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The City Walls of Pompeii: Perceptions and Expressions of a Monumental Boundary

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**The City Walls of Pompeii: Perceptions and Expressions of a
Monumental Boundary**

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Dedication

To my wife, daughter, my soon to be born son, my parents, and my sisters.

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The City Walls of Pompeii: Perceptions and Expressions of a Monumental Boundary

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Fortifications often represent the largest and most extensive remains present on archaeological sites. Their massive scale is the primary reason for their survival and reflects the considerable resources that communities invested in their construction. Yet, until recently, they have largely remained underrepresented as monuments in studies on the ancient city. Beyond their defensive function city walls constituted an essential psychological boundary protecting communities from unpredictable elements including war, brigandage, and more elusive natural forces. These factors have led scholars to identify fortifications as playing a distinct role in the definition of a civic identity. Nevertheless, beyond the recognition of some general trends, a definitive diachronic study of their performance within a single urban matrix is still lacking.

This dissertation examines the city walls of Pompeii as an active monument rather than a static defensive enclosure. The city preserves one of the most intact set of defenses surviving since antiquity which, in various shapes and forms, served as one its defining elements for over 600 years. Pompeii's fortifications, through construction techniques, materials, and embellishments, engaged in an explicit architectural dialogue with the city, its urban development, and material culture. Their basic framework changed in response to military developments, but their appearance is also the result of specific political and

ideological choices. As a result, the city walls carried aesthetic and ideological associations reflecting the social and political organization of the community.

This study is the first of its kind. It provides a diachronic examination of the Pompeian fortifications by assessing their role in the social and architectural definition of the city. The walls were subject to appropriation and change in unison with the ambitions of the citizens of Pompeii. From their original construction through subsequent modifications, the fortifications expressed multivalent political, religious, and social meanings, particular to specific time periods in Pompeii. This analysis reveals a monument in continuous flux that changed its ideological meaning and relationship to civic identity, in response to the major historical and social developments affecting the city.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	xi
Introduction	1
Chapter 1 Prolegomena to the City Walls of Pompeii	17
THE CITY WALLS AND THE URBANIZATION OF POMPEII	18
EXCAVATING THE FORTIFICATIONS	21
Chapter 2 The First Enceintes and the Creation of the Community	38
BUILDING A COMMUNITY: THE PAPPAMONTE FORTIFICATION AND THE CITY	39
WALLS, GODS, AND THE LEGITIMIZATION OF POWER	60
Chapter 3 A New Enceinte for a New City: Early Samnite Pompeii.	68
PROJECTING AN IMAGE: ELEMENTS OF REPRESENTATION IN THE FORTIFICATIONS	72
CALIBRATING THE IMAGE OF THE EXPANDING CITY	81
Chapter 4 Establishing an Image: The Fortifications and the Golden Age of Pompeii	97
LIMESTONE, TUFA, AND THE CREATION OF A NEW STATEMENT	100
Emphasizing the Passage In and Out of the City	107
The Porta Nocera	109
The Porta Ercolano	110
The Porta Vesuvio.....	112
REACHING NEW HEIGHTS: <i>OPUS INCERTUM</i> AND THE NEXT PHASE OF CONSTRUCTION	113
New Elements to Old Passages	120
RECALIBRATING THE IMAGE OF THE CITY	139
Naming the Fortifications	152
Chapter 5 The Roman Colony: Continuity and Appropriation of the Civic Image	165
THE WALLS OF THE COLONY	167

The Evidence from the Curtain Wall	169
The Development of the Gates	179
The Porta Marina	179
The Porta Vesuvio.....	182
The Porta Stabia.....	185
The Augustan Gates	186
The Post-Earthquake Interventions on the Porta Ercolano and Porta Vesuvio	188
Change and Continuity in the Towers	194
Claiming Public Land, Chipping away at the so-called Pomerium	199
THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS	203
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AN ENTERTAINMENT DISTRICT; THE FORTIFICATIONS, THE AMPHITHEATER, AND THE PALESTRA	215
FORTIFICATIONS AND THE TOMB: DIALOGUES IN SOCIAL ORDER	221
CITY WALLS IN THE DOMESTIC SPHERE: REFLECTIONS OF URBAN AND SOCIAL IDEALS	227
FORTIFICATIONS AND RELIGION: APPROPRIATION, CONTINUITY, AND CHANGE	244
Conclusion	257
Illustrations	263
Bibliography	330
Vita	356

List of Figures

Figure 1 Pompeii and its fortifications.....	263
Figure 2 The fortifications near Tower III with the pappamonte wall	264
Figure 3 Remains of the orthostate wall near Porta Vesuvio.....	264
Figure 4 Reconstruction of a forecourt gate	265
Figure 5 The phases of the fortifications	265
Figure 6 The <i>Altstadt</i>	266
Figure 7 The Oscan inscription at the Porta Stabia.....	266
Figure 8 The graffito mentioning Sulla in Tower X.	267
Figure 9 The excavations near the Porta Nocera.	267
Figure 10 The ruins of Tower IX.....	268
Figure 11 The bombed ruins of the Porta Marina.....	268
Figure 12 The topography of Pompeii and the early road network.	269
Figure 13 Map of Pompeii with the known locations of the pappamonte wall ...	269
Figure 14 Plan of the Porta Vesuvio	270
Figure 15 View of the lava spur beneath the Doric Temple	271
Figure 16 Drawing of the orthostate wall near the Porta Vesuvio.....	271
Figure 17 Reconstruction of the orthostate wall	272
Figure 18 The <i>Altstadt</i> fortifications along the via dell' Abbondanza.....	272
Figure 19 Pompeii viewed from ancient Stabiae	273
Figure 20 Remains of the limestone fortifications.....	273
Figure 21 The fortifications beneath the House of Umbricus Scaurus	274
Figure 22 Remnants of the rustication near the Porta Marina.	274
Figure 23 The tufa and limestone blocks near Tower XI	275

Figure 24 The rusticated blocks of the buried tower near the Porta Vesuvio.....	275
Figure 25 The fortifications beneath the House of Fabius Rufus	276
Figure 26 Plan of the Porta Stabia with its individual phases.....	276
Figure 27 The court of the Porta Stabia	277
Figure 28 Religion at the Porta Stabia.	277
Figure 29 Façade of the House of the Scientists.....	278
Figure 30 De Caro's projections of Pompeii's urban development.....	278
Figure 31 Vitale's alignments between sanctuaries and gates.....	279
Figure 32 Wall curtain between Towers XI and XII.	279
Figure 33 The battlements	280
Figure 34 The water spouts at the Porta Stabia.....	280
Figure 35 Wall curtain near Tower III.	281
Figure 36 Tower VI near the amphitheater.....	281
Figure 37 Wall curtain near Tower VII.	282
Figure 38 Curtain wall near Porta Nola	282
Figure 39 The construction techniques between Porta Vesuvio and Ercolano....	283
Figure 40 Reconstruction of the Porta Nola during the limestone phase	283
Figure 41 The Porta Nola.....	284
Figure 42 The gate court of the Porta Nola.....	284
Figure 43 The Porta Nocera and its exposed foundations.	285
Figure 44 Samnite Porta Ercolano	285
Figure 45 The western flank of the Porta Vesuvio	286
Figure 46 The development of the houses near the Doric Temple.	286
Figure 47 The lowered <i>agger</i> near Tower X.	287
Figure 48 Reconstructions of the walls and towers.	287

Figure 49 The columns in the vicolo dei Soprastanti..	288
Figure 50 The keystone and inscription on the Porta Nola.....	288
Figure 51 Etching of the Porta Nola	289
Figure 52 Porta Nola drain.....	290
Figure 53 Surviving keystones.....	290
Figure 54 Remains of the shrine at the Porta Vesuvio.....	291
Figure 55 The Porta all’ Arco in Volterra.....	291
Figure 56 The layout of the towers	292
Figure 57 Two tower reconstructions.	292
Figure 58 View from the top of Tower XI toward the Forum	293
Figure 59 Tower IV as part of group two.	293
Figure 60 Tower V as part of group three.....	294
Figure 61 Surviving decorations on Towers VIII and X.	294
Figure 62 Reconstruction of the Sanctuary to Mefitis Fisica.	295
Figure 63 Plan detailing the surviving tufa façades.....	295
Figure 64 Tufa façades lining the via dell’ Abbondanza.....	296
Figure 65 The division of the electoral colleges in Pompeii	296
Figure 66 Drawing of the remains of Tower 3 in Nocera.....	297
Figure 67 Reconstruction of a Tower at Paestum.....	297
Figure 68 The inscription of Cuspius and Loreius as restored in the CIL.	298
Figure 69 The <i>opus incertum</i> sections on either side of the Porta Stabia.....	298
Figure 70 <i>Opus incertum</i> leading up to Tower V	299
Figure 71 The Porta Nola as seen approaching the city.....	299
Figure 72 <i>Opus incertum</i> leading up to the Porta Ercolano.....	300
Figure 73 Section of the city walls east of the Temple of Venus	300

Figure 74 Towers XI and XII.....	301
Figure 75 The northern fortifications.....	301
Figure 76 Exterior view of the Porta Nola.....	302
Figure 77 The Porta Marina.....	302
Figure 78 Overview of the Porta Vesuvio from the south east.....	303
Figure 79 The Porta Stabia	303
Figure 80 The Porta Ercolano	304
Figure 81 The Porta Ercolano in the early 1800s	304
Figure 82 Reconstructions of the Porta Ercolano	305
Figure 83 Reconstructing the Porta Ercolano	305
Figure 84 The Ruins of Tower II.	306
Figure 85 Tower III.....	307
Figure 87 Tower VI.	307
Figure 88 The ruins of Tower VII.....	308
Figure 89 Tower VIII.....	308
Figure 90 The interior of Tower IX	309
Figure 91 The heavily reconstructed Tower XI.....	309
Figure 92 The <i>cippus</i> of Suedius Clements in front of Porta Nocera.	310
Figure 93 An inscription scratched into the wall curtain	310
Figure 94 Façade of the House of the Ceii	311
Figure 95 The Amphitheater and the Palestra.....	311
Figure 96 The Porta Nocera	312
Figure 97 View of the Palestra from the top of the amphitheater.....	312
Figure 98 Tower III and the necropolis on the left	313
Figure 99 Tower II and tombs in the Porta Nocera necropolis.....	313

Figure 100 Scanned image of the excavation notebook.	314
Figure 101 Spoliated schola tomb outside of the Porta Nocera.....	314
Figure 102 Relief depicting a city gate in the Avellino Museum.....	315
Figure 103 The Tomb of C. Calventius Quietus.....	315
Figure 104 The Avezzano Relief.	316
Figure 105 Tomb of the Statilii Fresco.	316
Figure 106 The Fall of Icarus.....	317
Figure 107 Stucco frieze from the House of the Lararium of Achilles	317
Figure 108 Floor band depicting fortifications in Atri.....	318
Figure 109 Gate mosaic in the <i>atriolum</i> of the House of the Menander.....	318
Figure 110 Drawing of the lost mosaic in the Villa of Diomedes	319
Figure 111 Second-Style mosaic in the House of Caesius Blandus	320
Figure 112 Augustan floor mosaic in the House of the Wild Boar	320
Figure 113 Early Imperial floor mosaic in the House of the Centenary.....	321
Figure 114 The Second-Style mosaic in the House of Tryptolemus.	322
Figure 115 The Second-Style band mosaic of the House of Cornelius Rufus.....	322
Figure 116 Fresco of the Riot at the Amphitheatre.....	323
Figure 117 Relief of the 62 CE earthquake.	323
Figure 118 The Sullan Temple of Venus.....	324
Figure 119 Fresco of Venus Pompeiana on the Shop of Verecundus.....	325
Figure 120 The Porta Marina niche..	325
Figure 121 The terracotta statue of Minerva from the Porta Marina.....	326
Figure 122 Plan of the Doric Temple	327
Figure 123 Punta della Campanella Athena.....	327
Figure 124 Terracotta statuette of Minerva	328

Figure 125 Procession on the Shop of the Carpenters	328
Figure 126 The Tarragona Minerva.....	329
Figure 127 The Minerva on the Porta Romana in Ostia Antica	329

Introduction

If our conclusions are just, not only should cities have walls, but care should be taken to make them ornamental, as well as useful for warlike purposes, and adapted to resist modern inventions. For as the assailants of a city do all they can to gain an advantage, so the defenders should make use of any means of defense which have been already discovered, and should devise and invent others, for when men are well prepared no enemy even thinks of attacking them.

-Aristotle

The aim of this dissertation is to assess the role of fortifications in the establishment of a civic identity for ancient Pompeii. Although fortifications often constitute the most tangible archaeological remains of settlements, scholars have paid little attention to their intrinsic monumental character. In fact, city walls remain largely neglected as monuments despite their standing as one of the major communal investments in urban frameworks. Their sheer scale translated to copious expenditures of resources even on small refurbishments or the erection of single towers and gates. On an architectural level their imposing height, thickness, and elegant masonry carried an unmistakable aesthetic element representing the city and its social hierarchy. Architecture, almost by definition, imposes an experience by announcing defined spaces and directing a viewer through them. Fortifications did this on a grand scale enclosing entire cities for centuries after their construction. Defenses often dictated the future urban layout of cities leading to their role in influencing issues of design and development. These factors ensured that city walls not only responded to military considerations, but also embodied the identity of the city and its inhabitants.

Many scholars agree that city walls formed part of the image of an ideal city, yet a diachronic examination of their performance within a single urban matrix is still lacking. Questions remain: What were the dynamics shaping this identity? What roles did fortifications play in the ever changing social realities of a city? This study focuses on a single site and will concentrate on the social, urban, and cultural context of the city walls at Pompeii, treating them as an active monumental boundary marker rather than a static defensive element. The circumstances at Pompeii provide a unique platform for such an analysis: an exceptionally well preserved fortification system, and a wealth of information concerning the social structure and genesis of the city. In addition, preserved graffiti, inscriptions, frescoes, and reliefs provide primary sources on how individuals perceived the structure.

The origins of Pompeii as a settlement remain shrouded in mystery; archaeological investigations have only recently started uncovering evidence for the earliest a settlement. Traces of a Bronze Age Palma Campania settlement have surfaced in the highest portions of the plateau near the current Porta Vesuvio, but this phase seems brief, giving way to a considerable hiatus in the archaeological evidence.¹ Scholars often trace the first signs of an organized settlement to the construction of the Temple of Apollo, the Doric Temple in the Triangular Forum, and the first line of fortifications in the sixth century BCE. Yet a few scant remains suggest that the areas the two temples

¹ M. Nilsson, "Evidence of Palma Campania Settlement at Pompeii." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006). Atti del convegno internazionale*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Rome, 2008), 81–86. See also M. Robinson, "La stratigrafia nello studio dell'archeologia preistorica e protostorica a Pompeii." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006). Atti del convegno internazionale*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Rome, 2008), 125–138 suggesting the presence of a Neolithic settlement, followed by a Bronze Age village. For Neolithic materials also see A. Varone, "Per la storia recente, antica ed antichissima del sito di Pompeii." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006). Atti del convegno internazionale*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Rome, 2008), 354-359.

saw some sort of settlement or frequentation stretching through the ninth and eighth centuries BCE.² Given the italicizing elements of the early Temple of Apollo and the Hellenizing aspects of the Doric Temple, scholars have traced both Etruscan and Greek influences for the foundation of the city. A possibility exists that early Pompeii was first founded as a sanctuary, that later attracted a settlement around it as was sometimes the case in Etruria.³ In this role the site perhaps functioned as a sacred emporium for the Sarno Valley in a similar fashion to the emporia of Pyrgi and Gravisca for the Etruscan cities of Cerveteri and Tarquinia.⁴ Excavations have found evidence for a possible sacred grove associated with the surviving votive column in the House of the Etruscan Column (VI.5.17). Its presence further supports the hypothesis that early Pompeii was a sanctuary, but a clear picture for this earliest phase can only come with further investigations.⁵ Given the paucity of evidence, this analysis will begin with the first tangible signs of an organized settlement coinciding with the construction of the first walled circuit.

The current city walls of Pompeii form an elliptical circuit some 3.2 km long (fig.1). Seven gates, the Porta Stabia, Nocera, Sarno, Nola, Vesuvio, Ercolano, and Marina pierce the line; whereas twelve towers, sequentially numbered in a counterclockwise direction, further fortify it. The principal gates open along the main arteries of the city, and the towers invariably line up at the end of smaller roads. This setup essentially anchors the urban layout of Pompeii. Scholars identify three main

² P. Carafa, "What was Pompeii before 200 B.C.? Excavations in the House of Joseph II, in the Triangular Forum and in the House of the Wedding of Hercules." In *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, edited by S.E. Bon and Rick Jones (Oxford, 1997), 26; Also P. Carafa, "Recent Work on Early Pompeii." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by P. Foss and J.J. Dobbins (London, 2007), 63-67

³ See F. Vitale, *Astronomia ed esoterismo nell'antica Pompei e ricerche archeoastronomiche a Paestum, Cuma, Velia, Metaponto, Crotona, Locri e Vibo Valentia* (Padova, 2000), 59; Carafa, "Recent Work on Early Pompeii," 65

⁴ P.G. Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica* (Milan, 2007), 41-43

⁵ M. Bonghi Jovino, *Ricerche a Pompei, I. L'insula 5 della regio VI dalle origini Al 79 d.C. Campagne di scavo 1976 - 1979* (Rome, 1984), 357-371

successive circuits that largely follow the same course: the pappamonte wall, the orthostate wall, and the Limestone fortification. The third limestone circuit subsequently witnessed at least four further upgrades and modifications spanning the remainder of Pompeian history. Amedeo Maiuri first formulated the current wall sequence using a combination of excavations and previous scholarship. Although scholars have frequently revised the construction dates, they have largely maintained his periodization.⁶ The long and complex debate concerning the dating and phasing of the walls is a matter that will receive further attention in the following chapter. Nevertheless, we should remember that dating walls is a problematic affair due primarily to extended site occupations, and the long chronological use ranges of construction techniques and diagnostic artifacts such as pottery.⁷

Similarly, the specifics of the appearance of the walls and the extent of their survival will concern us later, but a brief description of the individual phases, outlined along the most common scholarly consensus, provides a background for our discussion.⁸ Pompeii flourished in the Archaic and Early Classical (sixth and early fifth centuries BCE) periods before contracting considerably during the fifth century BCE.⁹ In this phase two successive fortified enclosures protected the city. The first fortification, the so-called pappamonte wall, dates to the sixth century BCE. The wall takes its name after the friable tufa, known locally as pappamonte, used to build it. Only one or two foundation

⁶ See A. Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei." *Monumenti Antichi* 33 (1929): 113–290. See also, C. Chiaramonte Treré, "The Walls and Gates." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by J.J. Dobbins and P. Foss (Hoboken, 2007), 142.

⁷ For the most recent evaluations on the matter see M. Miller, *Befestigungsanlagen in Italien vom 8. bis 3. Jahrhundert vor Christus* (Hamburg, 1995), 78-85; J. Becker, "The building blocks of empire: Civic Architecture, Central Italy, and the Roman Middle Republic." Ph.D., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007, 183-188.

⁸ This sequence follows Chiaramonte Treré, "The Walls and Gates," 140-150.

⁹ See the extensive discussion on the urbanization of this early period in chapter two

courses of the otherwise completely buried remains are visible near Tower III where erosion has exposed them to view (fig.2). They probably were part of a terracing wall holding an earth embankment known as an *agger*.¹⁰ The next wall, built in the early fifth century BCE, ran roughly along the same course. Scholars refer to it as the orthostate wall because of the relatively thin, vertically set, slabs of Sarno limestone used to build it (fig.3). It featured two facing wall façades set some four meters apart. Engineers filled the intervening space with earth according to the typically Greek construction technique known as *emplecton*. It protected the city for the next few hundred years until the turn of the third century BCE when construction of the third circuit led to its demolition. The knowledge these two early enceintes is primarily the result of excavations and their original appearance, as we shall see, is somewhat uncertain. Nevertheless, they shaped the future city designating the locations of gates and anchoring the urban layout of Pompeii for centuries to come.

The next wall dates to the turn of the third century BCE. Scholars also refer to it as the Limestone enceinte, or the first Samnite wall. It formed the basis for the currently visible fortified system, which essentially is the result of a series of subsequent upgrades. Mostly built in ashlar masonry, known as *opus quadratum*, this third enceinte featured an outer wall built using rectangular limestone blocks laid out in a relatively regular header and stretcher system. It acted as an enormous terracing wall supporting a large *agger*, or earthen embankment, behind it. The gates currently visible in the circuit largely follow the same layout designed for this enceinte. Scholars assign them to the forecourt type

¹⁰ F. Pesando, “Appunti sull’evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei fra l’età arcaica e il III secolo a.C. ricerche e risultati nel settore nord-occidentale della città.” In *Sorrento e la penisola Sorrentina tra Italici, Etruschi e Greci nel contesto della Campania antica. Atti della giornata di studio in omaggio a Paola Zancani Montuoro (1901 - 1987), Sorrento, 19 Maggio 2007*, edited by F. Senatore and M. Russo (Rome, 2010), 224. See also F. Pesando and M.P. Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae* (Rome, 2006), 29.

featuring a deep passageway through the *agger* reinforced with two forward bastions and a two-leafed gate closing the rear (fig.4).¹¹ The following intervention on the defenses dates to the time of the Second Punic War. It featured the addition of an internal retaining wall, and the raising of the *agger* and the outer façade in tufa. The reinforcement resulted in a double parapet creating a deep defensive line and a wider wall-walk (fig.5). The next reinforcement occurred at the turn of the first century BCE. Engineers primarily used *opus incertum*, a crude cement faced with small stones, to build vaults in the gates and the towers dotting the circuit. After the installation of the Roman colony in 80 BCE the walls first received a broad refurbishment the extent of which is still debated. They subsequently weakened gradually in the Imperial period. The following earthquake that devastated Pompeii in 62 CE also damaged the walls. The city directed some resources to rebuild the gates, but the curtain wall became a large open air quarry used in the reconstruction effort.

The interventions on the fortifications are often pivotal events and the deliberate chronological organization of this dissertation reflects those trends. Each chapter considers the appearance of the city walls in their main phases of development, and contextualizes them in the known social and political make-up of the city. The nature of the evidence at Pompeii, a city excavated almost exclusively to its 79 CE level, means that our knowledge of its development in earlier periods decreases dramatically. As a result, the first chapters analyzing earliest Pompeii focus primarily on known archaeological and architectural remains. The results will provide a basic framework for the subsequent chapters where new forms of evidence, including social expressions

¹¹ G. Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien* (Oxford, 1988), 8-29. Generally speaking, as described in the following chapters, individual construction techniques highlight the various architectural elements and building sequence of the gates. Engineers first employed Limestone in the bastions and court, followed by a tufa substitution of the court masonry, and completed by an *opus incertum* vault on the inside of the city.

directly related to the fortifications, allow for wider avenues of research. This study shows that the Pompeian fortifications were an integral part of the city's development and its identity. They incorporated aesthetic and religious elements that inevitably linked to distinct political messages of power that changed and were manipulated over time. The results presented here should add to our view on Pompeian fortifications and antiquity in general, thereby creating new avenues of inquiry on the dynamics of settlement, identity, and conquest.

The motivation to carry out this investigation comes from the relative neglect of the city walls in the scholarly discourse concerning the image of the city. In fact, major syntheses of their appearance, role in the community, and even the history of their excavation are still lacking. Similarly, despite their massive scale, no accurate plan or published survey of the current remains exists. The towers in particular are a singular example of this state of affairs. Although scholars often describe them according to the best preserved layouts of Towers X-XII, a basic visual survey, discussed further in chapter four, highlights the existence of at least four distinct types of structures. This situation is symptomatic of Pompeii as an archaeological site, where hundreds of years of excavation have produced a massive published scholarly corpus that sometimes lacks basic architectural plans. This situation is due, in large part, to differing recording standards as archaeology developed as a discipline. This study is therefore also important because it synthesizes large amounts of scattered information concerning the fortifications of Pompeii. As a result, this dissertation focuses heavily on the Pompeian remains and limits its assessment of external comparisons and influences on their design. These factors will necessarily have to be examined in a more expansive approach that builds on the results of this study.

A useful introduction to the importance of fortifications in the development of a communal identity is to trace their role in the urbanization process. The construction of fortifications in antiquity entailed diverse anthropological concerns pertaining to the genesis of a communal identity. These included the protection of the territorial, economic, religious, and political interests of a community and went hand in hand with the development of city states.¹² Defense is a main factor behind the origins of urbanization and fortifications gradually evolved in step with urban development and the formation of institutions.¹³ Strongholds in particular allowed small communities to retain their cultural autonomy and, as a last line of defense, they placed their most prized assets, including gods, wealth, and magistrates, within their confines to keep them safe.¹⁴ Relatively small bands of soldiers could easily use the enclosure to hold out against a numerically superior enemy and the population felt safer inside the stronghold rather than facing invading forces out in the open.¹⁵ The refuge also functioned actively as a staging point to protect the territory. Defenders could exploit their intimate knowledge of the terrain to set devastating ambushes and launch effective counterattacks to defend critical unmovable elements such as fields, pastures, water sources, hunting areas, sources of raw materials, and trade routes.¹⁶ Therefore, the construction of defenses signaled a community's territorial assertions toward outsiders and reflected the symbolic boundary

¹² M.J. Rowlands, "Defense: A Factor in the Organisation of Settlements." In *Man, Settlement and Urbanism. Proceedings of a Meeting of the Research Seminar on Archaeology and Related Subjects* (London, 1972), 447.

¹³ A. Gat, "Why City States Existed? Riddles and Clues of Urbanisation and Fortifications." In *A Comparative Study of Six City-State Cultures; an Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre* (Copenhagen, 2000), 127.

¹⁴ Y. Garlan, "Fortifications et histoire Grècque." In *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1968), 245.

¹⁵ A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford 1979), 113.

¹⁶ Rowlands, "Defense: A Factor in the Organisation of Settlements," 448.

between the collective dwelling and the outside world.¹⁷ Such territorial claims also expressed the emotional and historical ties binding a community to a specific region and increased the feeling of security against outsiders.

Warfare constituted a main factor in the drive toward urbanized society. For example, during the Roman Republic ten percent of freeborn men annually joined the army and modern estimates of state expenditure on military budgets suggest an amount as much as seventy to eighty percent.¹⁸ These numbers highlight the social importance warfare and fortifications played in the development of cultural identities. M.H. Hansen broadly defined the concept of a city-state, or *polis*, as an institutionalized and centralized micro-state consisting of a defended town, its immediate hinterland, and a stratified society inhabiting it.¹⁹ Its origins lie in the need of small communities to unite as an answer to the mutual necessity of defense. Simple raids into enemy territory were a main characteristic of early warfare and these tactics resulted in the establishment of small enclosures where people and their movable possessions found temporary refuge. These safe havens may not have featured fortifications, relying instead on the natural strength of a position to discourage direct assaults and the grouping of people to neutralize the potential of surprise attacks and enhance overall security.²⁰ Dominant patterns of warfare—whether seasonal or year-round affairs, whether conducted by raiding parties or complex armies— influenced settlement location. In turn, the development of the

¹⁷ M.H. Hansen, “The Hellenic Polis.” In *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures; an Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre* (Copenhagen, 2000), 162.

¹⁸ T. Cornell, “Warfare and Urbanization in Roman Italy.” In *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, edited by Timothy J. Cornell and Kathryn Lomas (London, 1995), 122, 130.

¹⁹ M.H. Hansen, “The Concepts of City-State Culture.” In *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures; an Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre* (Copenhagen 2000), 19. See also for an extensive discussion of the concept of a polis.

²⁰ Gat, “Why City States Existed? Riddles and Clues of Urbanisation and Fortifications,” 133.

settlement was contingent on its location for the survival capabilities it offered and the contacts it could uphold with the outside world.²¹

The danger outside aggression posed was a principal reason that led communities to build defenses, but banditry and wild animals also posed threats that led to the construction of defenses.²² In this context fortifications also formed an essential psychological barrier protecting the community. The presence of dangerous wild-animal species within the perimeter of the city was also particularly inauspicious. For example, the spotting of a wild wolf within the walled circuit was one of the worst omens that could befall Rome or a Roman city. Wolves symbolized savage uncontrolled spaces and related to death and war. Their entry into the civilized space of the city also was an affront to its protective gods and symbolized the invasion of uncontrolled forces into the world controlled by men.²³ Similarly, fortifications also kept out unwanted elements such as bandits, robbers, and thieves, or the outside ‘other’, that did not belong to the community. As outcasts they often lived in the countryside outside of the confines of the city. As a result, city walls also defined control exercised within their confines and the territory associated with the city, as opposed to the outside chaos that threatened the community. In short, they marked the symbolic boundary of the civilized versus the uncivilized.²⁴

Beyond looming external threats, internal social, economic, and political factors influenced the construction of fortifications. Communities decided to build fortifications either in response to a direct threat, or if they gained enough wealth to construct them in

²¹ Rowlands, “Defense: A Factor in the Organisation of Settlements,” 454.

²² Rowlands, “Defense: A Factor in the Organisation of Settlements,” 453.

²³ On the matter see J. Trinquier, “Les loups sont entrés dans la ville: De la peur du loup à la hantise de la cité ensauvagée.” In *Les espaces du sauvage dans le monde antique: Approches et définitions* (Franche-Comté, 2004), 85–118.

²⁴ E. Salomon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (New York, 1970), 17.

anticipation of any future trouble.²⁵ Strongholds and refuges sometimes evolved into cities and towns. Whether or not they became urbanized, the presence of strongholds also entailed a degree of social control. Troop concentrations within their confines could contain revolts from fortified positions or move quickly into the surrounding territory. When applied to foreign politics this tactic featured the deliberate implantation of colonies inside enemy territory in order to force acceptance of a dominating culture. Because internal politics in particular played a role in the design of fortifications, several different types of government may be evident in a specific region. Recently, scholars who have built upon Aristotelian ideas have characterized fortification types and defensive tactics according to social structures.²⁶ For example, small fortified enclosures scattered throughout a territory may signal an effort to defend the property of an elite landowning class, whereas defenses sheltering a community, as opposed to a settlement surrounding a fortified center, may reflect a preoccupation with defending the population, suggesting a somewhat more egalitarian society.²⁷

It seems evident, therefore, that fortifications afforded a measure of social and even economic control. In fact, one of their most important aspects is their role as formalized filtering points between the city, its countryside, and any imported or exported goods. Gates in particular also functioned as toll points where authorities could tax those entering and exiting the city. They were, in a sense, checkpoints controlling movement of

²⁵ G. Lugli, "Conclusioni sulla cronologia dell'opera poligonale in Italia." In *Studi minori di topografia antica* (Rome, 1965), 27-32.

²⁶ Aristotle *Politics* 7,1330A.35ff; A. Cherici, "Mura di bronzo, di legno, di terra, di pietra. Aspetti politici, economici e militari del rapporto tra comunità urbane e territorio nella Grecia e nell'Italia Antica." In *La città murata in Etruria: Atti del XXV convegno di studi Etruschi ed Italici, Chianciano Terme, Sarteano, Chiusi, 30 Marzo - 3 Aprile 2005: In Memoria di Massimo Pallottino* (Pisa, 2008) 37-66. See also, Diodorus Siculus and his account of how Dionysius I, the tyrant of Syracuse, quickly sealed off Ortygia with an extra wall, and further fortified the acropolis of the island to further strengthen his position. Diod. Sic. 14.7.

