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# STUDIES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE FORUM AT POMPEII.

ALBERT WILLIAM VAN BUREN.

(PLATES 23--25)

**A**FTER more than a century and a half of investigation of the ruins of Pompeii, there still remains much to be done, both in excavation and in the interpretation of what has been excavated. The state of knowledge which had been reached ten years ago was admirably summarised by the late Professor August Mau. Since the appearance of the last edition of his work <sup>1</sup> there has begun a new era, characterised by Spinazzola's systematic and capable excavation of the eastern part of the Strada dell' Abbondanza <sup>2</sup>, Della Corte's thorough study of the widely scattered information concerning the inhabitants of the various houses <sup>3</sup>, and Spano's illuminating interpretation of the architectural and artistic remains in the light of the social and aesthetic traditions of the Hellenistic Orient <sup>4</sup>. Although the artistic quality of the objects from this site, at least in the Roman period and with some exceptions, is hardly more than mediocre, still the life of this provincial Campanian city had so many ramifications, extending to all parts of the eastern Mediterranean, to all periods of earlier history, and to all aspects and phases of human society and the human individual, that one may constantly return there and as constantly find something new.

<sup>1</sup> A. MAU, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., Leipzig, 1908. In a conversation which took place only a few weeks before his death in 1909, Professor Mau called my attention to the fact that this edition, for which the type was entirely reset, represents a thorough revision of the text in accordance with his reconsidered judgments.

<sup>2</sup> N. S., 1911 ff., *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> M. DELLA CORTE, *Casa ed Abitanti a Pompei, ricerche di epigrafia*, in *Neapolis*, II, 1914, pp. 153-201, 305-340, Pl. X, XI; and *Sui monumenti scoperti fuori la Porta del Vesuvio: brevi note di Epigrafia Pompeiana*, in *Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere*

e Belle Arti (Naples), II, 1912, pp. 177-200, Plate. His results are not in all cases final, and future excavations may be expected to furnish the key to many problems which at present admit only of conjectural solution.

<sup>4</sup> G. SPANO, *Il Teatro delle fontane in Pompei*, in *Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* (Naples), II, 1912, pp. 111-148, Pl. I-IV; *id.*, *L'origine degli archi onorari e trionfali romani in Neapolis*, I, 1913, pp. 144-164. I am indebted to Dr. Spano himself for further information as to his researches in this field.

The following notes on the antiquities of the Forum are believed to possess a certain value in part as correcting traditional statements about well-known monuments and in part as calling attention to matters of interest which have long passed unobserved.

## I. THE GREAT CULT STATUE OF JUPITER.

*Ab Iove principium*: it will be well to begin with the consideration of the great acrolithic cult statue of Jupiter. The front part of the marble torso of this statue was discovered in 1817 among the ruins of the Capitolium<sup>1</sup> (M in plan, Fig. 1, p. 71), and is now in the Naples Museum<sup>2</sup>; at the same time was found the marble head<sup>3</sup> of the acrolithic statue of either Juno or Minerva from the same group. The courtesy of Comendatore V. Spinazzola, Director of that Museum, enables me to publish, I believe for the first time, these two fragments, which are of exceptional importance and rarity both as specimens of this technique and as survivors of what must once have constituted a numerous class, the colossal cult statues of the Graeco-Roman world (Pl. 23). Contemporary reports of the excavations<sup>4</sup> mention other portions of colossal statues as found at the same time and place; the later vicissitudes of these are not known to me.

<sup>1</sup> For the Capitolium, see MAU, *Pompeji*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., pp. 59-65, and his fuller discussion, *Das Capitolium und der Tempel des Zeus Meilichios in Pompeji*, in *Röm. Mitth.*, XI, 1896, pp. 141-149, with the résumé by Audollent in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, XXXVII, 1898, pp. 70 f.

<sup>2</sup> Inventory No. 6260; *Guida Rüsche*, No. 941.

<sup>3</sup> Naples Museum, inv. No. 6264; *Guida Rüsche*, No. 942.

<sup>4</sup> The unusual character of these finds necessitates my quoting the contemporary records at some length. The official report of the discoveries was printed by Fiorelli, in *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia*, I, ii, pp. 188-191; the important passages for the present purpose are as follows:

(Under date of 11. Jan. 1817). *Il disterro dell' interno del tempio scoperto nel gran Foro, per la giornata di domani sarà intieramente terminato.... Il pensiero del sig. cav. Arditì, che un giorno doveran trovarsi nel detto Foro delle statue, par che cominci a darne degl'indizi. Nella cella del nominato tempio, il giorno di sabato scorso, si sono rinvenuti due grandi piedi, ed un braccio colla mano destra staccata di grandezza ad essi corrispondente. I piedi sono ciascuno pal. 2 3/4 di lunghezza, rivestiti di sandali imperiali, e la mano stringe uno scettro, o pure un manubrio di qualche arma, cosicchè sembrano appartenere ad una statua colossale imperiale, di altezza circa pal. 19. La scoltura di tai frammenti è ottima, e di un*

*carattere robusto per le sue grandiose e benintese parti.... Inoltre nel giorno di ieri lunedì sonosi ivi ancor trovati due altri frammenti di piedi, dei quali uno è semicolossale, dal metacarpo sino a tutte le dita, di uno stile delicato ed elegante, e l'altro di grandezza al naturale della metà sino a tutto il calcagno, anche di buona scoltura. Si sono già date tutte le disposizioni, onde, terminato l'intiero sterro del tempio, s'incominci a togliere da esso tutti quei pezzi in-formi, che imbarazzano il luogo, e far rimanere gli altri che appartengono all'edificio, per indi poterli riordinare per quanto sia possibile.*

