II, uncias VIII, [scrupula] IV*, 'The property of Gavia. The two cups weigh 2 pounds, 8 ounces, and 4 scruples' (2.351 Troy pounds).

In some instances the name of a later owner has been scratched on the surface with a pointed tool. The name of a woman, Maxima, written in full or in abbreviation, appears on forty-five of the pieces in the Louvre. We may safely accept the conclusion of De Villefosse, that she is probably the one who made the collection, obtaining her specimens from different sources, and that to her the Boscoreale treasure belonged at the time of the eruption.

Besides the seals which were used in signing documents the Romans had stamps, *signacula*, which they impressed upon various articles as a means of identification or as an advertisement. Impressions of such stamps are found upon bricks and other objects of clay, and in one or two instances upon loaves of bread. Several charred loaves in the Naples Museum have the stamp: [C]eleris Q. Grani Veri ser., — '(Made by) Celer, slave of Quintus Granius Verus.'

The names upon stamps appear regularly in the genitive case, as *N. Popidi Prisci*, spelled backward on the stamp, so that the letters appear in the right order in the impression. Since the time of Fiorelli many houses have been named from the stamps found in them; in the house of the Vettii, for example, two stamps were found with the names of Aulus Vettius Restitutus and Aulus Vettius Conviva.

## CONCLUSION

### CHAPTER LIX

#### *SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POMPEIAN CULTURE*

THE ideals of a nation — the true index of its culture — find expression alike in its laws, its literature, its art, and the environment of daily life. They are a common heritage, which one generation passes on to another with its own increment of change, and their influence extends as far as that of the people whose spirit is manifested in them. Thus it happens that the conditions of culture found in a single city, unless that city, as Athens, had an independent development as a state, are not isolated but are determined in the main by general movements and tendencies, and are reproduced, with local differences, in all places having the same racial and political connections. The local element was more pronounced and more characteristic in ancient than in modern cities; yet, unless the surroundings were exceptionably favorable, we should not be warranted in expecting to find in a small city an isolated development of special significance in art or taste. Pompeii forms no exception to the rule.

The situation of Pompeii was unfavorable to the growth of an indigenous culture. Founded by Samnites, a primitive folk, it lay in the overlapping edges of two great zones of influence, Greek and Roman. It was a small town, which never rose to the dignity even of a provincial capital. It was a seaport, which through marine traffic kept in touch with other cities, especially those of the East, from which fashions of art, religion, and life travelled easily westward. The political institutions of the Pompeians were at first those which they shared in common with the Samnite and Oscan cities of the mountains and the Cam-

panian plain, later those imposed upon them by the forceful and levelling administration of Rome. The literature which they read, as we learn from quotations scratched upon the walls, consisted of the Greek and Roman writers of their own or previous periods; not a single line of an Oscan drama or poem has been found. Their art was a reproduction of designs and masterpieces produced elsewhere,—at first under Hellenistic, later under Roman influence,—on a scale commensurate with the limited resources of the place. Finally the countless appliances of everyday life, from the fixed furniture of the atrium to articles of toilet, were not rare and costly objects such as were seen in the wealthy homes of Rome or Alexandria, but those of the commoner sort everywhere in use. Any one of fifty cities might have been overwhelmed in the place of Pompeii, and the results, so far as our knowledge of the ancient culture in its larger aspects is concerned, would not have been essentially different.

The representative rather than exceptional character of the remains at Pompeii makes them either of less or of greater value, according as we look at them from different points of view. If we are seeking for the most perfect examples of ancient art, for masterpieces of the famous artists, we do not find them. Many of the Pompeian paintings appeal to modern taste; yet it would be as unfair to judge of the merits of ancient painting from the specimens which are worked into the decorative designs of Pompeian walls as it would be to base an estimate of the value of modern art upon chromos and wall papers. For the noblest creations of ancient art in any field we must look not to provincial towns, but to the great centres of population and of political administration, where genius found encouragement, inspiration, and adequate means. No large city, fortunately for its inhabitants, was visited by such a disaster as that which befell the Campanian town; and the wealth of artistic types at Pompeii bears witness to the universality of art in the Greco-Roman world.

Since these remains are so broadly typical, they are invaluable for the interpretation of the civilization of which they formed a part. They shed light on countless passages of Greek and

Roman writers. Literature, however, ordinarily records only that which is exceptional or striking, while here we find the surroundings of life as a whole, the humblest details being presented to the eye.

Pompeii, as no other source outside the pages of classical authors, helps us to understand the ancient man.





# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX<sup>1</sup>

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*Pompeii as a seaport* [p. 3]: Strab. Geog. V. iv. 8 (p. 247).

*The seacoast and the Sarno in antiquity* [p. 4]: RUGGIERO, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-14; MAU, *Dell' antico lido del mare*, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1880, pp. 89-92;

<sup>1</sup> An extensive collection of titles relating to Pompeii and Vesuvius is given by F. FURCHHEIM, *Bibliografia di Pompei, Erculano e Stabia* (Edit. 2, Naples, 1891) and *Bibliografia del Vesuvio* (Naples, 1897).

In the Bibliographical Appendix figures in brackets refer to the pages of this book. The following abbreviations are employed:—

*Ann. dell' Inst.* = *Annali dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* (57 vols., Rome, 1829-1885).

*Bull. com.* = *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* (vols. 1-19, Rome, 1872-1901).

*Bull. dell' Inst.* = *Bullettino dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* (Rome, 1829-1885).

C. I. L. = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1863 ff.).

*Ephem. Epigr.* = *Ephemeris Epigraphica, corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum* (vols. 1-8, Berlin, 1872-1899).

*Jahrb. des Inst.* = *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts* (vols. 1-16, Berlin, 1885-1901).

*Mon. dei Lincei* = *Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* (Milano, vols. 1-10, 1892-1901).

*Mon. dell' Inst.* = *Monumenti inediti pubblicati dall' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* (12 vols. and Supplements, Rome and Berlin, 1829-1891).

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F. VON DUHN, *Der Hafen von Pompei*, Rhein. Mus., vol. 36 (1881), pp. 127-130, 632-634; MAU, *Der Hafen von Pompeji*, Rhein. Mus., vol. 36, pp. 326-328, and vol. 37 (1882), pp. 319-320.

## CHAPTER II. POMPEII BEFORE THE ERUPTION

*The founding of Pompeii* [p. 8]: the question of the origin of the city is closely connected with that of the system of streets, for which see references to Chap. V, p. 517.

*Origin of the name* [p. 8]: cf. F. VON DUHN, *Verhandlung der 34<sup>ten</sup> Philologen-Versammlung* (1880), p. 154; for pompe = quinque, cf. BUCK, *Der Vocalismus der Oskischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 118-119. The derivation of Pompeii from πομπή (πέμπειν) is assumed by NISSEN, *Pompejanische Studien* (Leipzig, 1877), p. 580; cf. also SOGLIANO, *Rendiconto della Accademia di Archeologia, Nuova Serie*, Naples, vol. 15 (1901), p. 115.

*The expedition of P. Cornelius* [p. 9]: Liv. IX. xxxviii. 2-3.

*The siege of Sulla* [p. 10]: Appian. *Bel. Civ.*, I. v. 39, vi. 50; Oros. V. xviii. 22; Vell. Pater. II. xvi. 2.

*The Pompeians and P. Sulla* [p. 10]: Cic. *Pro P. Sulla*, xxi.

*Excavations near the Sarno canal* [p. 10]: Not. d. scavi, 1880, pp. 494-498; 1881, pp. 25-29, 64-66. For other evidence relating to the suburbs, see NISSEN, *Pompejanische Studien*, p. 379; MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 4 (1889), pp. 299-300, 344.

*Inscriptions* [p. 11]—*referring to the Salinenses*: C. I. L. IV. 1611; Not. d. scavi, 1884, p. 51. *Referring to the Campanienses*: C. I. L. IV. 470, 480, 1216, 1293 [quoted p. 492], 2353 [p. 219].

*Venus Pompeiana* [p. 12]: Museo Borb., vol. 8, pl. 34; HELBIG, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (Leipzig, 1868), no. 295; WISSOWA, *De Veneris simulacris Romanis* (Breslau, 1882), pp. 15-21; cf. also ROSSBACH, *Vier Pompejanischen Wandbilder*, *Jahrb. des Inst.* vol. 8 (1893), pp. 57-59 (no. 4).

*Name of the Roman colony* [p. 12]: known from inscriptions, as that of Holconius Rufus and Egnatius Postumus [p. 85], and the tablets of Caecilius Jucundus, as 3340, cxliii. in C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 1; with the latter we may compare the abbreviation after the name of Privatus [p. 504].

*Civic administration* [p. 12]: MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, vol. 1 (Edit. 2, Leipzig, 1881), pp. 132-215; C. I. L. X. pp. 90-93, IV. pp. 249-255; WILLEMS, *Les élections municipales à Pompéi* (Paris, 1886), and review of this book by MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 4 (1889), pp. 298-302.

*Duumvirates of Caligula* [p. 14]: C. I. L. X. 901, 902, 904.

*Lex Petronia* [p. 14]: C. I. L. X. 858 [cf. p. 219]; MARQUARDT, *op. cit.* vol. 1, p. 170.

*Inscriptions referring to priests* [p. 14]: augurs, C. I. L. X. 806, 820, 822; pontifices, C. I. L. X. 788, 789, 791, 851, 859; of Mars, C. I. L. IV. 879; of Ceres, C. I. L. X. 812, 1036, 1074; of Ceres and Venus, Not. d. scavi, 1890,

p. 91, and Ephem. Epigr. VIII. p. 86; divinity not mentioned, C. I. L. X. 810-813, 816, 950, 998-999; of Augustus, C. I. L. X. 798, 830, 837-840, 943-948, IV. 1180 (?); of Julia Augusta, C. I. L. X. 961 (?); of Fortuna Augusta, C. I. L. X. 824-828; of Mercury and Maia, C. I. L. X. 884-923; of Nero, C. I. L. IV. 1185 [quoted on p. 222].

*Officials of the Pagus Augustus Felix* [p. 14]: C. I. L. X. 814, 853, 924, 944, 1027, 1028, 1030, 1042, 1055, 1074; Röm. Mitth., vol. 4 (1889), p. 344.

*Pompeian wine* [p. 14]: Plin. N. H. XIV. II. 35, III. 38, VI. 70; Columella, De re rust. III. II. 27. For the forms of the amphorae, see the plate at the end of C. I. L. IV. following the map; for the inscriptions, C. I. L. IV. pp. 171-188 and Suppl. 2.

*Pompeian cabbage and onions* [p. 15]: Plin. N. H. XIX. VIII. 140; Columella, De re rust. X. 135, XII. x. 1.

*Volcanic products* [p. 15]: pumice stone, Vitruv. II. VI. 2; oil mills, Cato, De agri cultura, XXII. 3, 4, CXXXV. 2.

*Cicero's Pompeianum* [p. 16]: Cic. Acad. pr. II. III. 9, XXV. 80; ad Att. I. XX. 1, V. II. 1, X. XV. 1, XVI. 4, XIII. VIII; ad Fam. VII. III. 1, IV. XII. XX; ad Quint. fr. II. XIV. 1; Plut. Cic. VIII. See also SCHMIDT, Cicero's Villen—Das Pompeianum, Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, vol. 3 (1899), pp. 489-497, and the review by MAU, Röm. Mitth. vol. 15 (1900), pp. 129-130.

*Death of Claudius's Drusus at Pompeii* [p. 16]: Suet. Div. Claud. XXVII.

*Inscriptions* [p. 16]: C. I. L. X. 874, 875; for the Greek inscriptions discovered at Pompeii, cf. C. I. L. IV, Index, p. 264; KAIBEL, Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae, pp. 188-189; DILTHEY, Dipinti Pompeiani accompagnati d' epigrammi greci, Ann. dell' Inst. vol. 48 (1876), pp. 294-314.

*Population of Pompeii* [p. 16]: FIORELLI, Gli Scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872, App. 3, pp. 12-14; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 374-379.

*Evidence regarding the existence of a Jewish colony at Pompeii* [pp. 17-18]—*inscriptions cited*: C. I. L. IV, 1507, 2569, 2609, 2611, IV. Suppl. 4976, 5244. *Painting with the judgment of Solomon*: LUMBROSO, Sul dipinto pompeiano in cui si è ravvisato il giudizio di Salomone, Memorie della Acc. dei Lincei, Serie 3, vol. 11 (1883), pp. 303-305; SAMTER, Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahr. des Inst., vol. 13 (1898), pp. 49-50. *Supposed Christian inscription and the literature relating to it*: DE ROSSI, Una memoria dei Cristiani in Pompei, Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana, vol. 2 (1864), pp. 69-72, and Dei Giudei Libertini e dei Cristiani in Pompei, ibid. pp. 92-93; C. I. L. IV. 679, and Suppl. p. 461.

### CHAPTER III. THE DESTRUCTION OF POMPEII

The particulars of the eruption are treated at length in the works on Vesuvius cited in the note to Chap. I.

*Vesuvius before the eruption* [p. 19]: Strabo, V. VIII. (p. 247); Diod.

Sic. IV. XXI. 5; Vitr. II. vi. 2, 3; Mart. Epigr. IV. XLIV; PALMIERI, *Del Vesuvio dei tempi di Spartaco e di Strabone e del precipuo cangiamento avvenuto nell' anno 79 dell' era volgare, Pompei e la regione sotterrate dal Vesuvio nell' anno LXXIX*, pp. 91-94; see also LOBLEY, *Mount Vesuvius*, pp. 95-98 and pl. 8. *Representation of Vesuvius in a Pompeian wall painting* (discovered in 1879): Not. d. scavi, 1879, p. 285; reproduction, Not. d. scavi, 1880, pl. VII., with a geological analysis by Palmieri, pp. 233-234; reproduced also by DE MARCHI, *Il culto privato di Roma antica*, vol. I (Milan, 1896), pl. 5 (p. 100).

*The earthquake of 63 A.D.* [p. 19]: Tac. Ann. XV. XXII (erroneously assigned to 62); Sen. N. Q. VI. I. 1-15, XXVI. 5, XXVII. 1; cf. also the dedicatory inscription of the temple of Isis [p. 170].

*Date of the eruption* [p. 19]: MAU, *Del mese e del giorno dell' eruzione*, Bull. dell' Inst. 1880, pp. 92-96; Not. d. scavi, 1889, pp. 407-410; Röm. Mitth., vol. 5 (1890), pp. 282-283.

*Ancient sources of our knowledge of the eruption* [pp. 19-20]: Plin. Ep. VI. xvi, xx; Dio Cass. LXVI. XXI-XXIII; incidental references, M. Aurel. Anton. IV. XLVIII; Euseb. Chron. ad an. Abr. 2095; Plut. De sera numinis vindicta, XXII. p. 566 E, De Pythiae oraculis, IX. p. 398 E; Tertullian, Apologet. XL, De pallio, II.

*Covering of Herculaneum* [p. 21]: RUGGIERO, *Della eruzione del Vesuvio nell' anno LXXIX* (see note to Chap. I.), pp. 21-22.

*Excavations at Stabiae* [p. 21]: see note to Chap. IV.

*Commission sent by Titus* [p. 23]: Suet. Div. Tit. 8.

## CHAPTER IV. THE UNEARTHING

*Excavations at Pompeii*: FIORELLI, *Pompeianarum antiquitatum historia* (3 vols, Naples, 1860-1864); FIORELLI, *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872* (Naples, 1873); C.I.L. X. pp. 93-94. *Periodical reports of the excavations*: *Bullettino Archeologico Napolitano* pubblicato da AVELLINO (vols. 1-6, Naples, 1842-1848). *Bullettino Archeologico Napolitano*, Nuova Serie, edited by GARRUCCI and MINERVINI (vols. 1-8, Naples, 1853-1863); *Bullettino Archeologico Italiano*, edited by MINERVINI (1861-1862); *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei* pubblicato da GIUSEPPE FIORELLI (Naples, 1861-1865, incomplete); *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei*, Nuova Serie, pubblicata dagli alunni della Scuola archeologica (vols. 1-4, Naples, 1868-1879); since 1876, in the *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*. The reports on the excavations by Professor Mau were published in the *Bullettino dell' Istituto* from 1873 to 1885; since 1885 they have appeared in the *Römische Mittheilungen*.