²⁷ F.E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto 1971), 289-290.

the population. City gates could therefore also become points of great congestion. As the empire grew and commerce became more important, the design of gates also changed with distinct pedestrian and cart entrances designed to ease some of the congestion. These circumstances led to city gates becoming formal policing elements reflecting the authority of the state regulating the entrance into the city.²⁸

Roman law highlights the importance of this function for the city gates. It defined the fortifications as *res sanctae* or holy things protected by the gods. Those who crossed or scaled the walls illegally committed a sacrilege against the gods punishable by death.²⁹ To a certain extent this law prevented illegal smuggling activities, but it also connected to a very real religious association with fortifications. The religious factor on the Italian peninsula is one which stems from Etruscan urban foundation rituals, later adopted by the Romans, which defined the sacred boundary, or *pomerium*, of the city. As we shall see, its character, extent, and even existence for Pompeii is still unclear, due primarily to the relatively unknown character of the early city.

Although these elements influenced the development of fortifications, warfare and siege techniques remained the primary factors dictating their design. A number of ancient authors are the primary sources for the fundamentals of offensive and defensive siege tactics, and fortification design. Philon of Byzantium, Vitruvius, and Apollodorus Mechanicus are the chief sources concerning the architectural design of fortifications.³⁰

²⁸ R.E.A. Palmer, "Customs on Market Goods Imported into the City of Rome." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 36 (1980): 217–233; C. Van Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire* (London; New York: 2007) 85-126; C. Van Tilburg, "Gates, Suburby and Traffic in the Roman Empire." *Babesch* 83 (2008): 133–147.

²⁹ Digest 1.8.1-9 Gaius, *Institutes*, book 1, in A. Watson, ed. *The Digest of Justinian*. (Philadelphia, 1985). For further discussion on the matter see W. Seston, "Les murs, les portes, et les tours des enceintes urbaines et le problème des res sanctae en droit romain." In *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Andre Piganiol* (Paris, 1966), 1489–1498.

³⁰ Philon of Byzantium wrote the *poliorketika* which survives in fragments. For an English translation see Lawrence *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 67-107; Vitruvius *De Architectura* I.5; D. Whitehead, and

Starting with Philon their collective writings span from the Hellenistic Age to the height of the Roman Empire with scholars equating Apollodorus Mechanicus to the illustrious architect Apollodorus of Damascus working under Trajan. Philon and Apollodorus in particular include extensive discussions on weaponry and siege tactics; whereas Vitruvius engages primarily in describing the construction of proper defenses. Aineias the Tactician, also known as Aineias Tacticus, is a more mysterious figure who remains unidentified beyond his name. His treatise on how to survive a siege relates to the practicalities and tactics that small cities needed to adopt to prepare for and endure through a long siege.³¹ Ancient accounts concerning the attack and defense of cities are also useful resources but are too numerous to mention here. They could be the object of their own separate book. Nevertheless, the contributions by Lawrence, and more recently Camporeale, offer significant starting points on the matter.³²

The recognition that warfare and defense were crucial factors in the development of the community is a relatively recent approach; regional studies of defensive systems and fortifications remain underrepresented. This is particularly the case for the area of ancient Samnium, home of the Samnites, who are crucial to the development of Pompeii. In fact, with the exception of S.P. Oakley's survey of hill-forts, few publications treat Samnite fortifications extensively.³³ This focus on hill-forts is useful, and the result of the scattered nature of the Samnite occupation of the Apennine Mountains. However, it does not capture the intricacies associated with siege warfare and the design of Hellenistic

Apollodorus. *Apollodorus Mechanicus, Siege-matters (Poliorketika): Translated with Introduction and Commentary* (Stuttgart, 2010).

³¹ See Aeneas and D. Whitehead, *Aineias the Tactician : How to Survive Under Siege: A Historical Commentary, with Translation and Introduction*, (London, 2001).

³² Lawrence *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 53-66; G. Camporeale, "La città murata d'Etruria nella tradizione letteraria e figurativa." In *La città murata in Etruria: Atti del XXV Convegno di studi etruschi ed italici, Chianciano Terme, Sarteano, Chiusi, 30 marzo-3 aprile 2005: In memoria di Massimo Pallottino* (Pisa, 2008), 15–36.

³³ S. P. Oakley, *The Hill-forts of the Samnites* (Rome, 1995).

enceintes. As a result, this study relies heavily on the better-published Roman, Etruscan, and Greek fortifications as a point of departure since the region of Campania was also a cross-road for all these cultures. Since there are few studies of the subject of fortifications on the Italian peninsula, the surveys on Greek fortifications published by F.E Winter and A.W. Lawrence are fundamental.³⁴ Marion Blake and Giuseppe Lugli, writing in the 1940s and 1950s, were pioneers on the subject in Italy; their studies only included fortifications in wider surveys of Roman construction techniques.³⁵ They primarily considered Roman fortifications and mentioned earlier Etruscan walls only when they formed a direct predecessor to later techniques. In the late 1980s Gunnar Brands conducted extensive research into the existing remains of Republican fortifications in Italy, completing a catalogue that still forms a useful departure point for further investigations.³⁶ In 1995 Martin Miller revised Lugli's preliminary typological assessment for central Italian fortifications and included a large section on Etruscan defenses in his work.³⁷ Since then scholarship has started to pay more attention to the role of fortifications in Italy with a recent volume of conference proceedings dedicated to the Etruscan fortified city.³⁸

The research on walls as representational elements focuses primarily on the late Republic and the Augustan urban renewal programs sweeping the Italian peninsula. Much of it stems from the initial research conducted in the first decades of the 1900s on the grand remains of Augustan-age gates still to be seen in many Italian cities including

³⁴ Winter, *Greek Fortifications*; Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification*.

³⁵ M.E. Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus* (Washington 1947); G. Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana con particolare riguardo a Roma e Lazio* (New York; London, 1968).

³⁶ G. Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien* (Oxford, 1988).

³⁷ M. Miller, *Befestigungsanlagen in Italien vom 8. bis 3. Jahrhundert vor Christus*.

³⁸ AA.VV *La città murata in Etruria: Atti del XXV Convegno di studi etruschi ed italici, Chianciano Terme, Sarteano, Chiusi, 30 marzo-3 aprile 2005: In memoria di Massimo Pallottino* (Pisa, 2008).

Torino, Spello, Fano, and Rimini to name a few.³⁹ This initial work inspired generations of future scholars on the subject, including illustrious names such as Pierre Gros and Fernando Rebecchi. The focus the Augustan Age has led to the publication of the proceedings of a period specific conference dedicated to the fortifications of Italy and the Roman west.⁴⁰ Guido Rosada subsequently considered the subject for northern Italy with two articles published in 1990.⁴¹ Most recently, Isobel Pinder has tackled the task of synthesizing the most important aspects of scholarship regarding Roman city walls, producing what already is a seminal article on the subject of Roman fortifications.⁴² For the Republican period much of the research flows from Emanuele Gabba's seminal article on municipal construction written in the early 1970s and Helene Jouffroy's subsequent extensive catalogue of public buildings.⁴³ Their work emphasized the value of fortifications as part of the essential architectural elements defining a city. In the late Republic magistrates across the Italian peninsula embarked on programs to construct or refurbish defenses to such an extent that the construction of walls was second only to the building of temples.

³⁹ I.A. Richmond, "Commemorative Arches and City Gates in the Augustan Age." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 23 (1933): 149–174. H. Kähler "Römischen Torburgen der frühen Kaiserzeit." *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 57 (1942): 1–108.

⁴⁰ M. Colin, ed. *Les enceintes augustéennes dans L'Occident Romain: (France, Italie, Espagne, Afrique du Nord): Actes du colloque internat. de Nîmes (IIIe Congrès Archéolog. de Gaule Méridionale), 9 - 12* (Nîmes, 1987).

⁴¹ G. Rosada, "Mura e porte: Tra architettura e simbolo." In *Civiltà dei romani*, 124–139 edited by Salvatore Settis (Milano, 1990); G. Rosada, "Mura porte e archi nella Decima Regio." In *La Città nell'Italia settentrionale in età romana : Morfologie, strutture e funzionamento dei centri urbani delle regiones X e XI: Atti del convegno organizzato dal Dipartimento di Scienze*, 364–409 (Trieste; Roma 1990).

⁴² I. Pinder, "Constructing and Deconstructing Roman City Walls: The Role of Urban Enceintes as Physical and Symbolic Borders." In *Places in Between the Archaeology of Social, Cultural and Geographical Borders and Borderlands*, 67–79 (Oxford, 2011).

⁴³ E. Gabba "Urbanizzazione e Rinnovamenti Urbanistici nell'Italia Centro-meridionale del I Sec. a.C." *Studi Classici e Orientali* 21 (1972): 73–112; H. Jouffroy, *La Construction Publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique Romaine* (Strasbourg 1986).

Two factors prompted this development: the general insecurity of the Republic, and an explicit process of acculturation between local and Roman elements. At the turn of the first century BCE Rome struggled against the Cimbri and Teutones in northern Italy. As Adrian Goldsworthy points out, this was a costly war. The conflict wiped out at least five consular armies, and induced the Romans to carry out the last known human sacrifice in their history, burying alive a Greek and a Gallic couple in the Forum Boarium.⁴⁴ At the time the Romans perceived the threat that these tribes posed to be almost as serious as Hannibal's invasion of Italy.⁴⁵ After the war the unrest continued almost unabated into the conflicts of the Social War and the dying Republic. This period of continued crisis likely stimulated the construction of fortifications in Italy. Nevertheless, city walls were also elements of a distinct urbanization process and were part of the collection of public buildings that allowed a community to call itself a city. Most recently, Jeffery Becker expanded this concept in a dissertation that defines the role of fortifications as part of essential civic architecture during Rome's expansion into central Italy.⁴⁶ Perhaps Paul Zanker best described the role of city walls as part of the imposition of Roman elements. Like villas, centuriation, road construction, sanctuaries, and tombs, city walls were essential components defining order and urbanism.⁴⁷ Within this process of acculturation city walls completed the urban image—almost as a crown.

⁴⁴ Plutarch *Roman Questions* 83

⁴⁵ See A. Goldsworthy, *In the Name of Rome: The Men who Won the Roman Empire* (London, 2003), 140-153.

⁴⁶ J. Becker, "The building blocks of empire: Civic Architecture, Central Italy, and the Roman Middle Republic." Ph.D., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007.

⁴⁷ P. Zanker, "The City as Symbol: Rome and the Creation of an Urban Image." In *Romanization and the City: Creations, Transformations, and Failures: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the American Academy in Rome to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Excavations at Cosa, 14-16 May, 1998*, edited by E. Fentress (Portsmouth, 2000) 25-41.

Chapter 1 Prolegomena to the City Walls of Pompeii

The fortifications of Pompeii have played an important part in the modern scholarship on the urban definition of the city. Before diving into the complexities of how these fortifications functioned in antiquity we need to first define the major theories concerning their genesis and influence on the city's layout. Until recently, the excavations of Pompeii have focused on recovering the city as it was, frozen in 79 CE. The city walls, however, due to their size, relative lack of ornament, and their instrumental role anchoring the street layout were one of the few monuments upon which excavations could shed light on the genesis of the city without disrupting the exposed ruins. Furthermore, the walls, and in particular gates such as the Porta Ercolano, have remained exposed ever since their first discovery in the late 1700's, influencing the views of countless visitors and scholars of antiquity. As a result, scholars have long contemplated the fortifications and they have produced many divergent theories concerning the development of Pompeii. Yet, despite the importance of Pompeii's fortifications, no general summary of their recovery exists and we know relatively little about their state of preservation after their first excavation. This chapter provides a background tracing the main excavations and problems concerning the walls; it also highlights the principal theories connecting the fortifications with the history of the city. We will keep these theories in mind in subsequent chapters, but we should remember that without further evidence and excavations many of the hypotheses remain open to further debates.

THE CITY WALLS AND THE URBANIZATION OF POMPEII

Before examining the history of the excavations we need to define some of the most prominent hypotheses advanced over the decades concerning the development of Pompeii. The complexity of this debate is primarily the result of our lack of fundamental knowledge of the early city. In fact, with only two percent of Pompeii excavated below the level of 79 CE, the various theories remain highly speculative and susceptible to future changes.⁴⁸ Many hypotheses rest on the dates and sequencing of the fortifications because it was the walls that anchored the major arteries of the city; they represent the first tangible signs of an organized community preoccupied with defense. The debate concerning the urban development essentially divides into two main camps; those favoring a grand central design of the city, and those who see it growing from an old core also known as the *Altstadt*.

The original nineteenth century hypothesis envisioned the city enclosed by the limestone fortification and founded in a single coherent urban design in the sixth century BCE.⁴⁹ Also known as the grand Pompeii theory, the dynamics of such a massive single foundation were daunting and a few scholars hypothesized a slightly more nuanced development. Giuseppe Fiorelli and Antonio Sogliano speculated on the presence of a previous circuit suggesting that a *fossa-agger* system first defended the city. They envisioned a simple wooden palisade standing on an earthen embankment protected by a forward ditch which fully enclosed the plateau. Sogliano in particular also suggested that an early version of the Porta Ercolano opened on the western end of the via di Nola,

⁴⁸ F. Coarelli and F. Pesando, "The Urban Development of NW Pompeii: Archaic Period to 3rd C. B.C." In *The Making of Pompeii*, edited by S.J.R. Ellis (Portsmouth, 2011), 37. Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 223.

⁴⁹ A. Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, Trans. by Francis W. Kelsey (New York, London, 1902), 8. See G. Fiorelli, *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872* (Naples, 1873), vii-xi, 78-86. H. Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien zur Städtekunde des Altertums* (Leipzig, 1877), 1-30.

basing his hypothesis on the logical observation that it lay directly opposite the Porta Nola in an orthogonal plan.⁵⁰ Maiuri discredited his theory, but Hans Eschebach recently claimed to have identified its remains beneath the House of Fabius Rufus (VII.16.22).⁵¹ This scholarly debate, spanning many decades, exemplifies the complexity of the theories concerning the city walls and the urban development of the city. In fact, in light of the discovery of the pappamonte wall many decades later, Sogliano's conclusions were not that far from the mark.

In 1913 Haverfield proposed a new model suggesting that Pompeii first developed around a smaller core centered on the Forum and preserved in the irregular layout of the streets in the southwestern corner of the city.⁵² A few decades later, Armin von Gerkan elaborated the theory further. He identified the vicolo dei Soprastanti, the via degli Augustali, the vicolo del Lupanare, and the via dei Teatri as the limits of the *Altstadt* (fig.6).⁵³ The circuit suggested by the streets, he argued, followed the path of a fortified *agger*. It included gates opening on important roads that became the major arteries of the city when it expanded into the confines of the orthostate wall. Eschebach later refined the theory by identifying two phases of development for the *Altstadt*. The first settlement developed as an *urbs-quadrata*, or squared city, centered on the later Forum, with four neighborhoods radiating out on each side. In a second phase this core gradually expanded into the limits Haverfield and Von Gerkan identified. Eschebach based his theory on Maiuri's discovery of a hypogeum beneath the Terme Stabiane. He argued that it was an

⁵⁰ A. Sogliano, "Porte, torri e vie di Pompei nell'epoca Sannitica." *Rendiconti della accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti* 6 (1918): 156. See also Fiorelli, *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 Al 1872*, viii.

⁵¹ Maiuri's excavations proved the early existence of the porta Ercolano in its current location. Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 120-139. See also H. Eschebach and L. Eschebach, *Pompeji vom 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr. Bis 79 n.Chr.* (Köln, 1995), 62.

⁵² F. Haverfield, *Ancient Town-planning* (Oxford, 1913), 63-66.

⁵³ A. von Gerkan, *Der Stadtplan von Pompeji* (Berlin, 1940).

Etruscan tomb which, given the traditions forbidding burials within the city limits, suggested that it was once outside the city walls. He also projected an earlier fortification defending the *urbs-quadrata* after excavations identified the remains of a robbed out wall in the vicolo del Lupanare. Eschebach argued for a third phase in which a planned vigorous expansion of urban development in the fifth century BCE led to the current layout of the city.⁵⁴ Soon afterward British architectural historian John Ward-Perkins criticized the model, dismissing the *urbs-quadrata* and projecting a well ordered gradual expansion of Pompeii from the *Altstadt* nucleus.⁵⁵

The *Altstadt* theory, in its various nuances, dominated the hypotheses concerning the development of early Pompeii until Stefano De Caro dated the pappamonte wall to the sixth century BCE. He essentially returned to the idea of a grand foundation.⁵⁶ However, the new theory did not dispense with the *Altstadt* altogether. De Caro envisioned the fortification protecting a swath of wide open terrain surrounding a main habitation core. He admitted the uncertainty of assigning a separate chronology to the structures, and suggested the absence of an *Altstadt* fortification. Instead he envisioned a palisade, road, or drainage ditch to explain the preservation of the street layout.⁵⁷ Since then, recent archaeological excavations in Regio VI have refined the *Altstadt* theory suggesting that it actually represents a retreat of the urban expanse into smaller, more defensible, confines in the fifth century BCE.⁵⁸ The city gradually expanded back out

⁵⁴ H. Eschebach, *Die Städtebauliche Entwicklung des Antiken Pompeji* (Heidelberg, 1970), 38.

⁵⁵ J.B. Ward-Perkins and A. Claridge, *Pompeii A.D. 79: Essay and Catalogue*. (Boston, 1978), 37. Further criticism on Eschebach also in S. De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei." *Atti e memorie della società Magna Grecia* 3 (1992): 70.

⁵⁶ S. De Caro, "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei." *Annali di archeologia e storia antica. Istituto universitario orientale. Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico* 7 (1985): 75–114.

⁵⁷ De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 70.

⁵⁸ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 231-236.

protected by a new wall after Campania entered the Roman sphere of influence in the late fourth century BCE.

EXCAVATING THE FORTIFICATIONS

The long debate surrounding the construction of the fortifications is primarily the result of their importance in the urban development of Pompeii. The history of their excavation is equally complex and accompanies the various theories visited above. Unfortunately the first discovery of the walls is mired in the murky history of the early digs when recording techniques and requirements were far less accurate than standard modern ones. As a result, much of the earliest archaeological evidence is lost. Some of it survives in fragments throughout the published excavation journals known collectively as the *Pompeianorum Antiquitatem Historia*, or PAH, written between 1748 and 1861.⁵⁹ Although somewhat incomplete, this document provides precious insight into the excavation of the city walls. Nevertheless, the light it sheds on the current state of the fortifications is somewhat dim. Since a synthesis of the progress of the excavations is lacking, the following section offers a first review of the evidence. It is important since we can catch a glimpse of the state of the fortifications at the moment of their recovery, and highlight the important decisions that led the remains we see today. What emerges is a continuous presence of the city walls throughout the history of Pompeian excavations that inevitably helped shape modern perceptions of the city and its limits.

⁵⁹ G. Fiorelli, *Pompeianorum Antiquitatum Historia*, (Naples 1862). The organization of the *Pompeianorum Antiquarium Historia* is somewhat cumbersome. Volume one and two each divide into three parts (1-3 and 4-6) with separate page numbers. Volume 3 is a single volume. Hence forth the notes will contain the volume, part, page and date. See also A. Laidlaw, "Mining the Early Published Sources: Problems and Pitfalls." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by J.J. Dobbins and P. Foss (Hoboken, 2007), 620–621.

The excavations first touched the walls uncovering the Porta Ercolano on the northwestern tip of the city. The PAH entry of September 17, 1763 mentions excavation work occurring near the “...puerta de la ciudad” suggesting that workers had already noted its presence.⁶⁰ By September 15, 1764, excavators had tunneled their way to the exterior of the gate and starting on October 14 they proceeded to uncover its full structure. They employed a systematic top-down approach in one of the first recorded instances of the application of the method widely used today.⁶¹ Unfortunately, as is the case for much of the journals, the entries concentrate on the finds recovered during the excavations rather than describing any architectural remains or embellishments on the walls. A series of entries dating to 1769 mention the recovery of statue parts in the vicinity of the gate including pairs of heads, arms, and hands with missing fingers. They are the only hints of any sort of statuary that may have adorned the Porta Ercolano. With the pieces and context now lost the fragments may have belonged to any number of nearby tombs or buildings.⁶²

The records remain equally patchy for the next decades of excavation. Entries in 1766 and 1768 briefly report the discovery of the city walls near the soldier quarters, now known as the *quadriporticus*, in an effort to chart their course.⁶³ Subsequent years saw

⁶⁰ PAH 1 pars prima, 153. See also G. Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii* (Naples, 1875), 75. He gives the following dates for the full excavation of the gate: Sept. 14-Oct. 12, 1763, April 1-July 12, 1764, and June 29- Nov. 11, 1769. The actual entries in the PAH are somewhat different and less precise in locating the excavation often describing the works occurring in and around the gate. For example the entry for the start of the final excavation of the gate is actually July 22, 1769, PAH 1 Pars Prima, 234.

⁶¹ PAH 1 Addenda B, 114, #15 September 14, 1764, describes the adoption of a top down approach. To my knowledge this is the first systematic employment of this method.

⁶² PAH 1 Pars Prima, 233-236, July 29- Nov. 11, 1769. Both Adams and Clark describe the recovery of fragments of bronze drapery nearby. They believed it belonged to a tutelary deity of the city set on a pedestal next to the gate. Unfortunately no further information exists. The pedestal, however, is likely the unfinished tomb on the north side in front of the gate. See W. Adams, *The Buried Cities of Campania* (London, 1873), 50; W. Clark, *Pompei* (Knight, 1831), 73.

⁶³ PAH 1 Pars Prima, 205, March 14, 1766, 211, October 10, 1766, 218, May 21, 1768, 225, November 19, 1768.

the gradual exposure of the fortifications on the north side of city as the excavations progressed in Regio VI. The precise connotation of the works remains vague and the fortifications are only mentioned in passing as part of the uncovering of larger sections of the city.⁶⁴ In 1782 explorations started on the southern end of Pompeii, but the location remains rather vague with the reports signaling excavators working to find the fortifications near the Temple of Isis.⁶⁵ The city walls are actually quite far from the temple and the area uncovered was probably near the *quadriporticus*. Andrea De Jorio, author of one of the earliest guidebooks on Pompeii, more specifically mentions excavations occurring in the area that year.⁶⁶ He describes the recovered remains as razed by earthquakes and re-used for their material, suggesting that he may be referring to the large demolished section of wall curtain west of the Porta Stabia. Entries between March 15 and May 3, 1787 describe the continued excavation of a trench around the city. They probably refer to the area east of the Porta Ercolano where diggers began their efforts.⁶⁷

After this episode the sources fall silent, but excavations seem to continue under General Championnet during the short-lived Parthenopean Republic of 1799. For reasons that remain unclear the general was particularly interested in finding the gates of the city. By the end of the year excavators had found the top of the Porta Nola, and identified the remains of the Porta Sarno and Nocera.⁶⁸ Up to this point the exposure of the walls was largely piecemeal. The policy changed radically when Queen Caroline Bonaparte (Murat)

⁶⁴ PAH 1 Pars Secunda, 14, Jan.2 - Jan. 9, 1783 describes work continuing on the city walls. PAH 1 Pars Secunda, 34 Nov. 16-30, 1786 work on the house of the vestals slows down to uncover the city walls.

⁶⁵ PAH 1 Pars Secunda, 13-14, Sept. 12 –Dec. 26 briefly mentions the walls south of the portico associated with the great theatre as excavated in 1782.

⁶⁶ A. De Jorio, *Plan de Pompei* (Naples, 1828), 155.

⁶⁷ PAH 1 Pars Secunda, 34, May 3, 1787.

⁶⁸ For the Porta Nola see L. García y García, *Danni di guerra a Pompei* (Rome, 2006), 166. For the Porta Sarno see PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 147, March 31, 1814. For the Porta Nocera see De Jorio, *Plan de Pompei*, 157.

set out to find the entire circuit during the French occupation of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies between 1808 and 1815. Her strategy was simple; chart the walls and gates so authorities could expropriate terrains within the perimeter and diggers could follow the ancient roads to better understand the urban layout.⁶⁹ Under the plan the fortifications would function again as a security perimeter to keep out thieves and looters from the site.⁷⁰ Given the infancy of archaeology at the time the policy was quite innovative, but it also inadvertently set the stage for the modern perception that the enceinte marked a clear edge to the city, a notion that has changed only in recent decades.

Authorities assigned groups of soldiers and some private contractors, including a certain Pirozzi, to the operation starting in 1810.⁷¹ The queen herself took an active interest in the excavations, often visiting the site to supervise progress and personally pay for the works.⁷² Understanding the development of these excavations is difficult; the entries in the journals remain vague and the topography of Pompeii was still very unclear. Between August 1811 and May 1812 excavations concentrated on the stretch between the Porta Nola and Ercolano where they uncovered the unspecified remains of four towers and one destroyed gate. The four towers mentioned could be any of five, numbers VII-XII, now known in this area, and the gate in question most likely is the Porta Vesuvio.⁷³ Between September 6, 1811 and September 12, 1812 work continued on the excavation

⁶⁹ PAH 1 Addenda e Schedis Petri La Vega et Michele Arditi, 241. See also S. Sakai, "Il Problema dell'esistenza della cosiddetta Porta Capua a Pompei." *Opuscula Pompeiana* 12 (2004): 29.

⁷⁰ PAH 1 Addenda e Schedis Petri La Vega et Michele Arditi, 275. See also C. De Clarac and F. Mori, *Fouille faite à Pompei en présence de S.M. la Reine des Deux Siciles, le 18 mars 1813* (Paris, 1813), 2.

⁷¹ PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 101, Dec. 26, 1812.

⁷² PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 98, Nov. 21, 1812, 116, June 24, 1813, 130, Sept. 27, 1813, 150, May 15, 1814

⁷³ De Jorio, *Plan de Pompei*, 47-48. See also D. Romanelli, *Viaggio a Pompei, a Pesto e di ritorno ad Ercolano* (Naples, 1817), 34.

of the houses in Regio VI and included digging a narrow trench to reach the level of 79 CE on the field-side of the walls.⁷⁴

On October 5, 1812 groups of soldiers started uncovering the walls on the east side of the city in three different unspecified locations.⁷⁵ De Jorio reports on a concentrated effort near the amphitheater between May 1812 and June 1813. It exposed three towers and a gate, presumably the Porta Sarno and Towers V, VI, and VII.⁷⁶ The PAH offers a slightly different version of the events and describes the diggers reaching the Porta Sarno on March 31, 1814 and exposing it by 5 May.⁷⁷ Curiously, these entries omit the towers, detailing instead the discovery of posterns perhaps as a reference to their doors. To the north, the PAH first mentions the Porta Nola as new gate on May 8, 1813 despite the earlier identification of the gate under General Championnet.⁷⁸ Work progressed rapidly and 5 June marks the recovery of the inscription and keystone of the arch.⁷⁹ By 9 September, with much of the gate uncovered, the digging changed focus to follow the via di Nola into the city.⁸⁰

Work near the amphitheater turned west after reaching Tower V and fully uncovered the Porta Nocera by February 1815. The events are again murky. De Jorio reports the discovery of four towers and a gate in the area spanning the amphitheater and the *quadriporticus* between April 1813 and September 1814.⁸¹ The number of towers is

⁷⁴ PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 69, Oct. 26, 1811. Also PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 85, June 13, 1812.

⁷⁵ PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 96, Oct. 15, 1812.

⁷⁶ De Jorio, *Plan de Pompei*, 155.

⁷⁷ PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 149, May 5, 1814 149. De Jorio, *Plan de Pompei* 155, diverges a little reporting the time span between May 1812 and June 1813.

⁷⁸ PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 110, May 8, 1813. The full identification is a fact by May 29, 1813. See PAH 1 Addenda e Schedis Petri La Vega et Michele Arditi, 269. De Jorio, *Plan de Pompei*, 155 mentions May 1812.

⁷⁹ PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 113, June 5, 1813.

⁸⁰ PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 127, Sept. 9, 1813.

⁸¹ De Jorio, *Plan de Pompei*, 155.

slightly odd considering we now know of Towers IV, III and II, in this section, but he may have included Tower V in his count. He describes the Porta Nocera, a structure Championnet had already identified in 1799, as largely excavated by the end of 1814.⁸² The PAH, however, mentions the first indications of the gate on January 12, 1815 after excavators uncovered the road leading up to it. Reports dating to roughly a month later confirm the full exposure of the Porta Nocera, noting that much of it lay ruined.⁸³ Efforts subsequently moved back to the northern section of the fortifications to find the Porta Vesuvio. The degree of this campaign's success remains unclear, but excavations stopped on March 12, 1815 when worker gangs moved to uncover the amphitheater.⁸⁴ Only the entries of January 16 and 23, 1819 mention a renewed effort to unite two wall sections uncovered in the northern section, but the precise location is unclear.⁸⁵

By the time the digging officially ceased on April 30, 1815, the operation had uncovered two-thirds of the circuit,⁸⁶ including at least five city gates and an unspecified number of towers. Beyond the individual exposure of the larger structures, however, the work was largely superficial, only occasionally reaching the level of 79 CE.⁸⁷ With much of the circuit's course known, further operations languished. A slow inexorable process began where many sections were abandoned and backfilled with the massive piles of dirt, known as the *cumuli borbonici*, coming from excavations elsewhere in the city.⁸⁸ A significant gap exists between what the excavations actually uncovered and what we see today. None of the reports mention any sort of embellishments on the walls,

⁸² De Jorio, *Plan de Pompei*, 157.

⁸³ PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 169, Feb. 2-9, 1815.

⁸⁴ PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 170-172, Feb. 12, 16, March 8, 1815.

⁸⁵ PAH 2, Pars Quarta, 1, January 16-23 1819.

⁸⁶ PAH 1 Addenda e Schedis Petri La Vega et Michele Arditi, 275.

⁸⁷ PAH 1 Pars Tertia, 148, April 17th 1814.

⁸⁸ See A. Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 22 (1943): 275.

although the current remains still display patchy stucco revetment on the towers and gates. Sadly, much of it is gone after succumbing to its initial exposure to the elements in the 1800s. We can only speculate on the amount preserved at the time of discovery.⁸⁹

Despite the extensive recovery of the walls, two of the seven gates remained unknown. Excavations began at the Porta Stabia on April 22, 1851, and the entry of 10 June first describes its discovery. Roughly nine months later the work ended with a large part of the structure exposed to its current level.⁹⁰ It subsequently gained most of its scholarly notoriety because of the debate on the translation of an Oscan inscription found in the gate court. The discussion need not concern us much. It centered mainly on reading the actual lettering present on the stone and its accurate translation (fig.7).⁹¹ The exterior edge of the gate remained unexcavated until 1853 when Giulio Minervini, seeking to publish a full plan, dug a tunnel to find the exterior corner of the eastern bastion.⁹² Only in the last decades of the 1800s did excavations resume to further expose the area in front of the gate. Across the city, the Porta Marina was the last unknown gate and Giuseppe Fiorelli began targeting the area on March 5, 1861. A previous campaign had detected it in 1844 as part of a project to provide a new entrance to the ruins, but had otherwise left

⁸⁹ There are many descriptions of rain water and particularly ice causing large sections of frescos and stucco to detach from buildings. For an example see Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi partie 1* (Paris, 1824), 44.