(16. Jan.). *Il portico del cennato tempio è stato intieramente disterrato, e si è già trovata l'apertura che immetteva nella cella, la quale si sta ora, come si è detto di sopra, con molta attività disterrando; e si comincia altresì a scoprire il muro del suo lato destro, giacchè il sinistro trovasi del tutto sgombrato.*

(18. Jan.). *Lo sterro della cella del tempio esastilo nel Foro è in buono stato, e forse nell'entrante settimana sarà interamente disotterrata.... Dippiù si sono rinvenuti alcuni frammenti di marmo bianco appartenenti ad una statua colossale, cioè due piedi con zoccoli, la di cui pianta è di lunghezza pal. 2 3/4. Un braccio, ed una mana (sic) distaccata con scettro.*

(21. Jan.). *Ieri 20 del corrente, circa le ore 10 di Francia, fra le rovine della cella del noto tempio si rinvenne una metà di piede di marmo semicolossale, una parte di mano, e due porzioni di dita simili. Al giorno*

The torso is of Greek marble, and the divinity was represented in a sitting posture. The plate (Pl. 23) on which the two fragments in the Naples Museum are represented will relieve me from the necessity of discussing further those aspects of both which appear in the illustrations; it is however the back surface of the surviving portion of the torso of Jupiter which I wish to discuss here, as previous descriptions, beginning with the official report of the excavations, are erroneous. On the back surface is a relief, now consisting of the greater part of two figures. It has been assumed that this relief is due to a re-working of the block of marble after the statue had undergone damage, presumably in the earthquake of the year 63 A. D.; and scholars have spoken of a marble-worker's shop as having been installed in the cella of the temple in the period immediately preceding the eruption of 79<sup>1</sup>. This explanation of the relief is due however to incorrect observation on the part of the first scholars who referred to it and uncritical copying on the part of their successors. The relief on the back antedates the use of this marble

*poi, verso le ore 23 d'Italia si rinvenne un busto colossale di marmo, senza testa, di altezza pal. 5 1/2, e di larghezza pal. 3 1/4, nella di cui parte di avanti rappresenta la figura di uomo, e nella parte di dietro vedesi abbozzata rusticamente una statua intera; dal che si congettura esser questo un pezzo di colosso inservibile, che gli antichi ne profittavano per altra statua piccola. Questa mattina nello stesso sito si è trovata una testa di alabastro, anche colossale, di un Giove, di un bellissimo carattere [doubtless the well-known bust, inv. No. 6266, Guida Rüschi, No. 939, MAU, Pompeii, ed. 2, Fig. 25], e con vari frammenti ad essa appartenenti. Di marmo: Una maschera colossale; una testa di donna di fattura naturale, di bel carattere; una piccola testa di uomo, e diversi frammenti di mano, braccia, teste e toghe.*

(25. Jan.). *Essendosi il giorno 21 terminato lo sterro della cella del tempio nel Foro,....*

(8. Feb.). *Si rimettono al sig. cav. Arditi le tre teste di marmo [it is not clear which are meant, as in the meantime there had been discoveries of similar objects in the Macellum], con i frammenti che ad esse appartengono, assieme colla base ov'è incisa l'iscrizione [found in the cella of the Capitolium].*

ANDREA DE JORIO, *Guida di Pompei con appendici sulle parti più interessanti, trasportata dal francese nell'italiano idioma da Ercole Carrillo*, Naples, 1836 [being a revised edition of his *Plan de Pompéi, et remarques sur les édifices*, Naples 1828], pp. 63-65:

Tempio di Giove. — *Tra gli oggetti rinvenuti nel suo scavo fa mestieri distinguere quelli che trovaronsi nel grande spazio al di sotto ed allo intorno di esso.*

*Ecco fra questi i più interessanti situati sul pronao, nella cella, e nei tre gabinetti inferiori al podium di questo stesso Santuario.*

*Varie dita di bronzo, un picciol busto fisso al muro, una specie di scudo di quattro once e mezzo, moltissimi*

*frammenti di ornati che sembrano essere appartenuti a delle cancellette forse di legname, un gruppo di un mezzo palmo di altezza, rappresentante un vecchio che tiene un ragazzo per la mano, ed una donna che porta il suo figliolino fra le braccia. Tanto sulla testa del vecchio che del giovinetto si vede il cappello frigio: questo gruppo probabilmente era un'ex-voto.*

*In marmo un mezzo piede, la porzione di una mano, e di un dito, una testa senile; due piedi rivestiti di sandali, un braccio, e molti frammenti tutti di colossale proporzione. Un torso di siffatta proporzione e di ottimo lavoro, sul dorso del quale si vede abbozzata intieramente una statua. Altri frammenti di una statua, e di paneggio, una figura di donna di grandezza naturale....*

*Una testa colossale di marmo rappresentante Giove.... Intorno all'edificio eranvi sparsi altri frammenti di una statua di marmo....*

*Il sotterraneo.... conteneva.... una mano colossale che chiudeva delle spighe dorate.*

*Da quanto stiamo dicendo, sembra potersi conchiudere che il tremoto del 63 grandemente avea danneggiato questo tempio, e che la esiziale eruzione del 79 sopraggiunse all'epoca della sua restaurazione. Di già più frammenti di marmo erano stati raccolti per ristabilire l'edificio, o per altri usi; e forse per questa ragione fu anche chiamato tesoro pubblico; ma gli oggetti rinvenuti furono simili a quelli scavati nel Tempio di Serapide in Pozzuoli.... A consolidare questa verità può riflettersi, che il riferito torso era stato dall'artista destinato qual masso di marmo per scolpirne una statua di picciola proporzione, e che si rinvenne già appena sbazzata.*