*Excavations at Herculaneum*: RUGGIERO, *Storia degli scavi di Ercolano* (Naples, 1885).

*Excavations at Stabiae*: RUGGIERO, *Degli scavi di Stabia dal MDCCXLIX al MDCLXXXII* (Naples, 1881).

*Inscriptions discovered by Fontana* [p. 25] : C. I. L. X. 928, 952.

*Time required to complete the excavations* [p. 29] : FIORELLI, Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872, App. p. 10.

## CHAPTER V. A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

*The system of streets* [p. 32] : NISSEN, Das Templum (Berlin, 1869), pp. 63-81 ; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 572-593 ; FIORELLI, Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872, App. pp. 10-12 ; VON BEZOLD, Osservazioni sulla limitazione di Pompei, Bull. dell' Inst. 1880, pp. 151-159 ; MAU, Osservazioni sulla rete stradale di Pompei, Bull. dell' Inst. 1881, pp. 108-112.

*The regions and insulae* [p. 34] : FIORELLI, Sulle regioni Pompeiane e della loro antica distribuzione (Naples, 1858) ; FIORELLI, Descrizione di Pompei (Naples, 1875), pp. 24-25 ; for the names given to houses, FIORELLI, Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872, App. pp. 18-20. *Meaning of the word Insula* : RICHTER, Insula, Hermes, vol. 20 (1885), pp. 91-100.

## CHAPTER VI. MATERIALS, CONSTRUCTION, ARCHITECTURAL PERIODS

*Materials, construction, periods, systems of measurement* : NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 1-97 ; FIORELLI, Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872, pp. 78-86 ; RUGGIERO, Della eruzione del Vesuvio neli' anno LXXIX (see note to Chap. I), pp. 5-8 ; MAU, Pompejanische Beiträge (Berlin, 1879), pp. 1-41, and Röm. Mitth., vol. 4 (1889), pp. 294-298.

*Mason's marks* : C. I. L. IV. pp. 166-167 ; RICHTER, Ueber antike Steinmetz-zeichen (Berlin, 1883), pp. 13-22, summarized by MAU, Röm. Mitth., vol. 4 (1899), pp. 292-294 ; MAU, Segni di scarpellino di Pompei, Röm. Mitth., vol. 10 (1895), pp. 47-51. MARRIOTT, Facts about Pompeii (London, 1895), pp. 62-85, reviewed by Mau, Röm. Mitth., vol. 10 (1895), pp. 222-224. A complete collection of mason's marks will appear in C. I. L. IV. suppl. 2.

## CHAPTER VII. THE FORUM

*Excavation* (1813-1818), *plan, remains* : FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 135-212, vol. 3, pp. 1-17 ; GELL, Pompeiana (Edit. 2, 2 vols., London, 1832), vol. 1, pp. 27-38 ; MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi (four parts, cited as vols. ; vols. 1 and 2, 1824 ; vols. 3 and 4, continued by GAU, 1828-1829 ; Paris), vol. 3, pp. 28-36, plates 13<sup>bis</sup>, 14 ; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 313-319, 344-374.

*Inscriptions relating to the Forum or found in it* : C. I. L. X. 787-794, IV. pp. 4, 41, 125-127 ; inscription of A. Clodius Flaccus [p. 57], X. 1074.

*Statues of the Forum* [pp. 46-48] : MAU, Die Statuen des Forums von Pompeji, Röm. Mitth., vol. 11 (1896), pp. 150-156.

*History of the colonnade* [p. 50]: MAU, Il portico del Foro di Pompei, Röm. Mitth., vol. 6 (1891), pp. 168-176.

*Paintings illustrating the life of the Forum* [p. 55]: Le pitture antiche di Ercolano e contorni (5 vols., Naples, 1757-1779), pp. 213, 221, 227; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 1489-1500; particularly JAHN, Ueber Darstellungen des Handwerks und Handelsverkehrs auf antiken Wandgemälden, Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philologisch.-hist. Classe, vol. 5 (1870), pp. 263-318 and pl. 1-3; reproduced also by BAUMEISTER, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums (3 vols., Munich, 1884-1888), vol. III. Fig. 1653; SCHREIBER, Atlas of Classical Antiquities (trans. by Anderson; London, 1895), pl. 87, 88, 89.

*Shape of a typical forum contrasted with that of the agora* [p. 57]: Vitruv. I. 1-3.

*Admission fee*, [p. 57]: FRIEDLAENDER in MARQUARDT, Röm. Staatsverwaltung (Edit. 2), vol. 3, pp. 492-493.

*Slaves not permitted to witness the games* [p. 58]: Cic. De harus. resp. XII. 26.

## CHAPTER VIII. THE BUILDINGS AROUND THE FORUM — THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER

*Of the Capitolium in Roman colonies generally*: KUHfeldt, De capitoliis imperii Romani (Berlin, 1882); CASTAN, Les capitaux provinciaux du monde romain (Besançon, 1886); DE ROSSI and GATTI, I campidogli nelle colonie e nelle altre città del mondo romano, Bull. com., vol. 15 (1887), pp. 66-68; WISSOWA, Capitolium (2), Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie, vol. 3, pp. 1538-1540.

*The temple of Jupiter* (excavated in 1816-1818, 1820): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 185-200, vol. 2, pp. 16-17, vol. 3, p. 13; MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 3, pp. 48-50, pl. 30-36; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 320-327; MAU, Pomp. Beiträge, pp. 200-209; WEICHARDT, Pompeji vor der Zerstörung (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 61-78.

*Variation of the plan from the Etruscan, union of Greek and Etruscan elements* [p. 63]: cf. Vitruv. IV. vii. 1, viii. 5.

*Relief in the house of Caecilius Iucundus* [p. 64]: MAU, Röm. Mitth., vol. 15 (1900), pp. 115-116.

*Decoration of the cella* [p. 65]: MAU, Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji (Berlin, 1882), pp. 61-62, 248.

*Inscriptions found in the cella* [p. 66]: C. I. L. X. 796-797.

*The Capitolium and the temple of Zeus Milichius* [p. 66]: MAU, Röm. Mitth., vol. 11 (1896), pp. 141-149.

*Temples of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva in Etruscan and Roman cities* [p. 66]: Serv. Com. in Verg. ad Aen. I. 422; Vitruv. I. vii. 1.

*Capitals of the Ionic columns of the cella, and of the Corinthian columns of the portico* [pp. 63-67]: MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 3, pl. 35. The

shape of the acanthus leaves is not that characteristic of the pre-Roman period. It is therefore most probable that the temple was built, or at any rate was completed, in the early years of the colony.

*The vaults in the podium* [p. 67]: Not. d. scavi, 1900, pp. 341-344.

## CHAPTER IX. THE BASILICA

*Excavation* (1813-1816): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 86, pt. 3, pp. 111-179 passim; vol. 2, p. 13.

*Inscriptions*: C. I. L. X. 805-807, IV. pp. 113-125.

*Decoration*: MAU, Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei, pp. 11-17.

*Reconstruction*: MAU, Röm. Mitth., vol. 3 (1888), pp. 14-46, vol. 6 (1891), pp. 67-71, vol. 8 (1893), pp. 166-171; cf. also WOLTERS, Das Chalcidicum der Pompejanischen Basilica, Röm. Mitth., vol. 3 (1888), pp. 47-60. Equal height of main room and corridor was first assumed by MAZOIS (Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 3, pls. 17, 18), afterward by MAU (Pomp. Beiträge, pp. 156-199). A clerestory was added by CANINA (Architettura Antica, vol. 3, pl. 93), and by LANGE (Haus und Halle, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 351-372). SCHOENE (NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 198-201) assumes an equal height for the large columns and the half-columns, with a gallery above the corridor.

*The Basilica Porcia* [p. 70]: HUELSEN, Röm. Mitth., vol. 8 (1893), pp. 84, 91. *Other references on the Roman basilicas*: HUELSEN, Nomenclator topographicus (KIEPERT and HUELSEN, Formae urbis Romae antiquae, Berlin, 1896), pp. 13-14.

*The Basilica at Fano* [p. 71]: Vitruv. V. i. 6-10; PRESTEL, Des M. Vitruvius Pollio, Basilica zu Fanum Fortunae (Strassburg, 1900). *Reconstruction*: VIOUET-LE-DUC, Entretiens sur l'architecture (2 vols. Paris, 1863, 1872), vol. 1, pp. 150-157, and Atlas, pl. 8-10; translation of vol. 1 by VAN BRUNT (under the title Discourses on Architecture, Boston, 1873), pp. 144-149 and pls. 8-10.

*Literature relating to the origin of the Christian basilica*: DEHIO and von BEZOLD, Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1892), pp. 62-63, and LOWRIE, Monuments of the Early Church (New York, 1901), pp. 420-421; cf. also HOLTZINGER, Die altchristliche und byzantinische Baukunst (Stuttgart, 1899; in Durm's Handbuch der Architektur), pp. 19-25; KRAUS, Realencyclopädie der christl. Alterthümer (2 vols., Freiburg, 1882-1886), vol. I. under Basilica; LANGE, Haus und Halle (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 270-326; F. WITTING, Die Anfänge christlicher Architektur (Strassburg, 1902).

## CHAPTER X. THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO

*Excavation* (1817-1818), *remains, restoration*: FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 191, 203-210, vol. 2, pp. 9, 69, vol. 3, pp. 9-16; GELL, Pompeiana (Edit. 3, by GELL and GANDY, London, 1852), pl. 53-54; MAZOIS,

Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 4, pls. 16-23; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 213-232; MAU, *Pomp. Beiträge*, pp. 93-116; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji (Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken dargestellt von JOHANNES OVERBECK; vierte im Vereine mit AUGUST MAU durchgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage, Leipzig, 1884)*, pp. 96-104 and 636-637 (Anm. 41-45); IVANOFF, *Architektonische Studien*, Heft 2 (Berlin, 1895), pl. 1-3; WEICHARDT, *Pompeji vor der Zerstörung*, pp. 35-52.

*Inscriptions relating to the temple — Oscan* [p. 80]: MAU, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1882, pp. 189-190, 203, 205-207; BUECHELER, *Rhein. Mus.*, vol. 37 (1882), p. 643; ZVETAIEFF, *Inscriptiones Italiae inferioris dialecticae* (Moscow, 1886), p. 55 (no. 156 a); VON PLANTA, *Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Dialekte* (2 vols.; Strassburg, 1892, 1897), vol. 2, p. 500; CONWAY, *Italic Dialects* (2 vols., London, 1897), vol. 1, p. 65. *Latin* [pp. 85-86]: C. I. L. X. 787, 800-804.

*Paintings* [pp. 84, 87]: HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, nos. 266, 395, 1306, 1324, 1325, 1544, and Nachträge, pp. 461-462.

*Statues found in the court* [p. 87] — *Venus*: Museo Borb., vol. 14, pl. 23. *Artemis and Apollo*: Museo Borb., vol. 8, pl. 59, 60. *Herm in the Naples Museum formerly thought to be Maia*: PATRONI, *La pretesa Maia, erma del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 15 (1900), pp. 131-132.

*The cult of Mercury and Maia* [p. 89]: cf. SAMTER, *Altare di Mercurio e Maia*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 8 (1893), pp. 222-225.

*Augustus as Mercury* [p. 90]: KIESSLING, *Zu Hor. Od. I. 2*, in *Philologische Untersuchungen* (herausgegeben von A. KIESSLING und U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, Berlin), Heft 2 (1881), p. 92. *Inscriptions referring to the cult of Mercury and Maia, afterward of Augustus, at Pompeii*: C. I. L. X. pp. 109-113. *Denderah inscription* (found with a wall painting showing the portrait of an emperor): DUEMICHEN, *Baugeschichte des Denderah Tempels* (Berlin, 1877), p. 16 and pl. 9; KRALL, *Wiener Studien*, vol. 5 (1883), p. 315, note.

## CHAPTER XI. THE BUILDINGS AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE FORUM — THE TABLE OF STANDARD MEASURES

*The table of standard measures* [p. 92]: MANCINI, *La mensa ponderaria di Pompei esistente nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei*, Nuova Serie, vol. 2 (1871), pp. 144-161; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 71-74; CONWAY, *The Italic Dialects*, vol. 1, pp. 67-68, vol. 2, pp. 521-523; ZVETAIEFF, *Sylloge inscriptionum Oscarum*, pl. 13; C. I. L. X. 793.

*Measurements of the cavities by MR. BIDDER*: *The Academy*, April 15, 1895, p. 319.

*Other tables of standard measures* [p. 93]: at Minturnae, C. I. L. X. 6017; at Tivoli, *Not. d. scavi*, 1883, pp. 85-86, 172, and LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (Boston, 1892), pp. 40-41; at Selinus, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1884, p. 321;



BREGENZ, Mitth. der Oesterr. Centralcommission, Neue Folge, vol. 8, p. 99; in Greek lands, TARBELL, A "Mensa Ponderaria" from Assos; American Journal of Archæology, vol. 7 (1891), pp. 440-443, and n. 1 (the Assos table is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts); BACON, Investigations at Assos, Pt. I (1902), pp. 71, 73.

## CHAPTER XII. THE MACELLUM

*Excavation* (in 1821-1822), *identification, reconstruction*: FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 2, pp. 38-56, vol. 3, pp. 31-32; GELL, Pompeiana (Edit. of 1832), vol. 1, pp. 46-68; MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 3, pp. 59-67, pl. 42-46; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 275-286; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 120-128; Not. d. scavi, 1898, pp. 333-339.

*Other macella* [p. 94] *in Rome*: HUELSEN, Nomenclator top. (see note to Chap. IX), p. 44. *At Puteoli*: GERVASIO, Sopra alcune iscrizioni riguardanti il Macello nell' antica Pozzuoli (Naples, 1852); published also in Memorie della regale Accademia ercolanese di archeologia, vol. 6 (1853), pp. 265-283.

*The tholus* [p. 94]: Varro, apud Non., p. 448. The coin of Nero referred to is described by ECKHEL, Doctrina numorum veterum (Edit. 2, 8 vols., Vienna, 1792-1828), vol. 6, p. 273, and figured by COHEN, Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain, vol. 1 (Edit. 2, Paris, 1880), p. 288; and Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica, no. LXXII.

*Paintings in the Macellum at Pompeii* [pp. 96-98]: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, see Topogr. Index, p. 476, under Pantheon.

*Cupids as bakers and as makers of wreaths* [p. 98]: Museo Borb., vol. 4, pl. 47, and vol. 6, pl. 51; ROUX, Herculaneum et Pompéi (text by BARRÉ; 8 vols., Paris, 1840), vol. 2, pl. 83, 84; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 777, 800; JAHN, Abhandlungen der Königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philolog-hist. Classe, vol. 5 (1870), pp. 315-318 and pl. 6.

*Statues found in the imperial chapel* [p. 98]: MAU, Statua di Marcello nipote di Augusto, Atti della reale Accademia di Napoli, vol. 15 (1891), pp. 133-151; HELBIG, Osservazioni sopra i ritratti di Fulvia e di Ottavia, Mon. dei Lincei, vol. 1 (1890), pp. 573-590. Both these articles are summarized by MAU, Röm. Mitth., vol. 6 (1891), p. 268, and vol. 7 (1892), pp. 169-171. The statues were published with the names of Livia and Drusus, son of Tiberius, in the Museo Borb., vol. 3, pl. 37, 38; the right hand of Octavia is restored.

*Destruction wrought by the earthquake of 63* [p. 101]: this matter will be discussed in an early number of the Römische Mittheilungen.

## CHAPTER XIII. THE SANCTUARY OF THE CITY LARES

*Excavation* (1817), *remains*: FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 196; MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 3, pp. 50-51, pl. 37; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 303-306.

*Identification and restoration*: MAU, Der Städtische Larentempel in Pompeji, Röm. Mitth., vol. 11 (1896), pp. 285-301.