⁹⁰ PAH 2, Pars Sexta, 520. The PAH stops mentioning the excavations of the gate itself on March 15th 1852. Fiorelli states May 20th 1851-March 13th 1852 as the dates for the full excavation of the gate. See G. Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii*, 27.

⁹¹ See P.R. Garrucci, "Intorno ad un'iscrizione osca recentmente scavata in Pompei." *Estratto della regale academia ercolanese di archeologia* 7 (1851): 21-38. Also, G. Minervini, "Interpretazione di una epigrafe osca scavata ultimamente a Pompei" *Memorie della regale academia ercolanese di archeologia* 7 (1851): 1-19; B. Quaranta, *Intorno ad un'osca iscrizione incisa nel cippo disotterrato a Pompei nell'Agosto de Mdcccl* (Naples, 1851); P.R. Garrucci, "Intorno ad una lapide viaria osca di pompeii, nuove osservazioni." *Bullettino archeologico Napoletano* 11 (1852): 81-84; G. Henzen, "Iscrizione osca scoperta a Pompei," *Bullettino dell'istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* 6 (1852) 87-91. See also, G. Bechi, "Relazione degli scavi di Pompei da Agosto 1842 a Gennaio 1852." *Reale Museo Borbonico* 14 (1852): 21-22. Finally, Fiorelli publishes the full inscription Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii*, 29.

⁹² G. Minevrini, "Notizia dei piu recenti scavi di Pompei." *Bullettino archeologico Napoletano* 24 (1853): 185-187.

it buried.⁹³ A month after the operation began workers had fully defined the gate. The reports mostly describe the recovery of an outer niche holding the fragments of a statue of Minerva. No further information exists on the excavation work.⁹⁴

Starting in February 1898 Antonio Sogliano resumed the excavations of the northern fortifications in an effort to fully expose Tower X. His aim was to better understand the construction sequence of the walls and tie it into the development of the city. Amongst his most important discoveries was a graffito mentioning Sulla scratched on the stucco of the first window on the right of the tower (fig.8). Sogliano identified a victorious soldier as its maker who carved it, he believed, in honor of the Roman dictator. Certainly no direct proof for this association exists, but Scholars have since used it to date the construction of the tower to before Sulla's siege and conquest of the city.⁹⁵ The operation also cleared the curtain wall between Towers X and XI, and had finished exposing Tower XII by late August 1901.⁹⁶ In 1906 Sogliano returned to investigate the *agger* south and west of Tower XI, but he abandoned the excavations soon thereafter and never published the results of his work.⁹⁷ In 1902 efforts also shifted to the nearby Porta Vesuvio since its full extent and plan remained unknown. Predictably, the recovery of the water *castellum* next to the gate generated the most interest.⁹⁸ Sogliano published a brief

⁹³ A. Maiuri, "Pompei. Sterro dei cumuli e isolamento della cinta murale. Contributo all'urbanistica della città dissepolta." In *Bollettino d'Arte* 45 (1960): 172, L. García y García *Danni di guerra a Pompei*, 167.

⁹⁴ G. Fiorelli, *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei vol. 8-10* (Naples, 1861), 370.

⁹⁵ CIL IV 5385; A. Sogliano, "Relazione degli scavi fatti nel Febbraio 1898." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 12 (1898): 68.

⁹⁶ A. Sogliano, "Relazione degli scavi fatti nel Marzo 1898." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 12 (1898): 125, for Tower XII see A. Sogliano "Relazione degli scavi fatti nel mese di agosto 1901" *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 13 (1901): 357-361.

⁹⁷ A. Sogliano, "Porte, torri e vie di Pompei nell'epoca sannitica," 155, 173. Also A. Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei." *Monumenti Antichi* 33 (1929): 117.

⁹⁸ R. Paribeni, "Relazione degli scavi eseguiti nel Marzo 1902." In *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 14 (1902): 213, Also R. Paribeni, "Relazione degli scavi eseguiti nel mese d'Ottobre 1902." In *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 14 (1902): 564. Best described and fully excavated in R. Paribeni, "Relazione degli scavi eseguiti durante il mese di Novembre." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 14 (1903): 25-33.

report on the gate in 1906 that included the only description of since disintegrated frescoes associated with two altars recovered on the forward bastion.⁹⁹ Excavations continued intermittently in front of the gate until 1910 when Spano published and described the tombs currently visible in the area.¹⁰⁰

Following these sporadic and isolated campaigns, Amedeo Maiuri conducted the most systematic excavations to date between May 1926 and October 1927. He understood the unique importance of the fortifications and their capacity to shed light on the early history of Pompeii. The extensive publication of 1929 still remains a fundamental starting point for any serious investigations into the walls of Pompeii.¹⁰¹ The campaign included trenches at the Porta Stabia, Nola, Vesuvio, Ercolano, and the systematic exploration of Tower XI. Maiuri's excavations revealed the orthostate wall and furnished detailed evidence on the walls and gates that allowed him to formulate the construction sequence largely still accepted today.¹⁰² He subsequently made the recovery of the abandoned and reburied fortifications his personal quest. He extended his excavations of the Palestra in the 1930s to include the adjacent fortifications between Tower III and the amphitheater. Amongst the most important finds, although he never elaborated on the discovery, was the identification of the pappamonte fortification and the recognition that it predated the orthostate wall.¹⁰³

He next focused on re-excavating the walls between the Porta Vesuvio and Ercolano, publishing the results in 1943. Much of the original trench dug to find the walls had collapsed and, along with the debris from the excavations of the city, had re-buried

⁹⁹ A. Sogliano, "Relazione degli scavi fatti dal dicembre 1902 a tutto marzo 1905." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 16 (1906): 97-107.

¹⁰⁰ G. Spano, "Gli scavi fuori porta Vesuvio." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 18 (1910): 399-418.

¹⁰¹ A. Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei." *Monumenti Antichi* 33 (1929): 113-290.

¹⁰² A. Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 218-219.

¹⁰³ See A. Maiuri, "Muro della fortificazione." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 45 (1939): 232-238.

most of the walls.¹⁰⁴ These circumstances were true for much of the circuit. They explain the reliance of late-nineteenth-century Pompeianists, such as Johannes Overbeck and August Mau, on the drawings and reconstructions of the French architect François Mazois published several decades earlier.¹⁰⁵ As detailed further in chapter four, this forced blind reliance led to a series of common misconceptions especially regarding the layout of towers and their decorations. Maiuri's investigations corrected these views and reached two important conclusions; a new, more elaborate reconstruction of the towers and the identification of two fills in front of the walls. They indicate interventions on the fortifications that occurred in the early Imperial and post-earthquake periods.¹⁰⁶

By the 1950s Maiuri devised a systematic plan to free the city from the masses of excavation backfill by selling it for the construction of the new Napoli-Salerno highway and the leveling out of many nearby agricultural fields. The operation included uncovering most of the southern fortifications spanning the *insula occidentalis* and the Porta Sarno. This was no small feat, resulting in the removal of millions of tons earth. From it emerged a better view of the Porta Marina and the southwestern quarter of the city; it also proved the existence of the Porta Nocera, which many scholars doubted (fig.9).¹⁰⁷ The scale of this operation hints at just how much the fortifications had disappeared since their initial excavation and with them the certainty of the existence of entire gates such as the Porta Nocera. Much of the walls exposed today are a result of this

¹⁰⁴ The extent of this reburial is evident in a quick comparison between illustrations in the publications of the early 1800s and photographs published at the turn of the century. In this period the section went from largely exposed to almost completely re-buried. In particular compare W. Gell and J. P. Gandy, *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii* (London, 1833), Pl. XVI, XVII. M. FitzGerald, *Facts about Pompei: Its Masons' Marks, Town Walls, Houses, and Portraits* (London, 1895), 28. P. Gusman, *Pompei, the City, its Life & Art* (London, 1900), 35-36.

¹⁰⁵ J. Overbeck and A. Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken* (Leipzig, 1884), 52.

¹⁰⁶ Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano," 275-294.

¹⁰⁷ Maiuri, "Sterro dei cumuli e isolamento della cinta murale" 166-179.

effort, but some areas, including the stretch between the Porta Stabia and Tower II, and the environs of Tower IX, remain buried under the debris.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, the monumental task produced only a small publication and much of the state of the walls at the time of their recovery remains little understood.¹⁰⁹

In the 1980s the excavations resumed, targeting two separate sections of the walls. Early in the decade the Porta Nocera area received renewed attention under the guidance of Stefano De Caro. The excavations sought to understand the pappamonte wall found near Tower III and answer questions concerning the dating and phases of the fortifications. Ceramics recovered from the excavations dated the pappamonte wall to the first half of the sixth century BCE, and its destruction to the early decades of the fifth. De Caro also revisited Maiuri's 1929 results and excavated a small trench near the Porta Ercolano. By examining the stratigraphic relationships, De Caro proved that the pappamonte wall preceded the course of later enceintes. The results also allowed him to date the orthostate wall to a period spanning the late sixth and early fourth century BCE. This rather long time frame for the orthostate wall stems from a lack of datable materials, forcing a relative date hovering between the construction of the pappamonte and the Limestone enceintes.¹¹⁰

Later in the decade Cristina Chiaramonte Trerè led another dig that exposed the curtain wall between Porta Nola and Tower VIII. Her results mirrored Maiuri's findings further west identifying post-62 CE earthquake debris dumps, and evidence of repairs. Materials from the trenches significantly revised the construction of the first Samnite

¹⁰⁸ H. Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien zur Städtekunde des Altertums*, 457-466. He describes the remains between the Porta Ercolano and Porta Stabia in 1877.

¹⁰⁹ A. Maiuri, "Sterro dei cumuli e isolamento della cinta murale," 166-179.

¹¹⁰ S. De Caro, "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei." *Annali di archeologia e storia antica. Istituto Universitario Orientale*, 7 (1985): 75-114.

agger to the late fourth/early third century BCE, the date most scholars currently accept. These results also pushed the construction of the orthostate wall to before the fifth century BCE because, she argued, this was the most plausible length of time for its existence between the construction of the pappamonte and the limestone fortifications. The full excavation of Tower VIII was another major contribution of this campaign, producing rare decorative elements similar to those of Tower X and fragments of an inscription.¹¹¹

Between 1993 and 2002 the Japanese Institute of Paleological Studies conducted a study to establish the existence of the Porta Capua on the northeast side of town. The excavations of the 1800s had detected a structure, but, just as had been the case with the Porta Nocera, scholars remained divided on its nature and even its very existence. The importance of assessing the presence of the gate correlated to the orthogonal layout of the city and its urban development. For example Fiorelli, a firm believer in the existence of a Porta Capua, defined it as a counterpart to the Porta Nocera and projected a street axis between the two. Although subsequent excavations proved a different layout, the theory led Fiorelli to divide the city into the administrative regions, or *regiones*, still used today.¹¹² The Japanese team conclusively uncovered the remains of Tower IX rather than a gate and gathered further important results (fig.10).¹¹³ Chief amongst these was the conclusion that the building and the adjacent curtain were reconstructed in the early colony, thereby disputing the generally accepted notion that all the *opus incertum*

¹¹¹ C. Chiamonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane* (Milan, 1986), 48. We will discuss these results in the chapters that follow.

¹¹² For a discussion on the history of the division of Pompei, see L. García y García, “Divisione fiorelliana e piano regolatore di Pompei.” *Opuscula Pompeiana* 3 (1993): 55–70.

¹¹³ The team has diligently published a yearly excavation report in the *Opuscula Pompeiana*. The authors have recently brought these together in a single volume. See H. Etani, *Pompeii: report of the excavation at Porta Capua, 1993-2005* (Kyoto 2010).

sections dated to the pre-colonial period.¹¹⁴ Other results pointed to the unique nature of the area. The *agger* was prominently absent, making this the only tower with a back door opening directly onto the street. The team also recovered evidence of a possible culvert beneath the foundations and traces of a defensive ditch that once extended in front of the building.

Further results both confirmed and refuted parts of Maiuri's sequence. Deep excavations revealed traces of the pappamonte and orthostate walls, whereas the recovered materials confirmed an early third century BCE date for the limestone fortification. The absence of the *agger*, however, suggests that engineers re-used the inner face of orthostate wall as a terracing structure rather than replacing it with the elaborate internal wall built as part of the much later tufa reinforcement of the fortifications.¹¹⁵ These results significantly complicate Maiuri's strict phase separation according to construction techniques, and the notion of a uniform defensive line around the city. As we shall see, these issues have dominated and are still part of the scholarly debate, but only future systematic excavations can resolve them.

Another important conclusion similarly confounds our understanding of the condition of the walls at the time of the eruption. The careful investigations of the Japanese Institute of Paleological Studies recovered a medieval occupation layer inside the tower that indicated a contemporary spoliation of the adjacent masonry for building material. Crow-bar marks identified at the Porta Sarno signal that a similar process occurred elsewhere along the circuit, but its extent and date remains unquantifiable.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ H. Etani, *Pompeii: report of the excavation at Porta Capua, 1993-2005*, 208. The excavation team is still unsure what kind of structure it actually is but describes it as a culvert. It does however, predate the first tower.

¹¹⁵ S. Sakai, "La storia sotto il suolo del 79 d.C. considerazioni sui dati provenienti dalle attività archeologiche svolte sulle fortificazioni di Pompei." *Opuscula Pompeiana* 10 (2000): 94-96.

¹¹⁶ G. Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien*, 191.

Similar acts of spoliation may have occurred after the nineteenth century excavations and we once again find a problem in the general lack of documentation concerning the discovery and subsequent maintenance of the enceinte.

The current remains include large sections of modern masonry built during twentieth century restoration campaigns, but records of these interventions are practically nonexistent. In some instances, such as the three towers on the north side of the city, a line of red bricks marks the distinction between modern and ancient masonry. In other occasions the masonry contains a plaque highlighting a restored section. One example in particular, still encased in the masonry, announces a repair to the curtain wall west of Tower X after a bomb demolished it during the allied air raid of 1943. No plaque, however, commemorates the reconstruction of the outer façade of Porta Marina obliterated during the same bombing. Here the restoration deliberately attempted to conceal any evidence of the event (fig.11).¹¹⁷ We can only assume that the masonry is reconstructed accurately. Without markers it is generally up to the viewer to distinguish between modern and ancient masonry whether by visual analysis, the image archives, or both.

Returning to the excavation campaigns, a series of more targeted interventions have explored the fortifications in recent years. The PARPS project, run by The University of Cincinnati, has excavated at the Porta Stabia as part of a wider investigation into the nearby urban layout. Important conclusions include the identification of four distinct phases and the discovery of a buried altar beneath two superimposed niches cut into the eastern gate court wall. The altar and lower niche belong to the first two phases of the structure but their dates are inconclusive. Two later phases included the

¹¹⁷ See García y García, *Danni di guerra a Pompei*, 167-171.

construction of the *opus incertum* vault in the early colony and a final raising of the sidewalk.¹¹⁸ The late date of the vault in particular is important as it again counters the generally accepted view that these structures all represent pre-colonial construction events.

Two more targeted excavations investigated the Porta Vesuvio on the opposite end of the via Stabiana and the Temple of Venus near the Porta Marina. Results at the Porta Vesuvio confirmed Maiuri's sequence, including the succession of the limestone and tufa phases, dating them each to the early third and mid-second century BCE.¹¹⁹ The investigations also put to rest a longstanding debate conclusively proving that the inner *opus incertum* vault never existed for this gate. Unlike the other gates the Porta Vesuvio featured a vault on the exterior field side. Many scholars still date its construction to after the 62 CE earthquake, but the new results suggest its possible contemporaneity with the towers.¹²⁰ The most recent investigation of the fortified perimeter occurred in the precinct of the Temple of Venus in the southwest corner of the city. Pappamonte blocks recovered in the area probably doubled as fortification and terracing structures that preceded similar structures in tufa.¹²¹

Although large parts of the fortifications were excavated and re-buried in sometimes unclear cycles, some of the gates have remained open to view ever since their

¹¹⁸ G. Devore and S. Ellis, "The Third Season of Excavations at VIII.7.1-15 and the Porta Stabia at Pompeii. Preliminary Report." *Fastionline* 112 (2008): 13-15.

¹¹⁹ F. Seiler, H. Beste, C. Piriano, and D. Esposito, "La regio VI insula 16 e la zona della porta Vesuvio." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche a Pompei ed Ercolano. Atti del convegno internazionale*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Napoli, 2005), 224.

¹²⁰ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 170 elaborates on Sogliano's previous observations for the post-earthquake construction of the vault. A. Van Buren, "Further Pompeian Studies." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 10 (1932): 37 decidedly argues against it, suggesting that the *opus incertum* construction technique should make it contemporary to the other gate vaults in Pompeii. The new results are in Seiler et.al. "La regio VI insula 16 e la zona della porta Vesuvio," 224.

¹²¹ E. Curti, "Spazio sacro e politico nella Pompei preromana." In *Verso la città. Forme insediative in Lucania e nel mondo italico fra IV e III sec. a.C. atti delle giornate di studio, Venosa, 13-14 Maggio 2006.*, edited by M. Osanna (Venosa, 2009): 501-502.

first discovery. As a result they have played important roles in the accessibility to the site and modern perceptions of the ruins. The Porta Ercolano in particular formed the main access to the ruins for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, greeting the distinguished members of the European elite and artists engaged in the grand tour. The importance of the gate in the vision of Pompeii and antiquity is considerable. Francesco Piranesi produced the first engravings of the area and the copies quickly spread throughout Europe, appearing in many descriptions and prints of the period.¹²² Early guide books and scholarly accounts almost invariably contain descriptions and illustrations of the fortifications. They often form the only evidence on the actual state of the walls, providing precious insight into any embellishments that have disappeared and the slow deterioration of the fortifications.¹²³ The majority of these descriptions focus on the Porta Ercolano and the northern tract of the fortifications, whereas the Porta Nola, located further off the beaten track, received somewhat less attention. Other gates have played similar roles. As the excavations progressed, the fortifications slowly became psychological and physical barriers defining the city limit just as Caroline Bonaparte had intended.

With the extension of the Napoli-Portici railroad in 1844 a new access to the ruins opened on the modern Piazza Esedra leading to the area of the Porta Marina. In the early 1900s a new branch and station of the Circumvesuviana light rail built north of the city led to the development of the now abandoned entrance facility at the Porta Nola. It remained the main access point into the ruins until a new station, the current

¹²² See A. Laidlaw, "Mining the Early Published Sources: Problems and Pitfalls," 623. See also M. Goalen, Martin, "The Idea of the City and the Excavations at Pompeii." In *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, edited by Timothy J. Cornell and Kathryn Lomas (London, 1995): 181–202.

¹²³ The authors are too many to list here, but the names include some of the most prominent scholars on Pompeii including Romanelli, De Jorio, Mazois, Gell, Niccolini, Nissen, Overbeck, and Mau. They have often engaged in vigorous debates on the role and character of the gates providing some precious details on now lost embellishments.

Pompeii/Villa dei Misteri stop on the Circumvesuviana line to Sorrento, opened in the 1930s. Only in 1948 did the new entrance near the amphitheater artificially bridge the city walls as a barrier into the city.¹²⁴ Since then the modern urban sprawl of the Bay of Naples has engulfed much of the surrounding territory. Throughout this process the fortifications continued to act as the conceptual marker of the city. Unfortunately, this circumstance licensed the development of adjacent terrains with little supervision. Only recently has modern scholarship started adding more emphasis to the territory of the city. Today the walls continue to form a backdrop for visitors and, perhaps most importantly, they still help shape the concept of the limit of Pompeii as defined by the line of its defenses.

¹²⁴ For a history on the development of the entrances into the city see G. Longobardi, *Pompei sostenibile* (Rome, 2002), 39-65.

Chapter 2 The First Enceintes and the Creation of the Community

“...Fortifications represent by far the greatest physical expression of public, communal participation, whether we think in terms of money, labour, or organization...

...Here, then, is the basic picture of a Classical polis, a critical mass of population and a fortified site. All the rest is window-dressing.”

-John McK. Camp II

As mentioned above, scholars tend to distinguish an early Pompeii spanning the Archaic and Early Classical periods. This period of urban genesis was critical to the creation of a strong local communal identity that translated into the stability of a long-term settlement capable of surviving up to the eruption of 79 CE. Since much of this early city is unknown, the nature of the evidence forces a primarily archaeological approach to define how the fortifications interacted with the settlement to create a unified appearance. This approach forms an undercurrent in later chapters where other types of evidence, such as social structure and artistic production, will help reframe our discussion on the role of the fortifications. Throughout the various periods, however, it is important to remember that all these factors continuously played important roles in the definition of the city and its identity.

Recent archaeological discoveries have shed more light on the oldest and most enigmatic period of Pompeian history. Sporadic finds confirm a Neolithic presence on the plateau and a late Bronze/early Iron Age Palma Campania settlement in the area of the future Regio V and the Porta Nocera.¹²⁵ Although future discoveries may change this

¹²⁵ Nilsson, “Evidence of Palma Campania Settlement at Pompeii,” 81–86; Robinson, “La stratigrafia nello studio dell’archeologia preistorica e protostorica a Pompei,” 125–138; Varone, “Per la storia recente, antica ed antichissima del sito di Pompei,” 354-359.

picture, the choice of location is hardly coincidental. The area associated with Regio V is also the highest part of the Pompeian plateau and is particularly strategic. From here the settlement commanded the long natural valley forming an early coastal communication route through the region. It later accommodated the main *decumanus* of the city, known today as the via Stabiana.¹²⁶ This phase seems to flicker out fairly quickly and a habitation hiatus follows lasting to the final decades of the seventh century BCE.¹²⁷ The area of the Sarno Valley then experiences a shift in the occupation pattern where a number of smaller hamlets unite into larger settlements in a synoecistic movement creating new urban conglomerates. This development coincides with expanding trade routes to the east and the influence of the Etruscans spreading into Campania from the north.¹²⁸ Evidence suggests that the settlers chose the area of the *Altstadt*, roughly coinciding with a small lava spur, for its naturally fortified southern, eastern, and western approaches. Excavations conducted in the area of the Triangular Forum uncovered evidence for buildings already occupying the area in the mid-seventh century BCE. Many remains are mostly simple postholes probably related to huts, whereas other more substantial foundations feature regularly spaced pappamonte blocks.¹²⁹

BUILDING A COMMUNITY: THE PAPPAMONTE FORTIFICATION AND THE CITY

The success of the city depended primarily on its conformance to the rules governing the choice of its location. Ideal sites required a healthy environment to sustain

¹²⁶ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 226.

¹²⁷ De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 69.

¹²⁸ F. Pesando, and M.P. Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae* (Rome, 2006) 4. De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 74. L. Cerchiai, *I Campani* (Milan, 1995), 100.

¹²⁹ Mostly post holes perhaps associated with huts. See P. Carafa, "What was Pompeii before 200 B.C.? Excavations in the House of Joseph II, in the Triangular Forum and in the House of the Wedding of Hercules." In *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, edited by S.E. Bon and Rick Jones (Oxford, 1997), 25.

the population and ample arable land to retain a degree of self-sufficiency.¹³⁰ A site also needed to lend itself to easy defense and provide refuge for the population in times of danger, whether natural or man-made. Ideally, approaches to the settlement should pass over somewhat difficult terrain to create strategic bottlenecks where small defensive units could fend off larger attacking forces. As a prerequisite to basic survival, the site needed a reliable source of water, preferably in form of natural springs, nearby rivers, or manmade collection cisterns and wells reaching aquifers deep in the ground. It also needed to be centrally located in relation to its territory. This way it could function as a strategic base to exercise rapid intervention over subjects and intruders, and provide a convenient commercial exchange centre.¹³¹ In many ways, early Pompeii fulfilled these prerequisites, guaranteeing the success of the initial settlement.

During the sixth century BCE a new fortification enclosed an area that would define Pompeii for centuries to come. Its route ran along a natural ridge created by the edge of an ancient lava flow coming down from Vesuvius to the north (fig.12). The extended ridge gave the settlement strong natural defenses on the south, west, and eastern sides. Only the northern approach, a gentle slope from the mountain, formed a weak spot. The enceinte encompassed the same topographic depression, dominated by the previous Palma Campania Settlement, linking the territory north of Vesuvius with the Sorrentine peninsula and the city of Nola.¹³² At the foot of the plateau the River Sarno flowed into the sea, further enhancing the strategic position of Pompeii as the harbor for the cities of Nocera and Nola further inland.¹³³ Perched on top of the plateau, the new city dominated its immediate territory as a crucial fortified node. Its extensive views helped it control

¹³⁰ M. Cristofani, "Economia e Società." In *Rasenna: Storia e Civiltà degli Etruschi* (Milan, 1986), 88.

¹³¹ F.E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto, 1971), 31.

¹³² De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 69.

¹³³ Already mentioned by Strabo *Geography* (V,4,8).

both land and sea- commerce, and provided early warning against territorial intruders and a place of refuge for the population of the countryside in times of danger.¹³⁴

The visible remains of the pappamonte fortification are scant with one or two courses of highly weathered blocks, some 40-50 cm high and 75-100 cm long, surviving between the Porta Nocera and Tower III.¹³⁵ They were likely exposed by the natural erosion that occurred in the area in antiquity. The shallow foundations and friable nature of the rock suggest that the wall could not have exceeded more than five or six courses in height. Excavations have recovered large sections of the wall in house I.5.4-5 near Porta Stabia, buried in the *agger* of Porta Nocera, Tower IX, the stretch between the Porta Vesuvio and Porta Ercolano, and the terrace of the Temple to Venus Pompeiana.¹³⁶ De Caro argues that a strong *terra battuta*, or beaten earth, level recovered near the Porta Ercolano and the Porta Nocera suggests the presence of a small pomerial street running behind the wall facilitating communication along the perimeter of the city.¹³⁷ In some areas the wall, if it did extend around the whole city, is still uncharted. Remains are notably missing near the Porta Nola, suggesting that the circuit ran slightly further west than the current fortifications (fig. 13).¹³⁸ Similarly, the enceinte is unaccounted for in the area near the great theater. Guzzo suggests that the building, cut in typically Greek

¹³⁴ De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 69.

¹³⁵ S. Lorenzoni, E. Zanettin, and A.C. Casella, "La più antica cinta muraria di Pompei. Studio petro-archeometrico." *Rassegna di archeologia classica e postclassica* 18 B (2001), 36.

¹³⁶ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei", 227. See also De Caro, "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei." 88-91; Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 151-163. Maiuri, "Muro della fortificazione," 233; H. Etani and S. Sakai. "Preliminary Reports. Archaeological Investigation at Porta Capua, Pompeii. Fifth Season, September - January 1997-98." *Opuscula Pompeiana* 8 (1998): 111-134; E. Curti, "Il tempio di Venere Fisica e il porto di Pompei." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006). Atti del convegno internazionale*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Rome, 2008), 50-52.

¹³⁷ De Caro, "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 89.

¹³⁸ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei." 206-218, Chiaramonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane*, 13-19.

fashion into the natural rock, probably obliterated the remains, but the fortifications most likely ran along a portion of the ridge.¹³⁹

As mentioned previously, it was not until De Caro's excavations in the 1980s that modern scholars recognized the importance of the pappamonte wall. Yet it was Maiuri's excavations that provided much of the early information concerning its course and layout. In particular, his discoveries point to a strong continuity in the location of the gates, and therefore, the urban layout of the city. Maiuri described the remains of two early gates; one at the Porta Vesuvio and another sealed beneath Tower XI. This layout suggests that the via di Mercurio once functioned as a main artery of the city and is now a fossil in the urban framework.¹⁴⁰ The excavations of Tower IX confirmed Stefano De Caro's theory for an all-encompassing enceinte when they uncovered another long section of the fortifications.¹⁴¹ The remains were again minimal composed mostly of one or two courses on shallow foundations.¹⁴² The latest excavations at the Porta Vesuvio confirmed the small tracts of the enceinte that Maiuri recovered on the north side of the city (fig.14). The work also discovered further substantial remains of the early gate including a possible small forward bastion that served as a clear predecessor to the current plan of Porta Vesuvio.¹⁴³

Theories on the original appearance of the fortifications abound and are still debated. They range from projecting a single freestanding wall, to a low fortification with

¹³⁹ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 106-107.

¹⁴⁰ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 168.

¹⁴¹ It is in fact de Caro who first recognized the scant remains Maiuri uncovered at Tower IX and Porta Vesuvio as part of the pappamonte wall. De Caro, "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 104-106.

¹⁴² Sakai, "La storia sotto il suolo del 79 d.C." 92. See also S. Sakai and V. Iorio, "Nuove ricerche del Japan Institute of Paleological Studies sulla fortificazione di Pompei." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche a Pompei ed Ercolano. Atti del convegno internazionale*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Naples, 2005), 328.

¹⁴³ Seiler et.al, "La regio VI insula 16 e la zona della porta Vesuvio," 224.

two facing facades, and a terracing wall accommodating an earth embankment or a mud-brick superstructure, reaching some three meters high.¹⁴⁴ Scholars have almost invariably assigned a limited defensive capability to all of the proposed reconstructions reinforcing the notion that the wall was more symbolic rather than military. This assessment seems rather narrow in its focus, and it is more likely that the defenses included both symbolic and military components. In fact, any of these structures could easily respond to the predominantly raiding type of warfare at the time, which precluded the need for elaborate defenses. Furthermore, the recovery of a road hugging the city side of the defenses suggests a concern to maintain an easy access route to rapidly meet any threats.¹⁴⁵ In this framework, although unimpressive in height, its addition to Pompeii's impressive natural defenses actually created a formidable defensive line in tune with the military threats of period (fig.15).

The fortifications therefore responded to both symbolic and defensive needs to define the community. A further indicator of these factors is that the enceinte did not feature a uniform appearance around the city. Instead it probably responded to variations in the natural strength of the terrain. Furthermore, as is well attested in Greece, areas with increased visibility perhaps displayed more impressive fortifications designed to flaunt the city's wealth and status.¹⁴⁶ Fabrizio Pesando points out the discovery of a large stepped pappamonte wall just north of the Porta Marina near the House of Umbricus Scaurus (VII.16.15). It signals a large building or perhaps even a terracing structure at the

¹⁴⁴ De Caro, "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 89. Lorenzoni et.al, "La più antica cinta muraria di Pompei," 45-46. Sakai "La storia sotto il suolo del 79 d.C." 92. Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 224. Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 29.

¹⁴⁵ On the recovery of the road see De Caro, "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei,"91-93.

¹⁴⁶ As we shall see these considerations are more evident in the subsequent fortifications of Pompeii. For these elements in Greece see, Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 235

city limits.¹⁴⁷ Similarly Emanuele Curti, after excavating the precinct of the Temple of Venus Pompeiana, suggests that the pappamonte enceinte probably functioned primarily as a terracing structure on its southern side. Presumably the slope of the ridge was once gentler, and a terracing wall helped flatten out the area for the buildings above.¹⁴⁸ It is here that we can further appreciate the symbolic value of the defenses. Such a terracing wall, placed high on the lava ridge, made for an impressive sight for anyone approaching the city from the south. As a defensive structure it not only claimed the plateau itself. It also symbolized an assertion of power over a wide swath of territory and the region rather than responding solely to military concerns.