It is clear from the above accounts that the excavators of 1817 found remains of not only the marble extremities but also the bronze drapery and accessories of several colossal acrolithic statues.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MAU, *Pompeii*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., p. 59.

block for the acrolithic statue. It was in part destroyed and in part roughened with strokes of the pick to admit of its being adapted to its new destination; for it was held in place by means both of mortising and of setting it in mortar. That this is what actually took place is shown by the following facts:

1. The surface of the front is intact, with its final polish preserved.
2. At the right side of the front, a supplementary piece of marble is still in position.
3. On the back, the upper part of the left figure (as seen by the spectator) was systematically cut down to admit of mortising.
4. This figure was partly off the block as it now exists.

What we have then is a marble relief, presumably of Greek workmanship, which was cut down and used for a second time by the makers of the Pompeian cult-statue. The fragmentary character of the sculptural remains found by the excavators of the Capitolium is to be explained by the assumption not of a stone-worker's shop but of a visit to the site by some of the survivors of the great catastrophe of 79 for the purpose of carrying away the metallic portions of the statues, and the disintegration of those parts which were made of wood <sup>1</sup>.

In its present position, it is impossible properly to study the back of the fragment, and I refrain from attempting a description of the subject represented. It is to be recommended however that the Museum authorities move the torso to a position where it can be studied from all angles, and also arrange for a photograph to be taken of it from the back.

## II. THE GREAT INSCRIPTION ON THE PAVEMENT OF THE FORUM.

It is well known that the Forum of Pompeii was paved, about the beginning of the first century A. D., with large blocks of limestone, well laid, and that at present, while considerable portions of this pavement are preserved at the north and south ends, the open space in the centre has been denuded except for a few isolated blocks <sup>2</sup>. This pavement antedates the original construction of the limestone portico, which was in process of construction in 63 A. D. and had been begun or at least was contemplated under Tiberius <sup>3</sup>; it is earlier than the bases of equestrian statues along the west side of the Forum, since these were constructed upon it; and it is earlier than some, but later than

<sup>1</sup> On acrolithic technique, see W. AMELUNG, *Athena des Phidias*, in *Oest. Jahreshefte*, XI, 1908, pp. 169-211, esp. pp. 182 f.

On the exploitation of the ruins of Pompeii by the survivors, see A. SOGLIANO, *La Rinascita di Pompei*, in *Rendiconti d. Lincei*, ser. V, XXIV, 1915, pp. 483-

514, esp. p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> This appears clearly in our Plate 24, where can be distinguished also the location of the letter to which reference is made in the text.

<sup>3</sup> A. MAU, *Il portico del Foro di Pompei*, in *Röm. Mitth.*, VI, 1891, pp. 168-176; *Pompeji*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., pp. 43-51.



others, of the bases of equestrian statues along the north and south ends of the Forum<sup>1</sup>. The reason for the disappearance of most of the central portion of this fine pavement is to be sought in the activity of the survivors after the eruption of 79: the Forum, like the Amphitheatre and the great theatre<sup>2</sup>, could easily be found, and it furnished too valuable a quarry of building materials to be left unworked.

It has not been recognised however that this pavement contained a great inscription, in letters of bronze set into the limestone blocks, and running from the west to the east side of the Forum. Of this monumental inscription there survives in position only the cutting for the first letter, a Q, in a block of the pavement immediately to the East of the very large oblong statue base which is situated at about the middle of the west side of the Forum (see plan Fig. 1)<sup>3</sup>. This one letter, given its character and position, is ample evidence for the former existence of the whole inscription: similar pavements containing similar inscriptions have been preserved in at least three instances<sup>4</sup>.

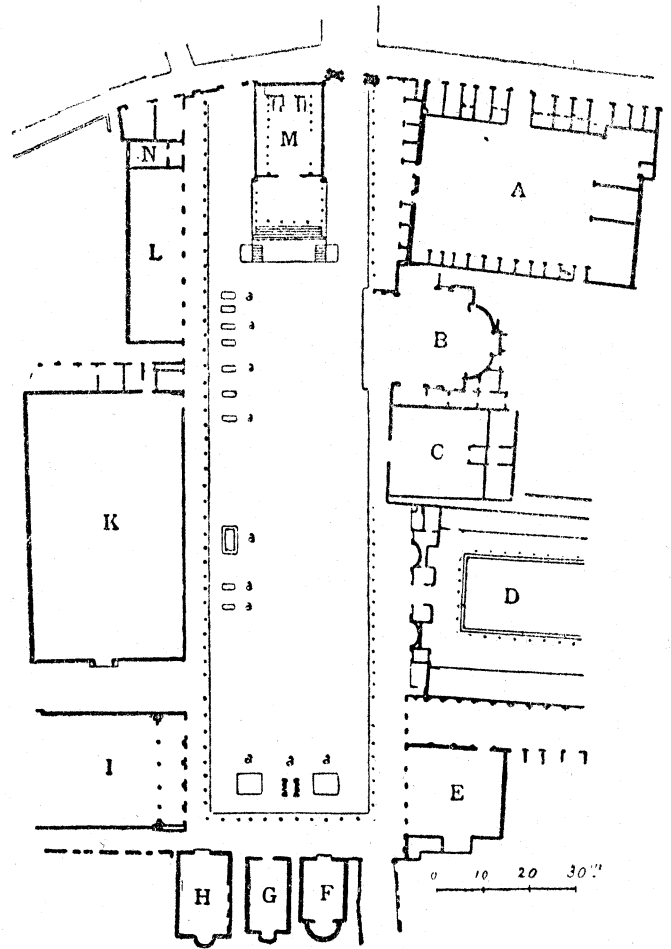


Fig. 1. The Forum at Pompeii.

