



THE WORLD OF POMPEII

Edited by

John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss

THE WORLD OF POMPEII

The World of Pompeii draws together the vast amount of data available on Pompeii and allows readers, for the first time, to see the buried cities of Campania in the round. Although there is increasing specialization in the subject area, leading scholars are brought together to provide a comprehensive overview that has not been available since Mau and Kelsey's *Pompeii: its life and art*, published over one hundred years ago.

The picture of the settlements under Vesuvius is being revised by the on-going archaeological work and this volume details life as lived by the elite to the lower classes, using the results of the latest discoveries. The volume is also accompanied by a CD that includes detailed maps of Pompeii. Highly illustrated and including a large number of site maps this volume provides a wide-ranging survey of the site and Pompeian studies. There is also a web-companion with *marginalia*, at <http://homepage.mac.com/pfoss/Pompeii/WorldofPompeii/>.

John J. Dobbins is Professor of Classical Art and Archaeology at the University of Virginia, USA.

Pedar W. Foss is Associate Professor of Classical Studies at DePauw University, USA.

THE ROUTLEDGE WORLDS

THE GREEK WORLD

Edited by Anton Powell

THE ROMAN WORLD

Edited by John Wacher

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

Edited by John Barton

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN WORLD

Edited by Philip F. Esler

THE CELTIC WORLD

Edited by Miranda Green

THE MEDIEVAL WORLD

Edited by Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson

THE REFORMATION WORLD

Edited by Andrew Pettegree

THE ENLIGHTENMENT WORLD

*Edited by Martin Fitzpatrick, Peter Jones,
Christa Knellwolf and Iain McCalman*

THE HINDU WORLD

Edited by Sushil Mittal and Gene Thursby

Forthcoming:

THE EGYPTIAN WORLD

Edited by Toby Wilkinson

THE BABYLONIAN WORLD

Edited by Gwendolyn Leick

THE VIKING WORLD

Edited by Stefan Brink and Neil Price

THE RENAISSANCE WORLD

Edited by John Jeffries Martin

THE ELIZABETHAN WORLD

Edited by Susan Doran and Norman Jones

THE OTTOMAN WORLD

Edited by Christine Woodhead

THE BYZANTINE WORLD

Edited by Paul Stephenson

THE WORLD OF POMPEII

Edited by

John J. Dobbins
and
Pedar W. Foss

First published 2007
by Routledge
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Simultaneously published in the UK
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2009.

To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge's collection of thousands of eBooks please go to www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk.

© John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN 0-203-86619-3 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN 10: 0-415-17324-8 (hbk)

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-17324-7 (hbk)

*In honor of August Mau and Francis W. Kelsey
and
John H. D'Arms*

CONTENTS

<i>List of illustrations</i>	x
<i>List of contributors</i>	xviii
<i>Preface</i>	xxvii
John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss	
<i>Maps</i>	xxxi

PART I: BEGINNINGS

1 City and country: an introduction <i>Pietro Giovanni Guzzo</i>	3
2 History and historical sources <i>Jean-Paul Descaudres</i>	9
3 Rediscovery and resurrection <i>Pedar W. Foss</i>	28
4 The environmental and geomorphological context of the volcano <i>Haraldur Sigurdsson</i>	43
5 Recent work on early Pompeii <i>Paolo Carafa</i>	63
6 The first sanctuaries <i>Stefano De Caro</i>	73
7 The urban development of the pre-Roman city <i>Herman Geertman</i>	82
8 Building materials, construction techniques and chronologies <i>Jean-Pierre Adam</i>	98
Appendix: a note on Roman concrete (<i>opus caementicium</i>) and other wall construction <i>John J. Dobbins</i>	114

PART II: THE COMMUNITY

9	Development of Pompeii's public landscape in the Roman period <i>Roger Ling</i>	119
10	Urban planning, roads, streets and neighborhoods <i>Carroll William Westfall</i>	129
11	The walls and gates <i>Cristina Chiaramonte</i>	140
12	The forum and its dependencies <i>John J. Dobbins</i>	150
13	Urban, suburban and rural religion in the Roman period <i>Alastair M. Small</i>	184
14	Entertainment at Pompeii <i>Christopher Parslow</i>	212
15	The city baths of Pompeii and Herculaneum <i>Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow</i>	224
16	The water system: supply and drainage <i>Gemma Jansen</i>	257

PART III: HOUSING

17	Domestic spaces and activities <i>Penelope M. Allison</i>	269
18	The development of the Campanian house <i>Andrew Wallace-Hadrill</i>	279
19	<i>Instrumentum domesticum</i> —a case study <i>Joanne Berry</i>	292
20	Domestic decoration: painting and the “Four Styles” <i>Volker Michael Strocka</i>	302
21	Domestic decoration: mosaics and stucco <i>John R. Clarke</i>	323
22	Real and painted (imitation) marble at Pompeii <i>J. Clayton Fant</i>	336
23	Houses of Regions I and II <i>Salvatore Ciro Nappo</i>	347
24	Select residences in Regions V and IX: early anonymous domestic architecture <i>Kees Peterse</i>	373
25	Intensification, heterogeneity and power in the development of <i>insula VI.1</i> <i>Rick Jones and Damian Robinson</i>	389

— *Contents* —

26	Rooms with a view: residences built on terraces along the edge of Pompeii (Regions VI, VII and VIII) <i>Rolf A. Tybout</i>	407
27	Residences in Herculaneum <i>Jens-Arne Dickmann</i>	421
28	Villas surrounding Pompeii and Herculaneum <i>Eric M. Moormann</i>	435

PART IV: SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

29	Shops and industries <i>Felix Pirson</i>	457
30	Inns and taverns <i>John DeFelice</i>	474
31	Gardens <i>Wilhelmina Jashemski</i>	487
32	The loss of innocence: Pompeian economy and society between past and present <i>Willem M. Jongman</i>	499
33	Epigraphy and society <i>James Franklin</i>	518
34	Pompeian women <i>Frances Bernstein</i>	526
35	The lives of slaves <i>Michele George</i>	538
36	Pompeian men and women in portrait sculpture <i>Katherine E. Welch</i>	550
37	The tombs at Pompeii <i>Sarah Cormack</i>	585
38	Victims of the cataclysm <i>Estelle Lazer</i>	607
39	Mining the early published sources: problems and pitfalls <i>Anne Laidlaw</i>	620
	<i>Glossary</i>	637
	<i>Index</i>	649

ILLUSTRATIONS

5.4	Pompeii: reconstructed plan of Samnite house under the House of the Wedding of Hercules	68
6.1	The Sanctuary of Apollo in the archaic period, reconstruction	74
6.2	Antefixes with the heads of Athena and Hercules from the temple in the Triangular Forum, Pompeii	75
6.3	Terracotta slab with Apollo and Olympos, from the House of the Golden Bracelet	77
7.1	Pompeii: reconstruction of the first town and of the main roads in the surrounding area	83
7.2	Pompeii: division of the urban area into nine regions	84
7.3	Plan of Pompeii interpreted according to the concept of rectangular and orthogonal design	85
7.4	Pompeii: first town, wall and gates; main roads of the agricultural area, later transformed into streets of the built-up town	87
7.5	First town; northern and central extensions of the built-up area	88
7.6	First town; northern, central and eastern extensions of the built-up area	89
7.7	Plan of <i>insulae</i> VI.13, VI.14 and V.1	92
7.8	<i>Ins.</i> V.1: configuration of the main property limits in AD 79	92
7.9	<i>Ins.</i> V.1: dimensions and articulation of the area; reconstruction of the original plots and property limits	92
7.10	<i>Ins.</i> VI.14: dimensions and articulation of the area	93
7.11	<i>Ins.</i> VI.14 and <i>ins.</i> V.1: reconstruction of the original partition into plots	94
8.1	House of the Surgeon	99
8.2	A wall of <i>opus quadratum</i> in Nocera tufa	100
8.3	Marble block roughed out in the quarry and probably intended for the building site of the Temple of Venus	102
8.4	Marble block bearing saw-marks, from the building site of the Temple of Venus	102
8.5	Fresco from the Villa San Marco at Stabiae showing a building site	103
8.6	Relief in the Museo Nazionale in Rome showing the single-axle type of wagon most widely used for haulage of heavy materials	103
8.7	Lifting-bosses not yet chiseled off, from the stylobate slabs of the portico of the Central Baths	104
8.8	Foundation blocks intended to support the orthostates of the Temple of Venus	104
8.9	An example of <i>opus africanum</i> or <i>opera a telaio</i> with limestone pillars and infill of <i>opus incertum</i> made of lava rock stone	105
8.10	Section of a masonry wall during its construction	106
8.11	Wall of the Odeion	107
8.12	A mixed construction incorporating <i>opus reticulatum</i> in various natural stones, with quoins in <i>opus mixtum</i> of rubble and brick	108
8.13	Section through a two-story building showing several materials and techniques	109
8.14	Detail of the ladder stair of shop (<i>Ins. Or.</i> II.9), Herculaneum	110
8.15	Staircase with treads and risers at (IV.20), Herculaneum	110

— *Illustrations* —

8.16	Traces of marks to set a wooden staircase in the corridor of the House of the Faun, Pompeii	110
8.17	The wall slots for the ends of floor joists for the upper floor of the House of the Silverware	111
8.18	Traces of a shed roof for the peristyle of the House of Oppius Gratus	111
8.19	Reconstruction of the carpentry of the <i>atrium</i> roof of the House of the Wooden Partition, Herculaneum	112
A8.1	Three main facings of <i>opus caementicium</i> walls	114
10.1	Pompeii's districts	130
10.2	Via Stabiana at its intersection with via della Fortuna–via di Nola, from southeast	131
10.3	Via Stabiana at its intersection with via degli Augustali, from south	132
10.4	Strada Stabiana with largo Stabiana and via dell'Abbondanza	133
10.5	View toward largo Stabiana	134
10.6	Via Marina from within the forum	135
10.7	Via del Foro	137
10.8	Forum. Overview from south	138
11.1	Houses of Region VIII on the lava spur at Pompeii	141
11.2	Samnite city wall in Sarno limestone near the Porta Nocera	142
11.3	Tower XI, or the Tower of Mercury, on the north side of the fortifications	144
11.4	Schematic plan of Pompeii in the third century BC	147
12.1	Pompeii forum. Plan	151
12.2	Pompeii forum. Balloon view	152
12.3	Forum. Overview from south	154
12.4	Forum. Overview from southwest	154
12.5	Temple of Jupiter, from southeast	156
12.6	Plan of <i>insula</i> VIII.3 (outline emphasized) with <i>Comitium</i> at northwest corner	157
12.7	<i>Comitium</i> and southeast corner of the colonnade of Popidius, from southwest	158
12.8	Basilica, from east	158
12.9	Macellum. Overview of interior, from northwest	160
12.10	Imperial Cult Building from southwest	161
12.11	Imperial Cult Building, reconstruction	162
12.12	Sanctuary of Augustus, from west	163
12.13	Eumachia Building, interior, from southwest	165
12.14	Eumachia Building, <i>chalcidicum</i> , from south	166
12.15	Forum. Hypothetical plan of the early forum	168
12.16	Forum. Plan highlighting the open area of the forum and the façade-wedges	170
13.1	Temple and precinct of Apollo, Pompeii	185
13.2	Painting from the House of the Wedding of Hercules/House of Mars and Venus showing a procession to the Temple of Venus, Pompeii	187

13.3	Temple of Isis, Pompeii	188
13.4	View east and down at the two small temples in the Area Sacra Suburbana in Herculaneum	190
13.5	<i>Lararium</i> in the House of the Vettii, Pompeii	192
14.1	View of the orchestra and <i>cavea</i> of the <i>theatrum tectum</i> in Pompeii	213
14.2	The amphitheater of Pompeii	215
14.3	The theater of Pompeii	216
14.4	The northern half of the <i>campus</i> or “Great Palaestra” of Pompeii	219
14.5	View of the <i>euripus</i> in the <i>viridarium</i> of the <i>Praedia</i> of Julia Felix in Pompeii	219
15.1	Stabian Baths, Pompeii, plan	228
15.2	Stabian Baths, Pompeii, plan	229
15.3	Stabian Baths, Pompeii, perspective drawing	230
15.4	Forum Baths, Pompeii, plan	232
15.5	Forum Baths, Pompeii, the <i>tepidarium</i>	233
15.6	Central Baths, Pompeii, plan	234
15.7	Republican Baths, Pompeii, plan	236
15.8	<i>Praedia</i> of Julia Felix, Pompeii, plan	238
15.9	<i>Palaestra/Sarno Complex</i> , Pompeii, plan of level 1	239
15.10	Sarno Baths, Pompeii, view of lower exterior of complex	240
15.11	Sarno Baths, Pompeii, plan of level 4	241
15.12	Baths of the Forum, Herculaneum, plan	244
15.13	Suburban Baths, Herculaneum, plan	245
16.1	Schematic presentation of a rainwater catchment system in an <i>atrium</i>	258
16.2	Settling box in peristyle gutter and perforated lead sheet in front of cistern entrance	259
16.3	Schematic presentation of the elements of the municipal water pipe system of Pompeii	260
16.4	Water tower and street fountain at the intersection of the via Stabiana and the via dell’Abbondanza at Pompeii	261
16.5	Lead distribution box with four pipes and four stopcocks, House of the Hanging Balcony, Pompeii	262
16.6	Niche toilet on an upper floor with drainpipe in the wall, Pompeii (V.1.30)	263
16.7	Flush toilet with raised tile floor in kitchen, House of Apollo, Pompeii	263
17.1	Hypothetical house plan labeled with Vitruvian terminology	270
17.2	Cupboard in front hall of the House of the Ceii	273
17.3	Kitchen in the House of the Vettii	275
18.1	View north from the <i>atrium</i> to the peristyle in the House of Pansa	284
18.2	The <i>atrium</i> of the House of the Lararium	284
19.1	Plan of <i>insula</i> I.9	295
19.2	Plan of the House of the Beautiful Impluvium	295
19.3	Artefacts from shop (I.9.2)	296
19.4	Artefacts from the House of the Beautiful Impluvium	297

— *Illustrations* —

20.1	House of Julia Felix, “zebra-pattern” decoration in passage near <i>atrium</i>	303
20.2	House of the Faun, northwest corner of the second peristyle	305
20.3	House of Ceres, <i>cubiculum</i>	309
20.4	Pompeii (VI.17 [<i>Ins. Occ.</i>] 41), <i>exedra</i>	310
20.5	Pompeii, Villa Imperiale, <i>cubiculum</i> , north wall	311
20.6	Pompeii, Villa Imperiale, <i>oecus</i> , south wall	312
20.7	House of the Priest Amandus, <i>triclinium</i> , north wall	313
20.8	<i>Thermopolium</i> , <i>triclinium</i> , east wall	314
20.9	House of the Moralist, <i>triclinium</i> , south wall	316
20.10	House of Queen Margherita, room (o)	317
20.11	House of the Ceii, garden, north wall	318
20.12	House of the Lararium, room (h), south wall	318
20.13	House of the Ceii, <i>cubiculum</i> , east wall	319
20.14	House of the Menander, room (19), south wall	319
21.1	Villa of the Mysteries, <i>cubiculum</i> (16), east and south alcoves	326
21.2	House of the Cryptoporticus, room (i), view of threshold band from south	327
21.3	House of the Menander, <i>caldarium</i> mosaic	329
21.4	House of Paquius Proculus, view of <i>atrium</i> and <i>fauces</i> from room above <i>tablinum</i>	330
21.5	Villa Imperiale, <i>oecus</i> (A), vault	332
21.6	House of the Menander, <i>exedra</i> (24)	333
22.1	Isodomic panels in the <i>fauces</i> of the House of the Faun	337
22.2	<i>Atrium</i> pavement with marble inserts	339
22.3	<i>Crustae</i> of Chian and Lucullan marbles in half-round niche, façade of the Eumachia Building	341
22.4	Monolithic threshold blocks in Carystian and gray marble, columns in Lesbos gray marble in the open courtyard, Central Baths	342
22.5	<i>Triclinium</i> in the <i>nymphaeum</i> of the House of the Golden Bracelet	343
23.1	Aerial view southwest of Regions I and II, along the via dell’Abbondanza	348
23.2	Reconstructions of the schemata for dividing <i>insulae</i> in Regions I and II into regular lots	349
23.3	Plan of the Caupona of Sotericus	351
23.4	Fresco depicting a <i>lararium</i> , Caupona of Sotericus	352
23.5	Plan of House (I.14.11–14)	353
23.6	Room (34) in House (I.14.11–14), with Fourth-Style wall decoration	354
23.7	<i>Triclinium</i> (13) in House (I.14.11–14), with Third-Style wall decoration	355
23.8	Plan of the House of the Citharist	356
23.9	Bronze statue of Apollo Citharoedus found in the peristyle in the House of the Citharist	357
23.10	Fresco depicting seaside landscape from the architrave of peristyle in the House of the Citharist	358
23.11	Plan of the <i>Praedia</i> of Julia Felix	360

23.12	Fresco showing the west side of the city forum, from entryway (24) to the portico in the <i>Praedia</i> of Julia Felix	361
23.13	View northwest of the <i>euripus</i> and portico in the <i>Praedia</i> of Julia Felix	362
23.14	Plan of the House of Loreius Tiburtinus	363
23.15	Fresco of the Fourth Style in <i>oecus</i> (f) of the House of Loreius Tiburtinus	364
23.16	View south at the long <i>euripus</i> in the House of Loreius Tiburtinus	365
23.17	Plan of the House of Marine Venus	366
23.18	View west in portico (8) of the House of Marine Venus	367
23.19	Plan of the House of the Menander	368
23.20	View down north at the peristyle and <i>tablinum</i> (8) in the House of the Menander	369
23.21	Detail of the fresco decorating the <i>pluteus</i> at the base of the peristyle in the House of the Menander	370
24.1	Compositions of types A, B and C mortars and <i>opus incertum</i>	376
24.2	Ground plan of (V.4.c) showing the initial construction period	379
24.3	Ground plan of (IX.1.29) showing the initial construction period	380
24.4	House (IX.1.29), <i>cubiculum</i> (2), east wall (inner side of the façade)	382
24.5	Ground plans of (VI.11.12) and (VI.11.13) showing the initial construction period	384
25.1	<i>Insula</i> VI.1 at the time of the eruption in AD 79	390
25.2	The fourth-century BC wall and toilet feature from beneath Inn (VI.1.4)	391
25.3	The early <i>impluvium</i> from the House of the Surgeon	391
25.4	The initial house layout of the House of the Surgeon and the House of the Vestals	392
25.5	The developing <i>insula</i> during the second century BC	394
25.6	The plaster-lined industrial tanks from workshop (VI.1.5)	395
25.7	Examples from the Social War missile assemblage	396
25.8	The destruction of the northern end of <i>insula</i> VI.1 caused by the Sullan bombardment	396
25.9	The northern sector of <i>insula</i> VI.1 during the first century BC	397
25.10	The mosaic threshold from the Vico di Narciso <i>atrium</i> in the House of the Vestals	399
25.11	The decorative water system in the House of the Vestals	399
25.12	The buildings destroyed during the construction of the Shrine to the <i>Lares Augusti</i>	400
25.13	Postholes in the final phase floor surface of the House of the Surgeon	402
25.14	The marble-topped counter in the Bar of Acisculus	403
26.1	House of M. Fabius Rufus: view from the west	409
26.2	House of M. Fabius Rufus: Second-Style and Fourth-Style paintings in room (71) (c.45–40 BC)	410
26.3	House of Joseph II: view from the south	413