## CHAPTER XIV. THE TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN

*Excavation* (in 1817), *remains, identification, restoration*: FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 198; MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, vol. 4, pp. 33-36, pl. 12-15; GARRUCCI, *L'Augusteum, la curia degli Augustales, il Chalcidicum, l'aedes Fortunae Augustae*, *Bullettino archeologico Napolitano, Nuova Serie*, vol. 2 (1854), pp. 4-6, published also in his *Questioni Pompeiane* (Naples, 1853), pp. 74-79; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 270-275; MAU, *Osservazioni sul creduto tempio del Genio di Augusto in Pompei*, *Atti della reale Accademia di Napoli*, vol. 16 (1894), pp. 181-188; WEICHARDT, *Pompeji vor der Zerstörung*, pp. 95-101. For the restoration given in Fig. 46, see MAU, *Der Tempel des Vespasian in Pompeii*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 15 (1900), pp. 133-138.

## CHAPTER XV. THE BUILDING OF EUMACHIA

*Excavation* (1814-1818): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 154-158, 195, 198, 210-213, vol. 2, pp. 7-19, vol. 3, pp. 6, 13, 16, 23.

*Remains, identification, restoration*: BECHI, *Del calcidico e della cripta di Eumachia scavati nel Foro di Pompeji l'anno 1820* (Naples, 1820); GELL, *Pompeiana* (Edit. of 1832), vol. 1, pp. 13-26; MAZOIS, *Les ruines di Pompéi*, vol. 3, pp. 42-47, pl. 22-27; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 287-303. For the restorations given in the text, see MAU, *Osservazioni sull'edifizio di Eumachia in Pompei*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 7 (1892), pp. 113-143.

*Inscriptions* [pp. 111, 112]: C. I. L. X. 808-815.

*Decoration* [p. 111]: MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, vol. 3, pp. 45-46, pl. 26, 27; MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei*, pp. 334-335, 410, and pl. 10; HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, no. 1094 c.

## CHAPTER XVI. THE COMITIUM

*Remains, identification*: MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, vol. 3, pp. 58-59; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 185-193; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji*, pp. 136-138.

## CHAPTER XVII. THE MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS

*Excavation* (1814), *remains, identification*: FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 154-159, vol. 2, p. 160; MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, vol. 3, p. 52, pl. 38; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 306-311; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji*, pp. 139-142.

## CHAPTER XVIII. THE TEMPLE OF VENUS POMPEIANA

*Excavation, remains, identification*: Not. d. scavi, 1899, pp. 17-23, 1900, pp. 27-30. In these reports the temple is assigned to the worship of Augustus, the history of the building also being misunderstood. For a justification of the interpretation of the remains given in the text, see MAU, *Der Tempel der Venus Pompeiana*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 15 (1900), pp. 270-308 and pl. 7-8.

## CHAPTER XIX. THE TEMPLE OF FORTUNA AUGUSTA

*Excavation* (1823-1824): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 2, pp. 84-85, 91, 95-98.

*Remains, restoration*: MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, vol. 4, pp. 45-48, pl. 24-26; GELL, *Pompeiana* (Edit. of 1832), vol. 1, pp. 69-82; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 178-184; MAU, *Der Tempel der Fortuna Augusta in Pompeji*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 11 (1896), pp. 269-284; WEICHARDT, *Pompeji vor der Zerstörung*, pp. 85-93.

*Inscriptions* [pp. 130, 132]: C. I. L. X. 820-828.

## CHAPTER XX. THE FORUM TRIANGULARE AND THE GREEK TEMPLE

*Excavation of the Forum and the temple* (1767-1797): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 211, 276, 285, 286, 297, 307, 308, pt. 2, pp. 63-65.

*Remains of the temple, restoration*: MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, vol. 3, pp. 17-22, pl. 8-10. Especially attractive are the sketches and restorations given by WEICHARDT, *Pompeji vor der Zerstörung*, pp. 17-33, pl. 1, 2 (reproduced in our pl. 3), and 3. The best description of the remains of the temple is given by KOLDEWEY and PUCHSTEIN, *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 45-49 and pl. 5; their conclusions are criticised by MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 15 (1900), pp. 126-128. See also VON DUHN and JACOBI, *Der griechische Tempel in Pompeji* (Heidelberg, 1890); SOGLIANO, *Il tempio nel Foro triangolare di Pompei*, *Mon. dei Lincei*, vol. 1 (1890), pp. 189-200; both these contributions are reviewed by MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 6 (1891), pp. 258-267.

*The colonnade contained ninety-five Doric columns* [p. 135]: there were in addition two half-columns at the south end; Plan III. in this respect is inexact. The number of columns is often given as one hundred.

*Inscriptions of the sundial and the pedestal* [p. 136]: C. I. L. X. 831, 832.

*Number of columns in the temple front uneven* [p. 137]: the steps are too broad for one intercolumniation, and must have been designed for two, as indicated in Fig. 62.

*Human bones found in the enclosure* [p. 139]: ROMANELLI, *Viaggio a Pompei* (1811), p. 104 (Edit. 2, 1817, p. 182), "Vi furono trovati molti avanzi di cadaveri sepolti." Excavations made here at the suggestion of Professor Mau brought to light few traces of bones.

*Oscan inscription* [p. 139]: ZVETAEFF, *Sylloge inscriptionum Oskarum* (Leipzig, 1868), no. 69 and pl. 13; VON PLANTA, *Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Inschriften*, vol. 2, p. 501; CONWAY, *Italic Dialects*, vol. 1, p. 63.

*Oscan inscription* [p. 140]: see references below, pp. 530-531.

## CHAPTER XXI. THE LARGE THEATRE

*Excavation of the two theatres and the court behind the Large Theatre* (July,

1764, to March, 1765; and December, 1791, to February, 1796): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 158-165, pt. 2, pp. 46-63. For the Small Theatre, see also vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 69, 75.

*Paintings at Pompeii relating to the stage*: HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, nos. 1464-1476; SOGLIANO, *Le pitture murali Campane*, nos. 740-752; MAASS, *Affreschi scenici di Pompeii*, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, vol. 53 (1881), pp. 109-159, and *Mon. dell' Inst.*, vol. 11, pl. 30-32.

*Remains of the Large Theatre*: MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, vol. 4, pp. 55-70, pl. 27-34; FIORELLI, *Descrizione di Pompei*, pp. 352-357; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 232-253; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji*, pp. 153-176.

*The tribunals* [p. 145]: it is evident from the language of Suetonius (*Div. Aug. 44, solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro separatim et contra praetoris tribunal dedit*) that opposite the place set aside for the praetor, which was called tribunal, there was another likewise reserved. In our theatre the two platforms mentioned correspond exactly with this arrangement, and there is no other part of the structure to which the word *tribunalia*, in the inscription of the Holconii (p. 148), could properly be applied. We are safe therefore in calling the platforms tribunals.

*Wall painting, showing theatre police seated in niches in front of the stage* [p. 146]: found in the casa della fontana grande; described by HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, no. 1468; figured in *Museo Borb.*, vol. 4, pl. 18, and in WIESELER, *Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens bei den Griechen und Römern* (Göttingen, 1851), pl. 11, 2. A similar figure sitting in a shallow niche has been found on a wall in the eighth region (VIII. II. 23); see *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 3 (1888), p. 202, no. 12. On the need of police to keep order in Roman theatres, see the references given by MARQUARDT, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, vol. 3 (Edit. 2), pp. 541-542; but cf. KÖRTING, *Geschichte des griechischen und römischen Theaters* (Paderborn, 1897), p. 367.

*Place of stage machinery* [p. 147]: Pollux, *Onomast.* IV. 128.

*Inscriptions relating to Actius Anicetus* [p. 148]: inscription found at Puteoli, C. I. L. X. 1946; graffiti, C. I. L. IV. 2155, and Index, p. 233, under Actius and Anicetus; C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 5395.

*Assemblies in the theatre* [p. 148]: at Tarentum (282 B.C.), App. *De rebus Samnit.* VII. II; Dio Cass. *Frag.* XXIX. 5; at Pergamus. Plut. Sulla, 11. Cf. Muller, *Bühnenalterthümer*, pp. 73-75.

*Inscriptions found in the theatre* [pp. 148-150]: monumental, C. I. L. X. 833-843; painted inscriptions and graffiti, C. I. L. IV. pp. 63, 153-157.

*The stage and the orchestra in the Greek and the Roman theatre* [p. 150]: Vitruv. V. VI-VIII.

*The problem of the stage in the Greek theatre* [p. 151]: DOERPFELD and REISCH, *Das griechische Theater, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dionysos-Theaters in Athen und anderer griechischer Theater* (Athens and Leipzig, 1896), particularly pp. 341-365; DOERPFELD, *Das griechische Theater Vitruvius, Athen. Mitth.*, vol. 22 (1897), pp. 439-462; vol. 23 (1898), pp. 326-356. A convenient summary of Doerpfeld's conclusions and of the litera-

ture of the subject to 1898 is given by FRAZER, Pausanias's Description of Greece, vol. 3, pp. 254-255, and vol. 5, pp. 582-584.

*The stage of the Large Theatre at Pompeii* [p. 152]: PUCHSTEIN and KOLDEWEY, Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 1896, pp. 477-478; Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrb. des Inst., 1896, pp. 30, 40; PUCHSTEIN, Die griechische Bühne (Berlin, 1901), pp. 75-77.

## CHAPTER XXII. THE SMALL THEATRE

*Excavation, remains*: see references to Chap. XXI.

*Decoration* (second style): MAU, Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei, pp. 248-249.

*Inscriptions*: C. I. L. X. 844, 845. *Theft of the bronze letters of the inscription of Oculatius Verus* [p. 156]: FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 231, 277; ZANGEMEISTER, Sopra l'iscrizione del teatro piccolo di Pompei, Bull. dell' Inst., 1866, pp. 30-31.

*Gaius Quinctius Valgus* [p. 153]: Cic. De lege agraria, III; C. I. L. IX. 1140, X. 5282 (cf. BUECHELER, Carmina Latina epigraphica, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1895, no. 12); DESSAU, C. Quinctius Valgus, Der Erbauer des Amphitheatres zu Pompeii, Hermes, vol. 18 (1883), pp. 620-622.

*The narrow doors at the rear of the stage designed to give access to the tribunalia* [p. 156]: KELSEY, The Stage Entrances of the Small Theatre at Pompeii, American Journal of Archæology, series 2, vol. 4 (1900), p. 150, also vol. 6 (1902).

## CHAPTER XXIII. THE THEATRE COLONNADE

*Excavation* (October 25, 1766, to April 7, 1769, and December 10, 1791, to February 20, 1794): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 195-228, pt. 2, pp. 46-48, 51, 52, 54, 151-153, pt. 3, p. 273.

*Remains, identification, restoration*: MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 3, pp. 12-15, pl. 2-6; GELL, Pompeiana (Edit. of 1852), p. 184; GARRUCCI, Il Ludus Gladiatorius, ovvero Convitti dei Gladiatori, in his Questioni Pompeiane (Naples, 1853), pp. 1-8; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 253-262. The suggestion has lately been made that the colonnade may have been designed as the Gymnasium of pre-Roman Pompeii (PETERSEN, Ueber die sogen. Gladiatorenkaserne in Pompeji, Röm. Mitth., vol. 14 (1899), pp. 103-104).

*Graffiti*: C. I. L. IV. pp. 157-159.

*Exhibitions of gladiators* [p. 161]: C. I. L. X. 1074, and references to Chap. XXX.

*Paintings* [pp. 161-162]: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 322, 1512.

## CHAPTER XXIV. THE PALAESTRA

*Excavation* (April 13 to August 31, 1797): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 66-68

*Remains, identification*: MAZOIS, vol. 3, pp. 25-26, pl. 11, 12; NISSEN,

Pomp. Studien, pp. 158-170; MAU, Der Fundort des Neapler Doryphoros, Strena Helbigiana (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 184-187.

*Measurements, showing conformity to the Oscan standard* [p. 165]: MAU, Pomp. Beiträge, pp. 21-23.

*Oscan inscription* [p. 165]: ZVETAIIEFF, Sylloge inscriptionum Oscanarum, no. 63, pl. 11; VON PLANTA, Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Dialekte, vol. 2, p. 499; CONWAY, Italic Dialects, vol. 1, no. 42.

*Doryphorus* [p. 166]: reproduction on a larger scale, BRUNN and BRUCKMANN, Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur, no. 273.

## CHAPTER XXV. THE TEMPLE OF ISIS

*The worship of Isis outside of Egypt*: LAFAYE, Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie, Sérapis, Isis, Harpocrate et Anubis, hors de l'Égypte, depuis les origines jusqu'à la naissance de l'école néo-Platonicienne (Paris, 1883); for the literature relating to the worship of Isis in Italy, see ROSCHER, Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 398-412.

*Excavation of the temple* (December 22, 1764, to September 27, 1766): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 164-194.

*Inscriptions relating to the temple*: PIRANESI (see below), pl. 70-72; C. I. L. X. 846-851. *Inscription found at Puteoli* [p. 169]: C. I. L. I. 577, X. 1781; WIEGAND, Die puteolanische Bauinschrift sachlich erläutert, Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband 20 (1894), pp. 659-778. An interesting graffito relating to the worship of Isis was found in the house of the Silver Wedding in 1892; see Röm. Mitth., vol. 8 (1893), p. 57, no. 7 (cf. also DE ROSSI, Roma sotterranea, vol. 2, pp. 14-15).

*Remains, restoration*: SOGLIANO, Aedis Isidis Pompeiana, not yet published [see Preface, p. vi.]; PIRANESI, Antiquités de Pompéi (designs made about 1788), vol. 2 (= vol. 26 of Opera, in 27 vols.), pl. 59-72; MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 4, p. 24, pl. 7-11; NICCOLINI, Le case ed i monumenti di Pompéi (Naples, 1854-1895), vol. 1, pt. 3, end (12 pl.); NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 170-175, 346-349; MAU, Pomp. Beiträge, p. 23; WEICHARDT, Pompeji vor der Zerstörung, pp. 103-113.

*Statues* — *Bacchus* [p. 170]: Museo. Borb., vol. 9, pl. 11; ROUX, Herculanum et Pompéi, vol. 6, pl. 21. *Isis* [p. 176]: Museo Borb., vol. 14, pl. 35. *Herm of Sorex* [p. 176], PIRANESI, Antiquités de Pompéi, vol. 2, pl. 72. *The statue of Venus has disappeared*: OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, note 208, p. 649.

*Paintings* [pp. 172 et seq.]: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 1-6, 135, 138, 391 b, 962, 1013, 1096-99, 1103, 1271, 1292, 1571, 1576-1577. *Paintings from Herculaneum* [p. 178]: ROUX, Herculaneum et Pompéi, vol. 2, pl. 68, 69; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 1111, 1112.

*A left hand carried in procession in honor of Isis* [p. 173]: Apul. Metam. XI. x.

*Service described by Apuleius* [p. 176]: Metam. XI. xx. While the people

were praying the priest made a circuit of the altars, which were evidently, as at Pömpēii, distributed about the temple in the court.

*Perseus rescuing Andromeda* [p. 179]: that the male figure is intended to represent Perseus and not Hermes is certain from the description of the figure when first excavated — “alla cinta tiene una testa alata” (FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 171). All trace of the Medusa head has now disappeared.

*Initiation into the mysteries of Isis* [p. 182]: *Apul. Metam.* XI. XXI, XXIII.

## CHAPTER XXVI. THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS MILICHIOUS

*Excavation* (September 27 to October 18, 1766; March 15–22 and June 14, 1798): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 194–195, pt. 2, pp. 70–71.

*Remains, identification, restoration*: MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéii*, vol. 4, p. 22, pl. 4–6; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 175–177, 535–536; MAU, *Pomp. Beiträge*, pp. 13–15, 227–232; MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei*, pp. 60–61; MAU, *Das Capitoliū und der Tempel des Zeus Melichios in Pompeji*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 11 (1896), pp. 141–149. An impossible restoration is given by WEICHARDT, *Pompeji vor der Zerstörung*, pp. 116–123.