<sup>1</sup> A. MAU, *Die Statuen des Forums von Pompeji*, in *Röm. Myth.*, XI, 1896, pp. 150-156, esp. p. 151; *Pompeji*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., pp. 44 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NISSEN, *Pompejanische Studien*, pp. 105 f., 245 f.

<sup>3</sup> The lower part of a similar letter, an L, exists in a block of limestone apparently relaid in antiquity or in modern times, in the open space of the Forum to the west of the north end of the portico in front of the building of Eumachia.

<sup>4</sup> 1. In the Roman Forum: HÜLSEN-CARTER, *The Roman Forum*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., pp. 148 f.; O. RICHTER, *Beiträge zur Römischen Topographie*, IV (1910): *Untergrund und Pflaster des Römischen Forums*, pp. 28 ff. The definitive treatment of the pavement of the Roman Forum is still to appear.

2. In the main Forum at Tarracina: *C. I. L.*, X, 6306, with the discussion in R. de la Blanchère, *Terra-*

*cine*, Paris, 1884 (vol. 34 of *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises*), pp. 122-132. Professor Frothingham's account of this pavement, in his popular book *Roman Cities in Northern Italy and Dalmatia* (London, 1910), contains an unfortunate *lapsus memoriae*: he quotes not the inscription actually upon the stones but a Pompeian inscription, *C. I. L.*, X, 807. The *A. Aemilius* whose name appears on the pavement at Tarracina was not the architect, but the benefactor, as is shown by another inscription, *C. I. L.*, X, 6305.

3. In a secondary Forum in the lower town at Tarracina: *Eph. Epigr.*, VIII, p. 156, no. 635, after F. Lombardini, in *N. S.*, 1886, p. 277, and de la Blanchère in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, VII, 1887, pp. 414-418, in which latter place one more letter is recorded. Here, by great good fortune, the bronze letters themselves are preserved, not merely their matrices.

### III. THE ARCH AT THE SOUTH END OF THE FORUM.

The centre of the south end of the Forum is occupied by a large rectangular arched structure of masonry (see plan Fig. 1), faced with *opus incertum* and tiles (see Pl. 25, Fig. 4) <sup>1</sup>. It lies in the axis of the Capitolium and of the Forum. Mau <sup>2</sup> proposed the conjecture that this is a base which once supported a statue of Augustus, and he made use of this conjecture in connection with an elaborate theory as to the identification of the various statues which once stood on the bases in the Forum. He assumes a colossal bronze standing statue as best meeting the conditions of proportion and stability.

The Augustan date of the structure in question may be accepted as tolerably certain, by reason both of its peculiarities of construction and of its relation to earlier and later monuments. A careful perusal however of Mau's writings will reveal the inadequacy of the arguments (it is not a question of evidence) for considering this the base of a colossal statue of Augustus. Moreover, there are serious difficulties inherent in this theory.

In the first place must be advanced an objection on the score of historical improbability. A glance at our Plate 25, Fig. 4 will show that if there ever was a standing statue on the arched structure in question, the statue was a colossus so huge as absolutely to dominate the Forum, and more than challenge comparison with the cult statue of Jupiter in the Capitoline temple facing <sup>3</sup>. It is inconceivable that Augustus would have permitted, or that Tiberius would have tolerated, the erection of such a statue in Italy during their reigns: it was reserved for Nero and Domitian to assimilate themselves to divinity in so outspoken a fashion.

There is also the difficulty inherent in the fact that the structure which we are discussing possesses, not the usual form of a statue base, colossal or otherwise, but rather that of one type of *ianus*: the square form, which might be placed not across a street but in a forum <sup>4</sup>.

I have no hesitation in proposing to identify the arched structure as simply the *ianus*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CURTIS, in *Suppl. Papers Am. School of Cl. St. in Rome*, II, 1908, p. 45, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Röm. Mitth.*, XI, 1896, pp. 153 f.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar reason, I prefer to imagine, not a standing figure but a quadriga, on the large square base to the East, although as this dates from about the reign of Nero the objection is not so cogent.

<sup>4</sup> On the *ianus*, see J. TOUTAIN, in DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. d. Ant.*, s. v. It must be admitted that the actual evidence for this signification of the *ianus* in Roman colonies is distinctly slighter than that for the Capitolium. The two types of *ianus* have not been hith-

erto distinguished, I believe, with sufficient clearness. The resemblance of our monument to an arch rather than a base has naturally been felt by earlier writers, e. g. Fiorelli and Thédenat.

The Capitolium and *ianus* which distinguished the Forum of the Roman *coloniae* differed in their signification from the statue of Marsias which is never found in Italy outside Rome; on the latter, see C. JULLIAN, in DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. d. Ant. s. v. Jus Italicum*, and A. J. REINACH, *A propos du Marsias du Forum*, in *Rev. Epigraphique*, II, 1914, 325-327.

of Pompeii, and to associate its erection in its present form with some renewal or extension of the privileges of the city under the early Empire.

#### IV. THE CURIA.

(Pl. 25, Fig. 1-3).