— *Illustrations* —

26.4	House of Joseph II and adjacent houses: view from the south. (a) mid-first century BC; (b) mid-first century AD	414
26.5	House of Joseph II: plan of the successive stories	415
27.1	Samnite House in Herculaneum, <i>atrium</i> with colonnade	424
27.2	House of the Wooden Partition, view east into the <i>atrium</i>	425
27.3	Western side with the House of the Mosaic Atrium, House of the Stags and House of the Gem	427
27.4	House of the Hotel, Second-Style decoration in the baths	428
27.5	House of the Stags, view from room (15) to the east	430
27.6	House of <i>Opus Craticium</i> , isometric view	432
28.1	Map of the villas in the Pompeian <i>suburbium</i>	436–8
28.2	Part of the <i>centuriatio</i> north of the city before 80 BC	439
28.3	Herculaneum, Villa of the Papyri, plan	440–1
28.4	Boscoreale, Villa in contrada la Regina, plan	442
28.5	Boscoreale, Villa in contrada la Regina, overview	444
28.6	Herculaneum, Villa of the Papyri, new excavations	449
29.1	Pompeii. <i>Tabernae</i> II.1.4–6 from the northwest	458
29.2	Pompeii. Western third of <i>insula</i> VIII.4 showing the House of the Postumii	459
29.3a	Pompeii. House of the Oven	460
29.3b	Shop sign from Pompeii	461
29.3c	Mill from Pompeii	461
29.3d	Mill from Pompeii, restored cross-section	461
29.3e	Oven in the House of the Oven, cross-section	461
29.3f	Kneading machine: plan and cross-section from bakery at the rear of the House of Laocoon	462
29.4a	Pompeii, <i>Fullonica</i>	464
29.4b	Wall painting from <i>Fullonica</i> : treading the fabric	465
29.4c	Wall painting from <i>Fullonica</i> : a customer inspecting the cloth; brushing the fabric; a rack for bleaching with sulfur	465
29.4d	Wall painting from <i>Fullonica</i> : fuller's press	466
30.1	Taberna of Fortunata, view southeast through the service counter at no. 20	475
31.1	Garden painting, House of Marine Venus	488
31.2	Garden of Polybius. Plan with ladder	489
31.3	House of the Wedding of Alexander	491
31.4	House of the Wedding of Alexander, view east	492
31.5	Plan of the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis	493
31.6	Large Vineyard. Plan	494
31.7	Garden of Hercules, view toward the east	495
34.1	Maenad cradling the baby god Dionysus, from <i>cubiculum</i> (5) of the House of the Postumii	528
34.2	Statue dedicated to Eumachia	531
34.3	Painting from the west wall of <i>cubiculum</i> (5) in the House of Obellius Firmus, showing a young woman holding an offering	534
35.1	Kitchen shrine painting depicting a <i>familia</i> , from House (I.13.2)	541
35.2	View of basins in the <i>Fullonica</i> of Stephanus	542

— *Illustrations* —

35.3	View into interior corridor of <i>lupanar</i> (VII.12.18–20), flanked by cubicles	544
36.1	Genealogical chart of the Julio-Claudians	552
36.2a–c	Bronze equestrian statue from atop the so-called Arch of Caligula	553
36.3a–c	Statue of M. Holconius Rufus	556
36.4a–c	Portrait of Eumachia from the Edifice of Eumachia	559
36.5a–c	Female portrait statue from the Macellum	560
36.6a–c	Male portrait statue from the Macellum	563
36.7	Herm portrait of C. Norbanus Sorex from the Temple of Isis	564
36.8a–b	Male bust of togate statue from the House of the Gilded Cupids	566
36.9a–b	Bronze bust of a man from the south <i>anta</i> of <i>tablinum</i> (14) in the House of the Citharist	567
36.10a–b	Bronze bust of a woman from the north <i>anta</i> of <i>tablinum</i> (14) in the House of the Citharist	568
36.11a–b	Herm portrait of L. Caecilius Iucundus from the entrance to <i>tablinum</i> (i) of his house	569
36.12a–b	Herm portrait of Vesonius Primus from <i>tablinum</i> (i) of the House of Orpheus	571
36.13	Male portrait statue from the façade of <i>aedicula</i> tomb	574
36.14a–b	Female portrait statue from the façade of <i>aedicula</i> tomb	575
37.1	Plan of Porta Ercolano necropolis, Pompeii	587
37.2	View of <i>schola</i> tomb of Aesquillia Polla, Porta di Nola necropolis	588
37.3	View of <i>PNoc</i> 13 OS—tomb of Octavii, Porta Nocera necropolis	589
37.4	View of <i>PNoc</i> 7 OS—tomb of the Flavii, Porta Nocera necropolis	590
37.5	Altar tombs, Porta Ercolano necropolis	591
37.6a	View of basalt stelae (<i>columellae</i>), Porta Nocera necropolis	593
37.6b	View of inscribed limestone stele (<i>columella</i>), Porta Ercolano necropolis	593
37.7	View of <i>aedicula</i> tomb with seated statues, Porta Nocera necropolis	596
37.8	View of tomb of the Vesonii, Porta Nocera necropolis	598
38.1	Injected cement casts of bodies found at Pompeii in 1989	608
38.2	A healed depressed fracture of the left parietal bone of the skull	611
38.3	A healed depressed fracture of the left parietal bone of the skull	611
38.4	Inner table of the frontal bone of a skull, showing <i>Hyperostosis frontalis interna</i>	612

TABLES

17.1	Summary of activities represented in distribution patterns of household assemblages across room types	272
20.1	A chronological survey of painting styles	306–7
33.1	The municipal government of Roman Pompeii	522

CONTRIBUTORS

Jean-Pierre Adam is an Architect-Archaeologist and presently teaches at the École du Louvre, the École de Chaillot (préparation Monuments Historiques), the Université de Roma III, and the École polytechnique de Lausanne. He directed the Paris bureau of the Institut de Recherche sur l'Architecture Antique (IRAA) of CNRS, from 1972 to 2003. He taught at the Université de PARIS IV until 2002 and at the Université du Liban until 2004. His research activities include archaeological projects and publications on Roman Italy, the Greek world, Pharaonic Egypt and the history of construction techniques. He also works in collaboration with the Musée du Louvre and the Musée du Moyen Age.

Penelope M. Allison has taught ancient history and archaeology at the University of Sydney, Australian National University and University of Sheffield. She has held research fellowships at the University of Sydney and in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge. At present she is a Lecturer in the School of Archaeology and Ancient History at the University of Leicester. Her current research interests concern gender and space in the Roman world and household archaeology in western New South Wales, Australia. Her major publications include: *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (1999), *Casa della Caccia Antica*, Häuser in Pompeji, vol. 11 (2002) and *Pompeian Households: an analysis of the material culture* (2004).

Frances Bernstein is an independent consultant living in the Washington, DC area. Her Ph.D. in Greek and Roman History is from the University of Maryland. Dr Bernstein's dissertation focused on the role of women at Pompeii. She served for four years as Principal Investigator for the Earthwatch Project at Pompeii, a house-by-house study of *lararia* and the role of women in domestic religion. She currently directs the Cumae-Isis project, an excavation of the so-called "Temple of Isis" at Cumae, Italy. She has taught at the Catholic University of America, American University, the University of Maryland and Mary Washington University.

Joanne Berry is an Associate Lecturer in the Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Wales, Swansea, UK. She also works for the Classical Press

of Wales. She gained her Ph.D. from the University of Reading in 1997. Her dissertation was a study of the social and economic organization of the Roman house, based on the evidence of domestic artifacts found in the houses of Pompeii.

Paolo Carafa is Associate Professor and has been teaching the Archaeology of Magna Grecia at the University of Calabria since 1999 and Classical Archaeology at the University of Rome, *La Sapienza*, since 2001. Carafa has been involved in coordinating scientific research teams with the aim of reconstructing the topography and landscapes of the centers and territories being investigated through different phases of antiquity. Carafa's interests also include artistic production in the Hellenistic period, Latin epigraphy, archaic architecture in mid-Thyrrenian Italy, and romanization of Campania, mainly in the city of Pompeii, and in Magna Grecia.

Christina Chiaramonte is Associate Professor of pre-Roman Italian Civilization at the Università degli Studi di Milano. She excavated at Pompeii in the 1980s and published her studies on the Etruscan and Samnite phases of the Vesuvian city. For many years she has taken part in excavations of the Etruscan city of Tarquinia and she has published the relevant results. Presently she is studying the necropoleis of Campalanno.

John R. Clarke is Annie Laurie Howard Regents Professor of Art History at the University of Texas, Austin. He is author of five books on the art and culture of ancient Rome: *Roman Black-and-White Figural Mosaics* (1979), *The Houses of Roman Italy: ritual, space, and decoration, 100 BC–AD 250* (1991), *Looking at Lovemaking: constructions of sexuality in Roman art 100 BC–AD 250* (1998), *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: visual representation and viewers in Italy, 100 BC–AD 315* (2003); *Roman Sex, 100 BC–AD 250* (2003). Among his seventy articles and chapters are studies of style and chronology of Roman wall paintings and mosaics; explorations of iconography; work on gender and sexuality in the ancient world; and analyses of visual art 1960 to the present. He is currently completing a book entitled *Looking at Laughter: humor, power, and transgression in Roman visual culture, 100 BC–AD 315*.

Sarah Cormack received her Ph.D. from Yale University, and has taught at the University of Michigan and Duke University. She is currently an Adjunct Faculty Member in the Art Department at Webster University, Vienna. Her study of monumental tombs of the Roman period in Turkey has recently been published, *The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor* (2004).

Stefano De Caro teaches Ancient Topography at the Università Federico II di Napoli. He is also Regional Director for Cultural Property and Natural Resources in Campania. He has conducted excavations and studies in Molise and Campania, in particular at Pompeii, being interested in topography, urbanism, rustic and luxury villas, and ancient painting. De Caro has published over a hundred articles, monographs and exhibition catalogues.

John DeFelice is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Maine at Presque Isle. He completed his doctoral research at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio after

completing his undergraduate studies at Gordon College in Wenham, Massachusetts. His dissertation was titled “The women of Pompeian inns: a study of law, occupation and status” (published as *Roman Hospitality*, 2001). The book is presently in revision for a second edition.

Jean-Paul Descœudres received his Ph.D. at the University of Basel. He is currently Ordinary Professor for Classical Archaeology at the University of Geneva and Honorary Professor in the School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry at the University of Sydney, and Editor-in-chief of *Mediterranean Archaeology*. He was Director of the Australian Expedition to Pompeii from 1978 till 1986 and Director of the Genevan “Pompei extra muros” excavations since 1998.

Jens-Arne Dickmann is a Senior Lecturer at the Institut für Altertumswissenschaften at Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg (Germany). He earned his Ph.D. at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich. In his dissertation, “*Domus frequentata. Anspruchsvolles Wohnen im pompejanischen Stadthaus*,” he explored the spatial organization of townhouses at Pompeii and their changes and re-buildings from the second century BC onwards until AD 79. Since then he has worked on the antiquities collection of the Earls of Pembroke at Wilton House (UK) and on the history of childhood in ancient Greece. On behalf of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) at Rome starting in 1997 he directed, together with Felix Pirson, the international excavation, documentation and conservation project in the Casa dei Postumii at Pompeii.

John J. Dobbins is Professor of Classical Art and Archaeology at the University of Virginia. He has excavated in Spain, Greece, Syria, and Italy where his current research focuses on the Hellenistic theater at Morgantina, Sicily, and on Pompeii where, for over ten years, he has been the Director of the Pompeii Forum Project (<http://pompeii.virginia.edu>). He is a Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities at the University of Virginia and has published on Pompeii, Roman sculpture, lamps, a Roman villa in Tuscany, the Athenian Acropolis, and houses and mosaics at Antioch. He also lectures widely for the Archaeological Institute of America and has been the Charlottesville President of the AIA for more than twenty years.

J. Clayton Fant is Professor of Classical Studies and Professor of History at the University of Akron. He has also taught at the University of Michigan and Wellesley College. After Williams College he earned his Ph.D. at the University of Michigan; he is a Fellow of the American Academy in Rome. In the 1980s he studied the imperially owned marble quarry at Dokimeion in central Turkey, leading to a number of publications. More recently he has studied the marble yards of Rome and continues to explore the use of marble at Pompeii with traditional methods as well as in collaboration with experts in provenience. He is working on a book with the provisional title “Marble and the Caesars.”

Pedar W. Foss is Associate Professor of Classical Studies at DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana. He has carried out fieldwork in Greece, Italy, Tunisia and Turkey. His publications concern domestic life at Pompeii, archaeological survey and

Geographic Information Systems (<http://cgma.depauw.edu>). He has also edited for the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* and, as of 2008, the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

James Franklin is Professor of Classical Studies at Indiana University. While completing his Ph.D. at Duke University, he was named a Fellow of the American Academy in Rome, and his dissertation eventually became a volume in its Papers and Monographs series. His research interests, largely in the political life of ancient Pompeii, have been supported by awards from the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Endowment for the Arts, as well as The University of Michigan and Indiana University. He has several times directed Summer Sessions of the Vergilian Society of America at Cuma, and he has twice served as the Professor-In-Charge of the Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies, Rome. He is the author of three books and numerous articles on various aspects of ancient Pompeii.

Herman Geertman is the Director Emeritus of the Royal Dutch Institute at Rome and Emeritus Chair of Classical Archaeology at the University of Leiden. He received his MA and Ph.D. in Classical Archaeology at the University of Utrecht. His fields of interest and publications include Late Roman and Early Medieval Rome, especially the Christianization of the City; theory and practice of Classical architecture, especially Vitruvius; Hellenistic and Roman town planning, especially the development of Pompeii; and Theoretical Archaeology.

Michele George is Associate Professor of Classics at McMaster University in Hamilton, Canada. She is a graduate of the University of Toronto and McMaster University. She has published on various aspects of Roman domestic architecture at Pompeii, in Italy, and other parts of the Roman empire, including as editor of *The Roman Family in the Empire* (2005). She is currently working on an analysis of Roman slavery and material culture.

Pietro Giovanni Guzzo has been the Director of the Archaeological Superintendency at Pompeii since 1995 and since 1998 the President of the Board of Directors in the same Superintendency. Prior to this, he served several Superintendencies in Italy in various capacities. As Archaeological Inspector at the Superintendency of Calabria he conducted excavations at Sibaris and directed the recovery of the Riace bronzes. He is a member of numerous learned societies and has been elected to various positions within the Ministry of Culture. He has taught at several institutions for higher learning in Italy, and has published widely on Italic archaeology, Magna Grecia and Pompeii.

Gemma Jansen has been researching the water systems and sanitation within the Roman towns of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia. In addition, she has recently finished research on the most beautiful and spectacular toilets of the Roman empire: those of the emperor Hadrian at his villa near Tivoli, Italy. Currently she is participating in a large-scale project of the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Vienna concerning the water supply lines of Ephesus, Turkey.

Wilhelmina Jashemski is Professor Emerita in History at the University of Maryland, where she taught for almost thirty-five years. She is the pioneer of the field of garden

archaeology, and began the first systematic and scientific studies of the flora, fauna and environment of the Vesuvian area, where she began working in 1961. Her work on gardens has now spanned the entire Roman world. Her achievements were marked by the Archaeological Institute of America's Gold Medal for Distinguished Archaeological Achievement in 1996.

Rick Jones is a Reader in Roman Archaeology at the University of Bradford, where he was previously a Senior Lecturer and Lecturer, following studies at the Universities of Manchester and London. He has co-directed excavations at Pompeii with Damian Robinson since 1994. He co-edited *Sequence and space in Pompeii* (1997) with Sara Bon. Previously he led fieldwork in Britain, Spain and France. His research focuses are ancient urbanism and social interactions on the Roman frontier.

Willem M. Jongman teaches ancient history at the University of Groningen. His *The Economy and Society of Pompeii* (1988) was a noted attempt to reintegrate Pompeii into contemporary debate on ancient economy and society. It was awarded several important prizes, and was recently named as one of the most notable books on the ancient economy of the last two centuries. His most recent research has involved the Roman standard of living. He is currently writing a book on the growth and decline of Italian urban culture and society.

Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow is Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Classical Studies at Brandeis University. She holds an MA in Latin and Greek and a Ph.D. in Classical Art and Archaeology from the University of Michigan. She is the author of *The Sarno Bath Complex: Architecture in Pompeii's Last Years* (1990), and editor and contributor to *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology* (1997 and 2000), and *Water Use and Hydraulics in the Roman Empire* (2001).

Anne Laidlaw is Professor Emerita of Classics at Hollins College. She received her MA and Ph.D. in Classical Archaeology at Yale University. She excavated in the House of Sallust in Pompeii to clarify the patterns of Roman First-Style wall paintings analogous to those found at Cosa, a study that resulted in *The First Style in Pompeii, Painting and Architecture* (1985). In 2005 she resumed her study of the House of Sallust as a member of the University of Perugia team led by Professor Filippo Coarelli. She has published a number of articles on Roman painting, co-authored *Karthago II* (1997) and has lectured widely.

Estelle Lazer is a freelance archaeologist. Her Ph.D., from the Department of Anatomy and Histology at the University of Sydney, was based on an analysis of the human skeletal remains from Pompeii. She is an Honorary Research Associate in Archaeology, Anatomy and Architecture at the University of Sydney. She has studied human remains from a number of sites in various countries, including Italy and Cyprus. She teaches undergraduate courses in archaeology and anatomy at the Universities of Sydney and New South Wales. Her other major research area is Sub-Antarctic and Antarctic historic sites. She is currently involved in the development of a GIS-linked database of sites and artifacts for the Australian Antarctic Division.

Roger Ling is Professor of Classical Art and Archaeology in the University of Manchester. His specialist interest is Roman archaeology. In addition to excavations in Britain and survey work in Turkey, he has directed a project in the Insula of the Menander at Pompeii, in course of publication as a five-volume monograph. He is also the author of general books on Pompeii, on ancient mosaics, and on Roman painting.

Eric M. Moormann holds the Chair of Classical Archaeology at Radboud University, Nijmegen (The Netherlands) and also reads at Amsterdam University. His Ph.D., published in 1988, discussed the representation of sculpture in wall paintings. He has published extensively on mural painting from the Vesuvian area, Rome and Ostia. A catalogue of the classical sculptures in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam came out in 2000. A monograph on Nero's Golden House at Rome, written in collaboration with P. G. P. Meyboom, is due shortly. He currently co-directs a restoration and research project in the *hierothesion* of Kommagene at Nemrud Dagi (Eastern Turkey). Another topic of interest is the reception history of antiquity in Western culture, especially that of Pompeii.

Salvatore Ciro Nappo is a classical archaeologist and a graduate of the Università Federico II di Napoli under Prof. A. De Franciscis in 1981. He subsequently attended the Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia Classica, and in 1986 completed an advanced degree in the integrated conservation of cultural patrimony. His scientific interests lie primarily in the areas of Roman architecture and painting. He has directed excavations at Napoli (Palazzo Corigliano), Irpinia (Aequum Ticum), Stabiae (Villa Ariadne) and Pompei (*insulae* I.14, I.16, I.21, I.22, Murecine). He has also been responsible for the restoration of houses and wall decoration in Regions I and II at Pompeii. Among his publications are: *Pompei—Guida alla città sepolta* (1998), ... *Mitis Sarni Opes: gli scavi di Murecine* (2000) and “La decorazione parietale dell’Hospitium dei Sulpici in località Murecine a Pompei” (MEFRA 113, 2001).