*Two statues and a bust of terra cotta* [p. 184]: VON ROHDEN, *Die Terracotten von Pompeji* (Stuttgart, 1880), pp. 42–43, pl. 29.

*Oscan inscription* [p. 184]: ZVETAIIEFF, *Sylloge inscriptionum Oscarum*, no. 62, pl. 10; VON PLANTA, *Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Dialekte*, vol. 2, p. 499; CONWAY, *Italic Dialects*, vol. 1, pp. 58–59; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 531–536.

## CHAPTER XXVII. THE STABIAN BATHS

*Roman baths in general*: MARQUARDT, *Privatleben der Römer*, Edit. 2, pt. 1, pp. 269–297; MAU, article *Bäder* in the *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 2743–2758; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 152–155.

*Baths in Pompeii — in the second Insula of Region VIII*: MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 3 (1888), pp. 194–205, vol. 5 (1890), pp. 130–141, vol. 10 (1895), pp. 218–219. *In the so-called villa of Julia Felix*: CHAMBALU, *Die wiederverschüttete Besizung der Julia Felix beim Amphitheater in Pompeji*, *Festschrift zur 43<sup>ten</sup> Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* dargeboten von den höheren Lehranstalten Kölns (Cologne, 1895), and the review of this pamphlet by MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 10 (1895), pp. 225–227. For the baths of M. Crassus Frugi, see above, p. 408; for the baths in private houses at Pompeii, MAU, *Pomp. Beiträge*, pp. 149–151, and above, pp. 267, 306–307 (both in the house of the Silver Wedding), 346, 357, 362–363.

*Excavation of the Stabian Baths* (1854–1857; the official reports are meagre): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 2, pp. 589–658; cf. also MINERVINI, *Notizie de' più recenti scavi di Pompei*, *Bull. Archeologico Napolitano*, Nuova Serie, vols. 2–6 (1853–1858).

*Remains*: MICHAELIS, *Die neuen Bäder in Pompeji*, *Archäologische*

Zeitung, vol. 17 (1859), pp. 17-32, 37-46; FINATI, Relazione degli scavi di Pompei, Museo Borb., vol. 16 (15 pp. text and pl. A-B); NICCOLINI, Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei, vol. 1, pt. 3 (12 pp., 8 pls.); NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 140-158; MAU, Pomp. Beiträge, pp. 117-151; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 215-233; MAU, Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei, p. 60.

*Paintings*: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 30 (p. 11), 44, 416, 432, 1016, 1057, 1260 b, 1545; see below, pl. XIII.

*Origin of the balneae pensiles* [p. 187]: Valer. Max. IX. 1. 1; Plin. N. H. IX. LIV. 168.

*The anteroom of the men's baths* [p. 190]: in the front part of this was once a shallow basin, undoubtedly for preliminary cleaning before one entered the frigidarium; cf. p. 197.

*Bath basin in the men's tepidarium* [p. 192]: cf. KUSZINSKY, Aquincum (Budapest, 1889), p. 62.

*The poet declaiming in the bath* [p. 192]: Petr. Sat. xci; Hor. Sat. I. iv. 74-76; and cf. Mayor's note to Juvenal I, 17 and III, 9.

*Pulvinus* [p. 193], *testudo alvei* [p. 194]: Vit. V. x. *Testudo alvei*: MAU, Fulcra lectorum — testudines alveorum, Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1896, pp. 76-82; VON DUHN and JACOBI, Der griechische Tempel in Pompeji, pp. 33-35 and pl. 9.

*Inscriptions — Vulius and Aninius* [p. 195]: C. I. L. X. 829. *Vaccula* [p. 197]: C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 1, no. 3340, VI. *Atinius* [p. 200]: ZVETAIEFF, Sylloge inscriptionum Oscarum, no. 66, pl. 13; VON PLANTA, Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Dialekte, vol. 2, p. 500; CONWAY, Italic Dialects, vol. 1, p. 61.

*Destructarium* [p. 195]: all the rooms at the left of the palaestra are of later date than the inscription; the present destructarium probably takes the place of an earlier one.

*Improvement of the arrangements for heating* [p. 196]: the hollow walls of the caldarium are made with hollow tiles, while in the tepidarium tegulae mammatæ are used; for a fuller discussion of the successive changes, see MAU, Pomp. Beiträge, pp. 131-141.

*The brazier of Vaccula* [p. 197]: FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 2, pp. 649-650.

*Hermes in the gymnasium at Phigalia* [p. 200]: Paus. VIII. xxxix. 4 (6); cf. also IV. xxxii. 1.

## CHAPTER XXVIII. THE BATHS NEAR THE FORUM

*Excavation* [1824-1825]: FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 2, pp. 106, 107-116, 118, 121-125, 128, vol. 3, p. 15.

*Remains*: BECHI, Terme Pompeiane, Museo Borb., vol. 2, pl. 49-52 (text, 31 pp.); BRULLOFF, Thermes di Pompéi (Paris, 1829), 10 large pls.; GELL, Pompeiana (Edit. of 1832), vol. 1, pp. 83-141, vol. 2, pp. 80-94; MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 3, pp. 67-77, pl. 47-50; ZAHN, Neuentdeckte Wand-



gemälde in Pompeji (Stuttgart, 1828), pl. 2-5; ZAHN, Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae, nebst einigen Grundrissen und Ansichten (3 parts, here cited as volumes, 302 pls. in 30 Heften, Berlin, 1827-1859), vol. 1, pl. 10, 46, 76, 94; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 128-135; MAU, Pomp. Beiträge, pp. 218-227.

*Inscriptions of the builders* [p. 203], *of Vaccula* [p. 205], *of Aper and Rufus* [p. 206]: C. I. L. X. 817-819.

## CHAPTER XXIX. THE CENTRAL BATHS

*Excavation* (1876-1878), *remains*: MAU, Bull. dell' Inst., 1877, pp. 214-223, 1878, pp. 251-254. *Laconicum*: MAU, Pomp. Beiträge, pp. 144-145.

## CHAPTER XXX. THE AMPHITHEATRE

*Of amphitheatres in general, and gladiatorial sports*: FRIEDLAENDER, Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine, Edit. 6 (3 parts, here cited as volumes, Leipzig, 1888-1890), vol. 2, pp. 358-435, Edit. 7, vol. 2, pp. 45-66; briefer statement by FRIEDLAENDER in Marquardt's Staatsverwaltung, Edit. 2, vol. 3, pp. 554-565; MEIER, De gladiatura Romana quaestiones selectae (Bonn, 1881).

*Gladiatorial combats in Campania and in Rome* [pp. 212-213]: Strabo, V. iv. 12 [p. 250, c]; Valer. Max. II. iv. 7; Liv. Epit. xvi. and XXIII. xxx. 15. For the games following Caesar's triumph, see Suet. Div. Iul. xxxix. App. Bel. Civ. II. xv. 102 and Dio. Cas. XLIII. 22.

*Excavation of the Amphitheatre* (1748, 1813-1816): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 5-6, pt. 3, pp. 114 et seq., 185, 189.

*Remains*: MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 4, pp. 77-86, pl. 43-47; FIORELLI, Descrizione di Pompéi, pp. 69-74; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 97-127.

*Paintings* [pp. 213, 214], HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 1514, 1515, 1519; cf. also nos. 1512-1513, 1516-1518, and SOGLIANO, Le pitture murali Campane, nos. 665-668.

*Inscriptions relating to the building, or found on it* [pp. 212, 218, 219]: C. I. L. X. 852-859; painted inscriptions and graffiti, C. I. L. IV. pp. 7, 64-66, 159.

*Inscriptions relating to the games* [pp. 221 et seq.]—*announcements*: C. I. L. IV. 1177-1204, Suppl. 3881-3884. *Programme* [p. 223]: C. I. L. IV. 2508. *Custos, ostiarius ab amphitheatro* [p. 225]: C. I. L. VI. 6226, 6228. *Inscription of Salvius Capito* [p. 225]: C. I. L. IX. 465, 466 (cf. also C. I. L. X. 4920). *Names of gladiators, with their records* [pp. 225-226]: C. I. L. IV., see Index, under gladiatores, p. 255. *Graffiti in the house on Nola Street* [p. 226]: C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 4277-4393; and Röm. Mitth., vol. 5 (1890), pp. 25-39, 64-65, vol. 7 (1892), p. 23.

*Combat between the Pompeians and the Nucernians* [pp. 220, 221]: Tac.

Ann. XIV. xvii. *Painting* (Fig. 101; found Ins. I. III. 23), DE PETRA, L' Anfiteatro pompeiano rappresentato in un antico dipinto, giornale degli scavi di Pompei, Nuova Serie, vol. 1 (1869), pp. 185-187, pl. 8; MATZ, Bull. dell' Inst., 1869, pp. 240-241; SOGLIANO, Le pitture murali Campane, no. 604. *Inscriptions* [see p. 492]: C. I. L. IV. 1293 (with caricature, figured Museo Borb., vol. 6, pl. C), 1329, 2183.

## CHAPTER XXXI. STREETS, WATER SYSTEM, AND WAYSIDE SHRINES

*The streets* [pp. 227-229]: MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 1, pp. 25-26, pl. 2, 3, 14, 15, 35, 37, vol. 2, pp. 35-39, pl. 2-8; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 516-572. *Inscriptions on the pavement* [p. 228], C. I. L. X. 870, 871.

*The water system* [pp. 230-233]: MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 3, p. 27, pl. 13; MURANO, Pompei—donde venivano le acque potabili ai castelli acquarii (Naples, 1894); review of Murano's treatise by MAU, Röm. Mitth., vol. 10 (1895), pp. 216-218. *Age of the aqueduct supplying Pompeii*: MAU, Röm. Mitth., vol. 10 (1895) pp. 49-51. *Recent investigation of the system of sewers*: Not. d. scavi, 1900, pp. 587-599. *Water towers of Constantinople* [p. 232]: VON HAMMER, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs (10 vols., Pest, 1827-1835), vol. 7, pp. 422, 598-599; cf. also PARDOE, Beauties of the Bosphorus (London, 1839), pp. 24-25.

*Wayside shrines* [233-236]: MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 2, pl. 6; GELL, Pompeiana (Edit. of 1852), pp. 97-98; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 242-244. *Paintings of divinities on the outside of houses* [p. 236]: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 7-28; SOGLIANO, Le pitture murali Campane, nos. 1-4; serpents, HELBIG, nos. 29, 30; SOGLIANO, nos. 5-8. *Painting of the twelve gods*: GERHARD, Intorno la pittura Pompeiana rappresentante i dodici dei, Ann. dell' Inst., vol. 22 (1850), pp. 206-214. *Inscription* [p. 236]: C. I. L. IV. 813; cf. Pers. Sat. I. 113.

## CHAPTER XXXII. THE DEFENCES OF THE CITY

*Excavation of walls, gates, towers*: FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 154, 234-236, pt. 3, pp. 64-69, 76, 84-88, 96-97, 111-124, 131, 143-151, 160, 168-170, vol. 2, pp. 1, 501-506, 530, 593-597.

*Remains*: MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 1, pp. 33-37, 52-53, pl. 10-13, 35-37; GELL, Pompeiana (Edit. of 1852), pp. 87-96, 98; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 457-516; MAU, Pomp. Beiträge, pp. 211-215, 235-252; MAU, Geschicht der dec. Wandmalerei, pp. 57-59.

*Oscan inscriptions* [p. 240]: ZVETAEFF, Sylloge inscriptionum Oskarum, nos. 80-83, pl. 14 (nos. 7, 8), pl. 15, pl. 16 (no. 4); VON PLANTA, Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Dialekte, vol. 2, p. 503; CONWAY, Italic Dialects,

vol. 1, pp. 69-71; DEGERING, Ueber die militärischen Wegweiser in Pompeji, Röm. Mitth., vol. 13 (1898), pp. 124-146; MAU, Die Oskischen Wegweiserinschriften in Pompeji, Röm. Mitth., vol. 14 (1899), pp. 105-113.

*The Stabian Gate* [p. 242]: MINERVINI, Strada e porta Stabiana, Bull. Arch. Napolitano, Nuova Serie, vol. 1 (1853), pp. 186-187 and pl. 8, fig. 10; FIORELLI, Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872, pp. 78-79, pl. 14, fig. 2.

*Minerva as patron divinity of city gates* [p. 242]: that is, according to Greek usage, an indication of the strength of Greek influence at Pompeii. Among the Romans the divinity of city gates was Juno. Cf. Serv. Com. in Verg. ad Aen. II, 610.

*Inscription of Flaccus and Firmus* [p. 242]: C.I.L. X. 1064.

### CHAPTER XXXIII. THE POMPEIAN HOUSE

*Of the Pompeian and the Roman house*: MAZOIS, Essai sur les habitations des anciens romains, in Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 2, pp. 3-34 (3 pls.); MAZOIS, Le palais de Scaurus (Paris, 1819; Edit. 3, revised by Varcollier, 1861); GELL, Pompeiana (Edit. of 1852), pp. 99-141; ZUMPT, Ueber die bauliche Einrichtung des römischen Wohnhauses (Berlin, 1844; Edit. 2, 1852); NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 593-668; VIOLLET-LE-DUC, Histoire de l'habitation humaine (Paris, 1875), and English translation under the title, The Habitations of Man in all Ages (Boston, 1876), Chap. 18; LANGE, Haus und Halle, Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Wohnhauses und der Basilica (Leipzig, 1885), especially pp. 50-59, 244-269; GUHL and KONER, Das Leben der Griechen und Römer (Edit. 6, Berlin, 1893), pp. 558-580, and English translation from the third German edition, Life of the Greeks and Romans (London, 1877), §§ 75, 76; MARQUARDT, Das Privatleben der Römer (Edit. 2, Leipzig, 1886), pp. 213-250; MIDDLETON, article Domus in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, vol. 1 (Edit. 3, London, 1890), particularly pp. 684-687; MONCEAUX, Domus in Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, vol. 2, pt. 1, especially pp. 349-362. For remains of houses and villas in Britain, cf., e.g., WRIGHT, The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon (Edit. 4, London, 1885), passim; SCARTH, Roman Britain (London, 1883), Chap. 18; and the special articles in Archaeologia (London, 1770 +).

*Inscriptions in Pompeian houses, including those in mosaic floors*: C. I. L. X. 860-869, 872-875, 877-882.

*Fauces, or prothyron* [p. 248]: Vitruv. VI. iv. 6; GREENOUGH, The Fauces of the Roman House, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. 1 (1890), pp. 1-12.

*Stone thresholds* [p. 249]: IVANOFF, Varie specie di soglie in Pompei ed indagine sul vero sito della fauce, Ann. dell' Inst., vol. 31 (1859), pp. 82-108, pl. D-F; and Mon. dell' Inst., vol. 6, pl. 28.

*Dangers of the streets of Rome at night* [p. 250]: Juv. Sat. III. 305-308.

*Kinds of atriums* [p. 250], *dimensions* [p. 252]: Vitruv. VI. III, IV.

*Waterspouts of the compluvium* [p. 251]: VON ROHDEN, Die Terracotten von Pompeji, pl. 1-9.

*Gartibulum* [p. 254]: Var. de Ling. Lat. V. 125; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, p. 641.

*Tablinum* [pp. 255-258]: Vitr. VI. iv (III), 5-6; Var. ap. Non. p. 83; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 643-644

*Alae* [p. 258]: Vitr. VI. iv (III), 4, 6.

*Peristyle* [p. 260]: Vitr. VI. iv (III), 7; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 645-668; BIE, Zur Geschichte des Hausperistyls, Jahrb. des. Inst., vol. 6 (1891). pp. 1-9.

*Triclinium* [p. 262]: Vitr. VI. v. 1. *Trimalchio's dining rooms (cenationes)*: Petr. Sat. LXXVII.