The central one of the three halls at the south end of the Forum, which was unfinished at the time of the eruption (G in plan Fig. 1), has been traditionally identified, by conjecture but with great probability, as the Curia <sup>1</sup>. A detail of its construction may be adduced as confirming this identification and at the same time illustrating a passage in Vitruvius. Along the two sides exist what apparently were to have been the bases of small columns set against the walls <sup>2</sup>. (See Pl. 25, Fig. 2). The columns would presumably have carried cornices breaking the flat surface of the walls, and these in turn would have supported an upper order. This arrangement is in accordance with the precept of Vitruvius for the construction of a *curia* (V, ii): *Aerarium, carcer, curia foro sunt coniungenda, sed ita uti magnitudo (ac) symmetriae eorum foro respondeant. maxime quidem curia in primis est facienda ad dignitatem municipii sive civitatis..... praeterea praecingendi sunt parietes medii coronis ex intestino opere aut albario ad dimidiam partem altitudinis. quae si non erunt, vox ibi disputantium elata in altitudinem intellectui non poterit esse audientibus. cum autem coronis praecincti parietes erunt, vox ab imis morata, priusquam in aera elata dissipabitur, auribus erit intellecta.*

#### V. THE SCHOOL BUILDING.

Near the north end of the west side of the Forum there opens off from the portico a spacious hall (L in plan, Fig. 1) forming an integral part of the group which includes the public *latrina* adjoining and two small rooms on the Vico dei Soprastanti usually ex-

<sup>1</sup> A. MAU, *Pompeji*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., 117-119; R. CAGNAT et V. CHAPOT, *Manuel d'Archéologie romaine*, I, 120 f.

<sup>2</sup> The alternative suggestion that they are pedestals for statues appears excluded by their slight dimensions.

Somewhat similar projections occur in the recently discovered hall with the painted trophies on its entrance pilasters, on the Strada dell'Abbondanza, Reg. III, Ins. iii, No. 6 (V. SPINAZZOLA, in *N. S.*, 1916, 429-450).

These latter however are set at wider intervals, and have a greater breadth than depth; it is evident too from the vestiges in the wall that they served to support a wooden wardrobe, a portion of which is in fact represented by the cast which the excavators were able to make from the impression which it had left in the ashes. Our bases are different in character and in purpose.



plained as municipal treasury offices with treasure vaults beneath <sup>1</sup>. This group is built in the latest style of Pompeian construction, and was still awaiting its marble veneering or coat of stucco at the time of the eruption. The hall in question <sup>2</sup> measures roughly  $120 \times 36$  feet, and has eight wide openings upon the colonnade, separated by pillars; otherwise its walls are unbroken except for a buttress on the back wall opposite the middle pillar; it was intended also to have two windows high up in the middle of each of the bays thus formed in the back wall; the side of the south window opening is preserved.

This hall of unusual plan has been explained either as a *stoa poikile* or as a market, and it has been suggested that grain or vegetables were sold there. The former of these two explanations is excluded by the consideration that the building is one of the few public edifices which were either begun or rebuilt from the ground after the earthquake of 63: it must therefore have been essential to the public utility, not a purely decorative structure. Its orientation, with eight wide openings facing somewhat north of east, unfits it for a grain or vegetable market <sup>3</sup>; while one would expect a hall for the sale of more valuable merchandise to be less exposed to the eyes and hands of the general public. And quite apart from this building Pompeii was well provided with markets and shops.

I propose its identification as a school building, for which its location and plan would seem to adapt it admirably. Owing to its easterly exposure, it would be the warmest building on the Forum in the late mornings of Winter. We know that school was held in the Forum, from a Pompeian painting now in the Naples Museum, one of the series representing the life of the Forum <sup>4</sup>, in which such a school is shown in operation. In the period immediately preceding the eruption, that is to say while our school building was in course of erection, school was held, apparently as a temporary measure, in or near the edifice at the south-east corner of the Forum (E in plan), the

<sup>1</sup> MAU, *Pompeji*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., 87-89. The vaults have also been called a prison; of A. SOGLIANO, in *N. S.*, 1900, 236-238; he concludes: *Lasciando da parte qualsiasi congettura sulla destinazione così dei locali superiori come di quelli inferiori, trovo che la relazione da qualcuno ammessa fra i due piani dell'edificio non esiste per nulla, essendo l'un piano del tutto indipendente dall'altro. Mancando il rapporto topografico, viene necessariamente a mancare qualunque altro rapporto.*

<sup>2</sup> It is visible in Pl. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. VITRUVIUS, I, iv, 2: *Ideo etiam ea granaria, quae ad solis cursum spectant, bonitatem cito mutant, obsoniaque et poma, quae non in ea parte caeli ponuntur, quae est aversa a solis cursu, non diu servantur.* He has in mind a southern or western exposure as especially

undesirable for granaries etc.; but a vegetable market with easterly exposure would be at an equal disadvantage, as the vegetables would generally be brought in to the city and sold there in the morning.

The identification as a grain market has been thought to find confirmation in the not far distant standard table of measures. But this dates in its original form from the Samnite period, and in its present adaptation from the earlier part of the reign of Augustus, and therefore has no connection with the structure under discussion; moreover, its purpose was not for use in connection with the actual transacting of business, but to serve for the standardizing of the merchants' measures.

<sup>4</sup> Inv. No. 9066; HELBIG, *Wandgemälde*, No. 1592; *Guida Rüsck*, No. 1797.

peculiar arrangements of which appear best explained by the theory that it was the local *comitium* <sup>1</sup>.