Christopher Parslow is Professor of Classical Studies and Archaeology at Wesleyan University. He is interested in all aspects of the sites buried by the eruption of Vesuvius. His first book, *Rediscovering Antiquity: Karl Weber and the Excavations of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae* (Cambridge 1995) explored the life of Karl Weber, the Swiss military engineer who supervised the Bourbon-era excavations at those sites, and his contributions to the history of archaeology. He is currently completing a monographic study of the Praedia Iuliae Felicis (Regio II.4.1–12) in Pompeii.

Kees Peterse is the Head of PANSA BV, a scientifically based company dedicated to the reconstruction of Roman architecture. His graduation from the Polytechnic at 's-Hertogenbosch was followed by Ph.D. research in Classical Archaeology at the Radboud University of Nijmegen, focussing on early masonry techniques and early domestic architecture in Pompeii. Anticipating his current position, he was director of Peterse Architectuur BV, founded by his father. During 1997–98 he was a visiting lecturer at the University of Texas at Austin. He currently works on the virtual reconstruction of Roman Nijmegen, both the buildings and their settings. The fruits of his efforts are on display in various museums.

Felix Pirson is currently Head of the Istanbul Department of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, after a term as a “Wissenschaftlicher Assistent” at the Institute of Classical Archaeology at Leipzig University. After degrees from Munich University and the Faculty of Classics at Cambridge (UK), he obtained his Ph.D. for a dissertation on rented apartments at Pompeii and Herculaneum. He has worked with Jens-Arne Dickmann on the publication of a jointly directed research project at Pompeii, which was conducted by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) and an international team of archaeologists, scientists and conservators between 1997–2002. His other fields of research include images of war in antiquity and the archaeology of Pergamum.

Damian Robinson is the Director of the Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology and a William Golding Fellow at Brasenose College Oxford. Prior to this he was a Lecturer in Classical Archaeology at the University of Oxford and a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow in Roman Archaeology at the University of Bradford, where he carried out research into the social and economic development of Pompeii. His Ph.D. was also from the University of Bradford and involved a spatial analysis of the urban fabric of Pompeii. With Rick Jones, he directs the Anglo American Project in Pompeii.

Haraldur Sigurdsson is a volcanologist of Icelandic origin, and Professor of Oceanography at the University of Rhode Island. He has conducted research on most of the major volcanic eruptions in historic time, with a particular emphasis on the impact of large explosive eruptions on human cultures, such as the eruptions of Tambora in 1815 and Krakatau in 1883. His current research focuses on the great Bronze Age eruption of Santorini in the Aegean Sea, and its impact on the Minoan culture. He began studies on the Vesuvius eruption of AD 79 in 1976.

Alastair M. Small is an Honorary Fellow in Classics at the University of Edinburgh and Professor Emeritus of the University of Alberta. He has been working for more than forty years on the archaeology and history of South Italy in the Iron Age and Roman periods, on which he has numerous publications. He is currently directing a project of excavation, geophysics and field survey in a Roman imperial estate at Vagnari in Puglia. He has taught the archaeology of Pompeii for many years, and published a study of the imperial cult in the Macellum.

Volker Michael Strocka is Ordinary Professor of Classical Archaeology at the Archäologisches Institut of the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität of Freiburg, Germany. He studied at Munich, Basel, Freiburg and Paris, and received his doctorate at Freiburg in 1965. From 1975 to 1981 he was First Director of the headquarters of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut at Berlin. He has directed long-term documentation and excavation projects at Ephesos (wall paintings and the re-erection of the Library of Celsus) and Pompeii (the “Häuser in Pompeji” series), and shorter ones in Thugga (Tunisia) and Nysa (Turkey). His interests and publications are manifold: ancient sculpture, Roman architecture and wall paintings, ancient libraries, and Greek and Roman art history.

Rolf A. Tybout is the author of a monograph on first-century BC Roman architectural wall painting (“Second Style”) based on his 1989 Leiden dissertation. His subsequent publications include studies on Vitruvius, the social significance of Roman wall

painting and Greek funerary inscriptions. He is also active in the field of musicology, publishing articles on the German composer Hans Pfitzner. He is currently working in the field of Greek epigraphy and is one of the editors of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill is the Director of the British School at Rome and Professor of Classics at the University of Reading. Among his numerous publications on the Roman world, his 1994 book *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* won the James R. Wiseman award. He co-directs with Prof. Michael Fulford a project on Pompeii Regio I Insula 9. He is also director of the Herculaneum Conservation Project.

Katherine E. Welch is Associate Professor of Fine Arts at the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University, with her Ph.D. from the same institution. A specialist in Roman architecture, sculpture and painting, she is the winner of a Rome Prize and has been a Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Her publications range from studies of the Roman amphitheater to those of the art and architecture of Italy (particularly Rome), Greece and Asia Minor.

Carroll William Westfall came to Notre Dame in 1998 as Frank Montana Professor and Chairman of the School of Architecture, serving as chairman until 2002. Earlier he taught at Amherst College, the University of Illinois in Chicago, and, after 1982, at the University of Virginia. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University. His initial work led to numerous articles and a book, *In This Most Perfect Paradise* (1974), a study of Early Renaissance Rome. His more recent studies of the relationship between the history, theory and practice of architecture are found in his contribution to the 1991 book *Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism* written with Robert Jan van Pelt. His current focus is on tradition and classicism in architecture and the American city and the architect's capacity to nourish the Christian faith.

P R E F A C E

John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss

For whom is this book intended? Our audience is the same as that of Mau and Kelsey, or at least the same as the Mau–Kelsey audience that we have observed during the last thirty years: scholars (especially Pompeii scholars); college and university teachers; students of archaeology; students in general enrolled in the ubiquitous courses on Pompeii taught at colleges and universities around the world; and the general public interested in learning more about Pompeii. This does not mean, however, that we present this book as “the new Mau:” far from it. August Mau’s *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* (*Pompeii: its life and art*, as translated by Francis W. Kelsey) was a unique creation of a single pioneer scholar, and a product of the late nineteenth century, just as our *The World of Pompeii* is a unique assemblage of essays by numerous scholars working at Pompeii in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In many ways, this volume is as much an introduction to Pompeian studies as a study of Pompeii.

It was very difficult to produce this book, and far more time-consuming than we had imagined during the planning stages. Many delays were due to the nature of the publication, but many were due to the editors. We regret the former, and apologize for the latter. In the end, we hope that authors and readers alike will appreciate the good qualities of this very special book, and not dwell on the delays. This project began in the late 1990s because a suitably comprehensive, topically oriented, historically organized, and up-to-date treatment of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the other sites buried by Vesuvius did not exist in English. At the time, a number of useful studies had just been published.¹ However, the second edition of Mau and Kelsey, published in 1902, was still being used in classrooms, which spoke to the quality of its panoptic vision.

August Mau was born in Kiel in 1840; he died in Rome in 1909. Working out of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome, Mau was introduced to Pompeii at a time when research at the site was becoming internationalized. His first publication, concerned with wall painting, appeared in 1873, and his record began to flourish in 1874, breaking through with his work on Overbeck’s fourth edition of *Pompeji* (1884).² That encyclopedic treatment inspired his own effort fifteen years later. It was commissioned, as his own preface states, first in English. The English translation was accomplished by Francis W. Kelsey, who was born in Ogden, New York, in 1858

and died in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1927. Kelsey had been Professor of Latin Language and Literature at the University of Michigan for ten years before *Pompeii: its life and art* came out. He went on to enjoy one of the most distinguished careers in classical archaeology. Kelsey was working on his own grand treatment of Pompeii at the time of his death; it may be apt in some small way that both editors began their careers as graduate students in the building that bears his name, the Kelsey Museum of Art and Archaeology at Michigan.³

Mau's ability to synthesize the information available to him in a detailed and compelling manner has proved hard to match. In addition, given the advances made in the century since Mau's publication, it seems well-nigh impossible for one or even two individuals to comparably distill over 250 years of work in multiple languages, at the oldest continually excavated set of sites in the world, using about the same number of pages that Mau and Kelsey had. Our approach had to be different. We decided to invite scholars from around the world (Australia, Canada, England, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the United States) to contribute chapters which, when compiled, might form the book we wished to have on our shelves as the “first to consult.”

Multiple voices speak about these sites (sometimes in concert, at other times in contradiction), and we have attempted as best we can to knit them together coherently yet distinctively. Any disagreement that can be detected across chapters is not altogether undesirable; these sites are too large, too old and too complex for a simple and convenient picture to be drawn from them of life in ancient Italy. The reader is encouraged to consider the strengths and weaknesses of all the arguments in relation to each other. Meanwhile, we have tried to ensure that references are sufficiently detailed to allow readers to pick their way through that long tradition of scholarship and reach the sources of the evidence if they so choose. The labyrinthine problems of Pompeian scholarship are, in fact, addressed in the final chapter.

The book is divided into four sections. John Dobbins edited “Beginnings” (Chapters 1–8) and “The Community” (Chapters 9–16), as well as Chapter 39. The sections on “Housing” (Chapters 17–28) and “Society and Economy” (Chapters 29–38) were overseen by Pedar Foss. While these chapters may be read in order, and are arranged thematically for easy consultation, there are plenty of issues and key pieces of evidence that appear in several different chapters across the sections we have created. In order to facilitate reading the relationships between chapters, we have inserted many cross-references, which appear in this fashion: (cf. Jashemski, Ch. 31). Each chapter has its own set of bibliographical references in the endnotes, so that the sources most important to individual topics remain self-contained. As editors, we encouraged, but did not require, authors to provide bibliographies; many did provide them. As a result, each chapter is a self-contained unit, and we felt that a final comprehensive bibliography was unnecessary.

Citations use the “short title” format, meaning that once a source has been cited in full within a chapter, its next mention is made in the form of an author and/or abbreviated title. In almost all cases we have followed the system of abbreviations for periodicals, series and books set by the *American Journal of Archaeology*.⁴ We have abbreviated references to the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli collection as “MNN,” and abbreviations for ancient authors come from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn. “Public” inscriptions are capitalized; “private” *graffiti/dipinti* are italicized, although such distinctions can be difficult and seem arbitrary.

Major sites, buildings (in English), streets (in Italian) and city gates (in Italian) are labeled in Figures 12.1 and 28.1, and on the four maps following the Preface and on the CD. Because the sites are not oriented to cardinal points, directions can be confusing. For Pompeii, “Map North” is at the top. For Herculaneum (Map 4), it is at the left, although publications often use the top for “Map North.” This explains why the so-called *cardines* seem to run east–west, and the *insulae orientales* are at the south. *Caveat lector.* See Laidlaw, Ch. 39, Appendix 2, for map orientations in the early published sources.

For all buildings cited in the chapters, a street address is given which correlates to the large city plans of Pompeii and Herculaneum (Maps 3 and 4). In the former case, addresses are tripartite, consisting of the Region (I–IX), *insula* (city-block), and entrance number(s) (commas indicate multiple entrances) for the building on the street (except when a structure takes up an entire *insula*, in which case the address is bipartite). Several names for the same structures have often appeared in the literature; for a concordance to Pompeii, one can refer to H. B. Van der Poel (ed.), *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum, Pars II, Toponymy*, Rome, 1983. The numbering scheme for spaces within buildings at Pompeii follows Carratelli and Baldassarre, *Pitture e mosaici*, unless otherwise noted. In the case of Herculaneum, there are no “Regions,” and so addresses have only an *insula* and address number.

The editors wish to acknowledge first and foremost the excellent work of the authors and their patience over the long course of this volume’s gestation. While it is a desideratum in such a book to summarize satisfactorily the state of knowledge in a particular area, there is much in these chapters that is new, and we thank the authors for working to find a balance between outline and originality. We are also grateful to the translators of the non-English contributions; they made possible our ability to edit those chapters confidently while preserving the style and approach of each author.⁵ We are indebted to Pietro Giovanni Guzzo and the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei for providing plans of Pompeii and Herculaneum and for permission to publish Soprintendenza photographs and photographs taken by the authors. Appreciation is also well deserved by Richard Stoneman and Routledge, for their willingness to see the project through. And finally, we gratefully acknowledge the dedication of Sue Leaper and Florence Production in producing this book.

John Dobbins wishes to acknowledge the support given to the Pompeii Forum Project which, in turn, led to his collaboration with Pedar Foss on the present book: the Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities (IATH) at the University of Virginia; the National Endowment for the Humanities; the Ceres Foundation; and Gilbert and Judy Shelton. Scott Craver and Eric Field provided invaluable help with the maps. I am grateful to my wife, Kathy Dobbins, for her encouragement.

Pedar Foss wishes to mention his appreciation for a Semple Fellowship Grant from the University of Cincinnati in 1997, which helped get the project started, as well as a John and Janice Fisher Time-Out from DePauw University in 2004, which helped to push the project to completion.⁶ Finishing would not have been possible without the patient support of my wife, Rebecca Schindler, and the sublime distractions of my sons Simon and Jakob.

Finally, we would like to include in the dedication, John H. D’Arms, who we had hoped could contribute a chapter on “The public life of Pompeii,” and whose untimely passing during the creation of this volume left us all to mourn a great scholar, mentor

and friend. *Benemerenti*. From the beginning we had intended to dedicate this book to the memories of August Mau and Francis W. Kelsey. The inclusion of John D'Arms renders the dedication especially personal and poignant.⁷ We remember, too, Jos A. K. E. DeWaele, Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Nijmegen, who was killed in a minibus accident while en route to Pompeii in 2001.⁸ References to his work on the Doric temple in the Triangular Forum appear in several chapters.

NOTES

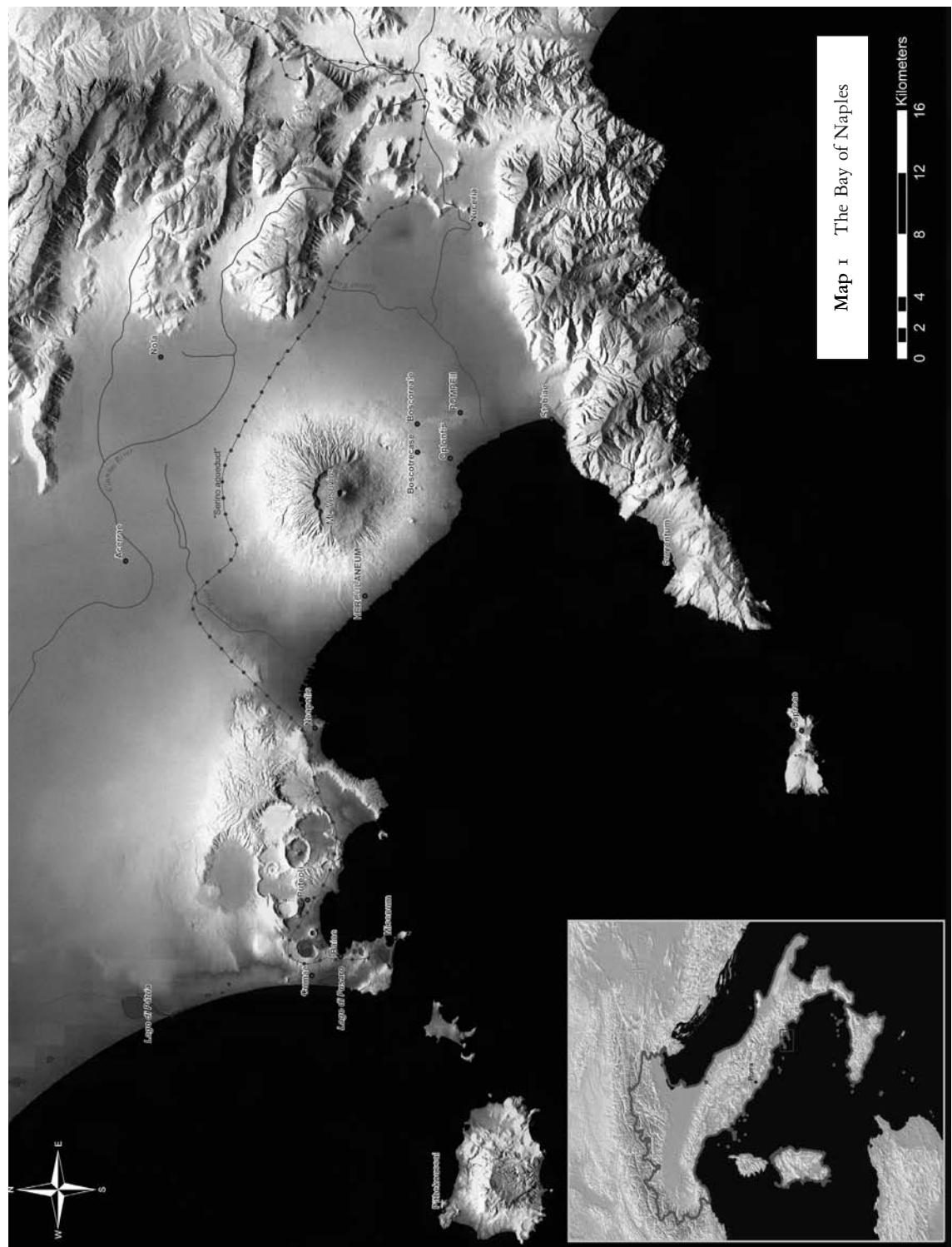
- 1 L. Eschebach, *Gebäudeverzeichnis und Stadtplan der antiken Stadt Pompeji*, Köln, 1993; W. F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius: Appendices*, New Rochelle, NY, 1993, vol. 2; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton, NJ, 1994; R. Laurence, *Roman Pompeii. Space and Society*, London, 1994; P. Zanker, *Pompeji. Stadtbild und Wobngeschmack*, Mainz am Rhein, 1995; C. Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity. Karl Weber and the Excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae*, Cambridge, 1995; R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), "Domestic space in the Roman world: Pompeii and beyond," *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Suppl. Ser. no. 22, 1997; S. E. Bon and R. Jones (eds), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, Oxbow Monograph no. 77, Oxford, 1997; G. P. Carratelli and I. Baldassarre (eds), *Pompei, pitture e mosaici*, 11 vols, Rome, 1990–2003.
- 2 A. Mau, "Osservazioni intorno alle decorazioni murali di Pompei," *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei*, Nuova serie, 1870 (1873), vol. 2, no. 19, coll. 386–95. See H. B. Van der Poel (ed.), *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum, Pars IV, Bibliography*, Rome, 1977, for listings of his publications.
- 3 M. D. Bridges, "Francis Willey Kelsey (1858–1927)," *Contexts for Classics*, <http://www.umich.edu/~cfc/kelsey.htm> (September 19, 2004).
- 4 The current list of *AJA* abbreviations is available online at: www.ajaonline.org/index.php?ptype=page&pid=8 (May 1, 2007).
- 5 The editors gratefully acknowledge the joint financial support of the Carl H. and Martha S. Lindner Center for Art History at the University of Virginia and the Faculty Development Program at DePauw University for providing a subvention to cover translation costs for the book.
- 6 At DePauw, Sara Robertson did much of the work on the glossary, Jinyu Liu made several essential suggestions, I consulted Julia Bruggemann, Emmanuel Harris and Bob Hershberger on translations, and Mary Giles, Carl Huffman and Brooke Cox helped with illustrations. Neal Abraham arranged for additional time to work on the project. Sean Lockwood of the University of Cincinnati and Elise Friedland of Rollins College provided valuable assistance as well. I thank them all.
- 7 Pedar and I (along with authors Clayton Fant and Ann Koloski-Ostrow, and translator Maureen B. Fant) were graduate students of John D'Arms at the University of Michigan. In his final years John was President of the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) and his limited and precious research time was spent at the American Academy in Rome. On our last encounter I was examining the ambiguities and potential implications of Cicero's brief comment on Pompeii in *Pro Sulla* 60–62. Knowing that John was working at a nearby desk, and realizing that for their whole lives professors are connected to their former students, I invaded his research time with questions about *Pro Sulla*. At the time I appreciated our brief exchanges on a Pompeii topic in the stacks of the American Academy, and now I cherish them all the more. Thank you for much, John D'Arms (John Dobbins, ed.).
- 8 Jos DeWaele visited the University of Virginia once to deliver a lecture and he and I overlapped once in our research in Pompeii. His personal charisma and professional generosity revealed themselves on both occasions. I regret that my encounters with him were so few (John Dobbins, ed.).