*Lares, Genius, and Penates in house paintings* [p. 268]: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 31-95; SOGLIANO, Le pitture murali Campane, nos. 9-46, 63-71. *Serpents*: ibid., nos. 47-62; see also DE MARCHI, Il culto privato di Roma antica, vol. 1 (Milan, 1896), pp. 27-144; JORDAN, De Larum imaginibus atque cultu, Ann. dell' Inst., vol. 34 (1862), pp. 300-339; REIFFERSCHEID, De larum picturis Pompeianis, Ann. dell' Inst., vol. 35 (1863), pp. 121-134; JORDAN, De Genii et Eponae picturis Pompeianis nuper detectis, Ann. dell' Inst., vol. 44 (1872), pp. 19-47, and pl. B, C; WISSOWA, Die Ueberlieferung über die römischen Penaten, Hermes, vol. 22 (1887), pp. 29-57.

*Genius of a woman as Juno* [p. 270]: MAU, Röm. Mitth., vol. 2 (1887), p. 114. *Jupiter and Venus*: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, no. 67. *Two genii* (Ins. IX. VIII. 13): MAU, Röm. Mitth., vol. 5 (1890), pp. 244-245.

*Shop fronts* [p. 276]: cf. MIDDLETON, Remains of Ancient Rome (2 vols., London, 1892), vol. 1, pp. 192-194.

*Pergula* [p. 277]: MAU, Sul significato della parola pergula nell'architettura antica, Röm. Mitth., vol. 2 (1887), pp. 214-220. *Natus in pergula*: Petr. Sat. LXXIV.

#### CHAPTER XXXIV. THE HOUSE OF THE SURGEON

*Excavation* (1770): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 245-246, 248, 253 et seq. (p. 254, discovery of the instruments from which the house takes its name).

*Plan, construction, restoration*: PIRANESI, Antiquités de Pompéi, vol. 1, pl. 14-21; MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 2, p. 51, and pl. 13 (plan); FIORELLI, Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872, pp. 79, 83; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 402-412; MAU, Pomp. Beiträge, 37-41, 49-51 (proof that the measurements of the house conform to the Oscan standard); OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 279-281; GREENOUGH, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. 1 (1890), pp. 10-11 (plan showing conformity of the chief measurements to the proportions recommended by Vitruvius).

*Mural paintings*: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 1427 b, 1443, 1459, and pp. CVIII-CIX with note 4 on p. CXXV; cf. also MAU, Geschichte der dec.

Wandmalerei, p. 66. For the woman painting, see JAHN, *Abhandlungen der Königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philologisch-hist. Classe*, vol. 5, pp. 298-305, and pl. 5.

## CHAPTER XXXV. THE HOUSE OF SALLUST

*Excavation* (1806-1809): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp.

*Plan, restoration*: MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, vol. 2, pp. 75-79, pl. 35-39; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 652-654; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji*, pp. 300-307.

*Decoration*: above, pp. 459-460; MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei*, pp. 17-33, 112-114, 416-417, pl. 2; HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, nos. 51, 124, 249 *b*, 319, 373, 429, 465, 493, 746, 751, 900, 1055, 1255, 1311 (cf. *Topogr. Index*, p. 467). In the Naples Museum are good copies of the paintings that are in the garden and near the open-air triclinium.

## CHAPTER XXXVI. THE HOUSE OF THE FAUN

*Excavation* (1830-1832): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 2, pp. 240-255, vol. 3, pp. 113-118; *Not. d. scavi*, 1900, p. 31.

*Plan, construction*: FIORELLI, *Descrizione di Pompei*, pp. 152-159; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 655-658; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji*, pp. 346-353.

*Wall decoration*: MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei*, pp. 33-57, 110-111, 122-123, 140, 162, 263-264, pl. 2; NICCOLINI, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei*, vol. 1.

*Mosaics*: Museo Borb., vol. 7, pl. 62, vol. 8, pl. 36-45, vol. 9, pl. 55, vol. 14, pl. 14; ROUX, *Herculaneum et Pompéi*, vol. 5, 6th series, pl. 20-29, pl. 3; SCHREIBER, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities* (Eng. trans., London, 1895), pl. 63 (fish mosaic, with identification of species in the accompanying text); MARX, *Il cosidetto Akratos nella casa del Fauno*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 7 (1892), pp. 26-31.

## CHAPTER XXXVII. A HOUSE NEAR THE PORTA MARINA

*Decoration*: MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei*, pp. 96, 281.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII. THE HOUSE OF THE SILVER WEDDING

*Excavation* (1892-1893), *plan, decoration*: MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 8 (1893), pp. 14-61; cf. also *Not. d. scavi*, 1892.

*Dated inscription* [p. 305]: C. I. L. I. (Edit. 2), p. 342; cf. also *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 8, pp. 30-31.

## CHAPTER XXXIX. THE HOUSE OF EPIDIUS RUFUS

*Excavation* (1866), *plan*: FIORELLI, *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872*, pp. 62-63; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji*, pp. 297-300.

*Decoration, paintings*: MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei*, pp. 98-100; HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, nos. 59 *b*, 231, 863 *b*, 870 *b*, 874 *b*, 885 *b*, 892 *b*, 967 *b*.

## CHAPTER XL. THE HOUSE OF THE TRAGIC POET

*Excavation* (1824-1825), *plan, decoration*: FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 2, pp. 116-135; GELL, *Pompeiana* (Edit. of 1832), vol. 1, pp. 142-178; NICCOLINI, *le case ed i monumenti di Pompei*, vol. 1; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji*, pp. 285-289.

*Paintings*: HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, see p. LXXXVI. and *Topogr. Index* under *Casa del poeta*, p. 471; also HELBIG, *Le nozze di Giove e di Giunone*, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, vol. 36 (1864), pp. 270-282.

*The Iphigenia of Timanthes* [p. 319]; Cic. *Orator*. XXII. 74; Plin. *N. H.* XXXV. x. 73; Quint. *Inst. orat.* II. XIII. 12, 13; Valer. *Max.* VIII. XI. ext. 6, with the comment of LESSING in the *Laokoon*, chap. 2, and the references given by BLÜMNER, *Lessing's Laokoon* (Berlin, 1876), pp. 36-37; cf. also BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* (3 vols., Munich, 1884-1888), vol. 1, pp. 754-757; and JEX-BLAKE and SELLERS, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (London, 1896), pp. 116-117, note 2.

## CHAPTER XLI. THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII

*Excavation* (1894-1895), *plan, restoration, decoration, paintings*: MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 11 (1896), pp. 3-97; SOGLIANO, *Mon. dei Lincei*, vol. 8 (1898), pp. 233-416; HERRLICH, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1896, pp. 206-207; MAU, *Amoren als Oelfabrikanten*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 15 (1900), pp. 138-141; MAU, *Amoren als Goldschmiede*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 16 (1901), pp. 109-116.

## CHAPTER XLII. THREE HOUSES OF UNUSUAL PLAN

*House of Acceptus and Euhodia* (excavated in 1882) [p. 341]: MAU, *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1884, pp. 126-132.

*House without a compluvium* (excavated between 1890 and 1895) [p. 343]: MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 10 (1895), pp. 148-155. *Fures foras, frugi intro* [p. 346]: paraphrase of the saying, Petr. *Sat.* LII., *aquam foras, vinum intro*.

*House of the Emperor Joseph II.* (excavated in 1767-1769, filled up, and again excavated in 1885-1886) [p. 344]: FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 208-211, 227-234; MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, vol. 2, pp. 73-74, pl. 32-34; MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 2 (1887), pp. 110-138.

## CHAPTER XLIII. OTHER NOTEWORTHY HOUSES

*House of Caecilius Jucundus* (excavated in 1875): MAU, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1876, pp. 149-151, 160-168, 223-234; MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei*, pp. 65, 414-415, 446, 450, pl. 13, 14, 18; SOGLIANO, *Le pitture murali Campane*, nos. 133, 138, 158, 176, 192, 207, 214, 233, 236, 251, 291, 413, 448, 449, 477, 514, 531, 561, 579, 582, 583, 589, 594, 607, 640, 651, 659, 669, 670, 674, 675, 676, 677, 693, 700, 708, 809, 815, 816.

*House of Lucretius* (excavated in 1847): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 2, pp. 453, 459-473; MINERVINI, in NICCOLINI, *Le case ed i monumenti di*

Pompei, vol. 1; Museo Borb., vol. 14, pl. A, B; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 314-320; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, see Topogr. Index, p. 482.

*House of the Hunt* (excavated in 1834): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 3, pp. 286-288; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 277-279; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, see Topogr. Index, p. 473, under Casa della caccia antica; MAU, Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei, p. 454.

*House of the Centenary* (excavated in 1879-1880): MAU, Bull. dell' Inst., 1881, pp. 113-128, 169-175, 221-238; 1882, pp. 23-32, 47-53, 87-91, 104-116, 137-148; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 353-359; MAU, Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei, pp. 287, 314, 321, 368, 382-385, 443-444, 449, 452, 455; SOGLIANO, Le pitture murali Campane, nos. 530, 585, 596, 628.

*House of the Sculptured Capitals* (excavated in 1831-1833): AVELLINO, Descrizione di una casa pompeiana con capitelli figurati all' ingresso, dissotterrata negli anni 1831, 1832 e 1833 (Naples, 1837), also in Mem. dell' Acc. Ercolanese, vol. 6 (1837); NICCOLINI, le case ed i monumenti di Pompei, vol. 1; FIORELLI, Descrizione di Pompei, pp. 225-227; MARQUARDT, Röm. Privatleben (Edit. 2), pp. 224 ff.; MAU, Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei, pp. 94, 374-379, 388, 430-431; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, see Topogr. Index, p. 473.

*House of Pansa* (excavated in 1813-1827): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 116-161, vol. 2, pp. 195-197; MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, vol. 2, p. 82, pl. 42-45; FIORELLI, Descrizione di Pompei, pp. 102-106; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 325-329; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 658-659; MAU, Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei, pp. 72-73; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 53, 115, 1014.

*House of Castor and Pollux* (also known as house of the Dioscuri, and casa del Questore; excavated in 1828-1829): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 2, pp. 205-221; NICCOLINI, op. cit., vol. 1; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 334-342; Museo Borb., vol. 5 (see Relazione degli scavi di Pompei, at the end of the vol.; 26 pp. text, with plan; cf. also pl. 32, 33); MAU, Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei, pp. 258, 372-373, 402, 420-421, 446, 455; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, pp. LXXXV-LXXXVI and Topogr. Index, p. 469.

*House of the Centaur* (excavated in 1828-1829): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 2, pp. 217-224; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 330-334; MAU, Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei, pp. 75-78; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, see Topogr. Index, p. 469, under Casa del Centauro. For the large mosaic found in this house, known under the title "Force conquered by Love," see Museo Borb., vol. 7, pl. 61; ROUX, Herculaneum et Pompéi, vol. 5, series 6, pl. 30.

*House of Meleager* (excavated in 1829-1830): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 2, pp. 224-240; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 307-314; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 426-427; MAU, Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei, pp. 74, 373-374, 446, 453; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, pp. LXXXVII-LXXXVIII and Topogr. Index, p. 468.

*House of Apollo* (excavated in 1829-1830): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 2, pp. 235-236; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 427-428; MAU, Geschichte

der dec. Wandmalerei, p. 454; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, see Topogr. Index p. 467.

*Houses with mosaic fountains* (excavated in 1826-1827): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 2, pp. 174-202; *Descrizione di Pompei*, pp. 125-126; NICCOLINI, *op. cit.*, vol. 1; HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, p. LXXXVIII and Topogr. Index, p. 470, x.

*House of the Anchor* (excavated in 1830): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 2, pp. 237-239; *Descrizione di Pompei*, pp. 142-143; MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei*, pp. 79-80, 258-259, 302, 396-397, 399, 422; HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, nos. 174, 334, 495, 564, 1220.

*House of the Citharist* (excavation begun in 1853, completed in 1868): FIORELLI, *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872*, pp. 65-69; FIORELLI, *Descrizione di Pompei*, pp. 61-65; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji*, pp. 359-366; MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei*, pp. 64, 251-252, 315, 316, 318, 326, 335-336, 343, 367, 389, 397, 411-413, 446. *Paintings*: HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, see Topogr. Index, pp. 482-483; Orestes and Pylades, HELBIG, *Oreste e Pilade in Tauride su dipinto Pompeiano*, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, vol. 37 (1865), pp. 330-346, and *Mon. dell' Inst.*, vol. 8, pl. 22. *Statue of Apollo* [p. 352]: often reproduced, as by OVERBECK, *Atlas der griechischen Kunstmythologie*, pl. 20, no. 26; *Mon. dell' Inst.*, vol. 8, pl. 13; REINACH, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1897), p. 97, no. 8; BRUNN and BRUCKMANN, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur*, no. 302. See KEKULÉ, *Statua Pompeiana di Apolline*, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, vol. 37 (1865), pp. 55-71; WOLTERS, *Eine Spartanische Apollostatue*, *Jahrb. des Inst.*, vol. 11 (1896), pp. 1-10; FURTWAENGLER, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 79, 80, and English translation by Eugénie Sellers, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture* (London, 1895), p. 52; COLLIGNON, *Histoire de la sculpture grecque*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1897), pp. 665-666.

*House of Cornelius Rufus* (excavated in 1861): FIORELLI, *Giornale degli scavi*, vol. 1 (1861); FIORELLI, *Descrizione di Pompei*, pp. 340-342; MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei*, p. 97; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji*, pp. 537-538.

*House of Marcus Holconius* (excavated in 1861): *Bull. Arch. Italiano*, vol. 1 (1861-1862), pp. 18-143; FIORELLI, *Giornale degli scavi*, vol. 1 (1861), pp. 13 *et seq.*; FIORELLI, *Descrizione di Pompei*, pp. 332-337; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji*, pp. 290-297.

## CHAPTER XLIV. ROMAN VILLAS. THE VILLA OF DIOMEDES

*Of Roman villas in general*: CASTELL, *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (London, 1728); FRIEDLAENDER, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Edit. 5, vol. 2, pp. 85-93, 170-193, vol. 3, pp. 89-100, Edit. 7, pp. 201-210; SCHMIDT, *Cicero's Villen, neue Jahrbücher für das klas. Altertum*, vol. 3 (1899), pp. 328-355, 466-497, particularly pp. 328-333; WINNEFELD, *Tusci und Laurentum des jüngeren Plinius*, *Jahrb. des Inst.*, vol. 6 (1892), pp. 201-217; WINNEFELD,



Die Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli (Jahrb. des Inst., Ergänzungsheft III, Berlin, 1895); WINNEFELD, Römische Villen der Kaiserzeit, Preussische Jahrbücher, vol. 57 (1898), pp. 457 *et seq.*

*Villas in the region about Baiae*: BELOCH, Campanien (Edit. 2, Berlin, 1883), pp. 201-202, 269-274.

*Villas about Rome*: NIBBY, Dintorni di Roma (Edit. 2, 3 vols., Rome, 1848-1849), vol. 3, pp. 31-41, 203, 647-737; DE ROSSI, Il Tuscolo, le ville Tuscolane e le loro antiche memorie cristiane, Bull. di Archeologia cristiana, 1872, especially pp. 87-121; LANCIANI, Le ville Tuscolane (with map, tav. 20-21), Bull. com., 1884, pp. 172-217; LANCIANI, La villa Castrimenesi di Q. Voconio Pollione, *ibid.*, pp. 141-171; GROSSI-GONDI, Di una villa dei Quintilii nel Tuscolano, Bull. com., 1898, pp. 313-338; LANCIANI, The Destruction of Ancient Rome (New York, 1899), pp. 101-105; GROSSI-GONDI, La villa dei Quintilii e la villa di Mondragone (Rome, 1901).

*Villa of the Laberii at Uthina* (south of Tunis): GAUCKLER, Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina, Monuments et Mémoires publiées par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, vol. 3 (Fondation Piot, Paris, 1897), pp. 177-229; SCHULTEN, review of Gauckler's monograph, Göttingsche gelehrte Anzeigen, 1898, pp. 475-481, and briefer report (with plan) in Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrb. des Inst., 1898, pp. 113-115.

*Villas in Britain*: References to Chap. XXXIII, and MORGAN, Roman British Mosaic Pavements (London, 1886).