A similar concept resides in the materials used for its construction. Building techniques could implicitly tie a community to its territory. Technological innovations and the availability of local materials were influential factors affecting the manner of defense. The presence of large forests, for example, might encourage the extensive use of wood in fortifications, whereas an abundance of sedimentary soils could stimulate the use of mudbrick. The development of better tools and building techniques had a significant effect on the construction of stone enceintes as masons progressively acquired skills facilitating quarrying and stone dressing.¹⁴⁹ For example, in Etruria the relatively soft volcanic tufa encouraged the use of ashlar masonry in the south, whereas the harder and irregular lime- and sandstones of the northern regions stimulated the use of polygonal techniques at sites such as Roselle, Cosa, and Populonia.¹⁵⁰ Vitruvius, writing many

¹⁴⁷ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 227.

¹⁴⁸ The remains are actually quite scant but enough to lead the author to his conclusions on the matter, although he himself admits that more investigations might be needed to clarify the situation. Curti, "Spazio sacro e politico nella Pompei pre-romana," 501.

¹⁴⁹ G. Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana con particolare riguardo a Roma e Lazio* (London, 1968), 74.

¹⁵⁰ Giuseppe Lugli attempted a chronological classification of the polygonal masonry in his so called *quattro maniere* which has long held sway in the subsequent dating of the structures despite his own admittance on the difficulty of dating such structures. Miller and more recently Becker have convincingly

centuries later, recommends the use of local materials for the construction of walls, and that engineers build them in such a fashion to last as long as possible.¹⁵¹ Well-built walls, therefore, also reflected the skills and technological achievement of local craftsmen and communities.

We catch a glimpse of the wall construction process and its effect on the community in an account by the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus concerning the fortifications of Syracuse. The walls of the Greek city are celebrated for their massive length and scale, but their appearance need not concern us here. More important is the episode of roughly 400 BCE when Dionysius I, the tyrant of the city, expanded the enceinte to include the strategic Epiploae plateau in anticipation of a war with Carthage he intended to begin. He mustered over sixty thousand free peasants and six thousand yokes of oxen from the surrounding countryside to build a section of wall some thirty stades in length. With one stade roughly measured at 180 meters, the total length of the wall built was about 5.4 km. Dionysius put a master-builder in charge of each stade and assigned six parties, each 200 men strong, to individually build a plethron length of wall, or roughly 30 meters, under the supervision of a mason. The remaining work force quarried and transported the stone. Dionysius incited the men with rewards and led by example, supervising and participating in the construction process. He inspired such zeal and competition in the builders that crews finished the entire fortification, including the towers and six gates, in just twenty days.¹⁵²

criticized such a linear approach. Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana* 65-69. M. Miller, *Befestigungsanlagen in Italien vom 8. bis 3. Jahrhundert vor Christus* (Hamburg, 1995), 78. J. Becker, *The Building Blocks of Empire: Civic Architecture, Central Italy, and the Roman Middle Republic*. Ph.D. dissertation, (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007), 99-105.

¹⁵¹ Vitruvius I.V.8. *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture*. Translated by M. H Morgan (New York, 1960).

¹⁵² Diod. Sic. 14.18

It is unclear if such concerted efforts were typical of the time, and we should keep in mind the historian probably recounts this particular episode because of the tyrant's notable and out of the ordinary achievement. In addition, the numbers Diodorus furnishes are unreliable and probably exaggerated since he wrote about the event roughly 350 years after it happened. Nevertheless, the episode tells us something about the labor organization on such massive projects and the division of its construction into distinct sections. It is also a vivid example of how the building process and its spectacle could foster a sense of community and legitimize the power of the commissioner. In fact, the historian describes how onlookers watched in wonder at the zeal and labor of so many people on a single project.

The use of pappamonte in Pompeii suggests a similar localized construction process. A recent lithological examination of the material identified it as a soft sedimentary conglomerate of volcanic debris, or tufa, found almost exclusively in the area of the lower Sarno River.¹⁵³ The type is soft and easy to quarry, but its friable nature precludes any sort of tall or strong wall construction suitable to later defensive developments. With most of the material quarried on site it directly tied the community with its territory. Aside from envisioning chief masons supervising small groups of workers assigned to individual sections, it is hard to assess who exactly built the wall.¹⁵⁴ For example, we know that Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome, actively employed poor citizens on public projects in order to keep them distracted from the affairs of state and prevent uprisings.¹⁵⁵ This factor, however, remains unclear for Pompeii, but if the builders were citizens, such as was the case with the Syracusan

¹⁵³ Lorenzoni et.al, "La più antica cinta muraria di Pompei," 42.

¹⁵⁴ Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana*, 68. Winter, *Greek Fortifications*, 61.

¹⁵⁵ See Dion. Hal. *Roman Antiquities* 4.44

fortifications, then their association with the community probably enhanced the symbolic value to the fortifications. In any event, given the scale of the construction process, it is clear that the localized effort likely fostered a strong sense of community and identification for the population who depended on the region's resources for survival.

Calibrating the Image of the City

The materials and construction techniques composing the fortifications also feature in the public and private buildings of the settlement, thereby influencing the appearance of the city and its image. Along with the city walls, it is the sanctuaries that form the most tangible structures of early Pompeii. They are similarly remarkable for their continuity and longevity throughout much of its history. The Temple of Apollo is a case in point. An *opus quadratum* pappamonte *temenos* wall, now buried beneath the House of Tryptolemus (VII.7.5), attests that the area already functioned as a sacred space in the early years of the sixth century BCE. The *temenos* wall probably defined an open interior space including a single votive column and an altar dedicated to rituals. By the close of the century the area also featured an Italic-style temple with a high podium composed of pappamonte blocks and a superstructure built in perishable materials.¹⁵⁶ The recovered terracotta acroteria are stylistically similar to others found in the area of southern Latium and Campania. They suggest that the temple carried a distinct Campanian type roof blending local and Etrusco-Italic elements mirroring the wider regional developments of the time.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ S. De Caro, *Saggi nell'area del Tempio di Apollo a Pompei* (Napels, 1986), 21.

¹⁵⁷ E. Thiermann, "Ethnic Identity in Archaic Pompeii." In *SOMA 2003. Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology.*, edited by C. Briault, J. Green, and A. Kaldelis (Oxford, 2005): 158.

Pompeii preserves the remains of other sanctuaries dating to this period, but their character is less clear. The survival of a tufa column, immured unmoved into a later wall of the House of the Etruscan Column (VI.5.17), and the excavated remains of a possible associated altar indicate the presence of a sanctuary. This setup is conceptually similar to the earliest Temple of Apollo, and excavation results suggest that the two were contemporaneous. The area associated with the House of the Etruscan Column perhaps functioned as an open sacred grove dedicated to Jupiter inside the perimeter of the settlement, but the exact characteristics are elusive.¹⁵⁸ Nearby, a Doric limestone column later incorporated into a wall near the intersection of the via di Nola and the via Stabiana probably denotes the remains of a similar sanctuary. This votive column is even more enigmatic, but its purposeful preservation suggests its continuing importance throughout the remainder of the history of the city.¹⁵⁹

The southern edge of the Pompeian plateau preserves two of the most important sanctuaries of the city. The same excavations that recovered evidence of the early enceinte on the terrace of the Temple of Venus also uncovered pappamonte foundation walls belonging to earlier structures. Traces of large deposits of mudbrick recovered nearby are probably the remains of collapsed wall superstructures.¹⁶⁰ These remains suggest that the area was an early sanctuary perhaps dedicated to the Samnite goddess Mefitis Fisica who is attested at the site in the second century BCE. As we shall see, the Romans transformed her cult into that of Venus Pompeiana in reference to her role as

¹⁵⁸ S. De Caro, "The First Sanctuaries." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by P. Foss and J.J. Dobbins (New York, 2007): 74-75. Also, F. Coarelli, "Il settore nord-occidentale di Pompei e lo sviluppo urbanistico della città dall'età arcaica al III secolo a.C." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006)*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Rome, 2008), 174; Bonghi Jovino, *Ricerche a Pompei, I. L'insula 5 della regio VI dalle origini Al 79 d.C. Campagne di scavo 1976 - 1979*, 357-371

¹⁵⁹ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 230.

¹⁶⁰ Curti, "Il tempio di Venere Fisica e il porto di pompeii," 50.

personal protectress of the Roman dictator Sulla, who conquered the city.¹⁶¹ The makeup of the early building and the sanctuary are elusive and will need further investigation. However, the foundation walls and the use of perishable materials suggest a design similar to that of the Temple of Apollo.

Further east the temple dedicated to Athena/Hercules, built on the very edge of the Triangular Forum, was perhaps the most imposing landmark of early Pompeii. Mostly built using perishable materials, it included Doric capitals fashioned in local Sarno limestone and terracotta acroteria on the roof. Dating to c. 530 BCE, this building replaced an earlier wooden version built at the beginning of the century.¹⁶² Through a characteristic mixture of Greek and Italic architectural elements, the new temple displayed affinities with Temple B at Pyrgi and the Temple of Apollo Lycaeus at Metapontum. It received at least two refurbishments between the sixth century and the early decades of the fifth century BCE, suggesting its importance for the population of the city.¹⁶³ Like the Temple of Mefitis, its location on the very tip of the high southern lava ridge was a defining element of Pompeii and it acted as a beacon for those approaching from the Monti Lattari and the sea.¹⁶⁴

New excavations throughout the city have recovered many other pappamonte blocks lined up as foundations for buildings above. Investigations in the House of Marcus Lucretius (IX, 3, 5.24) and the House of the Gladiators (V.5.3) produced some significant

¹⁶¹ I shall discuss her further in chapter 5. F. Coarelli, "Il culto di Mefitis in Campania e a Roma." In *I culti della campania antica. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in ricordo di Nazarena Valenza Mele* (Rome, 1998), 185–190. Curti, "Il tempio di Venere Fisica e il porto di Pompei," 50.

¹⁶² P. Carafa, "Minervae et Marti et Herculi aedes doricae fient (Vitr. 1.2.5). The Monumental History of the Sanctuary in Pompeii's so-called Triangular Forum." In *The Making of Pompeii*, edited by S.J.R. Ellis (Portsmouth, 2011), 91-92.

¹⁶³ J.A.K.E de Waele, "The Doric Temple on the Forum Triangulare in Pompeii." *Opuscula Pompeiana* 3 (1993): 113-114. Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 226.

¹⁶⁴ De Caro, "The First Sanctuaries," 74.

examples of these substructures.¹⁶⁵ They perhaps once functioned as part of houses, but the true character of these foundations is hard to assess since they supported completely lost mud brick or wattle and daub walls.¹⁶⁶ As the recent discoveries in house I.1.1-10 and insula VIII.7 suggest, architects used pappamonte as a construction material well into the fourth century BCE, adding a further complicating factor to the reconstruction of early Pompeii.¹⁶⁷

Nevertheless, results point to at least two basic types of foundation walls relative to this period. The most elusive are the shallow walls of roughly shaped, chipped or broken lava and limestone blocks that probably functioned as foundations for mudbrick walls.¹⁶⁸ The second type features more regularly hewn rectangular pappamonte blocks that subdivide further into two distinct types. The first employs blocks laid down as headers with their long sides next to each other. The second uses the blocks as stretchers arranged longitudinally with meeting short sides. The first header type, recovered beneath Tower X, the Temple of Venus, and the Basilica, perhaps functioned as heavy terracing structures. The stretcher type perhaps supported freestanding walls or belonged to terracing structures in particularly flat areas, such as the vicinity of the Porta Nocera,

¹⁶⁵ The occupation levels related to these structures date to the sixth century BCE. See P. Castrén, R. Berg, and A. Tammisto, "In the Heart of Pompeii. Archaeological Studies in the Casa di Marco Lucrezio (IX,3, 5.24)." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006)*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Rome, 2008): 333. Also D. Esposito, "Un contributo allo studio di Pompei arcaica. I saggi nella Regio V, Ins. 5." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006)*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Rome, 2008), 73.

¹⁶⁶ As houses see Coarelli, "Il settore nord-occidentale di Pompei," 174. Otherwise see Curti, "Il tempio di Venere Fisica e il porto di Pompei," 50. A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Development of the Campanian House." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by P. Foss and J.J. Dobbins (New York, 2007), 281.

¹⁶⁷ S.J.R. Ellis, A. Emmerson, A. Pavlick, and K. Dicus, "The 2010 Field Season at I.1.1-10, Pompeii: Preliminary Report on the Excavations." *Fashionline* 220 (2011): 7.

¹⁶⁸ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 234. Also found in insula VI, 13 see M. Verzár-Bass, F. Oriolo, and F. Zanini, "L'insula VI, 13 di Pompei alla luce delle recenti indagini." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006)* edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Rome, 2008), 192. Also F. Coarelli, and F. Pesando, *Rileggere Pompei, 1. L'Insula 10 Della Regio VI* (Rome, 2005), 323, 344.

where they naturally needed less support.¹⁶⁹ The overall distinction suggests that the rough foundations supported fairly light structures, whereas the pappamonte blocks probably functioned as part of sturdier, well-developed walls. The appearance of such a plethora of archaic remains has led to a re-evaluation of De Caro's hypothesis concerning the wide empty spaces at Pompeii. This new theory, proposed after extensive excavations in Regio VI, sees a well-developed urbanized town in the sixth century BCE with a street pattern foreshadowing the later Hellenistic layout of the city.¹⁷⁰

The very nature of these fragmentary remains calls into question the reliability of assigning all the recovered tracts along the perimeter of Pompeii to an actual continuous defensive structure. In fact, they may relate to individual buildings, or localized terracing structures. One thing to keep in mind for the period is that the unsophisticated tactics of siege warfare and the strength of strongholds usually led armies to avoid direct attacks on cities. When they did occur, sieges featured the widespread use of manual weapons; the basic armoury included spears, slingshots, and bows in both offensive and defensive operations.¹⁷¹ Settlements often depended on their *nativa praesidia*, or natural topographical contours, easily reinforced with local relatively simple defensive structures.¹⁷² Only the richest cities could afford full stone enceintes encompassing the entire settlement. As a result, these fortifications projected further associations of power and wealth upon the viewer. Poorer cities usually relied on simpler earthen ramparts

¹⁶⁹ Esposito, "Un contributo allo studio di Pompeii arcaica," 77.

¹⁷⁰ Coarelli and Pesando. "The Urban Development of NW Pompeii: Archaic Period to 3rd C. B.C.," 42-43; Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompeii," 231-236 mentions an archaic level to the vicolo del fauno in Regio VI. See also Coarelli, "Il settore nord-occidentale di Pompeii," 174. F. Pesando, "Case di età medio-sannitica nella Regio VI: Tipologia edilizia e apparati decorativi." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006)*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Rome, 2008), 159.

¹⁷¹ A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 39.

¹⁷² A. Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* (New Haven, 1978), 67

sometimes reinforced with stones or palisades and often built locally to strengthen a weak spot in the natural defenses.¹⁷³ As a result, in contrast to De Caro's theory envisioning a settlement with open pastures and farming that were also useful in times of a siege, some scholars believe that fortifications primarily covered a large expanse of land primarily to use the natural contours more effectively.¹⁷⁴ In reality the covered area of land probably functioned in both capacities, but these factors significantly complicate our understanding of early Pompeii. In fact, we know very little about the land use and the extent of the city's urbanization. Only further investigations into the nature of this early settlement can hope to further clarify the picture.

In any event, the recovered remains of the pappamonte enceinte seem to follow a relatively consistent course around the city. They suggest a well-organized and relatively powerful settlement capable of mustering the resources to build it. Nevertheless, the overall picture is still very fragmented. Where Coarelli likes to see well-urbanized settlement, De Caro envisions a wide-open terrain with occasional buildings between the *Altstadt* and the outer fortification.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps the real picture lies somewhere between the two. Paolo Carafa points out that many other excavations into the earliest strata of Pompeii have failed to reveal any traces of earlier structures, suggesting the open landscape advocated by De Caro.¹⁷⁶ Pesando perhaps best describes it as an occupation "...a macchia di leopardo", or leopard spots, where the inequities of the terrain resulting from the lava flows composing the Pompeian plateau dictated the siting of private

¹⁷³ Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana*, 65. See also T. Cornell, "Warfare and Urbanization in Roman Italy." In *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, edited by Timothy J. Cornell and Kathryn Lomas (London, 1995), 126-127.

¹⁷⁴ Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 67.

¹⁷⁵ Coarelli, "Il settore nord-occidentale di Pompei," 174. De Caro "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 72.

¹⁷⁶ Carafa, "Recent Work on Early Pompeii," 65.

dwellings.¹⁷⁷ The city, therefore, extended beyond the *Altstadt* core, but its layout was somewhat patchy and much less homogenous than in later periods. Nevertheless, many of the main arteries accessing the city and large parts of the street network within the walls seem, by and large, already laid out. On the Italian peninsula the contemporary Etruscan settlements of Veii and Tarquinia supply a similar picture for a large but dispersed settlement within a wide enceinte, suggesting that this type of occupation was common in the period.¹⁷⁸ All we can really say about this phase for Pompeii is that a consistent construction technique employed throughout the settlement directly or indirectly helped create a more unified appearance.

THE ORTHOSTATE WALL

In the late fifth century BCE Pompeii built a new wall replacing the old pappamonte fortifications.¹⁷⁹ Scholars tend to identify its construction as the result of the Samnite conquest of Pompeii, or as a reaction to their rising threat from the hinterland. Archaeological evidence suggests that it closely followed the course of its earlier counterpart along the tactical ridge naturally defending the city. Maiuri uncovered substantial remains of the wall near the Porta Vesuvio, the Porta Ercolano, the Porta Stabia, and a long section between Towers III and IV (fig.16).¹⁸⁰ The recent excavations near Tower IX also recovered a section of the wall where it perhaps later changed function to a retaining wall for the subsequent Samnite fortifications.¹⁸¹ The new

¹⁷⁷ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 234.

¹⁷⁸ A. Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 67

¹⁷⁹ The obliteration of a small pomerial street running behind the pappamonte fortification points to the first decades of the fifth century BCE as the likely date. See Chiaramonte Treré, "The Walls and Gates," 141-142.

¹⁸⁰ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 155-158.

¹⁸¹ Etani, *Pompeii: report of the excavation at Porta Capua, 1993-2005*, 308.

enceinte respected the previous gate openings, but their original appearance remains uncertain. In fact, not much of the wall remains. Maiuri postulates that the later Samnite fortifications largely demolished it and the blocks were re-used in various construction projects around the city.¹⁸² Like its predecessor, the orthostate wall is absent from the area of the Porta di Nola, and no trace has yet surfaced between the Porta Ercolano and the Triangular Forum.

Two opposing walls, built using large slabs of a local yellow travertine known as Sarno limestone, composed the outer and inner façade of the fortification. An earth fill occupied the space between the two walls in a typically Greek military construction technique known as *emplecton*.¹⁸³ The two faces stood on average some 4.30 meters apart. They rested on an almost negligible initial foundation course composed of horizontal slabs that supported a squat wall reaching only 6-7 meters high including the parapet.¹⁸⁴ The retaining walls featured courses of flat stone slabs set vertically as orthostates. At approximately every third slab, builders inserted a header into the earth fill to stabilize the wall. Horizontal courses laid flat into the fill acted in a similar reinforcing role. The wall almost achieved a regular isodomic structure in a very elegant yet slightly irregular construction pattern of blocks quarried in varying sizes. Only Fritz Krischen, writing in 1941, attempted to reconstruct this phase based on Maiuri's data. His reconstruction shows a squat wall with merlons and the *emplecton* technique providing a wall-walk (fig.17). Access stairs recovered near the gates were mostly narrow and steep ending against the parapet. This was a clear practical solution since the width of the wall

¹⁸² Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 130.

¹⁸³ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 217.

¹⁸⁴ Krischen, uses the steps recovered east of the Porta Vesuvio to calculate the height. F. Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeji und die Griechische Festungsbaukunst in Unteritalien und Sizilien, die Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji VII* (Berlin, 1941), 8.

did not allow for more than ten steps. A wider merlon was featured at the top of the steps to protect the soldiers heading up to the battlements.¹⁸⁵ On the city side, a road known as a pomerial street closely shadowed the fortifications. It allowed for an easy communication route around the city.¹⁸⁶ A ditch, or *fossa*, perhaps ran in front of the wall to increase its height.

The *emplecton* construction technique led to a free-standing fortification that, along with the bright yellow Limestone employed, is a clear and abrupt departure from the earlier *agger*-like structure and dark grey coloring of the pappamonte wall. This shift is difficult to explain. As opposed to the pappamonte material quarried nearby the city, the limestone quarries were probably located relatively far away in the higher reaches of the Sarno valley. From there the material likely arrived at Pompeii by means of river barges transporting it downstream.¹⁸⁷ This factor implies further aspects concerning Pompeii's territorial reach including its possible control and hegemony over the valley, or its close interaction with neighboring populations, or both. The extent and character of these relationships, however, remain difficult to quantify without further evidence, and a precise location for the quarries. Nevertheless, the organizational skill and technical expertise required to build the orthostate wall suggests a Hellenic influence. In fact, scholars view the *emplecton* construction technique as a typically Hellenic design, inducing some to identify this as a Greek period for Pompeii.¹⁸⁸ This may suggest a strong bond between Pompeii and the neighboring Greek settlement of Neapolis.

¹⁸⁵ Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeji*, fig.3, tafel 1.

¹⁸⁶ The street covered the collapsed remains of the pappamonte fortification thereby allowing the vague dating of the wall to the late sixth and fifth centuries BCE. De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 76.

¹⁸⁷ Lorenzoni et.al, "La più antica cinta muraria di Pompei," 40-41.

¹⁸⁸ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 179-183.

Although this theory remains hard to prove, the fortification represents a proud achievement prominently displayed around the city.

Despite the considerable investment required in their construction, the new defenses herald a period of occupational hiatus, and possibly implosion, for Pompeii. The chronic lack of archaeological data leaves us in the dark about the city's character and appearance at this stage, but the start of the hiatus roughly coincides with the defeat of Etruscan forces by the Syracusan navy at the battle of Cuma in 474 BCE.¹⁸⁹ With Etruscan influence waning Greek cities, such as Neapolis, Capua, and Cuma gained new prominence in the region. Soon afterwards a new Samnite threat materialized from the interior. The Samnites proved unstoppable, capturing Capua in 423 and Cuma in 421 BCE; this left only Neapolis as the sole, somewhat independent, Greek settlement.¹⁹⁰ The new status quo eventually created an Osco-Campanian society from the resultant interaction between the Samnites and the coastal population, but at Pompeii it led to large areas of the city languishing in abandonment.¹⁹¹

Excavations have identified a uniform abandonment stratum covering many pappamonte period buildings. It is particularly evident between the second half of the fifth and the first half of the fourth centuries BCE when important sanctuaries such as the Temple of Apollo also display an abrupt halt in votive materials.¹⁹² The reasons for its formation remain unclear. Fabrizio Pesando suggests that natural disasters, including flooding and mudflows, deposited the layer resulting in the subsequent abandonment of

¹⁸⁹ Cristofani here describes the resulting loss of the Etruscan influence on Campanian and the shift of focus from the area of Pompeii to Neapolis further north in the bay. M. Cristofani, "La fase Etrusca di Pompei." In *Pompei I*, edited by F. Zevi (Naples, 1991), 16.

¹⁹⁰ S. De Caro, "La città sannitica. Urbanistica e architettura." In *Pompei I*, edited by F. Zevi, (Naples, 1991), 23.

¹⁹¹ Coarelli, "Il settore nord-occidentale di Pompei," 174. Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 239.

¹⁹² De Caro, *Saggi nell'area del Tempio di Apollo a Pompei*, 20.

large areas of the city. Yet, the street layout probably remained much the same, suggesting some sort of urban cohesion. Such disparate results have led to a new theory hypothesizing a gradual retreat of the urban extent of Pompeii into the area of the *Altstadt*.¹⁹³ The rate of this retreat is currently impossible to assess, but many of the previous pappamonte structures, including the Sanctuaries of Apollo and Mefitis, were probably standing when the orthostate wall was built. As opposed to the pappamonte fortification, the use of Sarno limestone and the new construction technique, at least initially, projected a distinct architectural contrast on the city, offering a renewed sense of security to its inhabitants and satellite communities. The messages it carried clearly distinguished the old pappamonte wall from the new fortifications and the patrons of their respective construction events. The fortifications may therefore also relate to a shift in the socio-political make-up or conquest of the city by a dominant group of outsiders intent on making a mark.

Until recently the composition of the new *Altstadt* defenses remained unclear, with scholars hypothesizing an *agger* system protecting the nucleus. The evidence remains scant, but geophysical investigations at the House of the Postumii (VIII 4,4.49) suggest that an oblique gate, also known as a Scaean type, opened on the early *via dell' Abbondanza* (fig.18). The discovery of wall remains built using both pappamonte and limestone blocks, and a possible external ditch suggest the presence of an *agger-fossa* system in the area.¹⁹⁴ The recovered materials point to the sixth and fifth centuries BCE as a construction date, making it roughly contemporaneous to both the pappamonte and

¹⁹³ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 239. Curti, "Spazio sacro e politico nella Pompei preromana," 499. Coarelli, "Il settore nord-occidentale di Pompei," 174.

¹⁹⁴ J.A. Dickmann, and F. Pirson, "Il progetto casa dei Postumii. Un complesso architettonico a Pompei come esemplificazione della storia dell'insediamento, del suo sviluppo e delle sue concezioni urbanistiche." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche a Pompei ed Ercolano.*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Naples, 2005), 158. Also F. Pirson, "Spuren Antiker Lebenwirklichkeit." In *Bilder und Räume in der römischen Stadt der Kaiserzeit*, edited by R. Neudecker and P. Zanker (Weisbaden, 2005), 134.

orthostate walls.¹⁹⁵ Similar foundation blocks uncovered beneath the House of Mercury (VII.2.35) suggest the presence of an analogous fortification on the northern perimeter of the *Altstadt*.¹⁹⁶

A series of possibilities emerge regarding the relationship of this wall with the other outer enceintes. It may represent a secondary, inner, defensive line to either the pappamonte or orthostate walls, or both. Perhaps the *Altstadt* functioned primarily as a citadel or urban conglomerate, while the rest of the plateau remained open as a pasture and farm land. This image is actually more consistent with similar large settlements in Etruria and southern Italy. Cities such as Atri, Volterra, and Veii, to name a few, often divided up into a sacred fortified core, or *arx*, and an outer defensive perimeter.¹⁹⁷ Other possibilities are that it served as an interim defensive system between the two outer defensive lines, or that it represents a defensive line built after a sudden contraction of the city. A period of significant urban regression inserts Pompeii into the wider trend of urban depopulation occurring in south-central Italy in the fifth century BCE.¹⁹⁸ Although the information is patchy, Pompeii would continue to exist within the *Altstadt* until the construction of the following limestone enceinte in the late fourth century BCE. Interestingly excavations under the Eumachia building in the Forum have recovered foundations built using both pappamonte and limestone blocks belonging to a row of shops dating to the middle of the fourth century BCE.¹⁹⁹ The construction technique is

¹⁹⁵ J.A. Dickmann, and F. Pirson, "Die Casa dei Postumii in Pompeji und ihre Insula." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung* 109 (2002): 298, 300-303.

¹⁹⁶ L. Pedroni, "The History of Pompeii's Urban Development in the Area just North of the Altstadt." In *The Making of Pompeii*, edited by S.J.R. Ellis (Portsmouth, 2011), 162-163.

¹⁹⁷ F. Coarelli and F. Pesando. "The Urban Development of NW Pompeii: Archaic Period to 3rd C. B.C.," 46.

¹⁹⁸ Cerchiai, *I campani*, 178-194 highlights the full consequences of the Samnite conquest of south central Italy where the same trend seems to occur at Pontecagnano, the Sarno Valley including Pompeii, Capua, and, more broadly, the coastal settlements of Campania.

¹⁹⁹ A. Maiuri, *Alla ricerca di Pompei preromana* (Naples, 1973), 53-63.

similar to the *Altstadt* walls uncovered nearby and, as is the case with the pappamonte fortifications, its uniform application suggests a consistent image for the city.

Significant questions remain as to who exactly founded and inhabited early Pompeii. Historically Strabo identifies the peoples successively occupying the city as the Oscans, Thyrrenians (Etruscans), Pelasgians, Samnites, and finally the Romans.²⁰⁰ Yet, a direct archaeological reference to these periods is hard to pinpoint outside of the heavy Etruscanizing elements in some of the civic buildings.²⁰¹ Many believe that the Italic-style of the Temple of Apollo and the recovery of bucchero pottery associated with the sanctuary suggest a strong Etruscan component to the city. As a result, some have defined earliest Pompeii as a coastal emporium to the inland cities of Nola and Nocera, resembling similar Etruscan settlements such as Gravisca and Pyrgi.²⁰² Similarly, the position of Pompeii on an extensive plateau near the sea resembles the location of Etruscan cities such as Veii and Cerveteri and has led scholars to identify an Etruscan foundation of the city.²⁰³ Nevertheless, the nearby Greek settlements of Neapolis, Cuma, and Paestum must have presented a distinct Greek cultural influence. This factor —on the most basic level— is evident in the Doric elements of the temple in the Triangular Forum at Pompeii.²⁰⁴

Similarly, scholars have used the nature of the defenses and the character of the temples to ascribe a typical Greek or Etruscan aspect to the city. Maiuri, a particularly

²⁰⁰ Strabo *Geography* V, 4,8.

²⁰¹ For a summary of some of the pressing problems concerning the composition of the population of early Pompeii see E. Lepore, *Origini e strutture della Campania antica. Saggi di storia etno-sociale* (Bologna, 1989), 147-175.

²⁰² De Caro, “Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei,” 74; Cristofani “La fase etrusca di Pompei,” 17; Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 41-43

²⁰³ Chiaramonte Treré, “The Walls and Gates,” 146.

²⁰⁴ See De Waele for a summary of the arguments. De Waele ascribes a heavy Etrusco-Italic design for the temple but does not preclude a distinctly local impetus for its construction. J.A.K.E. de Waele, *Il Tempio Dorico del Foro Triangolare di Pompei* (Rome, 2001), 127-132.

staunch defender of a Hellenic model, ascribes the orthostate wall and its construction technique to a distinct Greek influence. The later Samnite *agger* system instead reflects an Italic defense tradition.²⁰⁵ Such an approach is rather simplistic, as the mechanisms of transmission related to military architecture are difficult to pinpoint. In fact, research suggests a distinct Syracusan, and hence Greek, influence in the *agger* design of the Servian Walls built in Rome in the fourth century BCE— we will return to these issues below.²⁰⁶ Certainly the new construction technique and materials of the orthostate wall contrast dramatically with its pappamonte predecessor. Yet, if this means that we are dealing with an entirely new influence on the city or just an adoption of differing military tactics remains hard to tell. Certainly, a region like ancient Campania with Etruscan, Greek, and Oscan influences remains difficult to characterize. As Thiermann points out, however, Pompeii probably adopted a very own identity as a mixture of those two cultures, or perhaps, even more so, with the addition of the Samnite element playing a distinctive role in the area.²⁰⁷

WALLS, GODS, AND THE LEGITIMIZATION OF POWER

Perhaps the nature of Campanian society can help explain the character of the two early enceintes, since political and social developments influenced settlement organization and systems of defense.²⁰⁸ Aristotle mentions that a single citadel was characteristic of tyrannical or monarchical and oligarchic models of government where the fortified area enabled the control of the population. A city located in a plain was

²⁰⁵ Maiuri, “Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei,” 222-224.