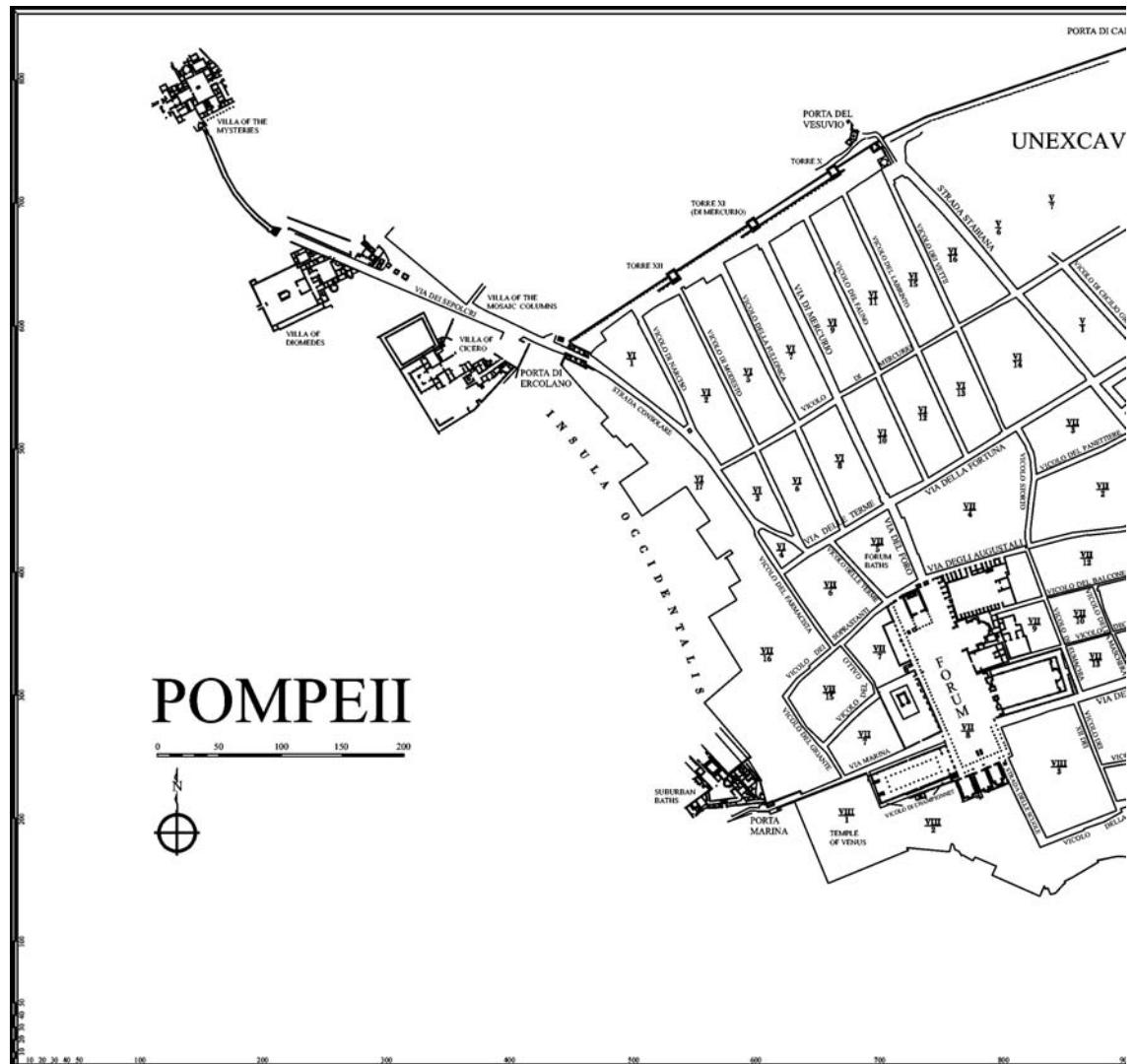
MAPS

—♦—

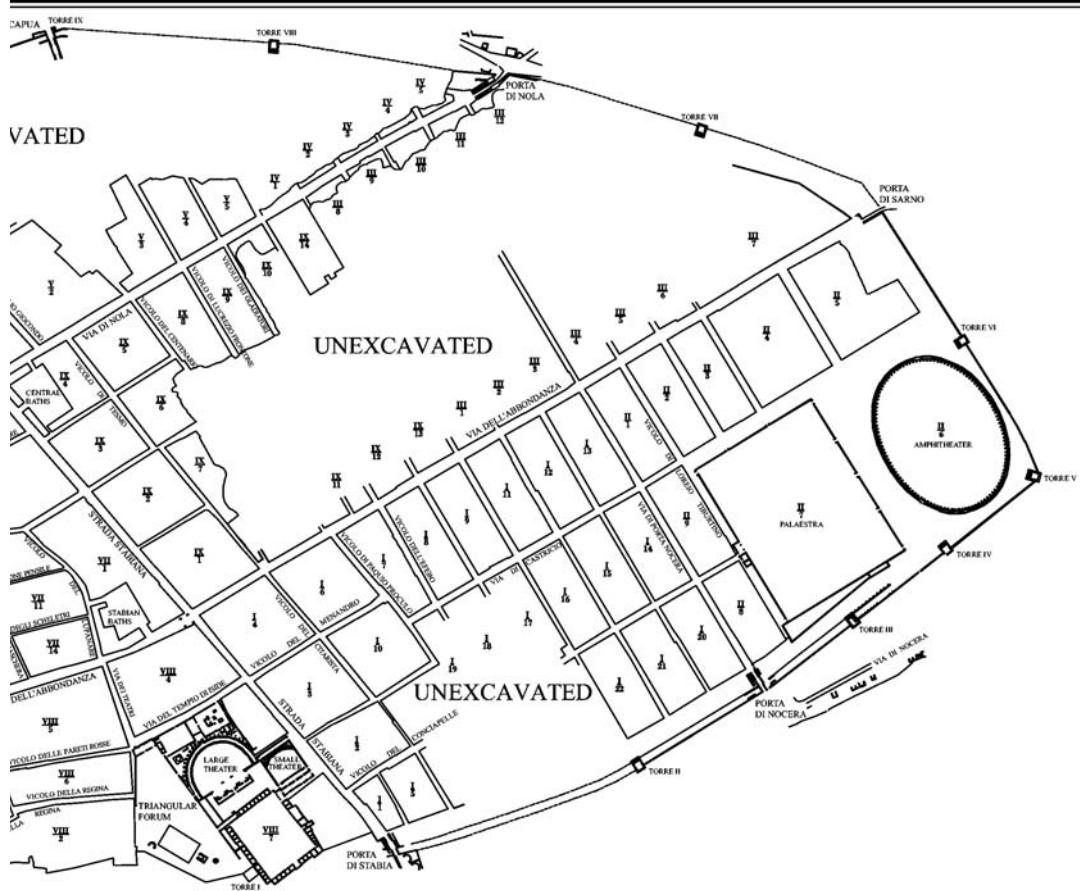
0 2 4 8 12 16 Kilometers

Map 1 The Bay of Naples





Map 2 Plan of Pompeii. Streets, gates, towers and principal monuments

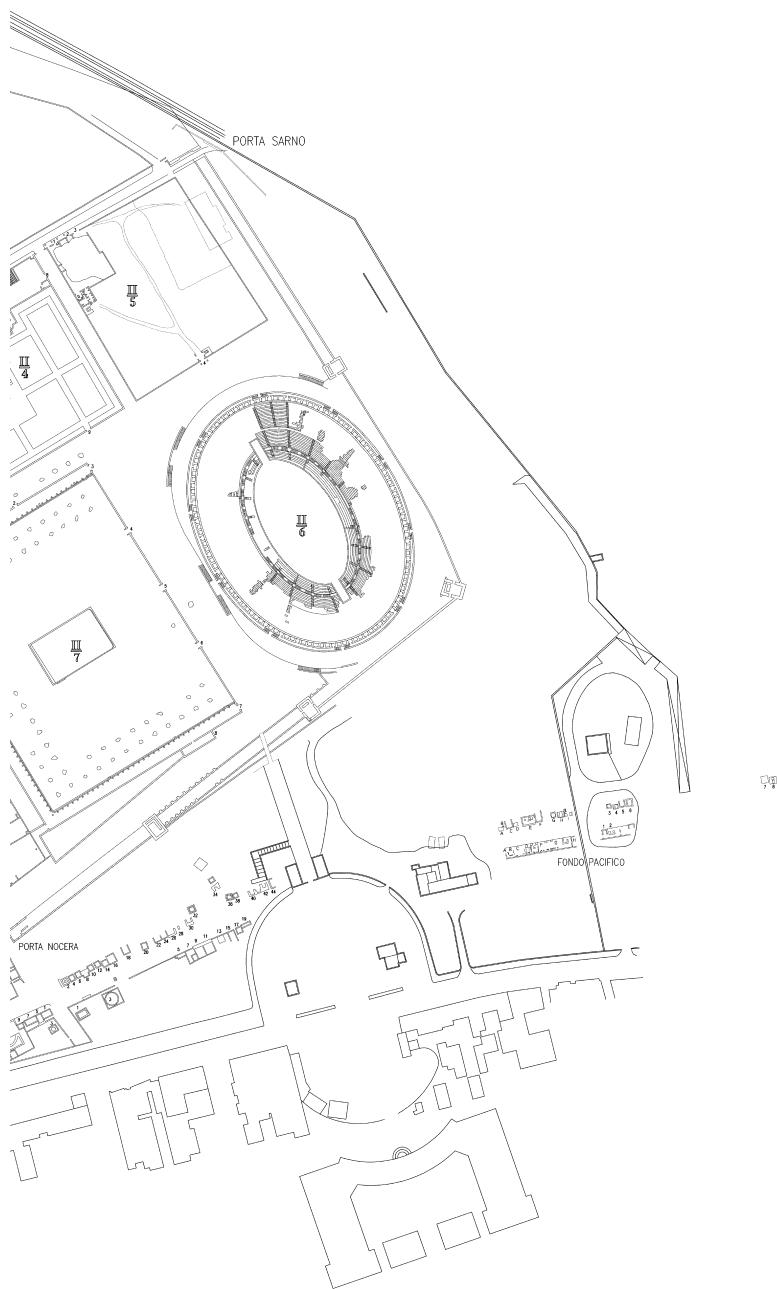






Map 3 *Continued*



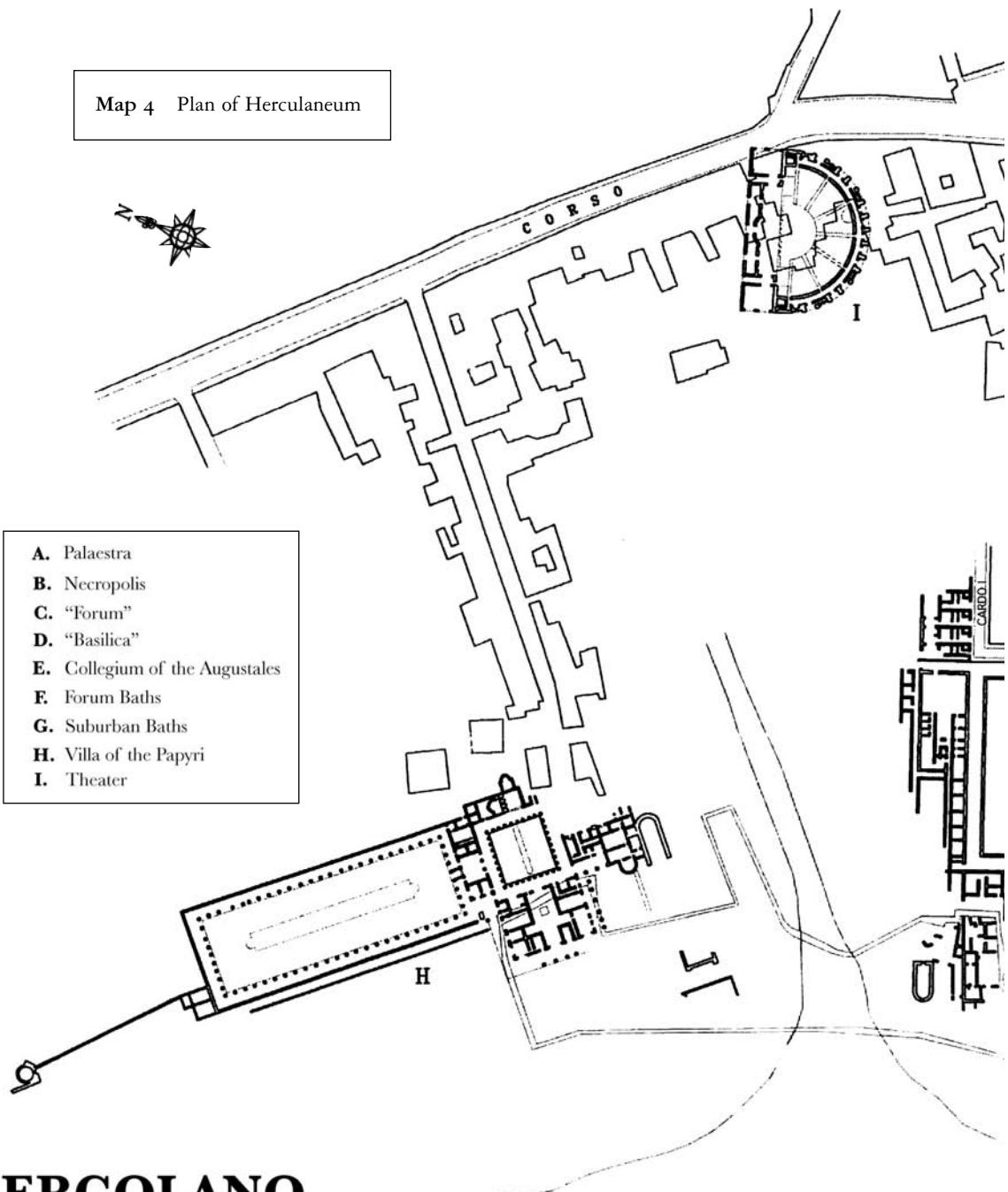


Map 3. Plan of Pompeii. Regions, insulae, detailed building plans, tombs and street addresses
(after a map provided by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompeii).

Il progetto è finanziato dall'American Express attraverso il World Monuments Watch, un programma del World Monuments Fund Base cartografica: The Rica Maps of Pompeii, 1984. Digitalizzazione a cura dello STUDIO DI ARCHITETTURA
SCALA: 1:1000

Map 4 Plan of Herculaneum

- A. Palaestra
- B. Necropolis
- C. "Forum"
- D. "Basilica"
- E. Collegium of the Augustales
- F. Forum Baths
- G. Suburban Baths
- H. Villa of the Papyri
- I. Theater



ERCOLANO

Dr. Mario Pagano Inv.
Arch. Ubaldo Pastore Dis.





PART I

BEGINNINGS



CHAPTER ONE

CITY AND COUNTRY

An introduction

Pietro Giovanni Guzzo

In 310 BC, during the second Samnite war, the Romans and their naval allies carried out a raid against Nuceria. Livy (9.38.2–3) describes the territorial context as dominated by the fortified city of Pompeii, in which the families that cultivated the surrounding countryside took refuge.

But Strabo (5.4.8) tells us that both Pompeii and Herculaneum had a more ancient history: thanks also to archaeological finds, modern historical criticism considers Pompeii to have already been fortified by the end of the sixth century BC. Parallel evidence is lacking for Herculaneum; it will be better to suspend judgment, but to keep in mind that Strabo records a closely parallel development for the two cities.

For Pompeii's archaic period, except for the walls and the votive offerings at the Temple of Apollo, the evidence is scarce and uncertain; and in the surrounding countryside only unrecorded finds at Boscoreale can be mentioned. Near Castellammare di Stabia, at Santa Maria delle Grazie, however, a necropolis with trench tombs is known. Its grave goods consist of local and Etruscan products (some inscribed) in use from the end of the seventh until the fifth century BC. To complete our picture of the archaic Stabian settlement we have a small rural nucleus at Gesini di Casola, consisting of burials from the middle of the sixth to the first half of the fifth century BC, and the toponym Petra Herculis (Pliny the Elder, *HN* 32.17) for the islet of Rovigliano, located probably at the landing place.

It is possible that Pompeii had gradually downgraded the archaic Stabian settlement's role as a port. Pompeii's predominance was facilitated by the control it could exercise on the mouth of the Sarno, located just south of the fortified hill of the city. On the right bank of the mouth of the Sarno is attested, at least from the fifth century BC, the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Bottaro (Figure 28.1, A).

The approximate chronological coincidence between the end of the Stabian necropolis and the establishment of the cult at Bottaro seems significant.

The trade on the Nola plateau used the river Sarno. The Samnites were establishing themselves in this area during the fifth century BC, replacing the Aurunci, who occupied it earlier. The Italic toponyms of both Nuceria and Nola contain the root *Nou-*, which indicates a “new” settlement.

By the end of the fourth century BC, the city of Pompeii had elaborated a new urban layout that gradually filled up with buildings over its entire fortified area (*c.* 66 ha, or 165 acres). If we look at the main urban road axes (Maps 1–2), we can extend our examination to the surrounding countryside as well. The principal axis is the north–south road that links Porta Vesuvio and Porta di Stabia; east of it two streets head toward the towns of Nola and Sarno. The southern necropolis outside Porta Nocera follows the orientation of the road to Nuceria, which, on the way, crossed the ancient course of the river Sarno at Scafati. From Porta Ercolano, another very important road, to judge from the antiquity of its route, entered the city. It is, in fact, the only road that interrupted the regularity of the urban design by *insulae*, dividing *insula* 3 of Regio VI in two.

From this layout we can infer that Pompeii was linked, from Porta Ercolano, to a coast road that passed the area later known as Oplontis (present-day Torre Annunziata), on its way to the coast, where it turned toward Neapolis and Cumae, via Herculaneum.