## VI. THE CHANGES IN THE FORUM DUE TO THE ROMAN COLONISTS.

Before closing this article it is desirable to enter a word of caution with regard to the view held by some archaeologists as to the Pre-Roman Forum and the changes introduced in the plan by the Romans at the time that the colony was founded. As this theory involves a whole phase of the early history of Pompeii, it is necessary to quote it in some detail as it was developed by the late Abbé Thédénat <sup>2</sup>:

" Le Forum de Pompéi occupa toujours une partie de l'emplacement où le voyons aujourd'hui. Ce fut d'abord une simple place entre quatre rues. On peut encore reconnaître les limites de ce Forum primitif. La rue de l'Abondance et la rue della Marina, à ce temps-là, ne formaient qu'une seule voie qui, sans doute, était la limite septentrionale de la place. A l'ouest, le Forum était borné par une rue qui descend entre la basilique et le temple de Vénus; au sud, par la rue qui passe devant la maison de Championnet et les Curies; à l'est, par la rue delle Scuole. Ces rues n'ont pas dû changer car, parmi les maisons qui les bordent, il en est de très anciennes. A la fois marché et Forum, la place était plus longue que large; aussi, quand on construisit la basilique, c'est sur sa longueur qu'on prit le terrain nécessaire.

" Au II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère, un questeur de Pompéi, Vibius Popidius, fit régulariser la place et l'entoura d'un portique à deux étages....

" Tel était l'état du Forum quand les Romains entrèrent à Pompéi. Ils y trouvèrent donc un forum grec. Pour qui connaît les usages des Romains, il est évident que le forum grec ne devait longtemps survivre à l'installation des colons envoyés par Sylla....

" Aussitôt la colonie établie, les Romains s'occupèrent donc de transformer en forum romain le forum grec des Samnites. La grande place rectangulaire fut jalonnée au milieu des rues et des maisons qui recouvraient l'emplacement qu'on lui destina; on y fit entrer le Forum samnite; le lieu choisi pour élever le temple de Jupiter occupait l'extrémité opposée; de telle sorte que le forum romain ne fut qu'un prolongement vers le nord du forum grec "

This theory, however attractive it may appear in the French *savant's* presentation, nevertheless must be rejected: it is unnecessary, and it is at variance with the evidence. There is no need to assume any violent modification of the general plan of the Forum, in fact all the evidence points toward a fair degree of continuity. The colonnade of Popidius, which antedates the Roman colony, occupies all the South end and the southern part of the eastern side, and on the western side there are traces of it almost to the northern extremity. The discovery of remains of dwelling houses under the central space of the Basilica (I in plan Fig. 1) <sup>3</sup> shows that the earlier Forum did not extend much further to the West than the present one, at least in its southern portion; moreover

<sup>1</sup> MAU, *Pompeii*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., 115 f. For the evidence as to the school which was installed here, and after which the "Strada delle Scuole" was named by the excavators, see MAZOIS et GAU, *Ruines de Pompéi*, III, pp. 58 f. (where the reference should be "p. 47" instead of "p. 44").

<sup>2</sup> H. THÉDENAT, *Pompéi*, II, pp. 16-20, quoted in part, with approval, by R. CAGNAT et V. CHAPOT, *Manuel d'Archéol. rom.*, I, 113 f.

<sup>3</sup> A. SOGLIANO, in *Memorie d. R. Accad. di Archeol., Lett. e B. A.*, Naples, II, 1911, p. 120.

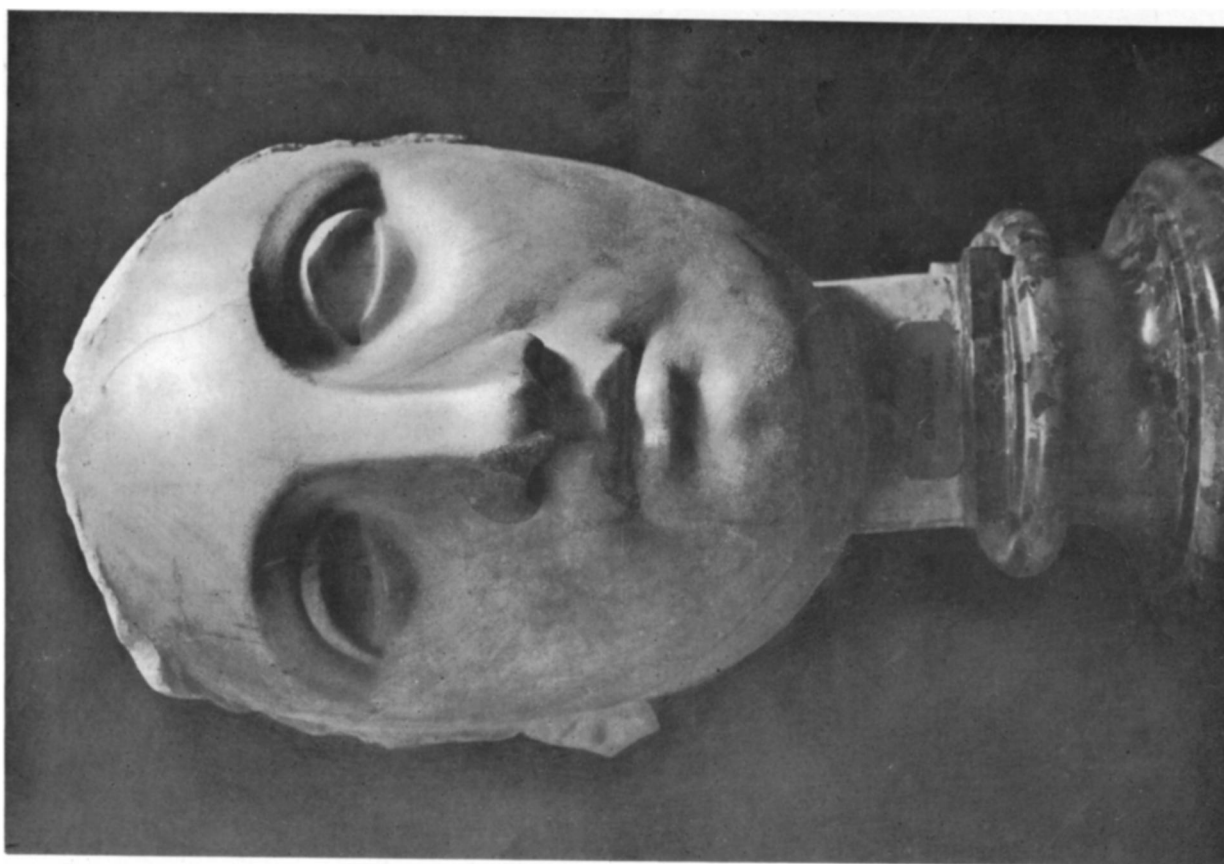
there is every inherent probability in favour of the commonly accepted opinion that the Strada della Marina and the Strada dell'Abbondanza represent what was once a continuous street serving in part as its southern boundary (*not* Northern). The essential outlines of the Forum do not appear to have suffered modification at the hands of the Romans, for if the Capitolium was built partly on land expropriated for the purpose this would hardly have affected the proportions of the Forum itself. It is clear that two buildings of the first century A. D. (B C in plan) blocked the approach which previously had existed by means of two streets: but it is not permissible to draw a further inference from this observation <sup>1</sup>. The other essential facts will be found in Mau's handbook. In the present state of knowledge one is forced to consider the Forum of Pompeii in its general lines as typical not of Rome but of the Hellenistic East <sup>2</sup>.