*The Villa of Diomedes* (excavated in 1771-1774): FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 249-278; MAZOIS, Les ruines de Pompéi, p. 89, pl. 47-53; IVANOFF, Architektonische Studien, Heft. 2 (mit Elaeuterungen von August Mau, Berlin, 1895), pl. 4-6; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 369-376; MAU, Pomp. Beiträge, p. 151; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, see Topogr. Index, p. 483.

*Bedroom in Pliny's villa* [p. 358]: Plin. Ep. II. XVII. 23.

## CHAPTER XLV. THE VILLA RUSTICA AT BOSCOREALE

*Excavation, plan, remains*: MAU, Röm. Mitth., vol. 9 (1894), pp. 349-358, vol. 11 (1896), pp. 131-140; PASQUI, La villa pompeiana della Pisanella presso Boscoreale, Mon. dei Lincei, vol. 7 (1897), pp. 397-554. For the collection of silverware, see references on p. 538. Part of the objects of bronze found in the villa are in Berlin; see PERNICE, Bronzen aus Boscoreale, Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrb. des Inst., vol. 15 (1900), pp. 177-181. Others are in the Field Columbian Museum, Chicago; see TARBELL, American Journal of Archaeology, vol. 3 (1899), Second Series, p. 584.

*Sleeping room of the overseer near the entrance* [p. 363]: Varro, R.R. I, xiii, 2.

*Small open cistern* [p. 366]: As the establishment was not connected with an aqueduct, rain water was carefully saved.

*The villa as a country residence* [p. 366]: In the farmhouses about Rome and Naples to-day rooms over the quarters of the tenant are reserved for the use of the owner.

## CHAPTER XLVI. HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

Nearly all the articles of furniture and of the toilet referred to in this chapter are figured and described, with many others, in the Real Museo Borbonico. For detailed reference, see the Index, near the end of vol. 16 (pp. 96-97, Ori; pp. 97-98, Argenti; pp. 99-112, Suppellettile), and our List of Illustrations, pp. xxi-xxiii. Most of them are reproduced by ROUX, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. 7; a number are figured by PIRANESI in the volume, *Oggetti di uso civile, militare e religioso, trovati a Pompeia e ad Ercolano* (= vol. 27 of his *Opera*). See also the references on the Pompeian and the Roman house [pp. 531-532], and BECKER, *Gallus* (eighth English edition, London, 1886), pp. 285-301; GUHL and KONER, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, §§ 86-93, 97; FRIEDLAENDER, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Edit. 5, vol. 3, pp. 100-112, Edit. 7, vol. 2, pp. 210-220; MARQUARDT, *Röm. Privatleben* (Edit. 2), pp. 607-768. Cf. MAU, *Fornelli antichi*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 10 (1898), pp. 38-46.

*Silver cups found in the Casa dell' Argenteria* [p. 379]: FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 2, p. 305.

*The treasure of Boscoreale* [p. 380]: HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, *Le trésor de Boscoreale, Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, vol. 5 (Fondation Piot, Paris, 1899), fasc. 1 and 2; also MICHAELIS, *Der Silberschatz von Boscoreale*, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. 85 (1896), pp. 19-56; WINTER, *Der Silberschatz von Boscoreale*, *Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrb. des Inst.*, vol. 11 (1896), pp. 74-87; cf. also COLLIGNON, *Histoire de la sculpture grecque*, vol. 2, pp. 681-682.

*Shallow bowl with a representation of Alexandria* [p. 380]: Two similar bowls were ornamented with realistic portrait heads of a man and a woman, which, to judge from the manner of dressing the hair, probably date from the reign of Claudius or Nero. The bowl containing the portrait of the woman had been lost, and the detached head is now in the British Museum. The other, with the rest of the collection (102 pieces) is in the Louvre.

*Beside Epicurus an eager pig* [p. 381]: cf. Hor. Ep. I. iv. 16, *Epicuri de grege porcus*.

*Greek inscription* [p. 382]: HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

ΖΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ  
ΛΑΒΕΤΟΓΑΡ  
ΑΥΡΙΟΝΑΔΗ  
ΛΟΝΕΚΤΙ

ζῶν μετά-  
λαβε, τὸ γὰρ  
αὔριον ἄδη-  
λόν ἐστι

## CHAPTER XLVII. THE TRADES AT POMPEII. THE BAKERS

*Of the trades in general*: BLÜMNER, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* (4 vols.; Leipzig, 1875-1887); MARQUARDT, *Röm. Privatleben*, pt. 2 (Edit. 2; Leipzig, 1886).

*Inscriptions relating to the trades at Pompeii*: C. I. L. IV., see Index, p. 256, under *artes et officia privata*.

*Signs of shops* [p. 387]: JORDAN, Ueber römische Ausbäugeschilder, *Archäologische Zeitung*, vol. 4 (1871), pp. 75 *et seq.* *Inscription of Diogenes*: C. I. L. X. 868; see the article, *Aushängeschilder*, by MAU, in *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie*, vol. 2. pp. 2558-2559.

*Cupids as carpenters and shoemakers* [p. 385]: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 804, 805; the two paintings are often reproduced, as by SCHREIBER, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, English translation by Anderson (London, 1895), pl. 72, 1, and 73, 12. *Stuccoer* (tector): Bull. dell' Inst., 1879, p. 134; SOGLIANO, *Le pitture murali Campane*, no. 655; BLÜMNER, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, vol. 53 (1881), pp. 107-108, pl. H.

*Bakers and bakeshops* [p. 388]: BLÜMNER, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 1-88; MARQUARDT, *op. cit.*, pp. 414-424; FULVIO, *Delle fornaci e dei forni pompeiani*, *Pompei e la regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio nell' anno LXXIX*. pp. 273-291; DE ROSSI, *Antichi mulini in Roma e nel Lazio*, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, vol. 29 (1857), pp. 274-281; MAU, *Su certi apparecchi nei pistrini di Pompei*, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 1 (1886), pp. 45-48, and pl. 3. *Processes of bread-making*: best illustrated in the reliefs of the monument of Eurysaces, Rome, shown in *Mon. dell' Inst.*, vol. 2, pl. 58; cf. C. I. L. I. 1013-1015; JAHN, *Sepolcro di Eurisace*, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, vol. 10 (1838), particularly pp. 231-248. *Loaves of bread represented in paintings*: HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, nos. 1501, 1661 ff.; see, e.g., *Museo Borb.*, vol. 6, pl. 38, vol. 8, pl. 57. *Remains of loaves found at Pompeii*: FIORELLI, *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872*, p. 172.

#### CHAPTER XLVIII. THE FULLERS AND THE TANNERS

*Appliances and processes*: BLÜMNER, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 155-178, 257-287. A fuller description of the tannery, with illustrations showing the implements discovered, is given by MAU, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1874, pp. 271-275, 1875, pp. 18-25.

*No soap in Pompeii* [p. 393]: HOFMANN, Ueber vermeintliche antike Seife, *Wiener Studien*, vol. 4 (1882), pp. 263-270.

*Pictures illustrating the fullery* [pp. 394-395]: *Museo Borb.*, vol. 4, pl. 49, 50; HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, no. 1502; JAHN, *Abhandlungen der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft des Wissenschaften, philologisch-hist. Classe*, vol. 5 (1870), pp. 305-311, and pl. 4.

#### CHAPTER XLIX. INNS AND WINESHOPS

*Roman inns*: FRIEDLAENDER, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Edit. 5, vol. 2, pp. 33-39, Edit. 7, vol. 1, pp. 311-325.

*Inscriptions*: *caupones*, *copones*, C. I. L. IV., see Index, p. 256; of Sittius, C. I. L. IV. 806, 807 (for the picture, see HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, no. 1601); of the inn, *Ins. VII, XII*, C. I. L. IV. 2144-2164.

*Pictures illustrating the life of the wineshop* [p. 403] : FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 2, p. 204; Museo Borb., vol. 4, pl. A, vol. 5, pl. 48; HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, nos. 1487, 1504.

*Selling of wine mixed with water* [p. 404] : a stock charge against ancient innkeepers; Trimalchio (Petr. Sat. xxxix) makes out that these were born under the sign Aquarius, 'the waterer.' For the wineshop in which the graffito was found, see MAU, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1874, pp. 252-256.

## CHAPTER L. THE STREET OF TOMBS

*Of Roman tombs and rites of burial*: MARQUARDT, *Röm. Privatleben* (Edit. 2), pp. 340-385; FREIDLAENDER, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Edit. 5, vol. 3, pp. 112-123, Edit. 7, vol. 2, pp. 220-228; GUHL and KONER, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, §§ 77, 78, 110; LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (1892), pp. 168-208, 253-305; VOLLMER, *De funere publico Romanorum*, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplementband 19 (1893), pp. 319-364; see the article *Bestattung*, by MAU, in *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie*, vol. 3, pp. 346-359.

*Of the street of tombs as a whole*: MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, vol. 1; FIORELLI, *Descrizione di Pompei*, pp. 401-419; NISSEN, *Pomp. Studien*, pp. 381-397; OVERBECK-MAU, *Pompeji*, pp. 398-422.

*Tombs near the Herculaneum gate, not including the Garland tomb* (excavated 1763-1764, 1769-1770): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 150-155, 234-241, pt. 2, pp. 110-118 (journal of Francesco la Vega); PIRANESI, *Antiquités de Pompéi*, vols. 1, 2, pl. 2-5, 34-44. *Sepulchral enclosure of Terentius Felix* (excavation finished December 15, 1828): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 2, p. 217; BONUCCI, *Pompéi décrite* (seconde traduction de la 3<sup>e</sup> édition italienne, Naples, 1830), p. 73. *The tomb nearest the gate on the right*: MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 3 (1888), pp. 140-142.

*Tombs farther from the gate, to the limit of excavation* (excavated 1806-1813): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 87, 176-177, (Garland tomb), pt. 3, pp. 74-120, 223-225, 249; MILLIN, *Description des tombeaux qui ont été découverts à Pompéi dans l'année 1812* (Naples, 1813); CLARAC, *Fouille faite à Pompéi en présence de S. M. la Reine des Deux Siciles le 18 Mars, 1813* (Naples, 1813). *Tomb of the blue glass vase* (1837): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 3, p. 132; SCHULZ, in his *Scavi di Pompei*, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, vol. 10 (1838), pp. 194-195. *Tomb of Diomedes* (excavated in 1775): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 279-280. *Tomb of Istacidius Helenus* (1775, 1828): FIORELLI, *Pomp. ant. hist.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 279-280, vol. 2, p. 217. *The pre-Roman graves* [p. 407]: MAU and VON DUHN, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1874, pp. 156-167; earlier finds of painted vases, BONUCCI, *Pompéi* (1830), p. 65; and DE IORIO, *Plan de Pompéi et remarques sur ses édifices* (Naples, 1828), p. 33.

*T. Suetidius Clemens* [pp. 407-408; cf. also p. 488]: Clemens was now evidently a supporter of Vespasian; previously he had been in the service of Otho (Tac. Hist. I. LXXXVII, II. XII).

*Blue glass vase* [p. 415]: SCHULTZ, Anforina di vetro con bassirilievi rinvenuta in Pompei, Ann. dell' Inst., vol. 11 (1839), pp. 84-100.

*Gladiatorial scenes on the tomb of Scaurus* [p. 419]: admirably engraved by MAZOIS (op. cit., pl. 30, 31, 32), and frequently reproduced, as by SCHREIBER, Atlas of Classical Antiquities (Eng. trans., 1895), pl. 30, 2-9, text, with citation of literature, p. 59; NICCOLINI, le case ed i monumenti di Pompei, vol. 1. *Inscriptions accompanying the figures*: C. I. L. IV. 1182; the inscription of the tomb itself is given, C. I. L. X. 1024. In his interpretation of the reliefs Mazois incorrectly assumed (op. cit., pp. 47-48) that on account of the baiting of a bear by one of the figures with a cloth the tomb could not have been built before the time of Claudius. The passage cited by him (Plin. N. H. VIII. xvi. 54) has no bearing on the date; but the tomb of Scaurus, which belongs neither to the oldest nor to the most recent, may well have been built in the time of Claudius or of Nero.

*Ship on the tomb of Naevoleia Tyche* [p. 423]: JORDAN, Ann. dell' Inst., vol. 44 (1872), pp. 20-26; VISCONTI, Fronte di Sarcofago con Tritoni e navi, Bull. Com., vol. 1 (1872-1873), pp. 255-269; cf. Cic. De Sen. xix. 71. Petronius (Sat. LXXI.) humorously represents Trimalchio as ordering 'ships under full sail' among the carvings of his tomb.

*Inscription of Salvius* [p. 426]: found, according to C. I. L. X. 1032, beside the tomb of Naevoleia Tyche; but we have the testimony of BONUCCI (Pompéi, 1830, p. 37) to the effect that it was found in the niche where it now is, where it exactly fits the cavity. The mistake in the Corpus may have arisen from a misunderstanding of the report of the excavation, which is now unfortunately lost.

*M. Alleius Luccius Libella* [p. 426]: the name was originally Luccius Libella, with what praenomen is not clear; but Luccius Libella married the daughter of M. Alleius (M. Alleius Nigidius Maius?) and was adopted by him, assuming his praenomen and nomen, so that the full name took the form given in the inscription. The son dropped the original nomen Luccius, and was called simply M. Alleius Libella. In like manner the name of the son of D. Lucretius Satrius Valens became D. Lucretius Valens [p. 222].

## CHAPTER LI. BURIAL PLACES NEAR THE NOLA, STABIAN, AND NOCERA GATES

*Burial places near the Nola Gate* [p. 429]: FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 2, pp. 594-597; NISSEN, Pomp. Studien, pp. 480-483.

*Graves east of the Stabian Road* [p. 429] — *earlier finds*: FIORELLI, Pomp. ant. hist., vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 11-12, 14, 42, 46-48, 50, 51-52; C. I. L. X. 1047-1062; Röm. Mitth., vol. 10 (1895), p. 226, 7. *Later finds*: Not. d. scavi, 1893, pp. 333-335, 1894, pp. 15-16, 382-385, 1897, pp. 275-276; MAU, Scavi fuori porta Stabiana, Röm. Mitth., vol. 9 (1894), pp. 62-65, vol. 10 (1895), pp. 156-159.

*Tombs near the Stabian Gate* [p. 430]: Not. d. scavi, 1889, pp. 280-281,

368-369, 406-410, 1890, pp. 44-45, 165; MAU, Scavi fuori porta Stabiana, Röm. Mitth., vol. 5 (1890), pp. 277-284. The inscriptions are given also in Ephem. Epigr., vol. 8, pp. 87-88 (nos. 318, 325, 327, 330).

*Tombs near the Amphitheatre* [p. 431]: Not. d. scavi, 1886, pp. 334-337, 1887, pp. 33-40, 452-458; MAU, Sepolcri della via Nucarina, Röm. Mitth., vol. 3 (1888), pp. 120-149. For the inscriptions, see also Ephem. Epigr., vol. 8, pp. 88-90 (320, 321, 324, 326, 328, 329, 332); advertisement of the stray horse, Röm. Mitth., vol. 3, p. 145.

*Desecration of tombs near Rome* [p. 436]: LANCIANI, The Destruction of Ancient Rome, pp. 89-98.

## CHAPTER LII. ARCHITECTURE

*Doric frieze with red metopes* [p. 441]: there is a similar frieze in the house VII. III. 31; see MAU, Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei, p. 97.

## CHAPTER LIII. SCULPTURE

*Of the sculptures found at Pompeii*: Very few of the sculptures unearthed at Pompeii are treated or reproduced in the comprehensive works on ancient sculpture. The more important statues and reliefs found prior to 1865, as well as those discovered in Herculaneum, are published in the Real Museo Borbonico, with descriptive text; see the Index at the end of vol. 16, pp. 8-34. They are reproduced also by ROUX, with descriptive text by Barré, Herculaneum et Pompéi, vols. 6 and 7 (first part). These engravings, while in many cases faulty, are often serviceable to students at a distance in the identification of photographs, which are easily obtained through the Naples dealers. The better terra-cottas are published by VON ROHDEN, Die Terracotten von Pompeji (Stuttgart, 1880). A somewhat fuller treatment of Pompeian sculpture is given in OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeji, pp. 532-563.