²⁰⁶ See the discussion from p. 155 *ff.*

²⁰⁷ Thiermann, “Ethnic Identity in Archaic Pompeii,” 158.

²⁰⁸ Rowlands shows how political and social models influenced manners of defense. See M.J. Rowlands, “Defense: A Factor in the Organisation of Settlements,” 447-461.

characteristic to a democracy offering much more freedom for commerce and mobility for its citizens. A ruling aristocracy would have a number of strongholds dotting the landscape where each aristocrat or group of families controlled their dependents through private fortified enclosures.²⁰⁹ Recent analyses of defensive networks and strategies reach similar conclusions where socio-political motivations and tensions were clear factors in the manner of defense. For example, fortifications built in late Bronze Age Greece were mainly concerned with the private interests of select elites. Villages, presumably occupied by clients, surrounded fortified centers protecting the population from outside threats and the elite from social upheavals. This setup differs from fortifications built in early Greek colonial foundations where they protected the entire community as a reflection of the evening out of social classes.²¹⁰ Changing politics and the appearance of new social ladders led to similar developments on the Greek mainland. The rise of the Athenian democracy shifted defensive concerns from a territorial network of strongholds reflecting the land possessions of the hoplite class, to the construction of the long walls protecting a more egalitarian society resulting from the new defensive emphasis on its navy.²¹¹ The *acropolis* therefore quickly lost its importance and was in some cases dispensed with altogether.²¹²

At Pompeii the fortifications seem to reflect an oligarchic model of government. By the sixth century BCE the Sarno Valley experienced the culmination of an

²⁰⁹ Aristotle *Politics* 7,1330A.35ff.

²¹⁰ Winter, *Greek Fortifications*, 33 and 57 ‘The history of the sixth century affords many instances of tyrants seizing the citadel as the first step toward control of the city’ and further down the page ‘The success of a coup d’état could best be assured by occupying the acropolis as a preliminary move.’

²¹¹ What Cherici refers to as a transition from a hoplite democracy to a nautical democracy based on the rise of a tradesmen and artisans. See A. Cherici, “Mura di bronzo, di legno, di terra, di pietra. Aspetti politici, economici e militari del rapporto tra comunità urbane e territorio nella Grecia e nell’Italia antica.” In *La città murata in Etruria: Atti del XXV convegno di studi Etruschi ed Italici, Chianciano Terme, Sarteano, Chiusi, 30 Marzo - 3 Aprile 2005: In memoria di Massimo Pallottino* (Pisa, 2008): 37-66.

²¹² Winter, *Greek Fortifications*, 34.

urbanization process spearheaded by aristocratic families organized in individual gentilicial clans. The system rejected private ostentatious display, and the elite instead built monuments and offered votive displays in sanctuaries to express their wealth.²¹³ In this framework it is hardly surprising that Pompeii saw the construction of fortifications and sanctuaries dominating the landscape, since they clearly legitimized elite rule and control of the territory. A similar trend occurred in southern Etruria where large settlements occupied high expansive plateaus defended by high natural cliffs and rivers flanking at least two sides.²¹⁴

The religious identity of a community often rested on its identification with sacred spaces such as temples, shrines, altars, and localities. Their defense was therefore of paramount importance. The growing importance of such centralized sacred sites and the need to defend them contributed directly to the emergence of the *polis* and consequently stimulated the cultural identity of a settlement. The concept of a deity or deities presiding over the well-being of a community, such as Athena was to Athens, and Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were to Rome, was a reciprocal process that required a communal effort to defend the tutelary gods.²¹⁵ Recent theories have proposed interesting suggestions concerning the relationship between religion, politics, and the consequent location of sanctuaries within settlements.

In Greece religious cults were a crucial factor to the formation of a communal identity in early city states. They often found a place in the center of the city, creating a sense of partnership in the cultic beliefs and ceremonies related to the differing groups that formed the early state. By contrast, in Etruria cults initially found a place in the

²¹³ Cerchiali, *I campani*, 99-100.

²¹⁴ Cristofani "Economia e società," 88.

²¹⁵ Gat, "Why City States Existed? Riddles and Clues of Urbanisation and Fortifications," 130.

peripheral *arx*. Etruscan society placed much more emphasis on the celebration of power through rituals of tribal origin and associated gentilicial cults.²¹⁶ Ceremonies were therefore linked to the celebration of the individual *gens* and probably reflected the feudal nature of Etruscan society.²¹⁷ The investiture of power, or *imperium*, relied on the correct interpretation of divine will and the promotion of genealogies in the context of myths and local legends.²¹⁸ Consequently, the ritual of the *augurium*, or bird watching, and the derived prognostic *auspicia* placed much significance on the hill tops where it occurred. The legitimization of power through such ceremonies entailed that a direct relationship developed between religion, the elite, and the consequent peripheral location of the *arx*.²¹⁹

Although the mechanisms are difficult to quantify, similar forces likely governed the location of the sanctuaries at Pompeii. The location of the Temple of Apollo near the political heart and Forum of the city is hardly accidental. Similarly, the two temples on the southern tip of the lava ridge clearly relate to the creation of a community and the legitimization of power over the landscape. Their relationship with the city walls supporting them carried further political and religious significance beyond the direct resemblance of the materials employed to construct them.

The religious aspect of the city walls at Pompeii is very much attested for later periods and will be discussed in detail below. The very consistency of the courses followed by subsequent enceintes throughout its history suggests that the boundary itself

²¹⁶ Menichetti, M. "The Rituals of Archaic Power." In *The Etruscans* (London 2000), 588. 'In this sense the rituals of archaic power act in contexts which seem to lie halfway between the public and the private: the initiative starts from regal and princely figures, who were originally the leaders of kin groups, but who were later to extend their influence to wider social structures...'

²¹⁷ M. Torelli, "The Etruscan City-State." In *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures; An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre* (Copenhagen, 2000), 198.

²¹⁸ M. Menichetti, "Political Forms in the Archaic Period." In *The Etruscans* (London 2000), 206-207.

²¹⁹ Torelli, "The Etruscan City-State," 198.

was of critical importance to the city, not only from a defensive point of view. The notion of a religious boundary around a city is particularly strong in the Etruscan tradition and was associated with the foundation rites of cities. In the ritual known as the *sulcus primigenius* an augur traced the future boundary of the city using a plow pulled by an ox and a bull. The priest would lift the plow at the location of the future gates of the city, thereby allowing for earthly things to pass through the boundary.²²⁰ The Romans also adopted this ritual: the story of the foundation of Rome includes Romulus tracing the boundary of the city on the Palatine. Remus allegedly crossed the boundary illegally prompting Romulus to murder his brother because of the sacrilege he committed against the gods.²²¹ The resulting boundary, also known as the *pomerium*, marked the line within which no one could enter armed, and forbade burials and the gathering of assemblies such as the *comitia centuriata*. The *pomerium* itself is a rather vague notion with ancient and modern scholars alike arguing over its true meaning, extent, and course.²²² Recently Briquel re-examined the *sulcus primigenius* and defined it as marking the extent of divine protection on the city as well its limits. The associated ritual also expelled otherwise uncontrollable forces of nature. He downplays the religious role of city walls within this context, arguing instead that the walls merely protected rather than occupied the established pomerial boundary.²²³

²²⁰ Cato in Serv. ad Virg. V *Aen* 755; Ovid *Fasti* IV, 819; Fest. 236

²²¹ Plutarch *Life of Romulus* 10.1; J. Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1988), 29, 135-137.

²²² For a discussion on the ancient sources concerning the foundation ritual see G. Camporeale, "La città murata d'Etruria nella tradizione letteraria e figurativa." In *La città murata in Etruria* (Pisa, 2008), 17–20. For a recent discussion on the pomerium of Pompeii see L. Jacobelli, "Pompei fuori le mura. Note sulla gestione e l'organizzazione dello spazio pubblico e privato." In *Pompei tra Sorrento e Sarno. Atti del terzo e quarto ciclo di conferenze di Geologia, Storia e Archeologia* (Rome, 2001) 41-55.

²²³ D. Briquel, "La città murata: Aspetti religiosi." In *La città murata in Etruria* (Pisa, 2008), 121–134.

Given the uncertainty of our knowledge it is unclear whether such a ritual accompanied the foundation of early Pompeii, or if the pappamonte enceinte actually followed its hypothetical course. It is entirely possible that the line of the *Altstadt* actually formed the original *pomerium* of the city, especially if we consider the area as a separate sacred fortified Etruscan style *arx*.²²⁴ Nevertheless, the presence of a religious element is highly likely and probably related to the fortified line acting as a boundary marker between the urban space and the countryside.

We know very little of the actual layout of the countryside for this phase of Pompeii except for the presence of the main arteries in and out of the city.²²⁵ Yet, both enceintes probably formed an important liminal boundary which included religious and cultural notions of self-determination, identification, and political dominance important to those who financed the buildings. The enclosure also protected sacred sanctuaries which, in turn, also symbolically protected the walls and those inside. The southern approach to the city in particular seems to marry the presence of the pappamonte wall with two of the most important sanctuaries present inside the city. More importantly, both sanctuaries dominated the landscape, thereby serving as physical and religious reference points to the regional community (fig. 19). Visually the great strength of the walls and the sanctuaries of the gods complemented each other, creating a unified appearance that stressed the strength of the city and its relationship to the territory. These aspects are all the more compelling if we consider the possible foundation of Pompeii as a sanctuary. Inevitably this message further legitimized the power of those financing the construction

²²⁴ Coarelli and Pesando, "The Urban Development of NW Pompeii: Archaic Period to 3rd C. B.C.," 46.

²²⁵ Namely the via di Mercurio, the axis of the later via Stabiana, parts of the future via Consolare, and via dell'Abbondanza.

of both the sanctuaries and the fortifications as an extension of their own benevolence on the community and their relationship to the gods.

The very nature of the pappamonte wall suggests that it carried intrinsic symbolic connotations as a territorial marker in addition to its singular function as a defensive structure. Although it did not represent the most sophisticated fortification system, its route hugged dramatic topographical features, creating a notion of strength and impenetrability. This symbolism extended to a viewer's recognition of the means and resources needed to project such a territorial claim and to construct the wall itself. It is unclear whether the city could muster these resources on its own and perhaps the fortification effort included help from neighboring settlements such as Nocera.²²⁶

In any event, although the make-up of the city's population remains difficult to pinpoint, the early settlement probably did not have enough of manpower to defend the entire circuit. As a place of refuge, however, the resulting population increase in times of danger likely partially filled that gap. The large enclosure probably also allowed for a measure of self-sufficiency. It countered the threat of sieges or raids through the territory since the area could probably also accommodate limited farming, and protect livestock, movable goods, and produce from the surrounding farms. As a result, the settlement also functioned as an important psychological reference point offering continuous security to the regional population.

The walls also allowed a measure of dominance over the population and territory by commanding the land routes through the area and forming a gateway to the Sarno River Valley from the coast. The very use of a local material in the construction of the pappamonte fortification served as a constant visual reminder connecting the settlement

²²⁶ As we shall see, many scholars view Nocera as the head of a loose federation of cities known as the Nuceria league. Its strength and influence is variously debated and most recently down-played.

and its territory. It is hard to project a unified architectural image of the city with both its walls due to the chronic lack of knowledge for the period. Yet, the very similarity of the materials employed for the pappamonte wall, the temples, and the houses suggests a measure of overall aesthetic unity. The unified street layout postulated by Coarelli, probably arranged along some form of geometric land parcellation, established a sense of order to those living within the enclosure. The early walls straddled the main arteries with gates that anchored substantial aspects of Pompeii's urban armature for the remainder of its lifetime. Such a level of consistency, whether intended or not, provided an indispensable measure of familiarity and security to the population of the city. Together all these factors helped shape the community and create the settlement.

Finally, the construction of the orthostate wall symbolized both a distinct break and a measure of continuity for the settlement. The adoption of new construction techniques and materials along an almost identical course signals a dichotomy of renewal and preservation especially for those experiencing the transitional period between the two structures. The adoption of Sarno limestone, however, also a plentiful regional resource, points to strong local elements at work in the new design. Whether construction of the wall is the result of a political transformation or a deliberate shift in military tactics or both is unclear, but the implications are the same. No other single act could further affirm the dominance on the immediate territory more than the construction of a new wall.

Chapter 3 A New Enceinte for a New City: Early Samnite Pompeii

The Samnite period is one of the most complex in the urban history of Pompeii. It started in course of the fifth century BCE when Samnite tribes descended from the Apennine Mountains and conquered the city. Scholars traditionally divide the following age into the early Samnite period, spanning the fifth to the third century BCE, and Samnite Pompeii, lasting from the early second century up to the establishment of the Roman colony in 80 BCE. Much of what occurred early in the period will serve as the foundation of the future city and requires special attention in our discussion. A new vigorous era of development began for Pompeii in the late fourth century BCE, when the city expanded back out into the plateau from the *Altstadt*. Also dubbed as the *Neustadt*, the start of the urban expansion coincided with the construction of the third defensive enclosure.²²⁷ Its course and structure formed the basis of the future defensive system and much of the layout of the city for centuries to come.

The remains of the limestone enceinte are still impressive. The outer wall face rises over a series of limestone blocks, 40-50 cm high and 60-80 cm wide, stacked in a header and stretcher system. It features a consistent foundation of limestone blocks reaching a depth of six courses throughout the circuit.²²⁸ Internal piers periodically reinforce the façade which leans at a slight angle to hold back a large earthen mound behind it typical of the Italic *agger* defensive formation (fig.5). The general appearance of the parapet is unknown due, in large part, to the reconstruction and elevation of the wall in subsequent refurbishments. As Sakai points out, it is entirely possible that

²²⁷ See Von Gerkan, *Die Stadtplan von Pompeji*, 9-14

²²⁸ Sakai, "La storia sotto il suolo del 79 d.C.," 94.

perishable materials, such as mudbrick, composed the top of the wall and the tufa blocks of the later refurbishment completely replaced it.²²⁹

The best-preserved sections of the outer façade still exist along the southern perimeter of the city between Towers II and IV, and a small tract, roughly twenty-two meters long and seven high, just west of Tower XI (fig.20). This last section is the most regular, presenting a well-finished section of limestone curtain that gives us a glimpse of its original appearance.²³⁰ A few further sections still function as terraces on the western side of the city and offer a few clues on the original make-up of the wall. A small tract of curtain survives beneath the House of M. Fabius Rufus (VII.16.21). The top features regularly spaced indentations that once accommodated terracotta spouts. They drained water from a hanging garden and may have replaced earlier versions in the wall curtain.²³¹ Further south the House of Umbricus Scaurus (VII.16,15-16) preserves a section up to ten courses high that features the only surviving original drainage spout (fig.21). Although the evidence is meager, its presence suggests that the wall-walk was unroofed and the spouts drained rainwater from the curtain. The overall height of the structure is debatable, but it probably did not exceed the nine meters estimated for the *agger* behind.²³² A small terracing wall contained the earth mound on the city side and an internal pomerial street hugged the circuit to facilitate communications.

²²⁹ Sakai “La storia sotto il suolo del 79 d.C.,” 94.

²³⁰ Maiuri, “Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano,” 283.

²³¹ R. Cassetta, and C. Costantino, “Vivere sulle mura. Il caso dell’insula occidentalis di Pompei.” In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell’area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006)* edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Rome, 2008), 198. See also, U. Pappalardo, R. Ciardello, and M. Grimaldi. “L’Insula occidentalis e la Villa Imperiale.” In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell’area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006)* edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Naples, 2008), 300.

²³² Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeji*, 11 bases his calculations on the projected stairs at the Porta Stabia where 12-13 steps gave the wall an overall height of about 9 meters.

The new wall again followed the tactical ridge of the Pompeian plateau and closely shadowed the course of the previous two defensive enclosures. Only in the eastern section, where the previous circuits remain undetected between the Porta Sarno and Tower VIII, did the wall take a wider course to better exploit the ridge line. Past scholars have accepted Maiuri's hypothesis that the new circuit also led to the closure of the gate at the end of the via di Mercurio to strengthen the most exposed section of the defenses. However, both Guzzo and Hori have recently re-assigned this closure to the construction of Tower XI in the late second century BCE.²³³ Construction crews demolished the outer wall of the previous orthostate fortifications to clear the necessary space for the new curtain, whereas parts of its inner façade were buried in the *agger*. As discussed further below, the resulting orthostates, too thin and unsuitable for the new fortification, likely ended up in the façades and foundations of new houses going up around the city.²³⁴

The choice of building the *agger* system represents a direct response to the military developments occurring at the time.²³⁵ In the second half of the fifth century BCE armies in Greece and southern Italy developed new siege techniques. The weaponry included early versions of rams, mantlets, catapults, and bolt throwers designed to demolish fortifications. New tactics also evolved that included digging tunnels to apply sapping techniques, or building earth mounds and siege towers to climb over the walls. Defensive measures changed and engineers developed larger towers, stronger masonry, and outworks where ditches and palisades kept catapults out of range and allowed sorties

²³³ See Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 168. Both P.G.Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 67, and Y. Hori, "Pompeian Town Walls and Opus Quadratum." In *Pompeii: Report of the Excavation at Porta Capua, 1993-2005* (Kyoto, 2010), 288 see this as occurring with the construction of Tower XI.

²³⁴ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 225-227.

²³⁵ M. Torelli, "Urbs ipsa moenia sunt (Isid. XV 2, 1) ideologia e poliorcetica nelle fortificazioni etrusche di IV-II Sec. a.C." In *La città murata in Etruria* (Pisa, 2008): 265-278.

to harass the enemy positions. By 350 BCE armies had fully implemented the use of siege machines, leading to ever more elaborate enceintes and outworks especially in towns lying in vulnerable open plains where they were most effective.²³⁶

These developments required increasingly specialized and organized armies capable of building and supporting the units. In the fourth century BCE authorities, especially in the Hellenistic world, introduced the payroll, leading to professional year-round standing armies capable of mounting longer campaigns, sieges, and permanently occupy enemy territory.²³⁷ In Italy the Roman army introduced maniples, small flexible units designed to replace the heavy phalanxes that proved ineffective against the mobile Celtic and Sabine formations it had recently faced. Their versatility also enabled targeted direct attacks on cities and strongholds, resulting in the obsolescence of the existing defenses.²³⁸

In response, many Italian cities built anew or revised their defensive systems, including Pompeii.²³⁹ The adoption of the *agger* in particular is the result of applying new defensive tactics as the heavy earth embankment easily absorbed the vibrations of artillery hits and its weight threatened any tunnelling efforts with cave-ins. If a section of wall did collapse, the embankment continued to offer a measure of protection as the attackers still needed to climb it to enter the city.²⁴⁰ The most sophisticated enceintes featured outworks and towers, but their extent and number for Pompeii is unclear, since

²³⁶ Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 39.

²³⁷ Goldsworthy, *In the Name of Rome*, 22 this development is especially true for Greece, but cannot have failed to have been partially adopted in Italy too.

²³⁸ B. Van Daele, *Het Romeinse Leger* (Leuven, 2003), 30.

²³⁹ Garlan, "Fortifications et Histoire Grècque," 252 and Gat, "Why City States Existed? Riddles and Clues of Urbanisation and Fortifications," 135. By 200 BCE the science of siege warfare became an art urging Philo of Byzantium to pen down an extensive treatise called the *Poliorketika*. For an English translation see Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 67-107.

²⁴⁰ Vitruvius 1.V.5.

the defenses likely responded to the terrain. As in previous the circuits, the high lava ridge near the *Altstadt* probably precluded the necessity of extensive outworks because of the natural strength of the topography. On the other hand, the Porta Stabia included a forward defensive ditch because of its position at the lowest point of the city opening onto the Sarno plain.²⁴¹ Excavations in front of Tower IX suggest a similar ditch on the northern side of the city, but the picture for the remainder of the circuit is incomplete.²⁴² The presence of numerous towers is similarly a matter of debate. Maiuri uncovered the remains of one buried under the subsequent expansion of the *agger* on the northwest tip of the Porta Vesuvio. Its presence has led some scholars to hypothesize that the current towers replaced earlier versions. Others prefer to view it as an isolated example related to vulnerable position of the gate.²⁴³ Only systematic excavations can clarify the issue, but it seems likely that other towers further fortified the circuit.

PROJECTING AN IMAGE: ELEMENTS OF REPRESENTATION IN THE FORTIFICATIONS

The limestone fortifications of the city clearly responded to pragmatic needs. The choice of material, a relatively cheap and plentiful resource lying in banks along the Sarno River Valley, is similarly a practical rather than aesthetic choice. Unlike the hard limestone used in the polygonal masonry walls characteristic of the Apennine region, Sarno limestone is actually a form of travertine.²⁴⁴ It is notoriously difficult to carve beyond basic geometric shapes, but its soft makeup allowed it to be sawed into blocks.

²⁴¹ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 197.

²⁴² H. Etani and S. Sakai, "Rapporto preliminare. Indagine archeologica a Porta Capua, Pompei. Settima campagna di scavo. 7 Ott. 2002- 27 Genn. 2003." *Opuscula Pompeiana* 12 (2003), 133-137.

²⁴³ See De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 78. See Chiaramonte Treré, "The Walls and Gates," 143 for the replacement theory. Brands, argues for its unique status Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien*, 183-184.

²⁴⁴ Miller, *Befestigungsanlagen in Italien*, 81.

This method resulted in the characteristic slightly oblique sides present on most masonry produced by the juxtaposition of the blocks. It quickly strengthened after contact with air and its prolonged exposure to rain led to limestone precipitation that sealed the sutures between blocks and created exceptionally strong masonry.²⁴⁵ Limestone is constantly forming in the Pompeii area; lime is richly suspended in the cold springs of the Apennines and naturally precipitates in the warmer waters of the Sarno plain. As a result, quarrying the stone prevented entire areas from transforming into sterile swamps unfit for cultivation. The process also reclaimed land to expand farming activities.²⁴⁶ To a certain extent, therefore, the growth of the city and its population went hand in hand with the process of land reclamation. The large-scale use of limestone in buildings, and especially its fortifications, not only carried the added benefit of reclaiming land for cultivation, but undoubtedly expressed a strong symbolic statement of the society's domination over the landscape and its desire to expand the city. Hypothetically this factor may even be symbolic of Pompeii's regional reach and the fortifications may therefore also symbolize the limit of its territory in the landscape. Unfortunately, the precise quarries of the limestone remain unknown beyond the general approximation of the area of lower Sarno River Valley. A full assessment of this particular aspect awaits further investigations.

With this wider symbolic consideration in mind, there are hints of aesthetic concerns at play in the fortifications. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the limestone is its bright yellow color. The ashlar composing the wall surface, dressed smoothly despite the natural coarseness of the material, presented a solid and uniform façade to those approaching the city. The lowest three masonry courses display a rough *bugnato*, or

²⁴⁵ Lorenzoni et.al, "La più antica cinta muraria di Pompei," 38.

²⁴⁶ L. Richardson, *Pompeii: an Architectural History* (Baltimore, 1988), 369.

rustication, as a deliberate aesthetic effect.²⁴⁷ A similar rustication is also present in Greece in the fourth century BCE fortifications at Eleusis. In fact, Greek fortifications display aesthetic considerations stretching back to the ninth century bce walls of Old Smyrna, where a tower displayed a marked purposeful contrast in masonry techniques.²⁴⁸ At Pompeii a decorative socle is most evident in the curtain east of Porta Nocera, south of the Porta Marina, near Tower VII, and the bastions of the Porta Nola and Sarno (fig. 22).²⁴⁹ Traces of a similar rustication decorated the internal supporting wall spanning the via di Mercurio on the city side of the fortifications. Partially demolished and buried in the later expansion of the *agger*, the wall survives in a fragmentary state. Large limestone blocks compose the mainstay of the terrace; they are identical to those on the outer façade, but a small section built in tufa spans the width of the street (fig. 23).²⁵⁰ It may represent a repair, or a much later closure of the gate at the end of the street, but the dark brown tufa blocks contrast markedly with the yellow limestone. Their smaller size and rustication served to visually emphasize the limit of the *agger* at the end of the street and particularly contributed to the overall grandeur of the via di Mercurio where we later find a concentration of elite housing.

Another large structure displaying decorative rustication is the tower or bastion on the northwest tip of the Porta Vesuvio. Steps recovered on its southern side during excavations suggest that the building was once freestanding. The tower supplemented the defenses by standing immediately in front of the gate and added to its formidable appearance.²⁵¹ The remains rise over eight lower limestone courses surmounted by six in

²⁴⁷ De Caro, “Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei,” 106.

²⁴⁸ Winter, *Greek Fortifications*, 79

²⁴⁹ See also Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien*, 465. The scholar in particular describes this effect near Tower VII

²⁵⁰ Maiuri, “Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei,” 160.

²⁵¹ On the steps see Maiuri, “Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei,” 189.

tufa, creating a dramatic contrast that, as we shall in the next chapter, becomes a defining element of the fortifications.²⁵² The tufa blocks on the western side display the remains of a subtle rustication, further highlighting the juxtaposition between the two materials (fig. 24). The north and east sides now lack the rustication, but it was probably removed in the later modifications of the curtain walls.²⁵³ The resulting decorative effect included a prominent socle and rusticated blocks which to some extent prefigure the white First-Style stucco ensembles later applied to the towers and gates of the circuit.

According to Maiuri the materials used in the construction of the tower reflected two phases: the first using limestone built in conjunction with the fortification, and the second using tufa in a refurbishment that occurred soon thereafter in the first half of the third century BCE.²⁵⁴ However, this assumption is a common problem for Maiuri's theories; there really is no proof for a refurbishment besides the employment of two different construction materials. In my opinion, this choice of materials is a deliberate aesthetic effect which, as we shall in the following chapter, prefigures similar considerations applied to the upgrade of the circuit carried out in the late third century BCE. In fact, given its position and prominence, embellishing such a building is no accident and architects may have employed the two materials for aesthetic or even tactical considerations unknown to us. As noted previously, this area of the fortifications was particularly vulnerable with the terrain sloping gently up Vesuvius to the north and dropping dramatically south into the town. Construction of the tower was primarily a defensive necessity to further protect the gate. Nevertheless, the area is also the highest in

²⁵² Only the southern façade differs slightly displaying a few stray limestone blocks in the tufa courses.

²⁵³ As we shall see in the next chapters, a later lararium in the porta Vesuvio perhaps eliminated the rustication to accommodate a fresco. The north side perhaps worked in a wider decorative scheme featuring the play of tufa and limestone elements, but we shall return to these developments later.

²⁵⁴ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 188.

the city transforming the tower —and by extension the gate— into a landmark visible for many miles around.

These examples point to a deliberate concern with the appearance of the fortifications and how they presented the city. Another section of curtain, however, deserves scrutiny because it suggests a disregard of this notion. The stretch, already mentioned above, survives as a terracing structure for the later house of M. Fabius Rufus. Its dimensions are conspicuous reaching some nine courses or six and a half meters high. The tract has no discernible rustication and displays three vertical masonry seams resulting in misaligned wall course heights (fig. 25). Admittedly the *bugnato* may still be buried, but the seams either represent later repairs or mark individual *giornate*, or days of work, as construction crews moved forward.²⁵⁵ They may also be the product of different construction crews as their workmanship, competence, and technical expertise could affect the integrity of a masonry style in a circuit.²⁵⁶ If anything, the seams are a unique example of the construction process for the city walls of Pompeii. The result, however, contrasts markedly with the regular ashlar masonry elsewhere in the circuit. Perhaps the builders were less concerned with the appearance of the wall here due to its relative isolation from the rest of the city, or the wish to limit expenses, foregoing a careful construction process. Such practices are well-attested in Greece, where towns employed neater masonry in prominent and visible areas as opposed to the cheaper and rougher workmanship of the more isolated tracts.²⁵⁷ Some clear examples of these considerations still exist at Oiniadai, Assos, and Crane. Cities used this tactic to flaunt their wealth and

²⁵⁵ Cassetta and Constantino, “Vivere sulle mura,” 198.

²⁵⁶ See Winter, *Greek Fortifications*, 83. Grimaldi identifies only one seam and thinks it represents the meeting point of gangs of workmen approaching each other at different heights from the north and the south. See M. Grimaldi, “Charting the Urban Development of the Insula Occidentalis and the Casa di Marcus Fabius Rufus.” In *The Making of Pompeii*, edited by S.J.R. Ellis (Portsmouth, 2011), 144.

²⁵⁷ Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 235.

create more imposing defenses on their approach routes, and such considerations were clearly also at work in Pompeii.

With these factors in mind, it is the gates that should carry the most distinct representational elements. As mentioned, the first Samnite wall forms the mainstay of the later fortifications and this period also sees the definitive anchoring of the gates into the city. In some shape or form many gates were already open in the earliest enceintes, but it is with this circuit that they started acquiring their present architectural layout. The only real modification is the eventual closure of the gate at the end of the *via di Mercurio* due to the vulnerable topography and the proximity of the *Porta Ercolano* and *Vesuvio*.²⁵⁸ Most scholars recognize the *Porta Stabia* as the oldest gate because of its primary limestone construction. The other gates adopted a similar layout, and scholars have projected the reconstruction of the *Porta Stabia* upon the other gates of the city.

The current appearance of the gate is the result of later additions, but the basic plan remained unchanged: two forward bastions followed by a long internal passageway through the *agger* and an internal threshold into the city (fig.26). The remains have generated a rather intense scholarly discussion concerning its original appearance. Much of the debate centers on whether the exterior bastions supported an arch, if the steps leading to the parapet featured an intermediate landing, the length of the inner passageway, the exact position and number of gates closing the passageway, and whether the *opus incertum* arch replaced an earlier tufa version.²⁵⁹ All of these discussion points relate to the original design of the gate as a *Vorhoftor*, or forecourt gate, which came in

²⁵⁸ Maiuri, believed in the closure of the gate at this stage, Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 155-156. Soon afterward Krischen, contended this view suggesting that there was no gate at all in this area See Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeji*, 9-11. Pesando and Guidobaldi, suggest the presence of a postern rather than a gate Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 29. Guzzo sees the tower closing the gate in the late second century BCE. See P.G. Guzzo, "Alla ricerca della Pompei sannitica." In *Studi sull'Italia dei sanniti* (Milan, 2000), 108.

²⁵⁹ For a summary of all the debates see Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien*, 177-191.

many variants but usually featured some sort of overhead passage linking the external bastions and internal thresholds. From a military perspective the design was intended to trap any attackers in the court of the gate, allowing defenders to pelt enemy troops from above.²⁶⁰

Although the current remains do not allow an accurate reconstruction, they do point out how differing construction techniques highlighted a distinct tripartite division of the passageway. The roadway originally sat five meters lower, resulting in a formidable cavernous appearance to the gateway.²⁶¹ The bastions, composed of solid horizontal ashlar masonry, indicated the most powerful exterior line of the fortifications.²⁶² Although some like to see a portcullis closing the passage, a two-leafed gate likely marked entry into the court where vertical orthostate blocks signaled the transitional space between the exterior and the interior of the city. If we consider Krischen's reconstruction, the court walls originally followed the slope of the *agger* allowing for gradient flanking positions against the enemy and accentuating the power of the defenses.²⁶³ The inner threshold, perhaps marked by another gate or, as is in the later version an early vaulted passageway, announced the transition into the urban space. Each element acted as a clear stage marker for any traffic passing through the gate further distinguished by the differing construction techniques (fig. 27).