From the archaic period, inside the fortified city, this coast road intersected with the north–south road that linked the southern slopes of Vesuvius with Stabiae. Furthermore, it was possible to travel up the valley of the Sarno from Pompeii along a number of river and land corridors. These routes intersected at the port at the mouth of the Sarno: it is therefore possible to infer that Pompeii developed profitably.

It is, in fact, Pompeii's role as distribution point of the agricultural products of the district, whence they were sent on to external markets, that suggests that the countryside was farmed intensively—just as Livy describes it. But the archaeological evidence is practically nonexistent. To this phase can be ascribed a few tombs at Pozzano di Castellammare and a sanctuary in the same township, at Privati, with architectural terracottas made from moulds used in the decoration of the “Doric temple” of the Triangular Forum in Pompeii (Figure 6.2).

It has been observed that the northern suburban villas of Pompeii show the same orientation as the roads that articulate Regio VI, one of the earliest of post-archaic Pompeii (Figure 28.2).¹ It has therefore been proposed that the countryside north of the city had been “centuriated” in continuation of the axes of the city streets, since there was originally a gate, later closed, also at the northern extremity of the Via di Mercurio (Figure 11.3). The farms and the suburban villas would have been built on this grid; some of these constituted the nucleus of the villas, oriented differently, whose Second-Style decoration tells us they were enlarged after the establishment of the Sullan colony (80 BC).

Between the third and second centuries BC, the Samnite magistrates administrated the roads that ran south from Pompeii. There is epigraphic evidence for a “Stabian bridge,” which facilitated transit perhaps not only into town but also between the suburban sanctuaries of *fondo* Iozzino and S. Abbondio (dedicated to Bacchus), on opposite banks of the river Sarno (Figure 28.1, B–C). The location of the saltponds, documented by Oscan and Latin inscriptions, is uncertain.

The replacement of the previous owners by the Roman colonists brought a period of internal turbulence, but the volcanic deposits from the eruption of AD 79 make it impossible to identify fully the successive centuriations of the *ager*. The toponym *pagus (Augustus) Felix suburbanus* (*CIL X*, 814, 853–7, 924, 1027, 1028, 1030, 1042, 1074c), of uncertain location, suggests that the corresponding nucleus served as a



Figure 1.1 View of the *dolia* in courtyard (I) of the Villa Regina at Boscoreale (cf. Figure 28.4). Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei.

base for the Sullan colonists. The electoral *programmata* and other inscriptions mention other *pagi* in the territory, which have not yet been identified. It is certain that the agricultural exploitation of the Pompeian, Nucerian and Stabian countryside continued over time until the fatal interruption.

The number of the agricultural settlements is gradually increasing thanks to continuing excavations (Figure 28.1). As D'Arms² has already pointed out, we do not in any case know the respective size or the relationship between buildings and fields; for Villa Regina, an area between three and eight *iugera* of vineyards has been calculated on the basis of the capacity of the *dolia* (Figures 1.1, 28.4, 28.5). Most of the buildings have rustic rooms, few with frescoed decorations, a sign that the presence of the owner was probably occasional. Sometimes the decoration is quite costly, as in the “*tablinum*” of the farm at Carmiano 1963, with a Third-Style Bacchic scene; or at Terzigno (Boccia al Mauro), with Second-Style megalographic paintings (1997 excavations). There are plenty of simple decorations that allude to the tutelary gods of the harvest, as in the farm of Villa Regina at Boscoreale; and signs of Egyptian cults, as in the Villa of Agrippa Postumus at Boscotrecase (Figure 28.1, no. 31).

The principal crop was the vine; wine was traded in the western Mediterranean. Manpower was provided by slaves, as iron shackles attest, but it is possible that free peasants still survived.

In addition to the farms, the territory was occupied by luxurious villas of *otium*: this typology expands from Cumae and Baiae southward along the coast of the Bay from some time in the first century BC, after the establishment of the Sullan colony.

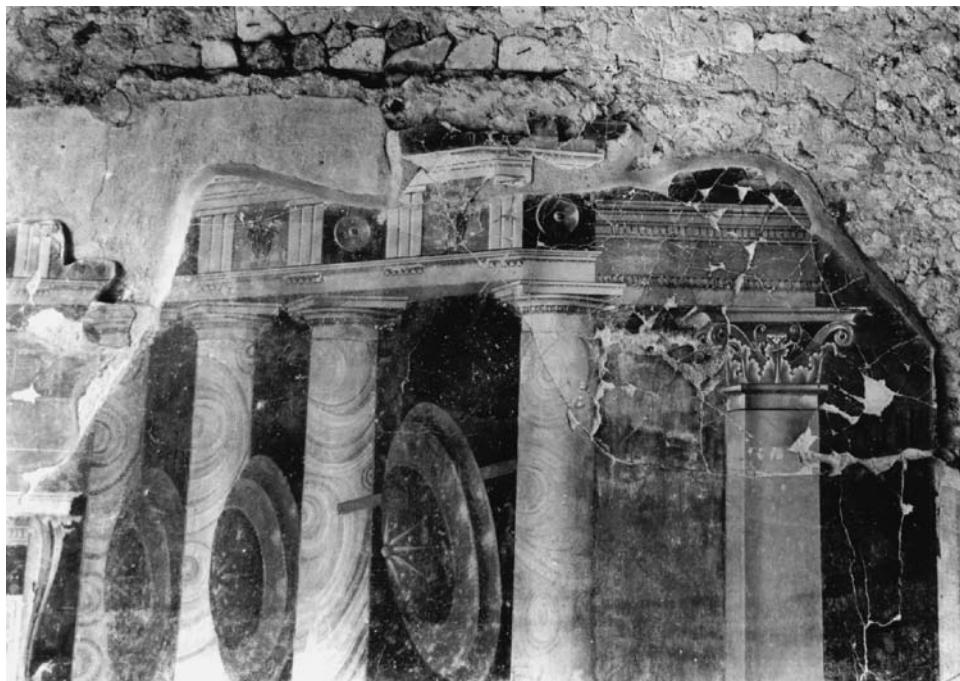


Figure 1.2 Detail of a Second-Style wall painting from the west wall of *atrium* (5) in the villa at Oplontis (modern Torre Annunziata). Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei.

Villas of the kind can be suburban, as that attributed, without foundation, to the Pisones at Herculaneum, with its bronze and marble sculptures, in addition to some 1,800 papyrus scrolls mostly written upon in Greek. Farther from the city are the so-called villa of the Poppaei, at Oplontis (Figures 1.2, 31.5), and that of San Marco at Stabiae, more recent than the destruction of that city by Sulla. Less well preserved, but of equal importance, is the villa at contrada Sora, Torre del Greco, from which come the relief with Orpheus and Eurydice, a replica of Praxiteles' Satyr Pouring, and a bronze of Hercules and the stag (the latter two in the Palermo museum).

The villas situated inland, from that "of the Mysteries" to those attributed to P. Fannius Synistor, N. Popidius Florus (at Boscoreale), to Agrippa Postumus (at Boscotrecase), also include a *rustica* part, showing that they have combined two functions. The prevalent Second-Style decorations place the enlargement in the post-colonial phase.

Both the precision and the size of the frescoed decorations and, when preserved, the artistic furnishings (from the villa "of the Pisones" to that of Oplontis) indicate the owners' high position. It should be recalled how landholdings were always being bought and sold for speculation, and for this reason it is difficult and probably useless to assign, as owners, names known from the sources (such as the *matrona* Rectina) to properties brought to light by archaeology. To make matters worse, the damage inflicted by the series of earthquakes preceding the eruption (of which at least that of AD 62 is known) will have brought about even more buying and selling.

The fertility of the soils and the favorable opportunities for trade caused the Pompeian countryside to be densely populated: Pliny records how enormous crowds from the farms took refuge at Stabiae, seeking to escape in boats.

After AD 79 came a period of total abandonment, not least because the volcanic debris impeded people's movement near the coast. Nocera equipped itself with an outlet at Vietri sul Mare, picking up again the archaic axis of communication on which Marcina was located. There is evidence of subsequent life in the territory of Pompeii, even in the immediate vicinity of the Porta Vesuvio. The roads from Nocera to the embarkation at Stabiae were reopened, and Stabiae continued to be occupied until late antiquity, as numerous burials and a Hadrianic mile post attest.

NOTES

- 1 Maureen B. Fant translated the Italian text. F. Zevi, "Urbanistica di Pompei," in F. Zevi (ed.), *La Regione sotterranea dal Vesuvio. Studi e prospettive. Atti del Convegno Internazionale*, Naples, 1979, pp. 353–65; A. Oettel, *Fundkontakte roemischer Vesuvvillen im Gebiet um Pompeji. Die Grabungen von 1894 bis 1908*, Mainz, 1996.
- 2 J. H. D'Arms, "Ville rustiche e ville di otium," in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii 79. Raccolta di studi per il decimono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana*, Naples, 1979, pp. 25–39.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adamo Muscettola, S., "La trasformazione della città tra Silla e Augusto," in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii 1*, Naples, 1991, pp. 77–114.
- Amodio, D., "Sui vici e le circoscrizioni elettorali di Pompei," *Athenaeum* n.s. 84, 1996, pp. 457–8.
- Camardo, D. and A. Ferrara, "Petra Herculis: un luogo di culto alla foce del Sarno," *AION* 12, 1990, pp. 169–80.
- Casale, A. and A. Bianco, "Primo contributo alla topografia del suburbio pompeiano," *Antiqua*, suppl. 15, 1979, pp. 27–56.
- Cicirelli, C., "Le ville rustiche," in M. Borriello, A. D'Ambrosio, S. De Caro and P. G. Guzzo (eds), *Pompeii. Abitare sotto il Vesuvio*, Ferrara, 1996, pp. 29–33.
- "Le ville romane di Terzigno," Terzigno, 1989.
- Conticello De' Spagnolis, M., *Il pons Sarni di Scafati e la via Nuceria–Pompeios*, Rome, 1994.
- Cristofani, M., "Presenze etrusche tra Stabia e Pontecagnano," *Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia* s. 3a, 1, 1992, pp. 61–6.
- D'Arms, J. H., "Ville rustiche e ville di 'otium,'" in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii 79*, Naples, 1979, pp. 65–86.
- De Caro, S., "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," *Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia*, s. 3a, 1, 1992, pp. 67–90.
- "La città sannitica. Urbanistica e architettura," in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii 1*, Naples, 1991, pp. 23–46.
- "Villa rustica in località Petraro (Stabiae)," *Rivista Istituto Italiano di Archeologia e Storia*, s. 2a, 10, 1987, 1988, pp. 5–89.
- "La villa rustica in località Villa Regina di Boscoreale," Rome, 1994.
- "Le ville residenziali," in M. Borriello, A. D'Ambrosio, S. De Caro and P. G. Guzzo (eds), *Pompeii. Abitare sotto il Vesuvio*, Ferrara, 1996, pp. 21–7.
- Esposito, E., "L'ager Nucerinus: note storiche e topografiche," *Rendiconti Accademia Archeologia*, 1984, vol. 58, pp. 221–40.
- Frederiksen, M., *Campania*, ed. with additions, N. Purcell, Rome, 1984.
- Lo Cascio, E., "La società pompeiana dalla città sannitica alla colonia romana," in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii 1*, Naples, 1991, pp. 111–30.

— Pietro Giovanni Guzzo —

- Marzocchella, A., et al., *Guida al territorio del Sarno. Tracce storiche, archeologiche e mitiche*, Ercolano, 1994.
- Miniero, P., “Ricerche sull’Ager Stabianus,” in R. I. Curtis, (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana et Classica in Honor of W. F. Jashemski*, New Rochelle, NY, 1988, pp. 231–92.
- Murolo, N., “Le saline Herculeae di Pompei. Produzione del sale e culto di Ercole nella Campania antica,” in *Studi sulla Campania preromana*, Rome, 1995, pp. 105–23.
- Oettel, A., *Fundkontexte römischer Vesuvvillen im Gebiet um Pompeji. Die Grabungen von 1894 bis 1908*, Mainz, 1996.
- Pagano, M., *Portici archeologica*, Rome, 1997.
- “Torre del Greco. Scavo di una villa rustica,” *RivStPom*, 2, 1988, vol. 2, pp. 240–3.
- “La villa romana di contrada Sora a Torre del Greco,” in *Cronache Ercolanesi*, 1991, vol. 21, pp. 149–86.
- *Picta Fragmenta. Decorazioni parietali dalle città sepolte*, Yokohama, 1997, pp. 57–9.
- Scatozza Höricht, L. A., “Ville nel territorio ercolanese,” *Cronache Ercolanesi*, 1985, vol. 15, pp. 131–65.
- Stefani, G., *Pompeii. Vecchi scavi sconosciuti*, Rome, 1994.
- Tchernia, A., “Il vino: produzione e commercio,” in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompei 79*, Naples, 1979, pp. 87–96.
- Ward-Perkins, J. B., “Note di topografia e urbanistica,” in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompei 79*, Naples, 1979, pp. 25–39.
- Zevi, F., “Urbanistica di Pompei,” in F. Zevi (ed.), *La Regione sotterranea dal Vesuvio, Studi e prospettive: Atti del Convegno Internazionale*, Naples, 1982, pp. 353–65.

References

1 CHAPTER ONE CITY AND COUNTRY: An introduction

Adamo Muscettola, S., "La trasformazione della città tra Silla e Augusto," in F. Zevi (ed.), Pompei 1, Naples, 1991, pp. 77-114.

Amodio, D., "Sui vici e le circoscrizioni elettorali di Pompei," Athenaeum n.s. 84, 1996, pp. 457-8.

Camardo, D. and A. Ferrara, "Petra Herculis: un luogo di culto alla foce del Sarno," AION 12, 1990, pp. 169-80.

Casale, A. and A. Bianco, "Primo contributo alla topografia del suburbio pompeiano," Antiqua, suppl. 15, 1979, pp. 27-56.

Cicirelli, C., "Le ville rustiche," in M. Borriello, A. D'Ambrosio, S. De Caro and P. G. Guzzo (eds), Pompei. Abitare sotto il Vesuvio, Ferrara, 1996, pp. 29-33.

---- Le ville romane di Terzigno, Terzigno, 1989.

Conticello De' Spagnolis, M., Il pons Sarni di Scafati e la via Nuceria-Pompeios, Rome, 1994.

Cristofani, M., "Presenze etrusche tra Stabia e Pontecagnano," Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia s. 3a, 1, 1992, pp. 61-6.

D'Arms, J. H., "Ville rustiche e ville di 'otium,'" in F. Zevi (ed.), Pompei 79, Naples, 1979, pp. 65-86.

De Caro, S., "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia, s. 3a, 1, 1992, pp. 67-90.

---- "La città sannitica. Urbanistica e architettura," in F. Zevi (ed.), Pompei 1, Naples, 1991, pp. 23-46.

---- "Villa rustica in località Petraro (Stabiae)," Rivista Istituto Italiano di Archeologia e Storia, s. 2a, 10, 1987, 1988, pp. 5-89.

---- La villa rustica in località Villa Regina di Boscoreale, Rome, 1994.

---- "Le ville residenziali," in M. Borriello, A.

D'Ambrosio, S. De Caro and P. G. Guzzo (eds), Pompei.
Abitare sotto il Vesuvio, Ferrara, 1996, pp. 21-7.

Esposito, E., "L'ager Nucerinus: note storiche e topografiche," Rendiconti Accademia Archeologica, 1984, vol. 58, pp. 221-40.

Frederiksen, M., Campania, ed. with additions, N. Purcell, Rome, 1984.

Lo Cascio, E., "La società pompeiana dalla città sannitica alla colonia romana," in F. Zevi (ed.), Pompei 1, Naples, 1991, pp. 111-30. - chapter 1 : City and country -

Marzocchella, A., et al., Guida al territorio del Sarno. Tracce storiche, archeologiche e mitiche, Ercolano, 1994.

Miniero, P., "Ricerche sull'Ager Stabianus," in R. I. Curtis, (ed.), Studia Pompeiana et Classica in Honor of W. F. Jashemski, New Rochelle, NY, 1988, pp. 231-92.

Murolo, N., "Le saline Herculeae di Pompei. Produzione del sale e culto di Ercole nella Campania antica," in Studi sulla Campania preromana, Rome, 1995, pp. 105-23.

Oettel, A., Fundkontexte römischer Vesuvvillen im Gebiet um Pompeji. Die Grabungen von 1894 bis 1908, Mainz, 1996.

Pagano, M., Portici archeologica, Rome, 1997.

---- "Torre del Greco. Scavo di una villa rustica," RivStPom, 2, 1988, vol. 2, pp. 240-3.

---- "La villa romana di contrada Sora a Torre del Greco," in Cronache Ercolanesi, 1991, vol. 21, pp. 149-86.

---- Picta Fragmenta. Decorazioni parietali dalle città sepolte, Yokohama, 1997, pp. 57-9.

Scatozza Höricht, L. A., "Ville nel territorio ercolanese," Cronache Ercolanesi, 1985, vol. 15, pp. 131-65.

Stefani, G., Pompei. Vecchi scavi sconosciuti, Rome, 1994.

Tchernia, A., "Il vino: produzione e commercio," in F. Zevi (ed.), Pompei 79, Naples, 1979, pp. 87-96.

Ward-Perkins, J. B., "Note di topografia e urbanistica," in F. Zevi (ed.), Pompei 79, Naples, 1979, pp. 25-39.

Zevi, F., "Urbanistica di Pompei," in F. Zevi (ed.), La Regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio, Studi e prospettive: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Naples, 1982, pp. 353-65. — Pietro Giovanni Guzzo —

4 CHAPTER FOUR THE ENVIRONMENTAL AND GEOMORPHOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE VOLCANO

Albore Livadie, C., "Palma Campania (Napoli). Resti di abitato dell'età del bronzo o antico," NSc, 1980, ser. 8, vol. 34, pp. 59-101.

Alfano, G. B. and Friedlander, I., Die Geschichte des Vesuv, Berlin, 1929.

Arno, V., Principe, C., Rosi, M., Santacroce, R., Sbrana, A. and Sheridan, M. F., "Eruptive history," in R. Santacroce (ed.), Somma-Vesuvius, CNR Quaderni de "La ricerca scientifica", 114, vol. 8, Rome, 1987, pp. 53-103.

Bohlig, A. and Labib, P., "Koptisch-Gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi," Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, 1963, Sonderband, 107.

Carey, S. and Sigurdsson, H., "Temporal variations in column height and magma discharge rate during the AD 79 eruption of Vesuvius," Geological Society of America, Bulletin, 1987, vol. 99, pp. 303-14.

Delibrias, G., DiPaola, G. M., Rosi, M. and Santacroce, R., "La storia eruttiva del complesso vulcanico Somma Vesuvio ricostruita dalle successioni piroclastiche del Monte Somma," Rend. Società Italiana di Mineralogia e Petrologia, 1979, vol. 35, pp. 411-38.

Eschebach, H., "Ein nicht überliefelter, auch Pompeji betreffender Vesuvausbruch?," RM, 1976, vol. 83, pp. 71-111.

Goedicke, H., "An unexpected allusion to the Vesuvius eruption in AD 79," Classical Journal, 1968, vol. 25, pp. 340-1.

Ippolito, F., "Sul meccanismo del seppellimento di Pompei e di Ercolano," Pompeiana, 1950, pp. 387-95.