These notes have been restricted to what may be termed matters of fact as contrasted with appreciation, and have been limited to the monuments of the Forum. They may serve to indicate the amount of work still to be done in interpreting the remains of Pompeii. To the Italian Government belong the preliminary operations of excavating the material, preserving it from destruction, and rendering it accessible to scholars; and to the care of the Italian authorities may properly be entrusted the preparation of what at present represents the most urgent *desideratum* in the whole field of Pompeian archaeology: a repertory of information as to all the discoveries, arranged systematically by street, house and room. But when this has been done there remains the further task of study, comparison, deduction, criticism and interpretation, to which all nations and all types of scholarly mind may hope to contribute. Not only the products of recent excavations, but the monuments which were unearthed a century ago, will yield rich return for our labours: it will often prove possible for the investigator of the present day to assign them their places in a broad historical context many of the elements in which were unknown to the archaeologists of former generations.

<sup>1</sup> In front of the Macellum (A in plan) there are apparently traces of an earlier colonnade than the marble one of the Empire: a series of small square lava column bases, their alignment being slightly at variance with that of the limestone step in front of them; and a portion

of a tufa column, partly hacked away to allow for marble veneering; this latter however is perhaps not in its original position.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. SPANO, in *Neapolis*, I, 1913, 346.



Fragments of Colossal Statues from Pompeii.

Fig. 1, Head of acrolithic statue. Naples Museum.



Fig. 2, Torso of statue of Jupiter. Naples Museum.

See pp. 68-70.





The Forum at Pompeii, from the South. (Alinari).

See pp. 67-76.



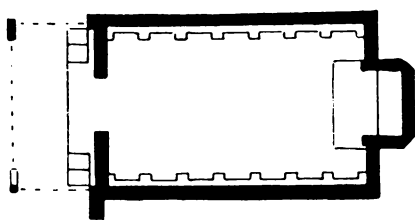


Fig. 1, The Curia at Pompeii : Plan.

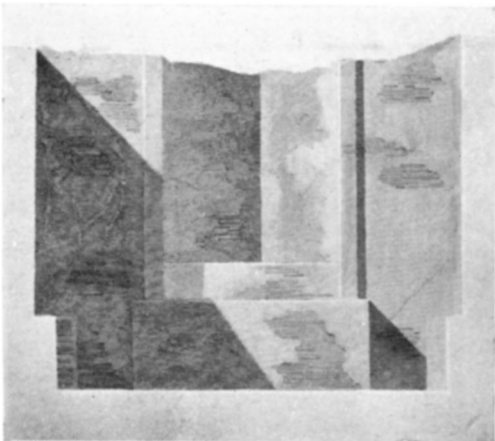


Fig. 3, The Curia at Pompeii : Cross Section.