Maiuri believed that the differing techniques represent specific construction events where the orthostate blocks of the gate court correspond to the first phase followed

²⁶⁰ See Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien*, 8-29.

²⁶¹ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 191.

²⁶² For the exact dimensions of the various blocks see Fiorelli *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 Al 1872*, 80.

²⁶³ Krischen, shows a two leafed gate. Krischen, *Die Stadtmauren von Pompeji* plate 2 and 3, Others like Overbeck see the grooves originally supporting a portcullis. Overbeck, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken* (Leipzig, 1875), 55.

by the addition of the two outer bastions.²⁶⁴ Recent excavations, however, suggest a single construction event for the gate; they also raise a series of questions on the construction techniques employed. Admittedly, the masonry types relate to differing styles and the court walls use the *emplecton* technique in a similar fashion to the earlier orthostate wall. This circumstance may simply be the result of their role as a reinforcement to hold back the *agger*. Yet the choice of using orthostate masonry may also relate to a desire to differentiate and highlight the steps of passage through the *agger* into the city. Rites of passage between spaces are crucial elements to notions of inclusion and exclusion in communities.²⁶⁵ Fortifications in particular expressed a taboo against accessing the other side, and gates represented magico-religious liminal areas in between internal and external spaces. As discussed further in the next chapter, they also represented the social, territorial, and political status quo of the city. Arnold van Gennep in particular describes three distinct stages for territorial passages: the separation or pre-liminal, the transitional or liminal, and the incorporation or post-liminal.²⁶⁶ Whether their design was deliberately aesthetic or a necessity to reinforce a passage through the *agger* remains uncertain, but the masonry seems clearly manipulated to highlight the three steps of inclusion and exclusion to the community. We find a similar tripartite division in the *fauces*, or entrances to the houses of Pompeii, composed of a long corridor with distinctive thresholds on either side. Their liminal role led to their protection under four divinities: Janus as the overarching guardian, Ferulus who watched over the door leaves,

²⁶⁴ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 227.

²⁶⁵ See V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Ithaca, 1977), 94-98.

²⁶⁶ A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago, 1961), 18-25.

Limentius who protected the threshold and lintel, and finally Cardea who attended the hinges.²⁶⁷

Because of their multivalent liminal roles, city gates and fortifications often received special religious protection or carried apotropaic devices to protect the community.²⁶⁸ As discussed further below, eminent examples still exist in the Porta all'Arco in Volterra and the Porta Marzia in Perugia. The Porta Stabia still carries two small niches carved into the eastern wall face of the court for the veneration of a deity protecting the walls and travelers traversing the liminal space. The top niche functioned in the final phase of the gate and excavators recovered it fully coated in stucco and carrying a graffito in the back reading PATRVA—a reference to Minerva Patrua.²⁶⁹ The lower niche is associated with two previous phases that included a small altar buried into the later sidewalk (fig.28). Its first phase belongs to the original construction of the gate at the dawn of the third century BCE. The second dates to the late second century BCE when a fill related to the reorganization of the defenses partially buried the altar. Nevertheless, a new coat of stucco attests that the shrine remained in use. The fill contained the remains of votive offerings, including the upper half of a small terracotta statue broken into three pieces. The published drawing shows a female figure in a frontal pose, but she remains unidentified due to a lack of defining attributes. If we allow for a continuity of cult she likely represents Minerva and, as discussed further in chapter five, her frontal pose is similar to a statue of the goddess recovered at Porta Marina. A new

²⁶⁷ F. Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 2* (Paris, 1824), 41. See Tertullian *De Corona Milites* chapter 13, *De Idolatria* chapter 15. Arnobius *Adversus Nationes* IV.9, Saint Augustine *De Civitate Dei* IV.8.

²⁶⁸ On the dangers of ambiguous spaces see Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*, 94-98.

²⁶⁹ See CIL IV 5384. Also Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii*, 29. A. Calderini, *Saggi e studi di antichità, escursioni Pompeiane* (Milan, 1924), 87.

sidewalk laid in the early years of the colony finally buried the altar and the exigencies of cult continuity led to the carving of the secondary niche above.²⁷⁰

CALIBRATING THE IMAGE OF THE EXPANDING CITY

The evidence outlined above points to a sophisticated enceinte that only a well-organized society, perhaps aided by an outside influence, was capable of financing and building. The subtle decorative embellishments on the fortifications are the expression of a confident city. To better understand their role in creating a sense of civic unity, we turn again to the urban area they enclosed to see how they resonated in the architectural and social layout. Scholars have variously dated the limestone fortifications, but the most recent consensus sees their construction occurring in the late fourth/early third century BCE.²⁷¹ This is also the period when the Sarno Valley becomes a war theater during the Second Samnite War and Roman troops landed near Pompeii to sack the inland territory of Nocera in 310 BCE.²⁷² It is unclear whether the limestone circuit already defended the town during this incursion. In any event, the troops headed directly inland completely ignoring Pompeii, either because of its relative unimportance or because it possessed a well-defended enclosure. The subsequent ambush and defeat of the Roman troops at the hands of a peasant uprising, however, indicates a typically Samnite de-centralized territorial occupation, and suggests that the inhabitants temporarily sought refuge in strongholds such as Pompeii.²⁷³ This picture would soon change after Pompeii, along

²⁷⁰ Devore and Ellis, "The Third Season of Excavations at VIII.7.1-15 and the Porta Stabia at Pompeii. Preliminary Report," 11-14. Also S.J.R. Ellis and G. Devore. "Towards an Understanding of the Shape of Space at VIII.7.1-15, Pompeii. Preliminary Results from the 2006 Season." *Faustonline* 71 (2006): 1-15.

²⁷¹ See Sakai, "La storia sotto il suolo del 79 d.C." for a discussion of the various dates. More recently and now generally accepted De Caro assigns it to the late fourth century BCE. De Caro, "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 106.

²⁷² Livy 9. 38

²⁷³ De Caro, "La città sannitica. Urbanistica e architettura," 26.

with Nocera, entered into an alliance with Rome as a *civitas foederata* at the end of the war.²⁷⁴

The picture for fourth century BCE Pompeii is one of a few modest homes situated near the Forum and the Triangular Forum.²⁷⁵ Its new alliance resulted in a wave of wealth and commerce as Pompeii extended its contacts with the east, southern Italy, and Rome to the north.²⁷⁶ The remains of shops found on the eastern side of the Forum point to the gradual establishment of a merchant social class capable, perhaps, of financing some of the new building projects in the city including the defenses.²⁷⁷ The question concerning who or what acted as a catalyst for the construction of the new circuit is difficult to answer primarily because of the chronic lack of knowledge for the social make-up of the city. The few graves related to the Samnite period found outside of the Porta Stabia and Ercolano offer little evidence other than pointing out that the practice of burying the dead outside of the city walls was already current.²⁷⁸ The sheer scale of the operation, however, suggests the involvement of some outside element, such as neighboring Nuceria or Rome, for military expertise and financial backing especially if we consider the scattered occupation of the hinterland. The new relationship of Pompeii

²⁷⁴ P.G. Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica* (Milan, 2007), 62. Also, F. Pesando, "Pompei nel III secolo a.C. le trasformazioni urbanistiche e monumentali." In *Iberia e Italia. Modelos Romanos de Integración Territorial.*, edited by J. Uroz, J.M. Noguera, and F. Coarelli (Murcia, 2008), 221–246. Also L.A. Scatzoza Höricht, "L'Athena del foro triangolare e la fase sannitica di Pompei." In *Αειμνηστος. Miscellanea di studi per Mauro Cristofani.*, edited by B. Adembri (Firenze, 2005), 666.

²⁷⁵ Carafa, "Recent Work on Early Pompeii," 67–73. Also, Carafa, "What was Pompeii Before 200 B.C.?" 25–31.

²⁷⁶ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 241.

²⁷⁷ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 62.

²⁷⁸ See M. Della Corte "La necropoli sannitico-romana scoperta fuori Porta Stabia." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 9 (1916): 287–305; S. De Caro, "Nuovi rinvenimenti e vecchie scoperte nella necropoli sannitica di Porta Ercolano." *Cronache Pompeiane* 5 (1979): 179–190.

with Rome in particular sparked a re-birth of the city that included extensive social and religious alliances that influenced the remainder of its history.²⁷⁹

Besides the fortifications, few public buildings date to the end of the fourth century BCE. Recent work on the House of the Cretan Forms (VII, 4, 62) revealed the remains of a possible public banqueting space, or *hestiaterion*, indicating the presence of a strong Greek social custom throughout the third century BCE.²⁸⁰ The older cults in the city also received renewed attention. The Temple to Apollo regained importance and votive offerings soon resumed.²⁸¹ Around 325 BCE the Doric Temple in the Triangular Forum received a general refurbishment including the addition of a new roof with metopes and acroteria representing Hercules and Athena/Minerva Phrygia.²⁸² This cult in particular, as we shall see in chapter five, is a regional political phenomenon that scholars associate with either a nascent league of cities headed by neighboring Nocera, or with the new Roman alliances developed after the Second Samnite War.²⁸³ The new fortifications are intimately connected with this refurbishment, functioning as a new terrace platform for the temple and reasserting the dual martial and divine protective elements on the city. This development seems especially apt considering Minerva's role as protectress of cities and it will remain a consistent element in the religious character of the fortifications.

²⁷⁹ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 242.

²⁸⁰ A. D'Ambrosio and S. De Caro, "Un contributo all'architettura e all'urbanistica di Pompei in età ellenistica. I saggi nella Casa VII, 4, 62." *Annali di archeologia e storia antica. Istituto Universitario Orientale. Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del mediterraneo antico* 11 (1989), 197.

²⁸¹ Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 37.

²⁸² Carafa, "Minervae et Marti et Herculi aedes doricae fient (Vitr. 1.2.5). The Monumental History of the Sanctuary in Pompeii's so-called Triangular Forum," 95.

²⁸³ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 242. S. De Caro, "Appunti sull'Athena della Punta della Campanella." *Annali di archeologia e storia antica. Istituto Universitario Orientale. Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del mediterraneo antico* 4 (1992): 173–178.

New dwellings accompanied the expansion of wealth and a certain amount of controversy surrounds the appearance of the houses during the late fourth and the third centuries BCE. Much of it concerns whether limestone featured as the primary construction material. Giuseppe Fiorelli first defined the architectural history of the city associating it broadly to the main historical developments occurring on the Italian peninsula. He described three distinct periods loosely connected to the use of building materials; limestone, tufa, and concrete and brick. Mau later refined these periods to five: the limestone period which includes the so-called houses with limestone atria, the tufa period, the early Roman colony, the Imperial period, and finally the post 62 CE earthquake reconstructions.²⁸⁴ The framework still forms the basic premise for the architectural history of Pompeii, although recent scholarship rightly blurs the lines between the phases by pointing out that materials and techniques can cross over into later periods. It is not the purpose of this dissertation to dive into the complexity of the debate concerning the accuracy of these time distinctions and the questions raised by subsequent excavations. As Jean Pierre Adam points out, the question of a true limestone phase for the city remains debatable due to the paucity of remains, differing quarrying rate of the materials employed, and the continued use of limestone materials into later periods.²⁸⁵

Nevertheless, the earliest houses at Pompeii feature some clear similarities in their design and construction technique. The House of the Scientists (VI.14.43) and the House of Amarantus (I.9.11-12) form the earliest attested examples with their first phase dating

²⁸⁴ Fiorelli, *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 Al 1872*, 78-86. Nissen, *Pompejanische Studien*, 1-30. Mau *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* 37-44.

²⁸⁵ J.P. Adam, "Building Materials, Construction Techniques and Chronologies." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by P. Foss and J.J. Dobbins (New York, 2000), 99. Richardson *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 370 dismisses a limestone period as entirely fictitious. A heavy debate also exists in print between Pesando and Amoroso. See Pesando "Case di età medio-sannitica nella Regio VI" and A. Amoroso, *L'Insula VII, 10 di Pompei. Analisi stratigrafica e proposte di ricostruzione* (Rome, 2007).

to the late fourth century BCE (fig.29).²⁸⁶ A detailed metrological analysis has shown that the House of the Scientists, the House of the Surgeon (VI.1.10), and the House of the Naviglio (VI.10.11) display similar layouts and designs derived from a common origin.²⁸⁷ Recent excavations in Regio VI also confirm that the House of the Centaur (VI.9.5), the House of the Naviglio, and Houses VI.9.1 and VI.14.39 chronologically span the third century BCE.²⁸⁸ These dwellings articulate around wide open Tuscan atria and contrast markedly with the more modest called *case a schiera*, or row houses, found in I.11 suggesting that they belonged to the wealthy class of Pompeii.²⁸⁹ Most houses employed a similar construction technique using limestone *opus quadratum* for their façades, and *opus africanum*, a loose mortar and rubble technique laced with large limestone blocks, for internal walls. The façades are actually rather somber and uniform solids, pierced occasionally with small window slits allowing light into the house.²⁹⁰ The evidence from Regio VI suggests that First-Style decorative programs embellished the

²⁸⁶ A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Excavation and Standing Structures in Pompei Insula I.9." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche a Pompei ed Ercolano. Atti del convegno internazionale*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Napoli, 2005), 101–108 poses some questions on the accuracy for the chronology of this phase in the House of Amarantus as some *opus quadratum* walls seem to sit in earlier levels.

²⁸⁷ K. Peterse and J. de Waele, "The Standardized Design of the Casa degli Scienziati (VI.14.43) in Pompeii." In *Omni Pedes Stare. Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos De Waele*, edited by S.T.A.M. Mols and E. Moormann (Naples, 2005), 197–220.

²⁸⁸ K. Peterse, "Select Residences in Regions V and IX: Early Anonymous Domestic Architecture." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by J.J. Dobbins and P. Foss (New York, 2007), 377. Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompeii, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 119. Also, M. Fulford and A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Towards a History of pre-Roman Pompeii. Excavations Beneath the House of Amarantus (I 9, 11-12), 1995-98." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 67 (1999), 114. For the House of the Surgeon see R. Jones and D. Robinson, "Intensification, Heterogeneity and Power in the Development of Insula VI, 1." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by J.J. Dobbins and P. Foss (New York, 2007), 391. For the House of the Naviglio see R. Cassetta and C. Costantino, "Parte V. La Casa del Naviglio (VI 10, 11) e le botteghe VI 10, 10 e VI 10, 12." In *Rileggere Pompei. L'insula 10 della regio VI*, edited by F. Coarelli and F. Pesando (Rome, 2006), 250.

²⁸⁹ Coarelli and Pesando, "The Urban Development of NW Pompeii: Archaic Period to 3rd C. B.C.," 51; Also Guzzo, *Pompeii. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 91; for the so-called more modest Hoffmann houses see A. Hoffmann, "L'Architettura." In *Pompeii 79. Raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana*, edited by F. Zevi (Naples, 1979), 111–115.

²⁹⁰ Peterse and de Waele, "The Standardized Design of the Casa degli Scienziati," 197, 205. They also identify houses VI,14,39 and VI,14,40 as having almost identical facades.

interiors of the houses, but no indications exist for their exterior.²⁹¹ Prior to the eruption wide swaths of First-Style stucco coated the limestone façades on the via di Mercurio, but they probably functioned to disguise repairs conducted after the earthquake of 62 CE, or they were part of a new image to the city developed in the Roman period. As highlighted in the next chapter, house owners in the following tufa period often opted to leave the masonry naked for the intrinsic statement of the stone. If the limestone façades featured no further embellishment then their construction technique and material clearly created a dialogue with the city walls. Together the house façades and the walls created a distinct unified image.

As mentioned above, Amedeo Maiuri suggested that blocks used in some of the limestone façades are actually *spolia* of the external orthostate wall demolished to make way for the new *agger*.²⁹² Eschebach elaborated this notion further and emphatically stated that the earliest limestone façades are actually all composed of re-used blocks from the orthostate wall.²⁹³ Recent investigations in Regio VI uncovered further evidence for the use of spoliation blocks in house foundations and façades.²⁹⁴ Yet, as attractive as assigning these blocks to the orthostate wall may be, this theory rests on similarities in measurement that could potentially represent uniform quarrying standards. Nevertheless, many of the blocks are likely *spolia*. Their reuse is probably primarily a matter of expediency, but they may also carry a more symbolic significance.

²⁹¹ See F. Coarelli, and F. Pesando, *Rileggere Pompei* (Rome, 2005) for the individual entries and archaeological discoveries.

²⁹² A. Maiuri, *Alla ricerca di Pompei preromana*. (Naples, 1973), 8-12. He particularly singles out the House of the Surgeon. Interestingly, his excavations in the house uncovered a rough stucco coating on the blocks set in the foundation trench of the two interior rooms. Maiuri uses this as further proof that the blocks clearly originated from another building. He does not elaborate further, but the discovery indirectly implies that the original orthostate wall included a stucco decoration. However, the blocks may also come from other buildings.

²⁹³ Eschebach and Eschebach, *Pompeji vom 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr. Bis 79 n.Chr.*, 158.

²⁹⁴ Pesando, "Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica di Pompei," 225. Cassetta and Costantino, "Parte V. La Casa del Naviglio" 250.

The very survival of these façades up to the eruption, even after the interiors saw radical alterations, poses some important questions. As elite houses, their façades likely carried a more important representational element related to the status of the owner. Furthermore, many limestone houses sit above pre-Samnite examples and such a continuity of place might relate either to their prime location or the incorporation of a select elite into the Samnite town.²⁹⁵ Although difficult to quantify, the re-use of the blocks may therefore also represent a measure of antiquarianism, nostalgia, ancestral continuity, or conquest and renewal of the city. The first three notions are difficult to gauge and they depend on whether parts of the orthostate wall were visible, and their possible interpretation as a relic. Although the excavations at Tower IX suggest that parts of the inner façade remained visible for an extended period of time, these factors remain almost impossible to ascertain without further evidence.²⁹⁶ However, the notions of conquest and/or renewal likely accompanied the initial construction process of the new wall. These are messages are more implicit and immediately tangible in the execution of such a large construction project.

The expansion of building activity at Pompeii included the basic arrangement of its street network. The layout has generated much discussion and is important since it acts as the armature for the city's future development. The city walls and the gates essentially anchored the main access routes in and out of Pompeii. Other entry points, in the form of posterns or towers, probably aligned along minor north-south and east-west roads dividing up the plan.²⁹⁷ Although no direct evidence exists for a re-foundation of the city, the coherent layout is the product of a single plan. It led early scholars to equate it with

²⁹⁵ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 65.

²⁹⁶ See Chapter 1

²⁹⁷ De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 79.

the first foundation of the city, and any possible associated rites.²⁹⁸ The design rests with the equidistant via Stabiana and via di Nola each forming the main north-south *cardo* and east-west *decumanus* of the city (fig.30). The via dell'Abbondanza acts as a second *decumanus* and the two divide the via Stabiana into three equal sections. The third section also returns in the length of the via di Mercurio and the distance between the Porta Sarno and Nola, whereas the gap between via di Nocera and the via Stabiana is exactly half the length of the *cardo*.²⁹⁹ The city subsequently expanded in a tiered development in precisely parceled plots set out along the main axes. Regio VI developed first followed by the line of *insulae* along the east side of the via Stabiana. The intervening space with the outer *Altstadt* filled up soon afterwards and the development later continued into the eastern portion of the city.³⁰⁰ As in the Archaic period, the enclosed area never achieved full urbanization. Regio I and II in particular remained thinly occupied with agricultural buildings up to the eruption of Vesuvius.³⁰¹ A similar but more extensive picture for farmland within the enceinte exists for the early Samnite period. Post-holes related to agricultural work uncovered beneath Insula I in Regio VI and excavations near the Porta Stabia suggest a lack of urbanization between the fourth and mid-second centuries BCE.³⁰²

²⁹⁸ Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien*, 466-478 and M. della Corte, "Il pomerium di Pompei." *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 22 (1913): 261-308.

²⁹⁹ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 72.

³⁰⁰ H. Geertman, "Lo studio della città antica vecchi e nuovi approcci." In *Pompei: Scienza e società: 250. anniversario degli scavi di Pompei* edited by P.G. Guzzo (Milan, 2001), 131-135. H. Geertman, "The Urban Development of the pre-Roman City." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by J.J. Dobbins and P. Foss (New York, 2007), 82-97. Also, De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 77.

³⁰¹ S. C. Nappo, "Houses of Regions I and II." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by J.J. Dobbins and P. Foss (New York, 2007), 347-372. See also Jashemski on the presence of many vineyards in this area of the city, W.F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii: Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius* (New Rochelle, 1979), 202-281.

³⁰² For regio VI see R. Jones and D. Robinson, "The Economic Development of the Commercial Triangle (VI.1.14-18, 20-21)." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche a Pompei ed Ercolano. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma 28 - 30 Novembre 2002*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Naples, 2005),

The arrangement of the walls and the main street network are clearly interrelated, suggesting a desire to monumentalize the city.³⁰³ Such an orchestrated design raises the question whether there is any further meaning to the layout and, by extension, the course of the walls. A pragmatic approach identifies a primarily militaristic scheme where the walls and street network interacted to offer the greatest defensive capabilities and the minor roads facilitated communications toward the individual sections of the enceinte.³⁰⁴ Beyond this secular martial explanation there is no shortage of more abstract theories. Without digressing too far into the intricacies of the general debate concerning archaeoastronomy and urban foundations, the discussion for Pompeii centers on the orientation of the streets and its developmental history. The problem in essence revolves around identifying a predominantly Greek, Etruscan, Samnite, or Roman character of the city. Orthogonal planning was a secular endeavor for the Greeks where roads were predominantly oriented according to topographic or hygienic considerations requiring that a city opened to the winds for a healthy environment.³⁰⁵ This approach, however, already found its critics in antiquity: Roman architect Vitruvius believed that winds were actually detrimental to good health.³⁰⁶ These ideals, however, were theoretical and not always practiced. Much more debate surrounds Etruscan orthogonal plans; many scholars describe the symbolic designation of the celestial *templum* onto the city. In essence, two axes divided the great heavenly sphere into four distinct quadrants that found their earthly correlation in the notion of the circular city, its central *mundus*, and the *cardo* and the

272. For the Porta Stabia see S.J.R Ellis and G. Devore, "The Fifth Season of Excavations at VIII.7.1-15 and the Porta Stabia at Pompeii: Preliminary Report." *FaStionline* 202 (2010), 1.

³⁰³ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 72.

³⁰⁴ De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 79.

³⁰⁵ Aris. Pol 7,1330A.35ff, Aris. Pol. VII, 10,11,1330a.

³⁰⁶ See Vitruvius I.4.1-7. Also see F. Castagnoli, *Orthogonal Town Planning in Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1971), 61.

decumanus inscribing the *urbs quadrata*.³⁰⁷ This idea, however, has received heavy criticism since it relates primarily to the orientation of temples rather than cities.³⁰⁸ Finally the Roman *agrimensores*, or land surveyors, borrowed heavily from Etruscan ideals but transformed them into more secular notions. They often used the solstices to align the centuriation of the countryside, perhaps also as a time keeping device, but symbolic patterns in town plans are less evident.³⁰⁹

The arguments for Pompeii are quite long and complicated, and relate primarily to the history of theories concerning the city's development, i.e., the grand design envisioned by early scholarship versus the *Altstadt/Neustadt* theory and its later adaptations. Castagnoli summarizes the debate up to 1971 and the arguments, with the exception of a brief summary, need no repetition to the same level of detail here. Early scholarship recognized the via di Nola as the *cardo* and the via Stabiana as the *decumanus* of the city. Their intersection was the central square, or the *mundus*, and the original starting point for the layout of the city. Leading proponents of a grand Pompeii argued for the *pomerium* of the city following the present line of the Samnite walls.³¹⁰ With the introduction of the *Altstadt* theory scholarship identified the via di Mercurio/via del Foro/via delle Scuole as the *cardo*, whereas the via Marina/via dell'Abbondanza acted as the *decumanus*. At their intersection the Forum formed the new origin point for the layout of Pompeii and, as a recent hypothesis suggests, an Etruscan foundation of the

³⁰⁷ For an application of the full model see the recent celestial analysis of Marzabotto by L. Malnati and G. Sassatelli, "La città e i suoi limiti in Etruria Padana." In *La città murata in Etruria* (Pisa, 2008), 429–470. See also Briquel, "La città murata: aspetti religiosi" who indicates that, rather than city walls, the general Hippodamic layout of cities, such as Marzabotto, plays a far greater religious role in Etruscan urban concepts.

³⁰⁸ Castagnoli, *Orthogonal Town Planning in Antiquity*, 61.

³⁰⁹ J. le Gall, "Les Romaines et l'orientation solaire." *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 87 (1975): 287–320. Also J.P. Adam, *Roman Building: Materials and Techniques* (London, 1999), 11.

³¹⁰ See Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien*, 466–478 and M. della Corte, "Il pomerium di Pompei," 261–308.

Altstadt.³¹¹ As a result, the *pomerium* probably followed the line of the *Altstadt* fortifications, whereas the later *Neustadt* instead followed a Greek design with multiple *cardines* and *decumani* primarily secular in nature.³¹²

Hans Eschebach, applying Le Gall's model derived from the principles of the Roman *agrimensores*, suggested a somewhat more symbolic layout. He points out that both the via dell'Abbondanza and the via di Nola align with the summer solstice, whereas the via Stabiana closely lines up with the winter solstice.³¹³ De Caro takes the notion further identifying the via di Nola as creating a deliberate axis with Monte Torrenone to the east where the federal sanctuary of Foce Sarno marks a source of the Sarno River (fig.30).³¹⁴ The same orientation is also present in the street network of neighboring Nocera, where a similar urban transformation occurred in the early third century BCE, including the construction of an *agger* defensive system. The alignments symbolize a wider political union and re-birth after their insertion into the Roman sphere of influence.³¹⁵ Felice Senatore poses some serious doubts to these assertions pointing out that these aligned axes actually miss the source of the river and the sanctuary probably did not exist yet.³¹⁶ Despite such reservations, Guzzo recently used the theory to place the entire territory outside of the city and its division under the divine protection of the federal sanctuary.³¹⁷

³¹¹ Guzzo *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 52.

³¹² Castagnoli, *Orthogonal Town Planning in Antiquity*, 62.

³¹³ Eschebach and Eschebach, *Pompeji vom 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr. Bis 79 n.Chr.*, 56-58.

³¹⁴ De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 82. Now acknowledged by Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 67. Also, Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 20 who also suggest a purposeful alignment of the via Stabiana with Vesuvius.

³¹⁵ De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 83.

³¹⁶ F. Senatore, "La lega nucerina." In *Pompei tra Sorrento e Sarno. Atti del terzo e quarto ciclo di conferenze di Geologia, Storia e Archeologia* (Rome, 2001), 240-245.

³¹⁷ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 67 The via di Nola seems to continue along a straight axis outside of the city suggesting a similar parcellation of land as the other gates.

By inserting the landscape into the equation its layout, i.e., the parcellation of the land and the roads running through it, adds more importance to the role of the fortifications since their placement also anchored the division of the countryside. As a result, they acted as a distinguishing and yet unifying element for the city and its territory, essentially acting as a filter point for movements in and out of Pompeii. The expansion of the city required a higher rate of agricultural production leading to an early centuriation of the landscape. Although much of the Pompeian *chora* remains buried and therefore difficult to characterize, a well-organized landscape supporting the city is highly likely. Scholars project the land parcellation of Regio VI continuing, by osmosis, on axis with the via Mercurio beyond the walls by the second half of the fourth century BCE. They hypothesize a similar centuriation laid out along the via di Nocera toward the Sarno River.³¹⁸ Presumably, this organized landscape existed along the main routes outside of the other gates, but its extent is unknown. Whether the orientation of Pompeii's streets carried deliberate symbolic associations or was coincidental due to the topographical layout of the plateau remains hard to ascertain.³¹⁹ In fact, projecting Etruscan and Roman foundational rites on Pompeii may seem somewhat premature in light of the tenuous evidence and the rich diversity of the region.

The most recent theory on the layout of the city departs radically from traditional views. Francesco Vitale assigns precise astronomical connotations to the layout of Pompeii, correlating the course of the walls to a perfect ellipse. Inside temples and gates align along precise linear patterns to create a protective religious umbrella resembling a pentagram over the city (fig.31). He notes that this layout follows precise astronomical

³¹⁸ F. Zevi, "Urbanistica di Pompei." In *La regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio. Studi e prospettive. Atti del convegno internazionale, 11-15 novembre 1979*, 3 (Naples, 1979) 357. S. C. Nappo, "Urban Transformation at Pompeii in the Late 3rd and Early 2nd c. B.C." In *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, edited by Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (Portsmouth, 1997), 94-96.

³¹⁹ Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 41 argues for a primary topographical element.

calculations reflected in the street alignment with the solstices that formed a memory capsule of Pompeii's foundation for future generations. The layout is therefore primarily the result of the city's original foundation as a sanctuary evidenced by the plateau's relative isolation from readily available water sources. Its burgeoning sacred groves subsequently grew to such an economic importance that they necessitated the construction of fortifications to keep out thieves and brigands.³²⁰ The approach is interesting and Pompeii may indeed have been founded as a sanctuary. Some of the conclusions however are, in my opinion, a little far-reaching.³²¹

Although the exact meaning of Pompeii's layout, if any, remains difficult to quantify, it seems likely that military concerns and topographical elements primarily dictated the urban framework.³²² The picture for Pompeii is one where the city lays the groundwork for its future appearance. This is a massive operation that included laying out streets, regularizing the countryside, and constructing the walls. With the gates opening onto regional roads, these elements will remain virtually unchanged for the remainder of the city's history, creating a clear factor of continuity for its population.³²³ The streets also created visual axes focusing either on the *agger* or towers resulting in the fortifications creating a constant visual presence throughout the city and continuously projecting a sense of security on its population. As discussed further in the next chapter,

³²⁰ F. Vitale, *Astronomia ed esoterismo nell'antica Pompei e ricerche archeoastronomiche a Paestum, Cuma, Velia, Metaponto, Crotona, Locri e Vibo Valentia*, in particular see p. 59, 89-94.

³²¹ This is primarily because the arguments rest on a set of coincidences and arbitrary connections drawn from lines on a map. Lines, in essence, that can be drawn and interpreted arbitrarily, creating endless connections and interpretations.

³²² For a recent assessment on the heavy influence of topography on the layout of Pompeii see M. Holappa and E.M. Viitanen, "Topographic Conditions in the Urban Plan of Pompeii: The Urban Landscape." In *The Making of Pompeii*, edited by S.J.R. Ellis (Portsmouth R.I., 2011): 169-190

³²³ Only the Porta Marina, perhaps, lay slightly further a-back at the tip of the hill. The evidence for this is scant but some scholars believe that the remains of a few blocks on the eastern end of the precinct of the temple of Venus are the remains of an earlier version of the porta marina. See P. Arthurs, "Problems of the Urbanization of Pompeii. Excavations 1980-1981." *The Antiquaries Journal* 66 (1986): 29-44.

the towers in particular, if they indeed existed in this period, also projected a measure of internal security acting as small fortresses capable of controlling the population. In essence it means that, to some extent, notions of security permeated the rest of the city's history, consciously or unconsciously affecting those living inside the protection of its walls.