Lacroix, A., "Les derniers jours d'Herculaneum et de Pompéi interprétés à l'aide de quelques phénomènes récents du volcanisme," La Géographie Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, 1908, vol. 18: n. 5, pp. 281-96.

Lirer, L., Pescatore, T., Booth, B. and Walker, G. P. L., "Two Plinian pumice-fall deposits from Somma Vesuvius, Italy," Geological Society of America, Bulletin, 1973, vol.

84, pp. 759-72.

Maiuri, A., Herculaneum, Rome, 1977.

Merrill, E. T., "Notes on the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79," AJA, 1918, vol. 22, pp. 304-9.

----, "Further note on the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79," AJA, 1920, vol. 24, pp. 262-8.

Moore, J. G. and Rice, C. J., "Chronology and character of May 18, 1980, explosive eruptions of Mount St. Helens," Explosive Volcanism, Inception, Evolution and Hazards, Washington, DC, 1984, pp. 133-42.

Preusse, P., "Ein Wort zur Vesuvgestaltung und Vesuvtätigkeit im Altertum," Klio, 1934, vol. 27, pp. 295-310.

Principe, C., Rosi, M., Santacroce, R. and Sbrana, A., Workshop on Explosive Volcanism: Guidebook on the Field Excursion to Phleorean Fields and Vesuvius, Rome, 1982.

Renna, E., Vesuvius Mons, Naples, 1992.

Rittmann, A., "L'eruzione Vesuviana del 79, studio magmologico e volcanologico," Pompeiana, 1950, pp. 456-74.
- chapter 4 : The environment a
nd geomorphological context -

Rosi, M. and Santacroce, R., "L'attività del Somma-Vesuvio precedente l'eruzione del 1631: dati stratigrafici e vulcanologici," in C. A. Livadie (ed.), Tremblements de terre, éruptions volcaniques et vie des hommes dans la Campanie antique, Naples, 1986, pp. 15-33.

Sheridan, M. F., Barberi, F., Rosi, M. and Santacroce, R., "A model for Plinian eruptions of Vesuvius," Nature, 1981, vol. 289, pp. 282-5.

Sigurdsson, H., Carey, S. and Espindola, J. M., "The 1982 eruptions of El Chichon volcano, Mexico: stratigraphy of pyroclastic deposits," Journal of Volcanology and Geothermal Research, 1984, vol. 23, pp. 11-37.

----, ---- and Mandeville, C., "Krakatau: submarine pyroclastic flows of the 1883 eruption of Krakatau volcano," National Geographic Research, 1991, vol. 7, pp. 310-27.

----, Cashdollar, S. and Sparks, R. S. J., "The eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79: reconstruction from historical and volcanological evidence," AJA, 1982, vol. 86, pp. 39-51.

----, Cornell, W. and Carey, S., "Influence of magma withdrawal on compositional gradients during the AD 79 Vesuvius eruption," Nature, 1990, vol. 345, pp. 519-21.

----, Carey, S., Cornell, W. and Pescatore, T., "The eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79," National Geographic Research, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 332-87.

----, Pescatore, T., Varone, A. and Ciarallo, A. M., "The eruption of Vesuvius AD 79. Volcanology, sedimentology and archeology," in Excursion Guide A4, 15th International Association of Sedimentologists, April 1994, pp. 83-104.

Sparks, R. S. J. and Walker, G. P. L., "The ground surge deposit: a third type of pyroclastic rock," Nature, 1973, vol. 241, pp. 62-4.

Stothers, R. B. and Rampino, M. R., "Volcanic eruptions in the Mediterranean before AD 630 from written and archaeological sources," Journal of Geophysical Research, 1983, vol. 88, pp. 6357-71.

Vogel, J. S., Cornell, W., Nelson, D. E. and Southon, J. R., "Vesuvius/Avellino, one possible source of seventeenth century BC climatic disturbances," Nature, 1990, vol. 344, pp. 534-7. - H a r a l d u r S i g u r d s s o n -

5 CHAPTER FIVE RECENT WORK ON EARLY POMPEII

Arthur, P., "Problems of the urbanization of Pompeii: excavations 1980-1981," *The Antiquaries Journal*, 1986, vol. 61.1, pp. 29-44.

Bellelli, V., "Anomalie pompeiane," *Prospettiva*, 1995, vol. 77, pp. 2-15.

Berard, J., *La Magna Grecia*, Turin, 1963.

Bon, S. E., R. Jones, B. Kurchin and D. J. Robinson, "The context of the House of the Surgeon: investigations in Insula VI,1 at Pompeii," in S. E. Bon and R. Jones (eds), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, Exeter, 1997, pp. 7-12.

Bonghi Jovino, M. (ed.), *Ricerche a Pompei. L'insula 5 della Regio VI dalle origini al 79 d.C.*, Rome, 1984.

Brusting, H. and S. L. Wynia, "I mobilia," in J. Jh. W. Peters (ed.), *La casa di Marcus Lucretius Fronto a Pompei e le sue pitture*, Amsterdam, 1993, pp. 15-37.

Carafa, P., "What was Pompeii before 200 BC? Excavations in the House of Joseph II, in the Triangular Forum and in the House of the Wedding of Hercules," in S. E. Bon and R. Jones (eds), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, Exeter, 1997, pp. 13-31.

---- and M. T. D'Alessio, "Lo scavo nella Casa di Giuseppe II (VIII, 2, 38-39) e nel portico occidentale del Foro Triangolare a Pompei. Rapporto preliminare," *RivStPom*, 1997, vol. 7, pp. 137-45.

Carandini, A., P. Carafa and M. T. D'Alessio, "Nuovi progetti, nuove domande, nuovi metodi," in S. De Caro and P. G. Guzzo (eds), *Pompeii*, Milan, 2001, pp. 127-9.

Cerchiai, L., "Il processo di strutturazione del politico: i Campani," *AION*, 1987, vol. 9, pp. 41-54.

----, *I Campani*, Milan, 1995.

Cristofani, M., "La fase 'etrusca' di Pompei," in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii*, Naples, 1991, pp. 9-22.

D'Alessio, M. T., "La nascita della casa ad atrio in un centro italico medio-tirrenico. Il caso di Pompei," in M. Tosi and M. Pearce (eds), *Papers from the EAA Third Annual*

Meeting at Ravenna 1997, vol. II, Classical and Medieval,
British Archaeological Reports, i.s. 718, 1998, pp. 81-5.

D'Ambrosio, A. and S. De Caro, "Un contributo
all'urbanistica e all'architettura di Pompei in età
ellenistica. I saggi nella casa VII, 4, 62," AION, 1989,
vol. 11, pp. 173-215.

De Caro, S., "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di
Pompeii," AION, 1985, vol. 7, pp. 75-114.

----, Saggi nell'area del tempio di Apollo a Pompei. Scavi
stratigrafici di A. Maiuri nel 1931-32 e 1942-43, Naples,
1986.

----, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," Atti e memorie
della Società Magna Grecia, 1992, ser. 3, vol. 1, pp.
67-90.

----, "Intervento," in P. G. Guzzo and R. Peroni (eds),
Archeologia e vulcanologia in Campania, Naples, 1998, pp.
217-18.

De Vos, M., "Ercole e Priamo," in A. Mastrocicque (ed.),
Ercole in Occidente, Trento, 1993, pp. 81-9.

De Waele, J. A. K. E., B. D'Agostino and P. S. Lulof (eds),
Tempio dorico del Foro Triangolare di Pompei, Rome, 2001.

----, "The 'Doric' Temple on the Forum Triangulare in
Pompeii," Opuscola Pompeiana, 1993, vol. 3, pp. 105-18.

Dobbins, J. J., "Problems of chronology, decoration, and
urban design in the forum at Pompeii," AJA, 1994, vol. 98,
pp. 629-94.

----, L. F. Ball, J. G. Cooper, S. L. Gavel and S. Hay,
"Excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, 1997,"
AJA, 1998, vol. 102, pp. 739-56.

Dyson, S. L., "Some random thoughts on a collection of
papers in Roman archaeology," in S. E. Bon and R. Jones
(eds), Sequence and Space in Pompeii, Exeter, 1997, pp.
150-7. - c h a p t e r 5 : R e c e n t w o r k o n e
a r c h e o l o g y P o m p e i i -

Eschebach, H., "Ausgrabungen und Baugeschichte," RM, 1982,
vol. 89, pp. 219-313.

---- and L. Eschebach, Pompeji, Cologne, 1995.

Fulford, M. and A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Towards a history of pre-Roman Pompeii: excavations beneath the House of Amarantus (I.9.11-12), 1995-8," *PBSR*, 1999, vol. 67, pp. 37-144.

Geertman, H., "The layout of the city and its history: the Dutch project," in J. Berry (ed.), *Unpeeling Pompeii: Studies in Region I of Pompeii*, Milan, 1998, pp. 17-25.

Horsnaes, H. W., "From Iron Age to Pompeii. Urbanization in Southern Campania—a case study," *Acta Hyperborea*, 1997, vol. 7, pp. 195-227.

Limata, B., "Su alcuni pendagli bronzei da Pompei," in *Studi sulla Campania preromana*, Rome, 1995, pp. 99-103.

Maiuri, A., *Alla ricerca di Pompei preromana*, Naples, 1975.

Mastroroberto, V., "La necropoli di S. Abbondio: una comunità dell'età del Bronzo a Pompei," in P. G. Guzzo and R. Peroni (eds), *Archeologia e Vulcanologia in Campania*, Naples, 1998, pp. 135-50.

Murolo, N., "Le saline herculeae di Pompei. Produzione del sale e culto di Ercole nella Campania antica," in *Studi sulla Campania preromana*, Rome, 1995, pp. 105-24.

Neapolis Project, "Progetto-sistema per la valorizzazione integrale delle risorse ambientali e artistiche dell'area vesuviana," project documents, Rome, 1994.

Pesando, F., "La porta presso la Torre di Mercurio e le fasi della fortificazione di Pompei," in F. Carocci, E. De Albentiis, M. Gargiulo and F. Pesando (eds), *Le insulae 3 e 4 della Regio VI di Pompei. Una storia urbanistica*, Rome, 1990, pp. 217-26.

Reusser, C., "Archaische Funde," *RM*, 1982, vol. 89, pp. 353-72.

Tagliamonte, G., *I figli di Marte*, Rome, 1994.

Torelli, M., "Gli aromi e il sale. Afrodite ed Ercole nell'emporia arcaica dell'Italia," in A. Mastrociclo (ed.), *Ercole in Occidente*, Trento, 1993, pp. 91-117.

Varone, A., "Attività dell'Ufficio Scavi: 1989," *RivStPom*, 1989, vol. 3, pp. 225-38.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. and M. Fulford, "Unpeeling Pompeii,"
Antiquity, 1998, vol. 72, pp. 128-45.

Wynia, S. L., "The excavations in and around the House of
Marcus Lucretius Fronto," in F. Zevi (ed.), La regione
sotterranea dal Vesuvio, Studi e prospettive: Atti del
Convegno Internazionale, Naples, 1982, pp. 225-38. - P a o
l o C a r a f a -

6 CHAPTER SIX THE FIRST SANCTUARIES

Bonghi Jovino, M. (ed.), *Ricerche a Pompei. L'insula 5 della Regio VI dalle origini al 79 d.C.*, Rome, 1984.

Cristofani, M., "La fase 'etrusca' di Pompei," in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii*, Naples, 1991, pp. 9-22.

D'Ambrosio, A., *La stipe votiva in località Bottaro*, Naples, 1984.

---- and M. R. Borriello, *Le terrecotte figurate di Pompei*, Rome, 1990.

D'Agostino, B., "Il processo di strutturazione del politico nel mondo oscio-lucano. La protostoria," *AION* 1987, vol. 9, pp. 32ff.

De Caro, S. (ed.), *Alla ricerca di Iside*, Naples, 1993.

----, *Saggi nell'area del tempio di Apollo a Pompei. Scavi stratigrafici di A. Maiuri nel 1931-32 e 1942-43*, Naples, 1986.

----, "La città sannitica, urbanistica e architettura," in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii 1*, Naples, 1991, pp. 23-46. - *S t e f a n o D e C a r o* -

De Waele, J., "De Dorische Tempel op het Forum Triangulare te Pompei," *Hermeneus*, 1982, vol. 54, pp. 27-35.

----, B. D'Agostino, P. S. Lulof (eds), *Tempio dorico del Foro Triangolare di Pompei*, Rome, 2001.

Elia, O. and G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Il santuario dionisiaco di S. Abbondio," in G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Pompeii 79: Studi su Pompei ed Ercolano*, Naples, 1979, pp. 442ff.

Maiuri, A., "Greci ed Etruschi a Pompei," *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia. Memorie*, ser. 7, 1943, vol. 4, pp. 121-49 (reprinted in *Alla ricerca di Pompei preromana*, pp. 135-59).

----, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1942, pp. 253ff.

----, *Alla ricerca di Pompei preromana*, Naples, 1973.

Richardson, L., jr, "The Archaic Doric Temple of Pompeii," *PP*, 1974, vol. 29, pp. 281ff.

Russo, D., Il tempio di Giove Meilichio a Pompei, Naples,
1991.

Varone, A., "Saggi stratigrafici nel tempio di Iside,"
RivStPom, 1989, vol. 3, pp. 229ff. - chapter 6 : T
he first sanctuaries -

7 CHAPTER SEVEN THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRE-ROMAN CITY

Carandini, A., "Nuovi progetti, nuove domande, nuovi metodi," in P. G. Guzzo (ed.), Pompei. Scienza e Società. 250 ° Anniversario degli Scavi di Pompei, Convegno Internazionale, Naples, November 25-27, 1998, Milan, 2001, pp. 127-9.

Castagnoli, F., Ippodamo di Mileto e l'urbanistica a pianta ortogonale, Rome, 1956, pp. 26-34.

De Caro, S., "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia, 1992, vol. n.s. 3, 1, pp. 67-90.

----, "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," AIONArchStAnt, 1985, vol. 7, pp. 75-114.

De Simone, A., "Le insulae su via di Nocera, regiones I e II," in Restaurare Pompei, Milan, 1990, pp. 111-20.

Eschebach, H., Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji, Heidelberg, 1970.

García y García, L., "Divisione Fiorelliana e piano regolatore di Pompei," Opuscula Pompeiana, 1993, vol. 3, pp. 55-70.

Geertman, H., "Lo studio della città antica. Vecchi e nuovi approcci," in P. G. Guzzo (ed.), Pompei. Scienza e Società. 250 ° Anniversario degli Scavi di Pompei. Convegno Internazionale, Naples, November 25-27, 1998, Milan, 2001, pp. 131-5.

----, "The layout of the city and its history. The Dutch project," in J. Berry (ed.), Unpeeling Pompeii. Studies in Region I of Pompeii, Milan, 1998, pp. 17-25.

Guzzo, P. G., "Alla ricerca della Pompei sannitica," in Studi sull'Italia dei Sanniti, Milan, 2000, pp. 107-17. - Herman Geertman -

Haverfield, F. J., Ancient Town-Planning, Oxford, 1913, pp. 63-6.

Laurence, R. and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and beyond (JRA Suppl. Ser. no. 22), Portsmouth, 1997 .

Nappo, S. C., "Alcuni esempi di tipologie di case popolari della fine III, inizio II secolo a.C. a Pompei," *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani*, 1993-94, vol. 6, pp. 77-104.

----, "Urban transformation at Pompeii in the late 3rd and early 2nd c. BC," in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and beyond* (JRA Suppl. Ser. no. 22), Portsmouth, 1997, pp. 91-120.

Saliou, C., "Les trottoirs de Pompéi: une première approche," *BABesch* 74, 1999, pp. 161-218.

Schoonhoven, A. V., *Metrology and Meaning in Pompeii. The Urban Arrangement of Regio VI*, Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden 2003, published as *Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei*, vol. 20 (Rome, 2006).

Sogliano, A., *Pompeii nel suo sviluppo storico. Pompei preromana* (dalle origini all'anno 80 av.C.), Rome, 1937.

Sommella, P., *Urbanistica Pompeiana. Nuovi momenti di studio*, Rome, 1989, pp. 17-26, reprinted in: *Neapolis*, II. Temi progettuali, Rome, 1994 (Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei. Monografie 7), pp. 179-88.

Torelli, M., "Conclusioni," in P. G. Guzzo (ed.), *Pompeii. Scienza e Società*, p. 150.

von Gerkan, A., *Der Stadtplan von Pompeji*, Berlin, 1940.

Ward Perkins, J. B., *Cities of Ancient Greece and Italy: Planning in Classical Antiquity*, New York, 1974, pp. 24ff. and 118ff., Figure 41.

----, "Note di topografia e urbanistica," in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii* 79, Naples, 1979, pp. 25-39.

Zevi, F., "Urbanistica di Pompei," in F. Zevi (ed.), *La regione sotterranea dal Vesuvio. Studi e prospettive* (Atti del convegno internazionale nov. 1979), Naples, 1982, pp. 353-65. - chapter 7 : The urban development of the pre-Roman city -

8 CHAPTER EIGHT BUILDING MATERIALS, CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES AND CHRONOLOGIES

Adam, J.-P., *Dégradation et restauration de l'architecture pompéienne*, Paris, 1983.

----, *Observations techniques sur les suites du séisme de 62 à Pompéi*, Naples, 1983.

----, *Roman Building: materials and techniques*, London, 1994.

Carrington, R., "Notes on the building materials of Pompeii," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1938, vol. 28, pp. 125ff.

De Vos, A. and De Vos, M., *Pompeii, Ercolano, Stabia, Guide Laterza*, Rome, 1982.

Etienne, R., *La vie quotidienne à Pompéi*, Paris, 1966.

Eschebach, H., *Die Stabianer Thermen in Pompeji*, Berlin, 1979.

Fiorelli, G., *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872*, Naples, 1873.

----, *Pompeianorum antiquitatum historia*, Naples, 1860-64.

Giovannonni, G., *La tecnica della costruzione presso i Romani*, Rome, 1925.

Jashemski, W. F., *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius*, New Rochelle, NY, 1979.

Maiuri, A., *Pompeii ed Ercolano fra case ed abitanti*, Milan, 1959.

----, *Introduzione allo studio di Pompei, la città ed i monumenti pubblici*, Naples, 1949.

Mau, A., *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1882.

Thedenat, H., *Pompéi*, numerous editions from 1906-27. - chapter 8 : Building materials, techniques and chronologies -

9 CHAPTER NINE DEVELOPMENT OF POMPEII'S PUBLIC LANDSCAPE IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

Andreae, J., "Histoires des séismes et histoire économique:
le tremblement de terre de Pompéi (62 ap. J.-C.)",
AnnEconSocCiv, 1973, vol. 28, pp. 369-95.

D'Arms, J. H., "Pompeii and Rome in the Augustan age and
beyond: the eminence of the Gens Holconia", in R. I. Curtis
(ed.), *Studia pompeiana et classica in honor of Wilhelmina
F. Jashemski I: Pompeiana*, New Rochelle, NY, 1988, pp.
51-73.

Dobbins, J. J., "The altar in the sanctuary of the Genius
of Augustus in the forum at Pompeii", RM, 1992, vol. 99,
pp. 251-63.

----, "Problems of chronology, decoration, and urban design
in the forum at Pompeii", AJA, 1994, vol. 98, pp. 629-94.