*Heads of Epicurus, Demosthenes, and Callimachus* [p. 447]: MAU, Bull. dell' Inst., 1876, pp. 242-243; BRIZIO, Ann. dell' Inst., vol. 45 (1873), pp. 98-106; MOMMSEN and ROBERT, Archäologische Zeitung, 1880, pp. 32-36; Comparetti, La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni (Torino, 1883), pp. 33-53, pl. III, nos. 4, 7, 8; MAU, Bull. dell' Inst., 1883, pp. 89-96; for other references, see HELBIG, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom (Edit. 2, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1899), vol. 1, p. 319, no. 476.

*Busts of Virgil and Horace* [p. 448] (found in October, 1868): Giornale degli scavi di Pompei, Nuova Serie, vol. 1 (1868), p. 133 and pl. 1; FIORELLI, Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872, p. 164; BERNOULLI, Römische Ikonographie, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1882), pp. 127, 192; HELBIG, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom (Edit. 2), vol. 1, pp. 355-356. A further reason why Brutus cannot be represented in the Naples bust is that the similar bust in the Capitoline Museum in Rome (HELBIG, op. cit., no. 536) shows a person well on in years, while the prominence of Brutus lasted only for a brief period, and it is not likely that there

should be preserved to us portraits representing him at periods so entirely different. *Susa mosaic*: Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, serie 4, vol. 24 (Paris, 1896), pp. 578-581 and pl. after p. 580; GAUCKLER, Les Mosaïques virgiliennes de Sousse, Monuments et Mémoires publiées par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belleslettres, vol. 4 (Fondation Piot, 1897), pp. 233-234; FOWLER, Portraits of Virgil, School Review, vol. 6 (1898), pp. 598-605; Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrb des Inst., vol. 13 (1898), p. 114.

*Aphrodite and Spes* [p. 450]: MAU, Bull. dell' Inst., 1873, pp. 233-235.

*Artemis* [p. 450]: often reproduced, as Museo. Borb., vol. 2, pl. 8; ROUX, Herculaneum et Pompéi, vol. 6, pl. 76, 77; BRUNN and BRUCKMANN, Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur, no. 356. *Identification with Artemis Laphria* (Paus. VII. XVIII. 9): STUDNICZKA, Die archaische Artemis-statuetten aus Pompeii, Röm. Mitth., vol. 3 (1888), pp. 277-302, and pl. 10; COLLIGNON, Histoire de la sculpture grecque, vol. 2 (Paris, 1897), pp. 656-657.

*Dancing satyr* [p. 450]: Museo Borb., vol. 9, pl. 42; ROUX, Herculaneum et Pompéi, vol. 6, pl. 59; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeii, pp. 549-551.

*Silenus carrying frame with glass vase* [p. 451]: Museo Borb., vol. 16, pl. 29; FIORELLI, Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872, p. 159; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeii, p. 552.

*Listening Dionysus* [p. 452]: Giornale degli scavi di Pompei, 1862, p. 60 and pl. 14; FIORELLI, Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872, pp. 158-159; BENDORF, Sulla statua Pompeiana creduta di Narcisso, Ann. dell' Inst., vol. 38 (1866), pp. 107-113; OVERBECK-MAU, Pompeii, pp. 552-555; HAUSER, Narcisso, Jahrb. des Inst., vol. 4 (1889), pp. 113-118; COLLIGNON, Histoire de la sculpture grecque, vol. 2, pp. 451-453; Museo Borb., vol. 16, pl. 28; BRUNN and BRUCKMANN, Denkmäler, no. 384. Hauser in the article cited makes it appear probable that the figure had originally a somewhat different pose; the right foot rested flat upon the base, the left only on the heel, so that the body, instead of leaning forward, was slightly bent back. The present pose, however, was given to the figure in antiquity; according to G. Patroni, the wedge of lead under the right foot was in its present place when the statuette was discovered.

*Ephebus of 1900* [p. 453]: Not. d. scavi, 1900, pp. 584-587 (7 illustrations); SOGLIANO, L'efebus in bronzo rinvenuto in Pompei, Mon. dei Lincei, vol. 10 (1901), pp. 641-654, pl. 16-26. This statue is assigned to the Roman period by WALDSTEIN, The Monthly Review, 1901, pp. 125-126, and PETERSEN, Röm. Mitth., vol. 16 (1901), p. 96.

#### CHAPTER LIV. PAINTING. WALL DECORATION

*Technique of Pompeian painting*: DONNER, Die erhaltenen antiken Wandmalereien in technischer Beziehung, printed as an introduction to Helbig's Wandgemälde (see Chap. LV.), pp. 1-CXXVII; MAU, Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeii (Berlin, 1882; with atlas of 20 plates).

*Specimen illustrations*: Many entire walls as well as single paintings are reproduced in color in the extensive works by ZAHN, *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae, nebst einigen Grundrissen und Ansichten* (Mit deutschem und französischem Text. Drei Abtheilungen in 30 Heften, 302 Tafeln. Berlin, 1827-1859); and NICCOLINI, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei designati e descritti* (Naples, 1854-1901). Both works are rarely found complete, and the plates of the second in particular leave much to be desired in respect to drawing as well as coloring; it has therefore been thought best not to encumber these notes with detailed references to them. A number of walls are shown also by ROUX, *Herculanum et Pompéi* (8 vols., Paris, 1840), vol. I (108 plates), and by D'AMELIO, *Dipinti Murali di Pompei*, Naples, 1888. Professor MAU has in preparation a new work on wall decoration which will be illustrated by colored plates similar to those in the atlas to his *Wandmalerei*. The sources of the illustrations in this and the following chapter are given in our List of Illustrations, p. XXV.

*Preparation of the wall* [p. 456]: Vitr. VII. III; cf. also MIDDLETON, *The Remains of Ancient Rome* (2 vols. London, 1892), vol. I, pp. 91-103.

*Decoration of the house of Lucretius* [p. 457]: see references on p. 528.

*The four styles of decoration* [p. 457]: suggestive critical comments by WICKHOFF, *Roman Art* (English trans. by Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, London, 1900), pp. 117 ff.; but see the review of the German original by MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 10 (1895), pp. 227-235.

*Decoration of the second style in Rome* [p. 462] — *house of Germanicus on the Palatine*: MAU, *Due pareti d'una stanza sul Palatino*, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, vol. 52 (1880), pp. 136-149, and *Mon. dell' Inst.*, vol. 11, pl. 22-23; MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei*, pp. 196-205 and pl. 9. *House in the Farnesina garden*: Not. d. Scavi, 1879, pp. 15, 40, 68, 114, 141, 179-180, 267, 314, 333, 1880, pp. 32, 127-128, 138-140, and pl. 4 (plan); MAU, *Parete dipinta della casa antica scoperta nel giardino della Farnesina*, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, vol. 54 (1882), pp. 301-308; HÜLSEN, *Fregio dipinto nella casa antica scoperta nel giardino della Farnesina*, *ibid.*, pp. 309-314; MAU, *Pitture della casa antica scoperta nella villa Farnesina*, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, vol. 56 (1884), pp. 307-322, vol. 57 (1885), pp. 302-318; *Mon. dell' Inst.*, vol. 11, pl. 44-48, vol. 12, pl. 5, 5a, 7, 7a, 8, 17-34; *Supplemento* (1891), pl. 32-36; especially LESSING and MAU, *Wand- und Deckenschmuck eines römischen Hauses aus der Zeit des Augustus* (Berlin, 1891; with 16 plates from the same blocks as those in the *Mon. dell' Inst.*); HELBIG, *Führer durch die Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, vol. 2, pp. 226-223, nos. 1107-1108, 1119-1122, 1124, 1129-1136, 1141-1144, 1146-1148, 1151.

## CHAPTER LV. THE PAINTINGS

*Of the paintings in general*: the paintings discovered prior to 1868 are described, with references to the literature, by W. HELBIG, *Wandgemälde der*



vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens (Nebst einer Abhandlung über die antiken Wandmalereien in Technischer Beziehung, von Otto Donner, Leipzig, 1868); those discovered after the publication of Helbig's work and before 1880, by A. SOGLIANO, *Le pitture murali Campane scoperte negli anni 1867-1879* (supplemento all' opera dell' Helbig, Naples, 1879. Published also in the volume, *Pompei e la regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio*, for which see p. 513); those that have come to light since 1879 are described by MAU in his reports (see note to Chap. IV) and in the *Notizie degli scavi*; cf. also HELBIG, *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei* (Leipzig, 1873). Besides the reproductions of paintings by ZAHN and NICCOLINI mentioned above (p. 544), the more important examples are published in the Real Museo Borbonico (see Index at the end of vol. 16, pp. 37-58); ROUX, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vols. 1-5 (Paris, 1840); ROCHETTE, *Choix de peintures de Pompéi*, la plupart de sujet historique (lithographiées en couleur par M. Roux, et publiées . . . par M. Raoul-Rochette; 7 livraisons in fol., Paris, 1844-1853, incomplete); PRESuhn, *Pompeji, Die neuesten Ausgrabungen von 1874 bis 1881* (Edit. 2, Leipzig, 1882; 80 chromolithograph plates); and in other works the titles of which are easily accessible in Furchheim's *Bibliografia*. The colored plates presented by A. NICCOLINI, *Arte Pompeiana Monumenti scelti* (a selection of 55 plates from the larger work, Naples, 1888), give a false idea of the paintings reproduced.

*No evidence of development in composition or technique* [p. 471]: cf. WICKHOFF, *Roman Art*, pp. 139 ff.

*Hercules and Antaeus* [p. 472]: Bull. dell' Inst., 1876, p. 101; SOGLIANO, *Le pitture murali Campane*, no. 495.

*Mosaic pictures on the floor* [p. 472]: as in the house of the Faun; see references on p. 533. For the Pompeian mosaics in general, see *Gli ornati delle pareti ed i pavimenti delle stanze dell' antica Pompei*, 3 vols. Naples, 1796-1808, vols. 1 and 2; Museo Borb., Index at the end of vol. 16, pp. 35-37; ROUX, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. 5 (latter part, 32 plates).

*Group of Admetus and Alcestis in architectural framework* [p. 473]: SOGLIANO, op. cit., no. 506.

*Seafights* [p. 474]: HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, nos. 1576-1580 (those of the Macellum are shown in a colored plate by MAZOIS, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, vol. 3, pl. 46); Röm. Mitth., vol. 11 (1896), p. 56, nos. 113-116, and SOGLIANO, *Mon. dei Lincei*, vol. 8 (1898), p. 310, fig. 33; cf. also SOGLIANO op. cit., nos. 669-670.

*Xenia* [p. 474]: Vitr. VI. VII (x) 4; HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, nos. 1661-1718. For fig. 266 cf. Museo. Borb., vol. 6, pl. 38; HELBIG, no. 1690.

*Landscapes* [p. 475]: ROUX, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. 3 (end; 30 plates); HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, pp. 385-394; SOGLIANO, op. cit., pp. 141-144.

*Tadius, Ludiſ* [p. 475]: Plin. N. H. XXXV. x. 116. In Mayhoff's text (vol. 5, 1897) the name is given as *Studius*. Cf. HELBIG, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der campanischen Wandbilder*, Rhein. Mus., vol. 25 (1870), pp. 393-407. *Decoration of the villa at Prima Porta*: BRUNN, *Scavi di Prima*

Porta, Bull. dell' Inst., 1863, pp. 81-86; Antike Denkmäler des Kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, vol. 1 (1890), pl. 11, 24.

*Group of musicians* [p. 476]: Museo Borb., vol. 1, pl. 30; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, no. 1442.

*Paquius Proculus and his wife* [p. 477]: Bull. dell' Inst., 1868, p. 204; SOGLIANO, op. cit., no. 673.

*Busts of youths with the names of Homer and Plato* [pp. 477-478]: found in 1892 in the tablinum of the small house joined to the house of the Silver Wedding [fig. 146, δ]; reproduced, with fuller description, Röm. Mitth., vol. 8 (1893), pp. 19-23.

*Paintings of Achilles in the house of Castor and Pollux* [p. 478]: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 1297, 1307.

*Scenes of combat* [p. 478] — *Hercules, from Herculaneum*: Pitture di Ercolano, vol. 3, pl. 47, p. 247; *ibid.*, vol. 4, pl. 5, p. 27; and Museo Borb., vol. 11, pl. 9; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 1124, 1125. *Meleager and the boar*: FIORELLI, Descrizione di Pompei, pp. 40, 382; SOGLIANO, op. cit., nos. 508, 509. *Achilles and the fleeing Troilus*: Bull. dell' Inst., 1868, p. 37; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, pp. 460-461; cf. also SOGLIANO, op. cit., no. 548. *Combat between warrior and Amazon*: Bull. dell' Inst., 1871, p. 204; SOGLIANO, op. cit., no. 547, cf. also no. 548.

*Io and Argus, Io in Egypt* [p. 479]: Museo Borb., vol. 2, pl. 12, vol. 10, pl. 2; ROUX, Herculaneum et Pompéi, vol. 2, pl. 59; HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 131, 138. Cf. BRAUN, Elenco dei monumenti rappresentanti il mito di Io, Ann. dell' Inst., vol. 10 (1838), pp. 328-330, and Mon. dell' Inst., vol. 2, pl. 59.

*Hecuba* [p. 479]: Bull. dell' Inst., 1877, p. 13; MAU, Ettore riportato a Troia, pittura paretaria di Pompei, Ann. dell' Inst., vol. 49 (1877), pp. 268-279, and pl. O, P (colored, at the end of the volume); SOGLIANO, op. cit., no. 579.

*Narcissus, Polyphemus, Apollo, and Admetus* [pp. 479-480]: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 1338-1367, SOGLIANO, op. cit., nos. 586-592; HELBIG, nos. 220-222, 1048.

*Idyllic pictures* [p. 480] — *Selene and Endymion*: HELBIG, Wandgemälde, nos. 950-962; SOGLIANO, op. cit., nos. 456-457. *Paris and Oenone*: HELBIG, no. 1280. *Perseus and Andromeda*: HELBIG, nos. 1192-1198. *Bacchus and Ariadne*: HELBIG, nos. 1235-1240; SOGLIANO, no. 538; Röm. Mitth., vol. 11 (1896), pp. 52-53 (no. 98, house of the Vettii). *Hercules and Omphale*: HELBIG, nos. 1136-1140; cf. SOGLIANO, nos. 496, 497.

*Examples of a pathetic situation* [p. 480] — *Aphrodite and the wounded Adonis*: HELBIG, nos. 335-340; SOGLIANO, no. 142. *Cyparissus*: SOGLIANO, nos. 109, 110; Röm. Mitth., vol. 11 (1896), p. 19 (no. 36, with illustration, house of the Vettii). *Europa and the bull*: SOGLIANO, no. 79; cf. HELBIG, nos. 123-130.

*Groups with figures in contrast* [p. 480] — *Hephaestus and Thetis*: HELBIG, nos. 1316-1318 c. *Daedalus and Pasiphaë*: HELBIG, nos. 1205-1208; Röm.

Mitth., vol. 11, pp. 49-51 (with illustration, house of the Vettii). *Danaë cast away*: HELBIG, nos. 119-121; SOGLIANO, nos. 76-78.

*Paintings in groups* [p. 481]: TRENDLENBURG, Gegenstücke in der Wandmalerei, Archäologische Zeitung, vol. 9 (1876), pp. 1-8, 79-93. *Group of three paintings, Achilles*: Bull. dell' Inst., 1879, pp. 51-54 (Ins. IX. v. 2); SOGLIANO, nos. 572, 576, 577. *Group of two, Polyphemus, Aphrodite fishing*: Bull. dell' Inst., 1876, pp. 49-50; SOGLIANO, nos. 146, 472 (Ins. VI. XIV. 28); HELBIG, nos. 354, 1049 (house of Lucretius). *Group of two, Europa and Pan*: SOGLIANO, nos. 79, 196 (Ins. IX. v. 18). *Double group, Hercules and Artemis, Athena and Marsyas*: Röm. Mitth., vol. 5 (1890), pp. 263-269 (with illustrations), vol. 6 (1891), pp. 71-72 (Ins. V. II. 10).