Initially at least the use of earth and the Sarno limestone projected a strong association amongst the town, the fortifications, and its hinterland. This seems particularly the case if the massive use of limestone resulted in extensive land reclamation supporting the expanding city. The spectacle of constructing the walls, including quarrying and transporting the stone blocks, and the hundreds of carts needed to transport the *agger* earth must have been quite impressive. Pesando identifies Regio VI as one of the sources for the earth, suggesting a local and perhaps even immediate retrieval of the fill in proximity of the fortification throughout the city.³²⁴ Maiuri suggests, due to the completely sterile nature of the earth, distant unspecified locations for its retrieval, but either scenario further strengthens the bond between city and territory.³²⁵

A further connection between the city and its walls occurred through Pompeii's architecture. The limestone façades of elite houses and the ashlar masonry of the walls connected on multiple levels where a local material, used in a local context, fostered a local identity. These factors are most evident in the subtle decorative additions on the curtain wall and gates of Pompeii. The city walls encompassed a wide open area interspersed with housing aligned along an orthogonal plan with a slightly more densely

³²⁴ Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 167. The quarrying presumably also leveled the terrain to allow a more regular layout of the Regio.

³²⁵ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 131.

occupied *Altstadt*. In simple terms this configuration created a dichotomy between the *Altstadt* and the *Neustadt*, or old and new, reflected primarily in the fortifications, and it also established the space for Pompeii's future expansion. The walls also responded to the latest developments in warfare and encompassed a wide area to accommodate the population of the *chora*; they established a measure of self-sufficiency with extensive protected farmland within the enclosure.

The walls also worked on a wider territorial scale. The parcellation of the city and parts of the countryside created a distinct imposition and artificial organization on the landscape. The walls in essence acted as a crown highlighting the new organization, simultaneously unifying and distinguishing the city and countryside through dominance and imposition. It is no surprise, therefore, that as in the previous periods a strong connection also exists between the fortifications and its sanctuaries as visual landmarks on the city and the hinterland. Both structures functioned to legitimize the power of those who financed the projects, their status in the city, and their relationship with its protective deities. In many ways the city and its *chora* form one unit and its image, as Zanker describes for the late Republican period, will be cultivated by both the community and the individual.³²⁶ At Pompeii the groundwork for this trend starts in the late fourth century BCE and will continue to gather pace and diversify in the centuries to come. All these factors symbolically translated into the new defensive bastion. The use of decorative elements in the walls confirms the presence of a communal identity. This principle translated into the concept, or idea, of the city as is reflected in the extensive unity of its urban, territorial, and architectural layout. Although the reasons for the

³²⁶ P. Zanker, "The City as Symbol: Rome and the Creation of an Urban Image." In *Romanization and the City: Creations, Transformations, and Failures: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the American Academy in Rome to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Excavations at Cosa, 14-16 May, 1998*, edited by E. Fentress (Portsmouth, 2000), 29. He describes the process as starting half way through the fourth century BCE.

dramatic expansion of Pompeii remain enigmatic, strong political and social forces shaped its appearance. Its image and, by extension, the fortifications enclosing it are a reflection of the society that built Pompeii and their concept of the ideal city.

Chapter 4 Establishing an Image: The Fortifications and the Golden Age of Pompeii

The previous chapters have focused primarily on the architectural relationship between the appearance of the city and its walls, and to a certain extent the anthropological aspects of fortifications affecting the population. This approach was necessary because of the paucity of any other evidence for early Pompeii. Our picture becomes clearer for the second century BCE since much more evidence, including inscriptions and more copious physical remains, allows for a more in-depth analysis on the performance of the fortifications. However, many of the aspects discussed up to this point will continue to form a backdrop in what follows. An important element to remember in this chapter is that the momentous urban and social development of Pompeii continued under both Roman and Hellenistic influences that remain difficult to quantify. Both ‘Hellenization’ and ‘Romanization’ are terms that are the object of a heavy scholarly debate that I will not engage with here. Nevertheless, the Pompeian alliance with Rome strongly influenced the city; whereas the increased exposure of both cities to the Hellenistic world, and the strong Greek character of the early Bay of Naples, blurs the assignation of a single distinct cultural influence upon Samnite Pompeii.³²⁷

After the establishment of the limestone fortifications the defenses undergo a radical transformation. The intervention on the walls is rather difficult to date precisely, but scholars generally view it as a response to the Second Punic War. The scenarios are multiple with the upgrade occurring in conjunction with gathering war clouds, during the

³²⁷ The subject is really too long to visit effectively here. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 73-212 discusses the subject with regard to architecture throughout Italy.

conflict itself, or as a general need to reinforce weak fortifications after the hostilities.³²⁸ Scholars, therefore, generally agree that the intervention occurred at the end of the third century BCE. The defenses received a substantial reinforcement featuring a new internal wall, a higher outer curtain, and an expansion of the *agger*. The material adopted for this intervention is tufa, a dark grey/brown volcanic stone found primarily in the Lattari Mountains near the neighboring city of Nocera. The resulting visual contrast with the previous limestone masonry seems deliberate, reflecting the social and architectural developments of the city (fig.32).

The area between the Porta Ercolano and Vesuvio highlights the main elements and reasons behind this massive reinforcement (fig.5). The most marked of these is the presence of the internal wall performing both structural and defensive roles. Rising higher than the external curtain, the wall created a second terracing structure allowing engineers to widen and equalize the wall-walk. It also supported a higher *agger* and functioned as a secondary parapet, setting up two lines of defense against attackers.³²⁹ The overall increased height provided cover for neighboring houses, as well as for troops and supplies moving along a street that ran along the inner base of the fortifications.³³⁰ The internal wall also relieved the outer curtain from the pressure exerted by the *agger*, which had probably caused many previous collapses. A series of regularly spaced internal piers mirroring those on the external curtain further stabilized the structure. Although tufa composes the majority of the wall a few interspersed limestone blocks derive from the partial demolition of the old terracing wall on the city side of the *agger*.³³¹ Where

³²⁸ See Chiaramonte Trerè, "The Walls and Gates," 142. For a full summary of the debate see Sakai, "La storia sotto il suolo del 79 d.C.," 90-92, and Brands *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien*, 174-176.

³²⁹ J.P. Adam, *L'Architecture militaire Grecque* (Paris, 1982), 41.

³³⁰ Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 45.

³³¹ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 159-162.

exposed, the tufa blocks often still carry prominent quarry marks attesting to a very well organized production and construction process administering the operation.

The intervention, however, is not uniform and the internal wall finds a place only in those areas most vulnerable to attacks. Isolated sections on the western side of the city still feature large parts of limestone curtain where their double function as terracing walls ensured their preservation. Despite its inherent advantages, the internal wall is notably missing at the Porta Stabia and at Tower IX where a remnant of the orthostate wall supported a lower *agger*.³³² East of the Porta Vesuvio the new internal wall actually acted as the terrace holding back the *agger* until an *opus incertum* wall, likely built in conjunction with the later towers, accommodated its expansion further south.³³³ A large tufa stairway offering access to the wall walk replaces it between the Porta Ercolano and Tower XII. The internal reinforcement is also absent near the amphitheater, although this circumstance is probably related to its demolition to make way for the arena. Excavations beneath the Temple of Venus point to the presence of a single tufa terracing wall dating to the early third century BCE.³³⁴ In light of the natural strength of the Pompeian plateau, it is questionable whether the full defensive system continued farther east toward the Doric Temple. Here, although the terrace received some new tufa masonry, the desire to maintain the view probably precluded the presence of an extensive *agger*.³³⁵

³³² S. Sakai and V. Iorio, "Nuove ricerche del Japan Institute of Paleological Studies sulla fortificazione di Pompei." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche a Pompei ed Ercolano* edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Naples, 2005), 328.

³³³ For the tufa wall see Seiler et.al, "La regio VI insula 16 e la zona della porta Vesuvio," fig. 11. For the *opus incertum* wall see Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 184.

³³⁴ Curti, "Il tempio di Venere Fisica e il porto di Pompei," 52.

³³⁵ See F. Noack and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji* (Berlin, 1936), 167. In particular they project the presence of the internal wall in Regio VIII but the evidence is rather scant and they also question its course.

LIMESTONE, TUFA, AND THE CREATION OF A NEW STATEMENT

Although the internal wall is not consistent, the addition of several courses of tufa ashlar on the external curtain largely is. The intervention on the north side of the fortifications increased its height from eight to eleven meters, creating a dramatic contrast with the earlier limestone masonry.³³⁶ The battlements of both walls have now completely disappeared. According to the earliest descriptions they included L-shaped merlons extending onto the internal piers reinforcing the façade. This shape best covered the front and left sides of the defenders, while liberating their right arms to pelt the enemy with projectiles (fig.33).³³⁷ Today only three capping stones still lie in the vicinity of the battlements; one on the wall-walk west of Tower XII, and two just outside of the Porta Nocera. All three bear signs of a joint on the top right, suggesting that they originally capped the inner pier. An extended cornice, lined with spouts to drain rainwater from the wall-walk, marked the transition between the curtain and the parapet but scholars are again divided on its appearance. The recovery of a spout carved to resemble a lion's head outside of the Porta Stabia is a case in point. Excavators first thought it was the keystone to the arch of the gate, but August Mau identified it as a spout and projected it as adorning the entire circuit.³³⁸ The piece has since disappeared and only survives in an old photograph that restored it next to the outer bastion of the gate. Extending the presence of the type on the entire fortification is a little far-fetched and some scholars, including Maiuri, tend to ignore it. Others prefer to view it as adorning

³³⁶ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 161. Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeij*, 11.

³³⁷ F. Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie I* (Paris, 1824), 36 and plate XII. Also, Clark, *Pompei*, 68.

³³⁸ See "Giornale redatto dai soprastanti." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 12 (1899): 406–407. A. Mau, "Gli scavi fuori Porta Stabiana." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 5 (1890), 283. Also A. Sogliano, "Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1873 al 1900." In *Atti del congresso internazionale di scienze storiche* Vol. 5, (1904), 301; Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeij*, plate 5

solely the gates (fig.34).³³⁹ As we shall see below, recent research has called the presence of spouts for this phase into question on account of their survival in much later masonry. Scholars have otherwise invariably placed them in their reconstruction of this phase of the walls.³⁴⁰

Beyond the ambiguities of decorative details, a quick glance at the medley of masonry composing the surviving fortifications does not suggest a uniform appearance for this phase. A brief survey of the evidence, however, proves otherwise. This is particularly the case on the south-east of the city where the limestone blocks between Towers II and IV reach six to eight courses high and still dominate the curtain. At first glance this façade is composed entirely of limestone in a very different fashion than the rest of the circuit for this phase. However, a closer look at the evidence indicates that four courses of completely unworked blocks at the bottom of the wall were once hidden from view in a foundation trench. Their exposure is the result of soil erosion accelerated first by the cutting back of the cliff to make the wall more inaccessible, and a later lowering of the terrain to ease access through the Porta Nocera in the early colony.³⁴¹ Proof comes from the similarly exposed foundations of Tower III, the Porta Nocera, and particularly Tower II which still displays a high floating postern (fig.35).³⁴² A few surviving tufa blocks east of the Tower II confirm a layout more consistent with the rest of the circuit. They sit above nine limestone courses. If we subtract the lowest four courses as buried

³³⁹ Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeij*, plate 5.

³⁴⁰ Starting with Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie I* pl. II and pl. X fig. II. See Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 241 and Maiuri, "Pompeii isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano," 284.

³⁴¹ For the cliff see A. Maiuri, *Pompeii ed Ercolano: fra case e abitanti* (Milan, 1959), 108, for the lowering see A. D'Ambrosio and S. De Caro, *Un impegno per Pompeii. Fotopiano e documentazione della necropoli di Porta Nocera* (Milan, 1983), 29 and M. Conticello de' Spagnolis *Il pons sarni di scafati e la via Nuceria-Pompeios* (Rome, 1994), 19.

³⁴² Tower III in particular preserves parts of the original level kept in place by the remains of the previous pappamonte and orthostate walls.

foundations, the number originally visible reduces to five in accordance with the rest of the enceinte (see fig. 19). The remaining tufa blocks, including large parts of the Porta Nocera, disappeared after earthquake of 62 CE to provide much-needed building material for the ensuing reconstruction effort.³⁴³

The next evident limestone/tufa juxtaposition runs between Tower V and the Porta Sarno. Here the number of lower limestone courses varies considerably, ranging between three and six in number. We must consider, however, that in all probability twentieth-century restorations/repairs form large sections of curtain, since modern cement holds much of it together and the tufa blocks carry modern tool marks. The exact height of the limestone is therefore difficult to trace, but minor variations in the number of courses were likely difficult to notice when viewed from below considering the high ridge supporting the walls (fig.36).

Continuing from the Porta Sarno we find the most regular limestone/tufa setup of the entire circuit between Tower VII and the Porta Nola. The number of upper tufa courses varies according to their survival rate. The lowest limestone blocks form a consistent level platform of three courses (fig.37). Admittedly, excavations here could potentially reveal further lower courses, but the platform is remarkably consistent. A similar situation exists between Porta Nola and Tower VIII. The first twenty-seven meters directly west of the gate display four lower limestone courses supporting two surviving in tufa. A section some twenty-three meters long follows with five lower limestone courses of slightly smaller block dimensions that may belong to a later refurbishment (fig.38). A subsequent heavily damaged and most probably spoliated section only displays three limestone courses and no tufa. The next thirty meters leading

³⁴³ Maiuri, "Muro della fortificazione," 233. See also, De Caro, "Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 79.

up to Tower VIII are more regular; two lower limestone courses support between four and ten blocks of surviving tufa.³⁴⁴

Further west, the section running from the Porta Vesuvio to the mid-mark between Tower X and XI displays an identical setup where four lower limestone courses support the tufa framework above. Today the juxtaposition is not immediately apparent since much of the limestone is buried beneath an earth fill dating to the early Imperial age and a large dump of debris resulting from the 62 CE earthquake.³⁴⁵ The façade, perhaps the most intact of the circuit, is remarkably consistent, with grey tufa as the primary construction material, a few lonely brown tufa blocks, and a rare limestone ashlar west of the tower (fig.39).³⁴⁶ The blocks are uniform in size, about 41-42 cm high, with slightly taller stones of 67 cm expressly highlighting the parapet.³⁴⁷ The wall face changes slightly twenty meters west of Tower X where the socle increases to six courses and the parapet displays a few courses of later repairs using limestone. The curtain continues west as a patchwork of tufa and *opus incertum* materials with a consistent limestone socle up to the completely re-built tufa wall associated with an earlier phase of the current Porta Ercolano.

The west side of the city features a prominent differentiation of construction techniques due, in part, to the function of the wall as a terrace. The consequent high

³⁴⁴ Chiaramonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane*, 25. She excavated the section between the Porta Nola and Tower VIII. She particularly notes the repair.

³⁴⁵ Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale," 279.

³⁴⁶ They have a diverse erosion rate with the grey type more resistant to elements. Despite the divergence the difference the appearance is actually very subtle.

³⁴⁷ A recent investigation notes that the courses on either side of the tower are slightly misaligned. See Hori, "Pompeian Town Walls and Opus Quadratum," 286. See also Y. Hori, O. Ajioka, and A. Hanghai, "Laser Scanning in Pompeian City Wall a Comparative Study of Accuracy of the Drawings from the 1930s to 40s." In *Virtual Reconstruction and Visualization of Complex Architectures*, 36 (2007): 1-5, who highlights the misalignment of the wall courses on either side of Tower X. The article however ignores the large allied aircraft bomb that destroyed the curtain west of tower X in 1943 and its subsequent reconstruction as possible reason for the incongruous appearance. See García y García, *Danni di guerra a Pompei* (Rome, 2006), 164.

stresses on the masonry probably led to frequent collapses and substantial repairs.³⁴⁸ The limestone curtain is still evident on either side of the Porta Marina and the previously mentioned section beneath the House of Fabius Rufus. The neighboring House of Maius Castricius (VII.16.17), however, again displays a very well finished tufa framework resting on a few courses of limestone. Beyond the Porta Marina, the southwest ridge of the city again shows a unique set of circumstances. Recent excavations beneath the Temple of Venus uncovered the remains of a tufa terracing wall built at the turn of the third century BCE.³⁴⁹ This date is much earlier than the rest of the upgrade, and the use of tufa may relate to an earlier effort to highlight the prestige and prominence of the area. This seems especially the case if, as discussed in the previous chapter, we consider that a similar use of materials deliberately differentiated to the tower extending in front of the Porta Vesuvio.³⁵⁰

Turning the corner toward the Doric Temple the wall disappears beneath and is embedded into later houses. A study of the area conducted by Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben identifies nine surviving sections of the exterior walls spaced out between Houses VIII.2.29-36. Terrace 20 in House VIII.2.29 in particular, displays two tufa blocks still carrying mason marks flanking a limestone block still in situ. Terrace 19 in House VIII.2.30 displays a similar superimposition of construction techniques, with Sarno limestone blocks incorporated into later *opus incertum* masonry and still partially covered in stucco.³⁵¹ Finally a small tract of wall composed of two tufa courses surmounting a limestone socle survive as a terrace for the Triangular Forum (fig.14). As

³⁴⁸ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 159-162.

³⁴⁹ Curti, "Il tempio di Venere Fisica e il porto di Pompei," 53.

³⁵⁰ See p. 73

³⁵¹ Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji* (Berlin, 1936), 5-15.

is the case with the previous enceintes the fortifications on this side of the city functioned primarily as a terrace and lacked the *agger*. In this role the fortifications would dictate the orientation of the houses and preserve their memory in the streets and the outskirts of the area.

The work on the external curtain is, at first glance, a simple reinforcement. If this represents the original height of the limestone framework with tufa additions, however, then the previous fortifications were too low for an effective defensive curtain rising, on average, only some three to four courses (fig.40). Scholarship has struggled to explain this situation or often chosen to ignore it. The recent excavations near Tower IX propose a different scenario pointing to a short time interval between the limestone and tufa curtains.³⁵² These results suggest that the first Samnite wall perhaps never reached full completion before its upgrade. It might very well be that the lower limestone courses first supported a superstructure in perishable materials, such as wood or mud-brick, later substituted with tufa.³⁵³ In fact, engineers often applied a stone socle as a common remedy to protect mud-brick walls from rainwater damage, and this hypothesis might explain the relative regularity of the lower courses.³⁵⁴ Furthermore, Vitruvius specifically recommended travertine as an ideal material for wall foundations due to its load bearing capacity.³⁵⁵ Although no evidence exists for a mudbrick superstructure, these factors suggest that the limestone socle was a deliberate choice and is not entirely arbitrary.

The switch from limestone may have occurred for a number of reasons, including the simple exhaustion of quarries, or the discovery of tufa as a more versatile

³⁵² Sakai and Iorio, “Nuove ricerche del Japan Institute of Paleological Studies sulla fortificazione di Pompei,” 328.

³⁵³ Sakai, “La storia sotto il suolo del 79 d.C.,” 94.

³⁵⁴ Winter, *Greek Fortifications*, 62.

³⁵⁵ Vitruvius II.7.2.

construction material.³⁵⁶ As a result, the Japanese team recently concluded that the previous limestone phase probably never existed and that the two materials actually represent one phase.³⁵⁷ Such a notion is not unique to Pompeian scholarship and to a certain extent falls back to the hypothesis of a single grand foundation for the city. The very regularity and alignment of the two walls composing the fortifications have led Overbeck and Richardson to a similar conclusion.³⁵⁸ Curious, and little noticed by successive scholars, is Maiuri's own admission of this possibility when he uncovered the walls and Tower III south of the Palestra.³⁵⁹ This kind of debate is symptomatic of the scholarship on the city walls at Pompeii, creating an often confusing and divergent set of ideas. Even to this day, however, Maiuri's excavations remain the most exhaustive in their exploration of the entire circuit and his account is generally accepted as the most accurate in terms of building sequence of the walls.³⁶⁰

With the exception of Sakai's perishable materials hypothesis, none of the theories satisfactorily explain the low height of the limestone courses throughout most of the circuit. If anything this might be conclusive evidence that the limestone/tufa wall represents a single construction event. Scholars recognize similar uses of distinct materials for decorative effects in the ninth century BCE fortifications of Old Smyrna and in the late Archaic walls of Buruncuk-Larisa in Greece.³⁶¹ Nevertheless, we may consider

³⁵⁶ The exhaustion hypothesis seems especially plausible if we consider that construction crews actively sought out and used the quarries closest to the city walls as a measure of expediency. Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana*, 65-69.

³⁵⁷ Etani, *Pompeii: Report of the excavation at Porta Capua, 1993-2005*, 308.

³⁵⁸ Overbeck, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken* (Leipzig, 1854), 40-41. Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 45.

³⁵⁹ Maiuri, "Muro della fortificazione," 233 the scholar noted the similarity of the quarry marks on both walls which, along with an almost uniform size of the tufa and limestone blocks, and an alignment of the piers, suggest a single construction effort.

³⁶⁰ Chiaramonte Treré, "The Walls and Gates," 141.

³⁶¹ See Winter, *Greek Fortifications*, 79-80.

that engineers perhaps deliberately shaved off significant sections of the limestone to actually seek out a distinct aesthetic effect while building the walls. The application of these two construction materials results in a very distinct effect of *chiaroscuro*—all the more evident when rain water accentuates their colors (figs. 32, 35-38). This factor likely represents an explicit decorative effect applied to the walls since the number of courses of each material, although varying slightly, actually displays a marked consistency. If the tufa does represent a distinct later construction phase, the differentiation of materials marks the extent of the intervention and signals the amount of work and investment carried out on the fortifications. This is a clear stamp upon the walls and, by extension, a projection of power upon the city by those financing the refurbishment. However, if we consider, as early scholarship did, that the limestone and tufa actually represent a single construction event, then the aesthetic consideration behind this façade is all the more evident. In any event, the contrasting effect of materials played a significant role in the appearance of the walls, and—as we shall see—throughout the city.

Emphasizing the Passage In and Out of the City

Along with the reinforcement of the curtain walls during the tufa period, modifications to the gates —based on the forecourt prototype of the Porta Stabia highlighted in the previous chapter— began to shape their appearance. According to Maiuri, their refurbishment included substituting the limestone of the gate-court with tufa, and building a vault marking the threshold into the city.³⁶² The Porta Nola, as the best preserved example, formed the basis of his chronology and he readily identified the tufa blocks in the *opus incertum* masonry of the later vault as relics of an older arch, with

³⁶² Maiuri, “Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei,” 218.

the most noticeable functioning as struts for the double-doored internal gate (fig.41). The protome of Minerva, the keystone of the current arch, along with a few voussoirs and an adjacent inscription, belonged to the earlier vault and represented examples of continuity or nostalgia. A stylistic comparison between the bust and carved capitals decorating house doorways in the city supplied Maiuri with a tentative date of 200-150 BCE for the first arch.³⁶³ Much of this theory is highly debatable and any further evidence for this substitution of arches is otherwise completely lacking, inducing many to believe that the tufa vaults never existed.³⁶⁴

Regarding the gate court walls, the substitution thesis is equally problematic but to a certain extent seems more plausible as some sort of retaining wall must have held back the earth to allow passage through the *agger*. Recent excavations at the Porta Vesuvio have identified a foundation trench dating the construction of the western wing to the late third and mid- second century BCE.³⁶⁵ The new passageway walls served to further accentuate the tripartite layout of the gates discussed in the previous chapter for the Porta Stabia. In addition, we find the same contrast of differing construction techniques with the court walls laid as orthostates in direct opposition to the horizontal ashlar blocks of the bastions. These elements are clearly visible in the Porta Nocera, Sarno, Nola, and Vesuvio, where the passageway blocks contrast markedly with the limestone masonry of the bastions (fig.42).³⁶⁶ The subtlety of the Porta Stabia design gives way to a far more marked differentiation to the functional elements of the gate. More importantly,

³⁶³ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 211-213. The tufa vault should therefore represent a post Second Punic War event and the scholar again acknowledges a more complicated periodization of the walls than he first delineates.

³⁶⁴ Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 33 as the latest among these

³⁶⁵ See Seiler et.al, "La regio VI insula 16 e la zona della porta Vesuvio," 230-233.

³⁶⁶ Although now heavily damaged and largely reconstructed, judging by the modern tool marks on the tufa blocks, the Porta Sarno seems to follow a similar construction history. Some of the tufa blocks are inserted as headers in a likely effort to differentiate them from the ancient masonry.

the limestone/tufa juxtaposition dialogues directly with the outer curtain, suggesting the presence of an overarching aesthetic in the design of the fortifications.

The Porta Nocera

More evidence for this factor and, perhaps, its long-term continuity comes from the Porta Nocera. The gate repeats the familiar layout: outer limestone bastions, followed by a tufa gate court and a concrete vault. A lowering of the road passing through it in the late Republican-early Augustan period revealed the *opus incertum* foundations (fig.43).³⁶⁷ With regard to the fortifications, scholars usually associate the use of *opus incertum* solely with the later construction of the vaults and the towers. The concrete at Porta Nocera, however, displays a seamless transition between the vault and the foundations. Furthermore, the steps buried in the *agger* on the west side of the passageway suggest that a gateway already existed here in the first limestone enceinte. Unless the inner walls were lifted and put back into place, which seems unlikely, the passageway and vault are the result of a single construction event using concrete and tufa.³⁶⁸ This sequence directly counters Maiuri's substitution hypothesis and points to the construction of the court and vault occurring in a single event. It also leaves us with some important observations. The current layout of the Porta Nocera is possibly a late addition directly emulating other gates in the city, or a later refurbishment carefully restoring the tufa masonry, or the gates are part of a single construction event perhaps associated with the towers. In any event, these scenarios each contain an element of universal design,

³⁶⁷ D'Ambrosio and De Caro, *Un impegno per Pompei*, 24. A few elements confirm that these are indeed the foundations. The lowest blocks still carry quarry marks, as opposed to the smoothly dressed higher courses, suggesting that they were once buried and hidden from view. Further elements confirming the original height of the road are the unduly high sidewalks leading up to the gate and the tufa struts in the vault. They once supported the original closing gate and now hang high above the exposed foundations.

³⁶⁸ Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 34.

suggesting a deliberate consideration of uniform aesthetics and presentation for the city and its walls.

Given the uncertainties concerning the date of the first introduction of *opus incertum* at Pompeii, the Porta Nocera also forms an important piece of evidence for the early use of this construction technique. Giving an exact date for the construction of the gate remains difficult. The tombs in front of the gate provide a *terminus ante quem* for the lowering of the road and hence construction of the gate to the early Roman colony,³⁶⁹ whereas the tufa addition to the nearby curtain likely occurred at the start of the second century BCE. Perhaps most importantly, the recent excavations of the passageways at the Porta Stabia and Vesuvio have not revealed a similar use of *opus incertum* for their foundations.³⁷⁰ In addition, as highlighted further below, new investigations have recently downdated the concrete vault at the Porta Stabia to the early colony. To a certain extent, therefore, it seems that the walls at the Porta Nocera are a laboratory for the application of *opus incertum* as a new construction technique. However, only further excavations at the gate can pinpoint its date and role in the city more definitively.

The Porta Ercolano

Further evidence for a concerted representative design element concerning the gates comes from the Porta Ercolano. The gate is currently a three bay monumental arch that replaced an earlier version in the Augustan period or, as a recent re-evaluation suggests, after the earthquake of 62 CE—but we will return to this form later.³⁷¹ The

³⁶⁹ D'Amrosio and De Caro, *Un impegno per Pompei*, 24

³⁷⁰ Seiler et al., *La Regio VI Insula 16 e la zona della Porta Vesuvio*, 224; Devore and Ellis, "The Third Season of Excavations at VIII.7.1-15 and the Porta Stabia at Pompeii. Preliminary Report," 13-15.

³⁷¹ See T. Fröhlich, "La Porta di Ercolano a Pompei e la cronologia dell'opus vittatum mixtum." In *Archäologie und Seismologie la regione vesuviana dal 62 Al 79 d.C. problemi archeologici e sismologici. colloquium, Boscoreale 26. - 27. November 1993* (München, 1995), 153–159.

earlier gate originally featured the familiar tripartite design, including the limestone/tufa sequence, and a powerful offset bastion on the north (fig.44). Although not unknown in antiquity, the resulting angled entrance design was counter-intuitive to military concerns. As noted above, architects designed the so-called Scaean gate types at an angle to force the enemy to expose their right unshielded side to the defenders. The Porta Ercolano design, as do both the Porta Marina and Nola, does the opposite and the reasons are probably related to the layout of the original terrain. Maiuri's excavations demonstrate that the northern bastion sat on a small natural terrace that influenced the orientation of the gate and added a more formidable aspect of the fortifications.³⁷² The oblique angle has also led scholars to speculate that the previous road aligned with the *via Superior* currently passing in front of the Villa dei Misteri.³⁷³

Despite the design variation compared to the other gates in the city and its almost complete disappearance, the Samnite Porta Ercolano included the same differentiation of materials explicitly highlighting the entrance into the city. Furthermore, a representative element is clearly at work in the remaining wall that once ended in the northern bastion. Littered with scars from the Sullan siege, the fourteen-course section still displays some of the highest quality finished masonry of the entire circuit.³⁷⁴ This is hardly surprising, considering that the gate straddled the *via Consolare*, one of busiest roads in the region tying Pompeii with Naples, and connecting through the *via Domitiana* with Rome.³⁷⁵ This prime location is also the reason why the monumental arch eventually replaced the

³⁷² Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 132-133. Also Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale," 284-285. And Eschebach and Eschebach *Pompeji vom 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis 79 n. Chr.*, 74-76.

³⁷³ Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 31.

³⁷⁴ Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale," 284-285.

³⁷⁵ See S. De Caro, and D. Giampaola, "La circolazione stradale a Neapolis e nel suo territorio." In *Stadtverkehr in der Antiken Welt: Internationales Kolloquium Zur 175-Jahrfeier des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom, 21. Bis 23. April 2004* (Weisbaden, 2008), fig.14.

old gate. Although the Samnite gate has now largely disappeared, it seems that its design and the use of tufa reflected the wider aesthetic considerations concerning the walls in one of the most visible and frequented entrances to the city.

The Porta Vesuvio

Neighboring Porta Vesuvio presents its own unique variation of the basic plan (fig.14). As noted earlier, the gate is placed at the most vulnerable point of the defenses and it responded to its weak position with the addition of a forward tower extending from its western flank. The tufa refurbishment filled in the tower, transforming it into a forward bastion incorporated into the wall curtain. Although it is badly damaged, excavations have shown that a similar bastion extended in front of the gate's eastern flank. The resulting layout transformed the gate into a formidable defensive outpost where the double tufa and limestone bastions created a deadly cul-de-sac (fig.45). This strategic consideration explains why, unlike the other gates of the city, the Porta Vesuvio featured a closing gate on the field side of the limestone bastions so defenders could isolate attackers more effectively. As discussed further in the next chapter, two altars dedicated to unspecified deities protected the walls and those passing through the liminal passageway into the city.³⁷⁶ Behind the forward entrance, the familiar gate court built in tufa isodomic masonry extended into the city. Whether, as Sogliano suggested, another vault once existed on the city side of the gate remains unclear due to the heavy damage it sustained during the earthquake.³⁷⁷ Despite the alterations, the gate again staged a powerful three-step entry into the city, with the only exception that the curtain rather than

³⁷⁶ See Sogliano, "Relazione degli scavi fatti dal Dicembre 1902 a tutto Marzo 1905," 99-100.