----, Ball, L. F., Cooper, J. G., Gavel, S. L. and Hay, S.,
"Excavations in the sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, 1997",
AJA, 1998, vol. 102, pp. 739-56.

Ehrhardt, W., *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen an
römischen Wandmalereien von der späten Republik bis zur
Zeit Neros*, Mainz, 1987.

Eschebach, H., *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken
Pompeji*, RM-EH 17, Heidelberg, 1970.

Gradel, I., "Mamia's dedication: emperor and genius. The
imperial cult in Italy and the Genius Coloniae in Pompeii",
AnalRom, 1992, vol. 20, pp. 43-58.

Kockel, V., "Funde und Forschungen in den Vesuvstädten II",
AA, 1986, pp. 443-569. – c h a p t e r 9 : P o m p e i i
's p u b l i c l a n d s c a p e i n t h e R o m a n
p e r i o d –

Lauter, H., "Bemerkungen zur späthellenistischen Baukunst
in Mittelitalien", JdI, 1979, vol. 94, pp. 390-459.

Ling, R. *Pompeii: History, Life and Afterlife*, Stroud, 2005.

Mau, A. and Kelsey, F. W. *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* (2nd
edn), London and New York, 1902.

----, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* (2nd edn), Leipzig, 1908.

Nappo, S. C. "Pompeii: la casa Regio I, ins. 20, n. 4 nelle sue fasi. Considerazioni e problemi", in L. Franchi dell'Orto (ed.), Ercolano 1738-1988: 250 anni di ricerca archeologica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Ravello-Ercolano-Napoli-Pompeii 30 ottobre-5 novembre 1988 (Ministero per i Beni Culturali ed Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, Monografie, 6), Rome, 1993, pp. 667-76.

Richardson, L., jr, "Concordia and Concordia Augusta: Rome and Pompeii", PP, 1978, vol. 33, pp. 260-72.

Slayman, A. L., "The new Pompeii. Excavations beneath the AD 79 level illuminate the history of the famous Roman resort", Archaeology, November/December 1997, pp. 26-34.

Strocka, V. M., Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 8-10) (Häuser in Pompeji 4), Munich, 1991.

Wallat, K., "Der Zustand des Forums von Pompeji am Vorabend des Vesuvausbruchs 79 n.Chr", in T. Fröhlich and L. Jacobelli (eds), Archäologie und Seismologie. La regione vesuviana dal 62 al 79 d.C. Problemi archeologici e sismologici (Colloquium Boscoreale, 26-27 November 1993), Munich, 1995, pp. 75-92.

----, Die Ostseite des Forums von Pompeji, Frankfurt am Main, 1997.

Zanker, P., Pompeji: Stadtbilder als Spiegel von Gesellschaft und Herrschaftsform (Trierer Winckelmannsprogramme IX), Mainz, 1988.

----, Pompeji. Stadt und Wohngeschmack, Mainz, 1995.

----, Pompeii. Public and Private Life, Cambridge, MA, 1998. - R o g e r L i n g -

11 CHAPTER ELEVEN THE WALLS AND GATES

Bonghi Jovino, M. (ed.), *Ricerche a Pompei. L'insula 5 della Regio VI dalle origini al 79 d.C.*, Rome, 1984.

Chiaramonte Treré, C. (ed.), "Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," *Quaderni di ACME*, 1986, vol. 6.

----, "Sull'origine e lo sviluppo dell'architettura residenziale di Pompei sannitica," *ACME*, 1990, vol. 43.3, pp. 5-34. - *C r i s t i n a C h i a r a m o n t e -*

----, "Note in margine all'assetto edilizio e produttivo di Pompei in età ellenistica," in *Splendida Civitas nostra, Studi archeologici in onore do Antonio Frova*, Rome, 1995, pp. 9-21.

Cristofani, M., "La fase "etrusca" di Pompei," in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii*, Naples, 1991, pp. 9-22.

D'Ambrosio, A. and S. De Caro, "Un contributo all'urbanistica e all'architettura di Pompei in età ellenistica. I saggi nella casa VII, 4, 62," *AION*, 1989, vol. 11, pp. 173-215.

De Caro, S., "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," *AION*, 1985, vol. 7, pp. 75-114.

----, *Saggi nell'area del tempio di Apollo a Pompei. Scavi stratigrafici di A. Maiuri nel 1931-32 e 1942-43*, Naples, 1986.

----, "La città sannitica: urbanistica e architettura," in F. Zevi, (ed.), *Pompeii*, Naples, 1991, pp. 23-46.

----, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," *Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia*, 1992, vol. s. 3a, 1, pp. 67-90.

Eschebach, H., *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji*, RM-EH 17, Heidelberg, 1970.

Haverfield, F. *Ancient Town-Planning*, Oxford, 1913.

Lorenzoni, S., E. Zanettin and A. Casella, "La più antica cinta muraria di Pompei. Studio petroarcheometrico," *Rassegna di Archeologia*, 2001, vol. 18B, pp. 35-49.

Maiuri, A. "Studi e ricerche sulla fortificazione di Pompei," *MonAnt*, 1930, vol. 33, coll. 113-286.

----, "Greci ed Etruschi a Pompei," *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia. Memorie*, ser. 7, 1943, vol. 4, pp. 121-49 (reprinted in *Alla ricerca di Pompei preromana*, pp. 135-59).

Richardson, L., jr, *Pompeii. An Architectural History*, Baltimore, MD, 1988, pp. 44-50.

Sommella, P., "Città e territorio nella Campania antica," in G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *L'Evo Antico*, Naples, 1991, pp. 178ff.

Von Gerkan, A., *Der Stadtplan von Pompeji*, Berlin, 1940. -
c h a p t e r 1 1 : T h e w a l l s a n d g a t e s -

13 CHAPTER THIRTEEN URBAN, SUBURBAN AND RURAL RELIGION IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

AA.vv., Il tesoro di Boscoreale, Milan, 1988.

Adamo Muscettola, S., "Osservazioni sulla composizione dei larari con statuette in bronzo di Pompei ed Ercolano", in Toreutik und figürliche Bronzen römischer Zeit, Berlin, 1984, pp. 9-32.

----, "I Nigidi Mai di Pompei: far politica tra l'età neroniana e l'età flavia", RIA, 1991-2, s. III, vol. 14-15, 193 ff.

----, "La decorazione architettonica e l'arredo", in Alla ricerca di Iside, Rome, 1992, pp. 63-75.

----, "I culti domestici", in Abitare sotto il Vesuvio (Exhibition catalogue), Ferrara, 1997, pp. 175-9.

Allroggen-Bedel, A., "Das sogennante Forum von Herculaneum und die borbonischen Grabungen von 1739", CronErcol, 1974, vol. 4, pp. 97-109.

----, "Dokumente des 18 Jahrhunderts zur Topographie von Herculaneum", CronErcol, 1983, vol. 13, pp. 139-58.

Andreae, J., Les affaires de Monsieur Jucundus, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 19, Paris and Rome, 1974.

Arthur, P., "Problems of the urbanization of Pompeii. Excavations of 1980-1981", AntJ, 1986, vol. 66, pp. 29-44.

Baldi, A., La Pompei giudaico-cristiana, Cava dei Tirreni, 1964.

Beard, M., North, J. and Pryce, S., Religions of Rome. Volume I-A History; Volume II-A Sourcebook, Cambridge, 1998.

Boyce, G. K., Pompeian Lararia, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 14, 1937.

Castrén, P., Ordo Populusque Pompeianus. Polity and Society in Roman Pompeii, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 8, Rome, 1975.

Catalano, V. Case abitanti e culti di Ercolano, nuova edizione con gli indices a cura di L García y García e G. Panzera, Rome, 2002.

Chapouthier, F., *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*,
Paris, 1935.

Cicirelli, C., *Vita religiosa nell'antica Pompei*
(Exhibition catalogue), Pompeii, Soprintendenza
Archeologica di Pompei, 1995.

Clarke, J., *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 BC -AD 250.*
Ritual, space, and decoration, Berkeley, Los Angeles, CA
and Oxford, 1991.

D'Alessio, T. Materiali votivi dal Foro Triangolare di
Pompeii (Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia; v. 12), Rome,
2001.

D'Ambrosio, A., *La stipe votiva in località Bottaro*
(Pompeii), Naples, 1984.

----, and Borriello, M., *Le terrecotte figurate di Pompei*,
Rome, 1990.

Della Corte, M., *Iuventus*, Arpino, 1924.

De Caro, S., *Saggi nell'area del tempio di Apollo a*
Pompeii. Scavi stratigrafici di A. Maiuri nel 1931-32 e
1942-43, Naples, 1986. – chapter 13 : Religion
in the Roman period –

----, “Un graffito ed altre testimonianze del culto della
Magna Mater nella villa romana di Oplontis”, in R. I.
Curtis (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana & Classica in Honor of*
Wilhelmina F. Jashemski, New Rochelle, NY, 1989, vol. 1,
pp. 89-96.

----, “Novità isiache in Campania”, PP, 1994, vol. 49, pp.
7-21.

----, *La villa rustica in località Villa Regina a*
Boscoreale, Rome, 1994.

De' Spagnolis Conticello, M., “Sul rinvenimento della villa
e del monumento funerario dei Lucretii Valentes”, RStPomp,
1993-4, vol. 6, pp. 147-66.

De Vos, A. and De Vos, M., Pompei, Ercolano, Stabia. Guide
Archeologiche Laterza, Rome and Bari, 1982.

De Vos, M., “Aegyptiaca romana”, PP, 1994, vol. 49, pp.
130-59.

De Waele, J. A. K. E. (ed.), *Il tempio dorico del foro triangolare di Pompei*, Rome, 2001.

----, "Excavations in the Doric Temple in the Triangular Forum at Pompeii", *Opuscula Pompeiana*, 1997, vol. 7, pp. 51-73.

----, "The Doric Temple on the Forum Triangulare in Pompeii", *Opuscula Pompeiana*, 1993, vol. 3, pp. 105-18.

Di Capua, F., "Sacrari pompeiani", in *Pompeiana. Raccolta di studi per il secondo centenario degli scavi di Pompei*, Naples, 1950, pp. 60-85.

Dobbins, J. J., "The altar in the sanctuary of the Genius of Augustus in the Forum of Pompeii", *RM*, 1992, vol. 99, pp. 251-61.

----, "Problems of chronology, decoration, and urban design in the forum at Pompeii", *AJA*, 1994, vol. 98, pp. 629-94.

----, "The imperial cult building in the forum of Pompeii", in A. Small, (ed.), *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity. Papers in honour of the 65th birthday of Duncan Fishwick*, *JRA Suppl. Ser. no. 17*, 1996, pp. 99-114.

----, Ball, L. F., Cooper, J. G., Gavel, S. L. and Hay, S., "Excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, 1997", *AJA*, 1998, vol. 102, pp. 739-56.

Döhl, H. and Zanker, P., "La scultura", in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii 79. Raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana*, Naples, 1979, pp. 172-210.

Dunbabin, K. M. D., "Sic erimus cuncti . . . The skeleton in Graeco-Roman art", *JdI*, 1986, vol. 101, pp. 185-255.

Duthoy, R., "Culti familiari e privati della Campania. Arulae fittili pompeiane", in *Hommages à Albert Grenier. Collection Latomus 58*, Brussels, 1962, pp. 559-66.

----, "Les augustales", *ANRW II.16.2*, 1978, pp. 1254-309.

Elia, O. and Pugliese Caratelli, G., "Il santuario dionisiaco di Pompei", *PP*, 1979, vol. 34, pp. 442-81.

Étienne, R., *La vie quotidienne à Pompéi*, Paris, 1966.

----, "A propos du cosidette édifice des augustales d'Herculaneum", in Ercolano 1738-1988: 250 anni di ricerca archeologica, Atti del Convegno Internazionale Ravello-Ercolano-Napoli-Pompeii 30 ottobre-5 novembre 1988, Rome, 1993, pp. 345-50.

Fears, J. R., "The cult of virtues and Roman imperial ideology", ANRW II.17.2, 1981, pp. 736-826.

Fishwick, D., The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire, vol. I.1, Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, Cologne, 1987.

----, "The inscription of Mamia again: the cult of the Genius Augusti and the Temple of the Imperial Cult on the Forum of Pompeii", Epigraphica, 1995, vol. 57, pp. 17-38.

Fowden, G., The Egyptian Hermes: a historical approach to the late pagan mind, Cambridge and New York, 1986.

Fröhlich, T., Lararien und Fassadenbilder in der Vesuvstädten. Untersuchungen zur "volkstümlichen" pompejanischen Malerei, RM-EH 32, 1991.

Gigante, M., Philodemus in Italy: the books from Herculaneum, translated by Dirk Obbink, Ann Arbor, MI, 1995. - A l a s t a i r M . S m a l l -

Giordano, C. and Kahn, I., The Jews in Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae and in the Cities of Campania Felix, 3rd edn revised and enlarged by L. García y García (English translation by Wilhelmina F. Jashemski), Rome, 2001.

Gradel, I., "Mamia's dedication: Emperor and Genius. The imperial cult in Italy and the Genius Coloniae in Pompeii", AnalRom, 1992, vol. 20, pp. 42-58.

Grévin, G., "La crémation à l'époque romaine: un os resectum dans le monument funéraire de Marcus Nonius Balbus à Herculaneum", RM, 1997, vol. 194, pp. 429-32 (appendix to Pappalardo, "Nuove testimonianze").

Guzzo, P. G., "Ritrovamenti in contesti non cultuali: Ercolano", in E. A. Arslan (ed.), Iside: il mito, il mistero, la magia (Exhibition Catalogue), Milan, 1997, pp. 346-7.

----, "Ritrovamenti in contesti non cultuali: Pompei", in E. A. Arslan (ed.) Iside: il mito, il mistero, la magia

(Exhibition Catalogue), Milan, 1997, pp. 344-5.

Hänlein Schäfer, H., "Die Ikonographie des Genius Augusti in Kompital- und Hauskult der frühen Kaiserzeit", in A. Small (ed.), *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*. Papers in honour of the 65th birthday of Duncan Fishwick, JRA Suppl. Ser. no. 17, 1996, pp. 73-98.

Jansen, G. C. M., "Paintings in Roman toilets", in E. M. Moorman (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting (Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting)*, Leiden, 1993, pp. 29-33.

Jashemski, W. F., *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius*, 2 vols, New Rochelle, NY, 1979-93.

Kockel, V., *Die Grabbauten vor dem herkulaneum Tor in Pompeji*, Mainz am Rhein, 1983.

Kraus, T. and von Matt, L., *Pompeii and Herculaneum. The Living Cities of the Dead*, trans. R. E. Wolf, New York, 1975.

Lauter, H., "Zur späthellenistischen Baukunst in Mittelitalien", JdI, 1979, vol. 94, pp. 390-459.

Le Corsu, F., "Un oratoire pompéien consacré à Dionysos-Osiris", RA, 1967, pp. 239-54.

Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G., *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, Oxford, 1996.

Ling, R., "Street plaques at Pompeii", in Henig, M. (ed.), *Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1990, pp. 51-66.

----, *Roman Painting*, Cambridge and New York, 1991.

Magaldi, E., "Il culto degli imperatori a Pompei ed edifici che hanno rapporto con esso", Rivista di Studi Pompeiani, 1937, vol. 2, pp. 159-90.

Maiuri, A., "‘Fulgur conditum’ o della scoperta di un bidental a Pompei", RendNap, 1941, vol. 21, pp. 55-72.

----, "Un decreto onorario di M. Nonio scoperto recentemente ad Ercolano", RendLinc, 1942, ser. 7.8, pp. 1-26.

----, Ercolano, i nuovi scavi, 2 vols, Rome, 1958.

----, Alla ricerca di Pompei preromana, Naples, 1973.

Mau, A., "Der Tempel der Venus Pompeiana", RM, 1900, vol. 15, pp. 270-308.

Maulucci Vivolo, F. P., Pompei: i graffiti figurati, Foggia, Bastogi, 1993.

Museo di Napoli I.1 = Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, vol. I.1: I mosaici, le pitture, gli oggetti di uso quotidiano, gli argenti, le terrecotte invetriate, i vetri, i cristalli, gli avori, Rome and Milan, 1986.

Museo di Napoli I.2 = La scultura greco-romana, le sculture antiche della collezione Farnese, le collezioni monetali, le oreficerie, la collezione glittica, Rome and Milan, 1989.

Niebling, G., "Laribus augustis magistri primi. Der Beginn des Compitalkultes der Lares und des Genius Augusti", Historia, 1956, vol. 5, pp. 303-478.

Olivieri Farioli, R., "La 'Croce' di Ercolano: Rassegna di studi", RendNap, 1970, vol. 45, pp. 57-71.

Orr, D. G., "Roman domestic religion. The evidence of the household shrines", ANRW II.16.2., 1978, pp. 1557-91.

Ostrow, S. E., "Augustales along the Bay of Naples: a case for their early growth", Historia, 1985, vol. 34, pp. 64-101. - chapter 13 : Religion in the Roman period -

Pace, R., "Il 'Complesso dei riti magici' a Pompei II.1.11-12", RStPomp, 1997, vol. 8, pp. 73-97.

Pagano, M., "Semo Sancus in una insegnna di bottega a Ercolano", CronErcol, 1988, vol. 18, pp. 209-14.

----, Ercolano, itinerario archeologico raggionato, Naples, 1997.

Paillier, J.-M., Bacchanalia: la repression de 186 av. J.-C. à Rome et en Italie: vestiges, images, tradition, Paris and Rome, 1988.

Pappalardo, U., "Spazio sacro e spazio profano: il Collegio

degli Augustali ad Ercolano”, in E. M. Moorman (ed.),
Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting
(Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient
Wall Painting), Leiden, 1993, pp. 90-5.

----, “Nuove testimonianze su Marco Nonio Balbo ad
Ercolano”, RM, 1997, vol. 194, pp. 417-28.

Pesando, F., “Domus”. Edilizia privata e società pompeiana
fra III e I secolo a.C., Rome, 1997.

Peterson, R. M., The Cults of Campania, Papers and
Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 1919, p. 1.

Richardson, L., jr, “The archaic doric temple of Pompeii”,
PP, 1974, vol. 29, pp. 281-90.

----, “Concordia and Concordia Augusta: Rome and Pompeii”,
PP, 1978, vol. 33, pp. 260-72.

----, Pompeii, an Architectural History, Baltimore, MD and
London, 1988.

Rohde, G., “os resectum”, RE XVIII.2 cols 1534-6.

Russo, D., Il tempio di Giove Meilichio a Pompei, Naples,
1991.

Sauron, G., La grande fresque de la Villa des Mystères à
Pompéi, Paris, 1998.

Schilling, Robert, La religion romaine de Vénus depuis les
origines jusqu’au temps d’Auguste, Paris, 1954.

Slane, K. W. and Dickie, M., “A Knidian phallic vase from
Corinth”, Hesperia, 1993, vol. 62, pp. 483-505.

Small, A. M., “The shrine of the imperial family in the
Macellum at Pompeii”, in Small (ed.), Subject and Ruler:
The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity. Papers
in honour of the 65th birthday of Duncan Fishwick, JRA
Suppl. Ser. no. 17, 1996, pp. 115-36.

---- (ed.), Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power
in Classical Antiquity. Papers in honour of the 65th
birthday of Duncan Fishwick, JRA Suppl. Ser. no. 17, 1996.