## CHAPTER LVI. MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS AND PUBLIC NOTICES

*Publication*: in the notes to the preceding chapters references have been given to the place of publication of nearly all the monumental inscriptions, both Latin and Oscan; the Latin inscriptions on stone are classified C. I. L. X. 787-1079, with a supplementary collection, Ephem. Epigr., vol. 8, pp. 86-90 (nos. 311-332); cf. also Not. d. scavi, 1898, pp. 422-423. The Oscan inscriptions of all classes are published by ZVETAIEFF, Sylloge Inscriptionum Oscarum (with 19 plates of facsimiles; St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1878); Inscriptiones Italiae inferioris mediae (with 11 plates; Moscow and Leipzig, 1886); VON PLANTA, Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Dialekte (2 vols., Strassburg, 1892, 1897), vol. 2, pp. 499-510 (nos. 28-116); CONWAY, The Italic Dialects (2 vols., London, 1897), vol. 2, pp. 54-81 (nos. 39-86). The public notices are collected in C. I. L. IV. pp. 1-75 (nos. 1-1204), pp. XVI-XVII (nos. 3256-3296), and the Supplement, pt. 2, which is in press, pp. 467-499 (nos. 3341-3884).

*House of Aemilius Celer* [p. 486]: MAU, Röm. Mitth., vol. 4 (1889), pp. 118-119.

*Election notices* [p. 487] — *M. Marius*: C. I. L. IV. 3. *Publius Furius*: ibid., 67. *Herennius Celsus*: ibid., 299. *Casellius*: ibid., 223 et al., and Röm. Mitth., vol. 11 (1896), p. 96. *Holconius Priscus*: C. I. L. IV. 157. *hic aerarium conservabit*: C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 3702. *Claudius Verus*: C. I. L. IV. 367, Suppl. 5229, and often between nos. 3707 and 3828.

*Election notices* [pp. 488-489] — *Helvius Sabinus*: C. I. L. IV. 787. *M. Epidius Sabinus*: ibid., 470. *Sabinus*: ibid., 635. *Epidius Sabinus*: ibid., 787. *Vatia*: ibid., 575, 576, 581. *Claudius*: ibid., 425.

*Notices to rent—insula of Nigidius Maius* [p. 489]: C. I. L. IV. 138. *Property of Julia Felix* [p. 490]: ibid., 1136.

*Offer of reward* [p. 490]: C. I. L. IV. 64.

## CHAPTER LVII. THE GRAFFITI

*Publication*: the graffiti are collected, C. I. L. IV. pp. 76-166 (nos. 1205-2549 c), pp. xvii-xviii (nos. 3297-3339), and Suppl. pt. 2, pp. 499-599 (nos. 3885 *et seq.*). Cf. CORRERA, Graffiti di Roma, Bull. com., 1893, pp. 245-260, 1894, pp. 89-100, and pls. II-VI, 1895, pp. 193-216.

*Admiror, paries* [p. 491]: found in the Large Theatre, the Amphitheatre, and the Basilica; C. I. L. IV. 1904, 2461, 2487; Bull. dell' Inst., 1867, pp. 50-53; Bull. com., 1894, p. 99; BUECHELER, Carmina Latina epigraphica, no. 957 (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1895), p. 440. *References to writing on walls in ancient authors*: Plin. Epist. VIII. viii. 7; Mart. Ep. XII. lxi. 7-10; Cic. In Verr. III. xxxiii. 77. *Metrical graffiti*: BUECHELER, Die metrischen Wandinschriften, Rhein. Mus., vol. 12 (1857), pp. 250-260.

*Graffiti relating to the conflict in the Amphitheatre* [p. 492]: see references on pp. 529-530.

*Praetorian guard* [p. 492]: C. I. L. IV. 1994.

*Names and greetings* [p. 493] — *Paris, Sabinus*: C. I. L. IV. 1245, 1305. *Aemilius*: C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 5350. *Samius, Pyrrhus*: C. I. L. IV. 1864, 1852.

*Love* [p. 494] — *Quisquis amat*: Bull. dell' Inst., 1876, p. 233; C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 4091; cf. C. I. L. IV. 1173, 3199; BUECHELER, Carm. Lat. epigr., nos. 945, 946. *Nemo est bellus*: C. I. L. IV. 1883; BUECHELER, 233; Röm. Mitth., vol. 13 (1898), p. 45. *Nam nemo flammas*: C. I. L. IV. 1898; BUECHELER, 948. *Alliget hic auras*: C. I. L. IV. 1649; BUECHELER, 944. *Si quis forte meam*: C. I. L. IV. 1645; BUECHELER, 953, 954.

*Quotations and paraphrases* [p. 495]: Propert. II. v. 9; C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 4491; Bull. dell' Inst., 1875, p. 191; Ovid, Ars Am. I. 475-476, and C. I. L. IV. 1895.

*Lovers' messages* [p. 495] — *Victoria*: C. I. L. IV. 1477. *Cestilia*: *ibid.*, 2413 h. *Pupa*: *ibid.*, 1234; BUECHELER, no. 232. *Serena*: Bull. dell' Inst., 1874, p. 269; C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 3928-3930. *Si quid amor*: Not. d. scavi, 1883, p. 53; BUECHELER, no. 935.

*Lovers' complaints* [p. 496]: *Tu, dea*: C. I. L. IV. 2310 k. *Quoted couplets joined*: *ibid.*, 1893, 1894. *Threat against Venus*: *ibid.*, 1824; Röm. Mitth., vol. 8 (1893), p. 59 (no. 29); BUECHELER, no. 947.

*Records of tarrying* [p. 496] — *Romula*: C. I. L. IV. 2060. *Staphilus*: C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 4087. *Restitutus*: Röm. Mitth., vol. 7 (1892), p. 25; BUECHELER, 355. *Varus and Pelagia*: C. I. L. IV. 2321. *Balbus and Fortunata*: Bull. dell' Inst., 1883, p. 195; C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 4933.

*Greeting of Hirtia Psacas* [p. 497]. Bull. dell' Inst., 1894, p. 201; C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 3905.

*Memoranda* [p. 497] — *gambling*: C. I. L. IV. 2119. *Paces*: *ibid.*, 1714. *Advent of young*: Bull. dell' Inst., 1874, p. 202; C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 3890. *Figures*: C. I. L. IV. 1996, 2008, 2011, 2020, etc. *Oleum l. a.*: C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 4000; FIORELLI, Descrizione di Pompei, p. 59.

*Catchwords, quotations, proverbs* [p. 498]: *Verg. Aen. I. 1*: C. I. L. IV. 1282, 2361, 3198. *Aen. II. 1*: *ibid.*, 2213, and often; Röm. Mitth., vol. 8 (1893), p. 57.<sup>1</sup> *Lucr. I. 1*: C. I. L. IV. 3072. *Minimum malum*: *ibid.*, 1811, 1870. *Moram si quaeres*: *ibid.*, 2069.

## CHAPTER LVIII. INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO BUSINESS AFFAIRS

*Tablets of Caecilius Jucundus* [p. 499 *et seq.*]: edited by ZANGEMEISTER, C. I. L. IV. Suppl. fasc. 1 (1898); first published by DE PETRA, *Le tavolette cerate di Pompei rinvenute a'* 3 e 5 Luglio, 1875 (Rome, 1876), also in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. 2, vol. 3, pp. 3, 150-230; cf. MOMMSEN, *Die Pompeianischen Quittungstafeln des L. Caecilius Jucundus*, *Hermes*, vol. 12 (1879), pp. 88-141; MOMMSEN, *Pompeianische Geschäftsurkunden*, *Hermes*, vol. 23 (1888), pp. 157-159; BRUNS, *Fontes iuris Romani antiqui* (Edit. 6, 1893), pp. 291-293, 314-320.

Of interest in this connection are the remains of wax tablets found in the gold mines near Verespatak (ancient Alburnus Maior) in Transylvania (C. I. L. III. pp. 921-960), and the records of transactions found on papyri of the Roman period in Egypt (cf., e.g., SCHULTEN, *Ein römischer Kaufvertrag auf Papyrus aus dem Jahre 166 n. Chr.*, *Hermes*, vol. 32, 1897, pp. 273-289).

*Tablet A* [p. 502]: C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 3340, xxv; DE PETRA, no. 15.

*Tablet B* [p. 504]: C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 3340, cxlvii; DE PETRA, no. 124.

*Inscriptions on amphorae* [p. 505] — *ex fundo Badiano*: C. I. L. IV. 2551. *Estate uncertain*: C. I. L. IV. 2552 (names of the consuls incorrectly given). *fundus Satrianus*, *fundus Asinianus*: MAU, *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 11 (1896), p. 96; Not. d. scavi, 1895, p. 33.

*Brands of wine* [pp. 505-506] — *Cnidium*: *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 13 (1898), p. 40. *Coum*: C. I. L. IV. 2565. *Δύρριος*: *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 8 (1893), p. 60. *Λευκοννάριον*: *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1874, p. 264.

*Gustaticium* [p. 506]: *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 11 (1896), p. 96.

*Edibles* [p. 506] — *Oliva alba dulce*: C. I. L. IV. 2610. *Lomentum*: *ibid.*, 2597. *g. f.*: *ibid.*, 2576. *Liquamen*: *ibid.*, see Index, p. 243; *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 13 (1898), p. 30.

*Names of proprietor, consignor, consignee* [p. 507] — *M. Caesius Celer*: C. I. L. IV. Suppl. *Virnius Modestus*: Not. d. Scavi, 1881, p. 195. *Caecilius Jucundus*: *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1876, p. 24. *Caecili Jucundi*: C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 3433.

*Inscriptions of the Boscoreale treasure* [p. 507]: published in facsimile by HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, *Le trésor de Boscoreale*; see pp. 42 *et seq.*

*Inscription of the Alexandria patera* [p. 507]:

PHI·ET·EMB·P·P·IISΞΞOVI. PHI·P·P·IIΞΞ·EMB·P·P·S-Ξ

<sup>1</sup> "Virgil's words, 'Then were all silent,' look strangely in a half-finished scrawl from a wall of Pompeii's hushed and solitary homes." — MYERS, *Essays Classical* (London, 1897), p. 149.

*Stamps* [p. 508]: for the stamped and other permanent inscriptions on tiles, lamps, amphorae, and different kinds of terra-cotta vessels found at Pompeii, as well as the stamps and seals, see the second part of C. I. L. X., under *Instrumentum Domesticum*.

*Examples of stamps* [p. 508] — *bread*: C. I. L. X. 8058, 18.     *Popidius Priscus*: *ibid.*, 8058, 70.     *Vettii*: *Röm. Mitth.*, vol. 11 (1896), p. 3.

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## KEY TO PLAN VI

The names of only the more important streets are given on Plan VI. Among the names omitted are those of the continuations of Nola Street, which it is more convenient to regard as a single thoroughfare extending without change of name across the city.

The more important buildings of each Region are given in the order of the *Insulae*.

### REGION I

#### INSULA

- i. 5. Inn.
- 8. Inn of Hermes.
- ii. 24. Wineshop.
- 28. House with a grating over the impluvium.
- iv. 5. House of the Citharist — casa del Citarista.
- v. 2. Tannery.

### REGION V

#### INSULA

- i. 7. Casa del Torello di Bronzo.
- 18. Casa degli Epigrammi.
- 26. House of L. Caecilius Juncundus.
- 28. House of M. Tofelanus Valens.
- ii. 1. Casa della Regina Margherita.
- 4. Casa del Triclinio.
- a. House of the Silver Wedding — casa delle Nozze d'Argento.
- v. 2. House with a covered atrium.

### REGION VI

#### INSULA

- Ins. Occidentalis, 1. Inn.
- i. 7. House of the Vestals — casa delle Vestali.
- 10. House of the Surgeon — casa del Chirurgo.
- 13. So-called custom-house.
- ii. 4. House of Sallust — casa di Sallustio.
- 6. Bakery.
- 14. House of the Amazons — casa delle Amazoni.

- iii. 3. Bakery.
- 7. So-called Academy of Music — Accademia di Musica.
- 20. Wineshop.
- v. 3. House of Neptune — casa di Nettuno.
- vi. 1. House of Pansa — casa di Pansa.
- vii. 18. House of Adonis — casa di Adone.
- 20. Casa dell' Argenteria.
- 22. Inn.
- 23. House of Apollo.
- 25. Casa del Duca d' Aumale.
- viii. 5. House of the Tragic Poet — casa del Poeta Tragico.
- 20. Fullery.
- 22. Casa della Fontana Grande.
- 23. Casa della Fontana Piccola.
- ix. 2. House of Meleager — casa di Meleagro.
- 3. House of the Centaur — casa del Centauro.
- 6. House of Castor and Pollux — casa di Castore e Polluce.
- x. 1. Wineshop.
- 7. House of the Anchor — casa dell' Ancora.
- 11. Casa del Naviglio.
- xi. 10. House of the Labyrinth — casa del Laberinto.
- xii. House of the Faun — casa del Fauno.
- xiii. 6. House of M. Terentius Eudoxus.
- xiv. 20. House of M. Vesonius Primus, often called the house of Orpheus — casa di Orfeo.
- 22. Fullery.
- 30. House of Laocoon — casa di Laocoonte.

## KEY TO PLAN VI (*concluded*)

- xiv. 35. Bakery with kneading machine.
- 43. Casa degli Scienziati.
- xv. 1. House of the Vettii.
- 9. House with atrium in two stories.

### REGION VII

#### INSULA

- i. 8. Stabian Baths.
- 25. House of Siricus.
- 40. House of Caesius Blandus.
- 45. Elephant Inn.
- ii. 11. Dyehouse.
- 16. House of M. Gavius Rufus.
- 18. House of C. Vibius.
- 20. House of Popidius Priscus.
- 22. Bakery.
- 45. House of the Bear — casa dell' Orso.
- iii. 29. House of M. Spurius Mesor.
- iv. 1. Temple of Fortuna Augusta.
- 48. House of the Hunt — casa della Caccia.
- 51. House of the Colored Capitals — casa dei Capitelli Colorati, also called the house of Ariadna — casa d' Arianna.
- 56. Casa del Granduca di Toscana.
- 57. House of the Sculptured Capitals — casa dei Capitelli Figurati.
- 59. House of the Black Wall — casa della Parete Nera.
- v. 2. Baths.
- vi. 17. Water reservoir.
- vii. 5. House of Cissonius.
- 27. City treasury.
- 28. Public closet.
- 29-30. Market buildings.
- 31. Table of standard measures.
- 32. Temple of Apollo.
- viii. Forum.
- a. Capitolium.
- ix. 1. Building of Eumachia.
- 2. Temple of Vespasian.
- 3. Sanctuary of the City Lares.
- 8. Macellum.

- xii. 28. House with projecting upper story — casa del Balcone Pensile.
- 35. Inn.

- xiv. 9. House with skeleton.
- xv. 8. House with second story dining room.
- Ins. Occidentalis.
- 13. House near the Porta Marina.

### REGION VIII

#### INSULA

- i. Basilica.
- ii. 1, 3. Casa di Championnet.
- 6. Office of the aediles.
- 8. Hall of the city council
- 10. Office of the duumvirs.
- 17-21. Terrace house, with bath.
- 23. Bath.
- 39. House of the Emperor Joseph II — casa dell' Imperatore Giuseppe II.
- iii. 1. Comitium.
- 4. House of the Wild Boar — casa di Cinghiale.
- iv. 4. House of Marcus Holconius.
- 15. House of Cornelius Rufus.
- v-vi. 39. House of Acceptus and Euhodia.
- viii. The theatres and other public buildings.

### REGION IX

#### INSULA

- i. 20. House of Epidius Rufus.
- 22. House of Epidius Sabinus.
- ii. 16. House of Balbus.
- iii. 2. Dyehouse.
- 5. House of M. Lucretius.
- 10. Bakery.
- 25. House of L. Clodius Varus.
- iv. Central Baths.
- v. 11. House with triclinium of masonry and seat for the children.
- vii. 6. House of the Centenary — casa del Centenario; also known as the house of Tiberius Claudius Verus.
- a. Inn of Hyginus Firmus.

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