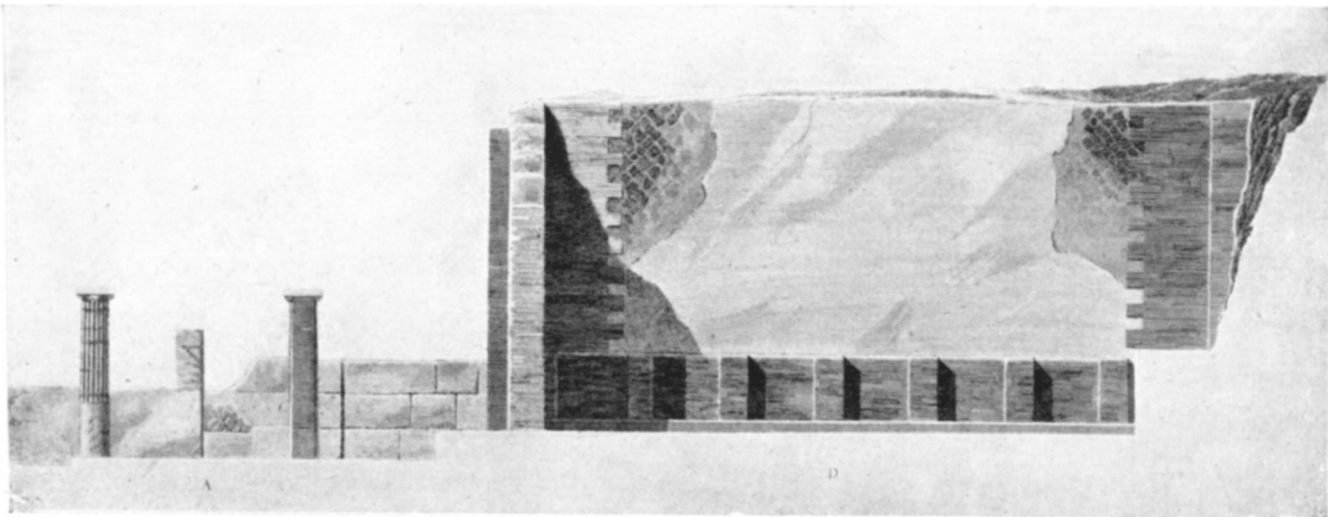


Fig. 2, The Curia at Pompeii: Longitudinal Section.

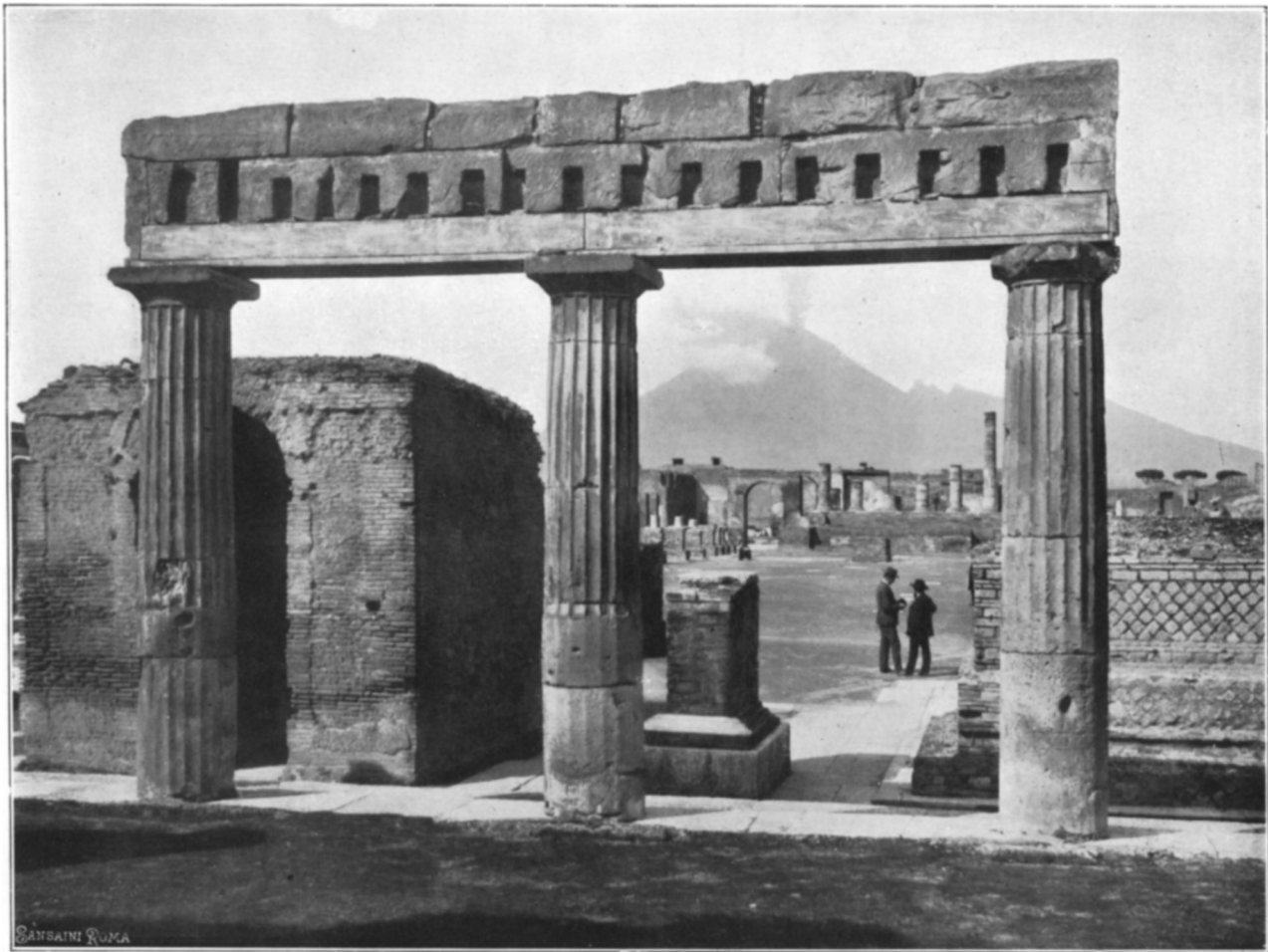


Fig. 4, The Forum at Pompeii, from the South, showing the *ianus*.

See pp. 67-76.