Spinazzola, V., Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via
dell’Abbondanza (Anni 1910-1923), 2 vols, Rome, 1953.

Stefani, G. (ed.), *Uomo e ambiente nel territorio vesuviano. Guida all'Antiquarium di Boscoreale*, Pompeii, 2003.

Torelli, M., "Il culto imperiale a Pompei", in S. Adamo Muscettola, G. Greco and L. Cicala (eds), *I culti della Campania antica: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in ricordo di Nazarena Valenza Mele*, Napoli, 15-17 maggio 1995, Rome, 1998, pp. 245-70.

Toynbee, J. M. C., *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, London, 1971.

Tran-Tam-Tinh, V., *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, Paris, 1964.

----, *Le culte des divinités orientales à Herculaneum*, Leiden, 1971.

----, "La vita religiosa", in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii 79. Raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana*, Naples, 1984, pp. 56-64.

Turcan, R., "Pour en finir avec la femme fouettée", *RA*, 1982, pp. 291-302.

----, "Sabazios à Pompéi", in *Ercolano 1738-1988. 25 Anni di ricerca archeologica*, Rome, 1993, pp. 499-512.

----, *The Cults of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1996.

Varone, A., "Religion and Superstition", in L. Franchi dell'Orto and A. Varone (eds), *Rediscovering Pompeii (Exhibition catalogue)*, Rome, 1992, pp. 135-6.

----, *Presenze giudaiche e cristiane a Pompei. Quaderni della Società per lo Studio e la Divulgazione dell'Archeologia Biblica* 1, Naples, 1979.

----, *Pompeii, i misteri di una città sepolta. Storia e segreti di un luogo in cui la vita si è fermata duemila anni fa*, 2nd edn, Rome, 2000. - *A l a s t a i r M . S m a l l -*

Vermaseren, M., *Corpus Cultus Iovis Sabazii (CCIS) I. The hands. (Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain publiées par M.J. Vermaseren; v. 100)*. Leiden, 1983, pp. 5-10, nos. 12-19.

----, *Cybele and Attis. The Myth and the Cult*, London, 1977.

Ward-Perkins, J. B. and Claridge, A., Pompeii AD 79,
London, 1976.

Wojcik, M. R., La villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano. Contributo
alla ricostruzione dell'ideologia della nobilitas
tardo-repubblicana, Rome, 1986.

Zanker, P., Pompeii. Public and private life, Cambridge, MA
and London, 1998.

Zevi, F., "Sul tempio di Iside a Pompei", PP, 1994, vol.
49, pp. 37-56.

----, "I greci, gli etruschi, il Sele (Note sui culti
arcaici di Pompei)", in I culti della Campania antica,
Rome, 1998, pp. 21-2. - chapter 13 : Religion
in the Roman period -

4 CHAPTER FOURTEEN ENTERTAINMENT AT POMPEII

Adamo Muscettola, S., "La transformazione della città tra Silla e Augusto," in F. Zevi (ed.), Pompei, Naples, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 73-112.

Byvanck, A. W., "Das grosse Theater in Pompeji," RM, 1940, vol. 25, pp. 107-24.

De Caro, S., "La città in età imperiale," in F. Zevi (ed.), Pompei, Naples, 1992, vol. 2, pp. 11-38.

De Franciscis, A., "Attività archeologica," CronPomp, 1975, vol. 1, pp. 245-6.

----, Fasti Archaeologici, 1971-72, pp. 26-7, n. 8186.

Della Corte, M., "Il campus di Pompei," RendLinc Ser., 1947, vol. 8.2, pp. 555-68.

----, Iuventus, Arpino, 1924.

De Petra, G., Giornale degli Scavi, 1868-69, n.s. 1, pp. 185-7.

Devijver, H. and F. van Wonterghem, "Ancora sul campus delle città romane," Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, 1982, vol. 21, pp. 93-8.

----, "Il campus nell'impianto delle città romane: Testimonianze epigrafiche e resti archeologici," Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, 1981, vol. 20, pp. 33-68.

Fröhlich, T., Lararien- und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten, RM-EH 32, Mainz, 1991.

Fuchs, M., Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung römischer Theater in Italien und den Westprovinzen des Imperium Romanum, Mainz am Rhein, 1987.

Girosi, M., "L'Anfiteatro di Pompei," MemNap, 1936, vol. 5, pp. 29-55.

Golvin, J. C., L'amphithéâtre romain, Paris, 1988.

Graefe, R., Vela erunt: Die Zeltdächer der römischer Theater und ähnlicher Anlager, Mainz, 1979.

Hardy, E. G., Three Spanish Charters and Other Documents,

Oxford, 1912.

Izenour, G., *Roofed Theaters in Classical Antiquity*, New Haven, CT, 1992.

Jashemski, W., *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius*, 2 vols, New Rochelle, NY, 1979-93.

Johannowsky, W., "La situazione in Campania," in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, Göttingen, 1976, pp. 267-99.

Lauter, H., "Die hellenistischen Theater der Samniten und Latiner in ihrer Beziehung zur Theaterarchitektur der Griechen," in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, Göttingen, 1976, pp. 413-30.

Maiuri, A., "Saggi nella cavea del 'Teatro grande,'" NSc, 1951, pp. 126-34.

----, "Scavo della 'Grande Palestra' nel quartiere dell'Anfiteatro," NSc, 1939, pp. 165-238.

----, L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei, Rome, 1942.

Mau, A., "Das grosse Theater in Pompeji," RömMitt, 1906, vol. 21, pp. 1-56.

Meinel, R., *Das Odeion: Untersuchungen an überdachten antiken Theatergebäuden*, Frankfurt, 1979.

Murolo, M., "Il cosiddetto 'Odeo' di Pompei ed il problema della sua copertura," RendNap, 1959, n.s. 34, pp. 89-101.

Nappo, S. C., "Nuova indagine archeologica in località Moregine a Pompei," RStPomp, 1999, vol. 10, pp. 185-90.

Pagano, M., *I diari di scavo di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabiae di Francesco e Pietro La Vega, 1764-1810: Raccolta e studio di documenti inediti*, Rome, 1997.

----, "L'edificio dell'agro Murecine a Pompei," RendNap, 1983, n.s. 58, pp. 325-62.

Paribeni, R., "Relazioni degli scavi eseguiti nel mese di settembre 1902," NSc, 1902, pp. 512-15.

Parslow, C., "Documents illustrating the excavations of the Praedia of Julia Felix in Pompeii," RStPomp, 1989, vol. 2,

pp. 37-48.

Pompeii: Pitture e Mosaici, vol. 1, Rome, 1990.

Pompeii: Pitture e Mosaici, vol. 2, La documentazione
nell'opera di disegnatori e pittori dei secoli XVIII e XIX,
Rome, 1995.

Richardson, L., jr, Pompeii: an architectural history,
Baltimore, MD, 1988, pp. 75-80.

Sabbatini-Tumolesi, P., Gladiatorium paria: Annunci di
spettacoli gladiatori a Pompei, Rome, 1980.

Sogliano, A., "Esplorazioni nel teatro scoperto," NSc,
1906, pp. 100-7. — Christopher Par slow —

Spano, G., "Alcune osservazioni nascenti da una descrizione
dell'anfiteatro di Pompei," Annali dell'Istituto
dell'Università di Magistero di Salerno, 1953, vol. 1, pp.
357-419.

----, "Osservazioni intorno al 'Theatrum Tectum' di
Pompeii," Annali dell'Istituto Superiore di Scienze e
Lettere di Santa Chiara, 1949, vol. 1, pp. 111-39.

Welch, K., "The arena in late-Republican Italy: a new
interpretation," JRA, 1994, vol. 7, pp. 59-80.

Zanker, P., Pompeii: public and private life, trans. D.
Schneider, Cambridge, MA, 1998.

----, Pompeji: Stadtbilder als Spiegel von Gesellschaft und
Herrschaftsform, Mainz am Rhein, 1987.

Zevi, F., "Pompeii dalla città sannitica alla colonia
sillana: Per un'interpretazione dei dati archeologici," in
Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire des
Gracques à Néron, Rome, 1996, pp. 125-38. — chapter
14 : Entertaining at Pompeii —

15 CHAPTER FIFTEEN THE CITY BATHS OF POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM

Borrielli, M. and A. Ambrosio, *Forma Italiae. Regio I*, Vol. XIV: Baiae-Misenum, Florence, 1979.

Brödner, E., *Die römischen Thermen und das antike Badewesen*, Darmstadt, 1983.

Crova, B., "Le terme romane nella Campania," VIII Convegno di Storia dell'Architettura, 1953, pp. 271-88.

DeLaine, J., "Recent research on Roman baths," *JRA*, 1988, vol. 1, pp. 11-32.

----, "Some observations on the transition from Greek to Roman baths in Hellenistic Italy," *Mediterranean Archaeology*, 1989, vol. 2, pp. 111-25.

----, "Roman baths and bathing," *JRA*, 1993, vol. 6, pp. 348-58.

----, *The Baths of Caracalla: A Study in the Design, Construction and Economics of Large-Scale Public Buildings in Imperial Rome*, *JRA Suppl. Ser. no. 25*, 1997.

DeLaine, J. and Johnston, D. E. (eds), *Roman Baths and Bathing*, Proceedings of the first International Conference on Roman Baths held at Bath, England, 30 March-4 April, 1992, Pt. 1: Bathing and Society, Pt. 2: Design and Context, *JRA Suppl. Ser. no. 37.1, 37.2*, 1999 and 2000.

Delorme, J., *Gymnasion: Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce*, Paris, 1960.

De Vos, A. and M. De Vos, *Guide archéologique Laterza: Pompei, Ercolano, Stabia*, Rome, 1982.

Dunbabin, K. A., "Baiarum Grata Voluptas: pleasures and dangers of the baths," *Papers of the British School in Rome*, 1989, vol. 57, pp. 6-49.

Eschebach, H., "Untersuchungen in den Stabianer Thermen zu Pompeji," *RM*, 1973, vol. 80, pp. 235-42.

----, *Die Stabianer Thermen in Pompeji*, Berlin, 1979.

Fagan, G. G., "Sergius Orata: inventor of the hypocaust?" *Phoenix*, 1996, vol. 50, pp. 56-66.

----, Bathing in Public in the Roman World, Ann Arbor, MI, 1999.

----, "The genesis of the Roman public bath: recent approaches and future directions," AJA, 2001, vol. 105, pp. 403-26.

Fahlbusch, H., "Elemente griechischer und römischer Wasserversorgungsanlagen," Wasserversorgung, 1987, vol. II, pp. 133-63.

Garbrecht, G. and H. Manderscheid, "Die Wasserbewirtschaftung römischer Thermen," Mitteilungen des Leichtweiß-Instituts für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig, 1994, vols 118 A-C.

Ginouvès, R., Balaneutikè: recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque, Paris, 1962.

Haan, N. de, "Privatbäder in Pompeji und Herkulaneum und die städtische Wasserversorgung," Mitteilungen des Leichtweiß-Instituts für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig, 1992, vol. 117, pp. 423-45.

----, "Die Wasserversorgung der Privatbäder in Pompeji," in de Haan and Jansen (eds), Cura Aquarium, pp. 59-65.

----, Römische Privatbäder, Entwicklung, Verbreitung und sozialer Status, Ph.D. dissertation, Nijmegen, Katholieke Universiteit, forthcoming.

Haan, N. de. and G. C. M. Jansen (eds), Cura Aquarium in Campania: Proceedings of the 9th International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region (Pompeii, 1-8 October 1994), Bulletin Antieke Beschaving=Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology, Supplement 4, Leiden, 1996.

Heinz, W., Römische Thermen. Badewesen und Badeluxus im römischen Reich, Munich, 1983.

Hodge, A. Trevor (ed.), Future Currents in Aqueduct Studies, Leeds, 1991.

----, Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply, London, 1992.

----, "Anomalies in the flow at the Pompeii Castellum," in de Haan and Jansen (eds), 1996, pp. 13-18. - A n n O l g a K o l o s k i o s t r o w -

----, "In Vitruvianum Pompeianum: urban water distribution reappraised," AJA, 1996, vol. 100, pp. 261-76.

Iorio, A., "Sistema di riscaldamento nelle antiche terme pompeiane," Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma, 1978-79, vol. 86, pp. 167-89.

Jacobelli, L., "Terme Suburbane: stato attuale delle conoscenze," Rivista di studi pompeiani, 1988, vol. 2, pp. 202-8.

----, Le pitture erotiche delle terme suburbane di Pompei, Rome, 1995.

Jansen, G. C. M., "Sewers and tapwater as urban innovations at Herculaneum," in XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica Tarragona, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 18-20.

----, Water in de Romeinse stad. Pompeii, Herculaneum, Ostia, Leuven, 2002.

Jashemski, W. F., The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius, New Rochelle, NY, 1979.

Kaufmann, C. M., The Baths of Pozzuoli, A Study of the Medieval Illuminations of Peter of Eboli's Poem, Oxford, 1959.

Koloski-Ostrow, A. O., The Sarno Bath Complex, Rome, 1990.

----, "Finding social meaning in the public latrines of Pompeii," in de Haan and Jansen (eds), Cura Aquarum, pp. 79-86.

----, The Archaeology of Sanitation in Roman Italy: Water, Sewers, and Toilets, Chapel Hill, NC, forthcoming.

Koloski-Ostrow, A. O., N. de Haan, G. de Kleijn and S. Piras, "Water in the Roman town: new research from Cura Aquarium and the Frontinus Society," JRA, 1997, vol. 10, pp. 181-91.

Kretzschmer, F., "Hypocausten," Saalburg-Jahrbuch, 1953, vol. 12, pp. 7-41.

Künzl, E., "Operationsräume im römischen Thermen," Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande, 1986, vol. 186, pp. 491-509.

Maiuri, A., "Pompeii. Scoperta di un edificio termale nella Regio VIII, Insula 5, no. 36," *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1950, vol. 66, pp. 116-36.

----, Pompeii, Rome, 1965.

----, Herculaneum, Rome, 1970.

Manderscheid, H., "Römische Thermen. Aspekte von Architektur, Techniek und Ausstattung," *Wasserversorgung*, 1988, vol. III, pp. 99-125.

----, "Bemerkungen zur Wasserbewirtschaftung der suburbanen Thermen in Pompeji," *Archaeologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 1993, vol. 23, pp. 337-46.

----, "Standard und Luxus in römischen Bädern. Überlegungen aus der Sicht der Hydrotechnik," in de Haan and Jansen (eds), *Cura Aquarum*, 1994, pp. 109-15.

Mau, A. and Kelsey, F., *Pompeii: its life and art*, New York, 1907.

Mygind, H., "Hygienische Verhältnisse im alten Pompeji," *Janus*, 1921, vol. 25, pp. 251-81, 324-85.

Nielsen, I., "Considerazioni sulle primi fasi dell'evoluzione dell'edificio termale romano," *AnalRom*, 1985, vol. 14, pp. 81-112.

----, *Thermae et balnea*, Aarhus, 1993.

Oleson, J. P., "Water-lifting devices at Herculaneum and Pompeii in the context of Roman technology," in de Haan and Jansen (eds), 1996, pp. 67-77.

----, and Humphrey, J. W., *Greek and Roman Technology: a sourcebook*, London, 1997.

Parslow, C., *The Praedia Iuliae Felicis in Pompeii*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Durham, NC, Duke University, 1989.

----, *Rediscovering Antiquity. Karl Weber and the excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae*, Cambridge, 1995.

Pasquinucci, M. (ed.), *Terme romane e vita quotidiana*, Mostra, Modena, 1987.

Reimers, P., "‘Opus Omnia Dictu Maximum’ literary sources

for the knowledge of Roman city drainage," *Opuscula Romana*, 1989, vol. XVII: 10, pp. 137-41. - chapter 15 : T
he city baths of Pompeii and Herc
ulanum -

----, "Roman sewers and sewerage networks-neglected areas of study," *Munuscula Romana*, 1991, pp. 111-16.

Richardson, L., jr, *Pompeii: an architectural history*, Baltimore, MD, 1988.

Scobie, A., "Slums, sanitation, and mortality in the Roman world," *Klio*, 1986, vol. 68: 2, pp. 399-433.

Taylor, R., *Roman Builders: a study in architectural process*, Cambridge, 2003.

Turner, J. Hilton, "Sergius Orata, pioneer of radiant heating," *Classical Journal*, 1947/48, vol. 43, pp. 486-7.

Wiggers, J. B. M., "The urban water supply of Pompeii," in de Haan and Jansen (eds), 1996, pp. 29-32.

Wilson, R. J. A., "Tot aquarium tam multis necessariis molibus . . . Recent studies on aqueducts and water supply," *JRA*, 1996, vol. 9, pp. 5-29.

Yegül, F. K. *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge, MA, 1992. - Ann Olgak Kolasik Oszt
ról -

6 CHAPTER SIXTEEN THE WATER SYSTEM: Supply and drainage

Eschebach, H., "Die Gebrauchswasserversorgung des antiken Pompeji," *Antike Welt*, 1979, vol. 10, pp. 3-24.

Haan, N. de and G. Jansen (eds), *Cura Aquarum in Campania*, Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region (Pompeii, 1-8 October 1994). *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving—Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology* 1996, Supplement 4.

Jansen, G., "Water systems and sanitation in the houses of Herculaneum," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, 1991, vol. 50, pp. 145-66.

----, "Private toilets at Pompeii: appearance and operation," in S. E. Bon and R. Jones (eds), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, Oxford, 1997, pp. 121-34.

----, "Water pipe systems in the houses of Pompeii: distribution and use," in A. O. Koloski-Ostrow (ed.), *Water Use and Hydraulics in the Roman City*, AIA Colloquia and Conference Papers, no. 3, Boston, MA, 2001, pp. 27-40.

----, "Systems for the disposal of waste and excreta in Roman cities. The situation at Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia," in X. Dupré Raventos and J.-A. Remolà (eds), *Sordes Urbis, La eliminación de residuos en la ciudad romana*, Rome, 2000, pp. 37-49.

Koga, M., "The surface drainage system of Pompeii," in *Opuscula Pompeiana*, 1992, vol. II, pp. 57-72.

Koloski-Ostrow, A. O., "Finding social meaning in the public latrines of Pompeii," in de Haan and Jansen (eds), *Cura Aquarum*, pp. 79-86.

Maiuri, A., *Ercolano, I Nuovi Scavi 1927-1958*, Rome, 1958.

Ohlig, Chr., "Vitruvs 'castellum aquae' und die Wasserverteilung in antiken Pompeji," *Sftenreihe der Fronchritinusgesellschaft*, 1995, vol. 19, pp. 124-47. — c
h a p t e r 1 6 : T h e w a t e r s y s t e m —

----, "Anmerkungen zum Funktionsmodell des Castellum Aquae im antiken Pompeji," in de Haan and Jansen (eds), *Cura Aquarium*, pp. 19-27.

----, "DE AQUIS POMPEIANORUM, Das Castellum Aquae in Pompeji: Herkunft, Zuleitung und Verteilung des Wassers," diss. Nijmegen, 2001.

Oleson, J. P., Greek and Roman Mechanical Waterlifting Technology, Toronto, 1984.

----, "Waterlifting devices at Herculaneum and Pompeii in the context of Roman technology," in de Haan and Jansen (eds), *Cura Aquarum*, pp. 67-77. — G e m m a J a n s e n
—