³⁷⁷ Recent excavations did not conclusively resolve the issue since any internal vault likely succumbed much earlier to make way for the neighboring Augustan *castellum aquae*. See Seiler et.al, "La regio VI insula 16 e la zona della porta Vesuvio," 219-224 and 230-233.

the limestone bastions announced the passage into the city. The masonry again highlighted the transition, further reinforced by the limestone/tufa juxtaposition of the adjacent wall curtain.

REACHING NEW HEIGHTS: *OPUS INCERTUM* AND THE NEXT PHASE OF CONSTRUCTION

With the main framework of the defenses now in place, the next intervention on the fortifications occurred in the last quarter of the second century BCE. In these years Pompeii achieved its developmental peak before the outbreak of the Social War and the public buildings erected in this period embody its status as an independent city before the establishment of the colony in 80 BCE. According to the traditional view, the work conducted on the walls included the addition of the towers, a decorative vault on each of the gates, and the reconstruction of large parts of the outer curtain. We have seen, however, that the remains of the Porta Nocera and Porta Stabia suggest a more complicated construction sequence that needs further investigation outside of the present thesis.

Nevertheless, engineers resorted to *opus incertum* as their technique of choice to erect the towers and gate vaults. The material is a cheap form of cement faced with irregular, fist-sized stones allowing rapid construction and adaptability to molds; it is usually covered with stucco to mask its crudity. Scholars currently equate most of these works as a response to the gathering clouds of the Social War, but it is hard to assess this kind of foresight. In fact, the upgrade may also represent a reaction to the very real threat posed by Rome's war with the Cimbri and the Teutones that included battles in the Po valley. In any event, Pompeii fits into a general trend of the late second and first centuries

BCE when cities throughout Italy increasingly upgraded or built new defenses.³⁷⁸ This activity is part of a wider tendency of Italian settlements to add the essential architectural elements such as theaters, baths, temples, and fortifications, to complete their image as a city.³⁷⁹

The extent of this refurbishment is especially problematic to pinpoint regarding the curtain wall, and scholars often correlate the presence of *opus incertum* with a single construction event. Some very large sections featuring the technique are still in place including: south of the amphitheater, a bastion of Porta Nola, east of the Porta Ercolano and Porta Stabia, and the terracing wall supporting the Temple of Venus. Scholarship has always struggled to assign specific dates to these interventions due to the inherent ambiguities surrounding the dating of masonry. The first theory, going back to Romanelli, sees the *opus incertum* as repairs conducted after the Sullan siege.³⁸⁰ Mazois, in a theory recently revived by Richardson, carried this idea further by also including the towers to the post-Sullan period, built in response to the civil war under Caesar.³⁸¹ Niccolini and Overbeck-Mau subsequently dismissed the notion, believing that the sections are too extensive to represent the damage of a single siege.³⁸² Soon afterward, Sogliano discovered the graffito with the letters L.SULA in Tower XI and ascribed it to a victorious Roman soldier who scratched it into the stucco as a reference to L. Sulla in the

³⁷⁸ See H. Jouffroy, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique Romaine* (Strasbourg, 1986), 25. Also, E. Gabba, "Urbanizzazione e rinnovamenti urbanistici nell'Italia centro-meridionale del I sec. a.C." *Studi classici e orientali* 21 (1972), 108-110.

³⁷⁹ Gabba, "Urbanizzazione e rinnovamenti urbanistici nell'Italia centro-meridionale," 93.

³⁸⁰ Romanelli, *Viaggio a Pompei, a Pesto e di ritorno ad Ercolano*, 273. See also T.H. Dyer *Pompeii: Its History, Buildings, and Antiquities* (London, 1867), 58. Also Adams, *The Buried Cities of Campania*, 43; M. Monnier, *Pompéi et les Pompéiens* (Paris, 1865), 97.

³⁸¹ Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie I* 34-36. See also E. Breton *Pompeia décrite et dessinée* (Paris, 1855), 232. Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 50. De Caro, heavily rebutted this view on the basis of the *tituli* inscriptions mentioning the towers. S. De Caro, "Review Pompeii: An Architectural History." *Gnomon* 62, no. 2 (January 1, 1990), 152-154.

³⁸² See F. Niccolini, and F. Niccolini. *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei*. Vol. 2 (Naples 1862), 8. Also Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, 43.

aftermath of the siege (fig.8).³⁸³ Mau subsequently suggested that the peace following the Second Punic War led to the abandonment of the fortifications and their spoliation for building material. A panicked restoration at the outbreak of the Social War led to the *opus incertum* wall plugs and the construction of the towers.³⁸⁴ Maiuri navigated either side of the debate proposing that the *opus incertum* can represent both pre- and post-Social War construction activity, but placed the towers firmly in the last quarter of the second century BCE.³⁸⁵

The proponents of the theory advocating a temporary abandonment of the city walls commonly point to the development of the southwest portion of the city as a key argument.³⁸⁶ In the late second century BCE private dwellings started encroaching upon the walls to exploit the grand views toward the Monti Lattari and the Sorrento peninsula to the south and west (fig.46). This development certainly weakened the defenses in this part of the city, but the precise extent of the occupation remains somewhat unclear. As we have seen, the steep precipice in the sector needed few supplementary defenses beyond terracing walls, and most houses featured grand terraces on the ridge which troops could still occupy and use defensively if necessary.³⁸⁷ The defenses therefore could still withstand long protracted sieges and it is only after the establishment of the colony that houses eventually enveloped the walls.

In short, assigning the construction of all the curtain walls built in *opus incertum* to this phase is uncertain. Ample evidence, further discussed in the next chapter, exists

³⁸³ He found it in the first slit on the right in the stairs down to the first floor. See Sogliano, “Relazione degli scavi fatti nel febbraio 1898,” 64-65.

³⁸⁴ Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 238.

³⁸⁵ For example, he pinpoints a small section of *opus incertum* curtain abutting the east side of Tower XII as representing post siege repairs. Maiuri, “Pompei isolamento della cinta murale,” 242.

³⁸⁶ Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* 237.

³⁸⁷ Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji*, 15

for the reconstruction of the fortifications after the foundation of the colony. The most prominent is the inscription celebrating the *duumviri* Cuspius T.F. and Loreius M.F. as restoring the walls and towers of Pompeii.³⁸⁸ Both men were Roman settlers and served in office in the early years of the colony; their intervention probably relates to repairs needed on areas damaged during the Sullan siege of 89 BCE, but the full extent of the work is difficult to ascertain.³⁸⁹ Recent investigations point to the extensive use of *opus incertum* on the city walls after the Social War. The Japanese excavations conducted at Tower IX point to a large post-Social War reconstruction effort, including the full reconstruction of the building and twenty meters of adjacent western curtain wall.³⁹⁰ Another analysis similarly proposes that the *opus incertum* east of the Porta Ercolano represents a post-siege repair.³⁹¹ The reality is that repairs and reconstructions, especially those using similar construction materials, are generally very difficult to pinpoint, let alone to date. Further compounding the problem is the ubiquitous use of both tufa and *opus incertum* in the period, often in the same structures. Beyond a stucco veneer, tufa, and later also marble, covered the cement, ensuring its use well into the Roman colony.³⁹² The result is an uncertain periodization which only further systematic excavations can clear up.

³⁸⁸ CIL X 937. Fiorelli, *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 Al 1872*, 89. Also Nissen *Pompeianische Studien*, 511. see also Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 30.

³⁸⁹ P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus: Polity and Society in Roman Pompeii* (Rome, 1975) for the Loreii 161, for the Cuspia, 184.

³⁹⁰ See Sakai and Iorio, "Nuove ricerche del Japan Institute of Paleological Studies sulla fortificazione di Pompei," 329. Also Etani, *Pompeii: Report of the Excavation at Porta Capua, 1993-2005*, 308.

³⁹¹ Hori identifies Roman measurements in the successive horizontal sections used to build the wall. See Hori, "Pompeian Town Walls and Opus Quadratum," 288-289. We should keep in mind however, that such a conclusion rests on the notion that only Roman builders used this measurement. This fact remains hard to prove and only if we dismiss the possibility of itinerant architects providing technical know-how.

³⁹² The schola tombs outside of the gates are just one of many examples.

In the absence of further evidence, we can perhaps draw some educated guesses. For example, the tract south of the amphitheater probably relates to the arena's construction, which also led to the partial removal of the *agger* and the demolition of the internal wall. Similarly, the sections outside the Porta Nola, Porta Stabia, and the north side of the city, probably necessitated extensive repairs; they probably bore the brunt of heavy attacks during the Sullan siege because of their vulnerable position. Other sections functioning as terraces immediately west and east of the Temple of Venus are probably related to housing construction or the refurbishment of the sanctuary occurring in the first century BCE.³⁹³ For the sake of my analysis I will assume that most *opus incertum* sections in the curtain largely represent colonial repairs, with the hope that future excavations and studies will further clarify the situation.³⁹⁴

With these issues in mind, a few distinctions in the ashlar masonry suggest that some curtain refurbishments occurred using the limestone/tufa framework. Maiuri identified a small section of limestone and tufa curtain some forty-seven meters west of Tower XI that is less finished and homogenous, and may represent a repair (fig.31).³⁹⁵ Similarly, Chiaramonte Trerè pinpointed a twenty-three meter stretch of wall located twenty-seven meters west of the Porta Nola where slightly smaller limestone blocks may represent a later refurbishment.³⁹⁶ Nearby, Hori recently recognized repairs carried out on the curtains flanking Towers VII and VIII during their construction.³⁹⁷ In each case, these

³⁹³ For these results see E. Curti, "La Venere Fisica Trionfante: Un nuovo ciclo di iscrizioni dal santuario di Venere a Pompei." In *Il filo e le perle. studi per i 70 anni di Mario Torelli* (Venosa, 2007), 72.

³⁹⁴ Hori's investigations complicate matters further. His metrological analysis of the blocks between Towers XI and XII, suggests the use of freshly quarried blocks of Sarno limestone in post-Sullan repairs. Hori, "Pompeian Town Walls and Opus Quadratum," 288.

³⁹⁵ Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano," 283. Hori, "Pompeian Town Walls and Opus Quadratum," 288

³⁹⁶ Chiaramonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane*, 25.

³⁹⁷ Hori, "Pompeian Town Walls and Opus Quadratum," 293.

refurbishments imitated the previous *opus quadratum* layout including the limestone/tufa sequence, pointing to a conscious desire to preserve the appearance of the walls.

Beyond the issue of the individual curtain sections, the battlements they supported significantly changed their role and appearance. The insertion of the towers led engineers to lower the *agger* to ease the access into the new buildings, thereby revealing much of the undressed masonry and the quarry marks on the blocks of the internal wall.³⁹⁸ More importantly, the secondary inner parapet largely disappeared, moving the line forward and pinning defense on the dominating height and firepower of the towers (fig.47).³⁹⁹ The new layout also led engineers to pierce new access points to the wall-walk through the internal wall. A clear example, walled up at an unspecified later date, still exists between Towers X and XI where a small postern cut into the tufa blocks still connects with the *agger* elegantly sloped to reach it with ease.

Recently Russo and Russo have proposed a radical alternative to the traditional reconstruction of the walls for this phase. Rather than seeing the inner tufa wall as the relic of a secondary parapet, they envision it as supporting the rear of a roof covering the entire wall-walk sloping toward the field-side of the walls (fig.48). They attribute the complete disappearance of the roof to the systematic destruction of the wall-walk to demilitarize the wall after the Sullan siege. A subsequent reconstruction effort conducted in the early colony included patching up the walls with *opus incertum* and the addition of spouts needed to drain rain water from the open battlements.⁴⁰⁰ Both roofed wall-walks and the demolition of battlements are not unknown in antiquity; they carried the distinct

³⁹⁸ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 120 this is most evident in the section between the Porta Vesuvio and Ercolano.

³⁹⁹ On the strategic advantages of towers see Adam, *L'Architecture militaire Grecque*, 46-76

⁴⁰⁰ F. Russo and F. Russo, *89 a.C.: Assedio a Pompei: La dinamica e le tecnologie belliche della conquista sillana di Pompei* (Pompei, 2005), 71-75. For the post Sullan spouts see also Hori, "Pompeian Town Walls and Opus Quadratum," 286.

advantage of protecting defending troops from the elements and enemy missiles.⁴⁰¹ Their removal was a military tactic aimed at prohibiting their further use and symbolized the loss of independence of a community by crippling their ability to defend themselves.⁴⁰² A main problem with the theory, however, is the complete lack of any further supporting archaeological evidence, and with much of the battlements now gone their reconstruction remains difficult to prove. Only a curtain section fifteen meters east of Tower XII displays a top course of vertical limestone orthostates alternating tufa spouts set on ashlar masonry. Unless they also represent repairs to the battlements, their presence disproves the theory of a previously covered wall-walk.

The only truly intact part of the wall top comes from a section of the city walls on the northwestern tip of the vicolo dei Soprastanti. Here six limestone columns engaged in the same *opus incertum* masonry of the curtain below stand to demarcate the edge of the road from the cliff below (fig.49). Stylistic analysis of the Doric capitals suggests their contemporaneity with the towers.⁴⁰³ The absence of battlements implies that the wall here did not carry much military value with the minor exception of a small triangular slot designed perhaps as viewing window, or as a firing slit covering the adjacent walls below. Although it has now completely disappeared, stucco very similar to that covering the towers probably decorated this stretch of walls. With little military value, the section clearly formed a purely decorative marker emphasizing the edge of the city. No other part of the circuit better highlights the desire to embellish the fortifications, and its presence

⁴⁰¹ The walls at Athens representing a prominent example of the type Adam, *L'Architecture militaire Grecque*, 39.

⁴⁰² The victor did not always fully demolish the defenses, but often took measures to demilitarize the structures in such a way to prohibit their effective use in military operations see Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 115 and J. McK. Camp II, "Walls and the Polis." In *Polis and Politics Studies in Ancient Greek History* (Copenhagen, 2000), 48.

⁴⁰³ Cassetta and Constantino, "Vivere sulle mura," 200. Also, M. Aoyagi and U. Pappalardo, *Pompei. Regioni VI - VII, Insula Occidentalis, I* (Naples, 2006) 19-22.

here is hardly coincidental since it accompanies some of the grandest terrace houses of the later city.

New Elements to Old Passages

The use of *opus incertum* in the vaults of four gates, the Porta Stabia, Nocera, Sarno, and Nola, has led scholars to date them to the same period as the towers. As mentioned above this view is debatable, and recent excavations at the Porta Stabia concluded that its vault in particular is likely a post-colonial construction.⁴⁰⁴ Although construction of the vaults is perhaps more haphazard than previously thought, their addition and overall embellishments are part of a grander design that completed the tripartite passage through the *agger*. The Porta Nola, the best surviving example of the type, highlights how the juxtaposition of limestone, tufa, and stucco accentuated the transition (fig.42). Its current appearance is a prime example of private euergetism benefitting the city. An Oscan inscription, once encased in the masonry next to the bust of Minerva and now in the British Museum, described how the *meddix*, or magistrate, Vibius Popidius the son of Vibius, constructed and dedicated the gate (fig.50).⁴⁰⁵ It reads:

v. pūpidiis v | med tūv | aamanaffed, |
isidu | pruphatted⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ Devore and Ellis, “The Third Season of Excavations at VIII.7.1-15 and the Porta Stabia at Pompeii. Preliminary Report,” 14.

⁴⁰⁵ According to Mazois, Mau, and Maiuri The inscription first went to Paris see Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 1*, 27. Also see Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, 46; Maiuri, “Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei,” 213; Nissen *Pompeianische Studien*, 511; Conway *The Italic Dialects*, (Cambridge, 1897), 45 mentions that it ended up in the British Museum

⁴⁰⁶ R. Conway *The Italic Dialects*, 45; E. Vetter, *Handbuch der Italischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg, 1953), Ve 22.

Vibius, a rather rich wine trader belonging to the powerful Popidii clan, also built the tufa colonnade still partially surviving on the south side of the Forum.⁴⁰⁷ Clearly, Vibius valued both projects as worthy enough for his euergetism, as each equally contributed to the image of the city. Such euergetism on single towers or gates was common practice in the late second and first centuries BCE throughout Italy, and potentially complicates what scholars see as a single upgrade of the city walls at Pompeii into a multitude of events.⁴⁰⁸ Without further excavations however, we cannot venture further into this discussion as much of it would be speculative.

Many of the gates are heavily damaged and a reconstruction of their original appearance and decorative ensembles runs into obstacles. With the exception of a few slivers of stucco on the inside of the vaults, any further decoration has almost completely vanished. Several clues reside in the various monographs dedicated to Pompeii, but they supply little information on the scheme of the vaults, and even less on any potential colors employed. The first scholar to describe the decorative stucco in any detail is Bechi, writing in 1851, shortly after the excavation of the Porta Stabia. He describes the vault as collapsed but decorated in the same white First-Style stucco as the current Porta Ercolano.⁴⁰⁹ Unfortunately his description ends there. Predictably, considering his instrumental role in defining the four Roman painting Styles, the only author who actually mentions any color on the structures is August Mau. In the case of the Porta

⁴⁰⁷ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 98 points out that excavations recovered this inscription in 1835 and that it is still unclear whether it refers to the colonnade in the Forum or the Triangular Forum.

⁴⁰⁸ E. Gabba, "Urbanizzazione e rinnovamenti urbanistici nell'Italia centro-meridionale del I sec. a.C." *Studi classici e orientali* 21 (1972), 108-110. Also H. Jouffroy, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine* (Strasbourg 1986), 25.

⁴⁰⁹ G. Bechi, "Sommario degli scavamenti di Pompei eseguiti nel corso del mese di agosto 1851." *Memorie della regale accademia ercolanese di archeologia* 7 (1851), 42. We shall return to the significance below, but for the sake of clarity the First-Style decorative scheme usually featured a formulaic scheme consisting sequentially of a socle, followed by orthostates, ashlars and topped with a frieze.

Stabia and Porta Nola he describes the vault interiors as carrying a yellow elevated socle receding into a simple smooth white plane above.⁴¹⁰ Such a scheme is relatively straightforward, but the Mau explicitly warns against seeing too much simplicity in the decoration, and praises the stucco itself as the highest achievable quality.⁴¹¹

We find some solace in the earliest depictions of the gates, although their usefulness is often lessened by their schematic nature due to the abandoned or re-buried state of the structures.⁴¹² Furthermore, they are often black and white prints of engravings with limited detail and exclude any colors on the gates. French architect Mazois produced some of the earliest and most accurate renditions. His cross-section of the Porta Nola in particular reveals an apparent election notice painted onto the tufa of the passageway and an important detail: the lack of stucco covering the masonry of the gate court and the outer bastions (fig.51). The decorative effect of the gates therefore included the bare masonry, creating a contrast between the inner vaults and highlighting the individual steps of passage. The depictions of the Porta Nola, including an engraving published by William Gell, also reveal a far greater surviving extent of the stucco on the vault, with sections of smooth plaster still in situ next to the inscription and the female bust.⁴¹³ Neither author emphasizes Mau's yellow socle which, although discolored, is still distinguishable today. There is no trace of the imitative ashlar typical of the First-Style found on the towers and Porta Ercolano, but with so much of the evidence gone it is hard

⁴¹⁰ A. Mau, *Pompejanische Beiträge* (Berlin, 1879), 236.

⁴¹¹ A. Mau, *Geschichte der Decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* (Berlin, 1882), 58. See previously Gell, who describes the stucco as finest quality on towers and gates. W. Gell *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii* (London, 1832), 90.

⁴¹² Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, 52, for example, refer the reader to Mazois for the buried sections of the Porta Nola.

⁴¹³ Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 1*, plate XXXVI fig. 1 and 2; Mazois incidentally distrusts the placement of this inscription, as Maiuri, does after him as well, attributing it perhaps to a restoration of an earlier vault. 153. See Gell, *Pompeiana*, pl. 29.

to assess the embellishments on the vaults with any greater certainty. It may very well be that the stucco on different gates featured slight variations, responding perhaps to differing construction or restoration events, the wishes of different patrons, or even, as we shall below, their placement and association with particular districts of the city. Complicating the matter further is the large gap between their first construction and the eruption, a period in which the individual structures may have changed their appearance. A clue to the dynamic aspect of the gates comes from their function as surfaces upon which to paint notices during the Roman colony. The Porta Ercolano, Nola, and Marina once preserved painted election notices and announcements of gladiatorial games. Over time authorities covered the notices with thin layers of paint to keep the gates presentable and, to a certain extent; the structures functioned as dynamic billboards for those entering the city.⁴¹⁴

Perhaps less conspicuous but equally important to civic décor is the proper drainage of sewage and rainwater from the streets of Pompeii. Even today the characteristic sudden downpours of the region can turn the streets into small torrents draining water from much of the city. All the gates on the down-slope side of Pompeii featured a drain through the *agger* that Maiuri dated to the establishment of the Roman colony. He based his observations on the fact that the drains at the Porta Stabia and Nola hindered access to the wall-walk and were therefore built in a period of peace when the walls fell into disuse.⁴¹⁵ Although recent investigations confirm that the current version

⁴¹⁴ See CIL IV 1193 and CIL IV 1194. Also, PAH 1 Pars Prima, 155-156, April 14 and 28 1764. Romanelli mentions many inscriptions painted in red on the Porta Nola, Romanelli, *Viaggio a Pompei*, 274-275. See also Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 1*, 29 and plate XI for some of the remaining election notices. See also Breton, *Pompeia décrite et dessinée*, 240. De Jorio reports of a notice advertising games offered by a certain Rufus, which included two gladiatorial fights, and an animal hunt with the addition of a velum to provide shade. De Jorio, *Plan de Pompei*, 47. For painted inscriptions and graffiti on the Porta marina see Fiorelli *Descrizione di Pompeii*, 75.

⁴¹⁵ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 211.

of the drain at the Porta Stabia is likely Augustan, a closer look at the individual structures elsewhere in the city suggests an earlier date.⁴¹⁶ A well-known example passes through the *agger* on the western side of the Porta Nola and draws attention for a number of reasons. The inlet is inconspicuous built in *opus incertum* to the left of the steps leading up to the wall-walk. The outlet on the opposite end, however, is actually rather grand sitting on a high base of limestone masonry built to match the lower courses of the curtain (fig.52). This striking aesthetic detail again highlights the desire to maintain the limestone/tufa framework present throughout the fortifications. The resulting petite bastion guided rainwater in a small cascade onto the road below, emphasizing the drainage of the via di Nola every time substantial rain hit the city. Although slightly less in the public eye, a similar water cascade drained beneath the engaged colonnade along the via dei Soprastanti and fell into the garden of the House of Maius Castricius (VII.16.17).⁴¹⁷

Other drains through the gates are less clear in their physical remains and construction events. The Porta Nocera preserves a drain on its western flank that due to its relative height clearly predates the lowering of the road passing through it. It uses the inner wall of the gate court to define the course of the channel. Limestone blocks placed diagonally against the fortification create a triangular capping. The Porta Sarno also preserves a drain that channeled water from the via dell'Abbondanza through its northern flank. Not much of it remains but its position suggests that it similarly abutted the inner reinforcement of the gate court. A drain opening at the Porta Marina sits in a similar position just south of the gate and ceased to function when it disappeared behind the masonry of the Villa Imperiale. Eschebach points out that it likely functioned as an

⁴¹⁶ See next chapter for further discussion.

⁴¹⁷ Aoyagi and Pappalardo, *Pompei. Regioni VI - VII, Insula Occidentalis*, 491-493.

overflow for a system of cisterns set slightly further uphill, but damage wrought on the area by allied bombing makes this claim unverifiable.⁴¹⁸

It seems evident therefore that most of the planning of the city street drainage system accompanied the construction of the inner vaults, if not earlier. These events are hardly surprising, suggesting that the concern for civic décor also included proper drainage systems for the city streets. The choice of using the gates for this role is mostly practical as they naturally tend to be downslope on the easiest access routes into the city and were part of the public land of the fortifications. Gates on the upslope side of the city, such as the Porta Ercolano, do not include any drainage system, whereas the Porta Vesuvio later became the arrival point of the aqueduct into the city. From a military perspective drains could actually weaken the circuit by providing access points into the city and their presence near the gates made them more defensible.⁴¹⁹ More importantly, the drains also strengthened the notion of control on all things entering and exiting the city. This notion also relates to the *sulcus primigenius* ritual where gates were the designated interruptions in the protective boundary allowing all impure earthly things to pass through.⁴²⁰

Religious symbols also formed an important aspect to the overall decorative program of the gates. Perhaps the most recognized religious symbol is the keystone on the city side of the Porta Nola (figs. 41 and 50). Today much of it is damaged beyond recognition except for a few identifiable locks of curled hair and the base of a helmet on the neck. A certain amount of controversy has surrounded the sculpture ever since its discovery due, in part, to its poor state of preservation and the translation of the

⁴¹⁸ Eschebach and Eschebach, *Pompeji vom 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr. bis 79 n.Chr.*, 78.

⁴¹⁹ On the development of drainage shafts see Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana* 73 -75.

⁴²⁰ Briquel, "La città murata: Aspetti religiosi," 124-125.

inscription. Scholars first mistranslated the last two words of the inscription, *isidu pruphatted*, as meaning that Vibius Popidius dedicated the vault to Isis and concluded that the carving represented the Egyptian goddess. A later translation identified the words as “dedicated it” and changed the identification of the head to Minerva because of the helmet she wears.⁴²¹ Presumably such busts decorated more than just one of the gates at Pompeii but no others were found in situ. Olga Elia describes another keystone, unfortunately without context, conserved at the *antiquarium*. The heavily damaged head probably depicts a female figure. Although it might resemble a keystone, we can draw no further conclusions since it may come from other vaults (fig.53).⁴²² In fact, the only other carved keystone still in situ in the city decorates the access arch of the western *dromos* in the main theatre and depicts either Dionysus or a Satyr.⁴²³

Other gates carry divergent religious references. On the north side of the city the Porta Vesuvio displays the remains of a *lararium* on the western tip of the gate. Today much of the evidence has disappeared but Sogliano describes the recovery of two altars in the cul-de-sac on the northwest side of the gate during his excavations of in the early twentieth century (fig. 54). Stucco and fresco once covered the altars and walls above them, but any identifiable signs had already deteriorated beyond recognition at the time of excavation. Presumably, as with so many other *lararia* throughout the city, the fresco depicted the public *lares* protecting the city, but any further interpretation is elusive.⁴²⁴

⁴²¹ The most complete engraving of the bust is on the cover of De Clarac and Mori, *Fouille faite à Pompei*. See also Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 1*, 27. Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, 46 and Maiuri, “Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei,” 213.

⁴²² O. Elia, “La scultura pompeiana in tufo,” *Cronache Pompeiane* 1 (1975), 121 and fig. 13.

⁴²³ Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, 128 and Elia, “La scultura pompeiana in tufo,” 121.

⁴²⁴ Sogliano, “Relazione degli scavi fatti dal Dicembre 1902 a tutto Marzo 1905,” 99-100.

Maiuri's excavations next to the Tomb of A. Cerrinus Restitutus, just outside of the Porta Ercolano, recovered a stratum filled with votive materials including small terracotta vases and fragments of statuettes. He believed that the materials perhaps belonged to some sort of religious *sacellum* located nearby or in the gate, but he based his conclusions on the evidence from other gates rather than any other concrete proof. The recovered fragments are quite vague and include the heads of an unspecified feminine deity, which Maiuri identified as portraying either Venus or Minerva. Two of them carry an undefined headgear reminiscent of a halo, while other slightly more identifiable figures represent *erotes*.⁴²⁵

As evidenced for the Porta Stabia, the precariousness of such liminal spaces fell under divine protection and religious references worked as apotropaic devices warding off evil spirits. In Italy the Roman town of Falerii Novi and the Etruscan cities of Volterra and Perugia display the first known apotropaic deities on the voussoirs and keystones of gates.⁴²⁶ Dating mostly to the period of Roman conquest, scholars have also identified a distinct political motivation to the choice of the depicted deities. The Porta Marzia in Perugia, dating to the late third century BCE, is a clear example. Today only the upper façade remains of an arch that once spanned the via Amerina and honored the city's alliance with Rome signed around 241 BCE.⁴²⁷ The decoration features protective busts and an elaborate balustrade displaying the foundational twins of Perugia, Oncus and Aulestes, flanking Jupiter with their horses. The deities not only protected Perugia but also saluted the Roman relationship with the Dioscuri and its foundational twins Romulus

⁴²⁵ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 239 and fig. 39.

⁴²⁶ P. Gros, *L'Architecture Romaine* (Paris 1996), 32.

⁴²⁷ P. Defosse, "Les remparts de Perouse." *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 92 (1980): 760-819. Construction of the Renaissance city walls obliterated the original context but architect Antonio Sangallo incorporated the decoration into the new walls.

and Remus.⁴²⁸ At Volterra the outward façade of the Porta all'Arco still features three heavily eroded heads at the springings and apex of the arch, which some identify as Jupiter and the Dioscuri (fig.55). As protective gods of the Roman state they symbolically embraced Volterra as a direct extension of its territory, and simultaneously acted as a statement to anyone approaching the gate.⁴²⁹ The Porta di Giove at Falerii Novi features a head of Jupiter decorating the keystone. It likely references the city's relationship with Rome since it was responsible for the foundation of the settlement in 273 BCE as a measure to re-locate and control the recalcitrant inhabitants of Falerii Vetres. The fortifications themselves carried further symbolism. They included over fifty towers regularly spaced throughout the circuit even in inaccessible places in no danger of attack. This circumstance is primarily due to the role of fortifications as part of the appropriate presentation of the new city rather than just defensive needs. Along with the Perugian example, Falerii Novi particularly validates the notion that walls developed from purely defensive elements into integral parts of the urban image.⁴³⁰ As we shall see in the next chapter, the presence of Minerva on the defenses of Pompeii likely carried a similar political and religious motivation.

The elements of representation present in the city gates may also relate to their function as tax barriers. We should keep in mind that the gates fulfilled this function since the first enceinte up to the eruption of Vesuvius, but the expansion of the city led to their increasing importance in this role. In simple terms they were collection points where gatekeepers and tax collectors stopped people and goods passing through.⁴³¹ As stopping

⁴²⁸ F. Coarelli, "Le porte di Perugia." In *Stadttore Bautyp und Kunstform* (Toledo 2004), 79-87.

⁴²⁹ M. Pasquinucci and S. Menichelli, "Le mura etrusche di Volterra." *Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica* 9 (2000), 49.

⁴³⁰ Torelli, "Urbs ipsa moenia sunt," 277.

⁴³¹ The presence of gatekeeper lodges is uncertain for Pompeii. Mau describes the remains of one near the Porta Stabia but it has completely disappeared. See the plan in Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, fig.111.

points they could also cause congestion on busy streets, especially when engineers designed them primarily as narrow passageways concerned with defense. Gates were important policing barriers and could be shut at night to prevent the uncontrolled passage of people and goods into the city.⁴³² In fact, gatekeepers, as the holders of the gate keys, were so important to the safety of the city that Aeneias the Tactician expressly highlights the need to keep a close watch on them and their loyalty during a siege.⁴³³ The gates therefore also carried with them intrinsic symbolic elements as formal policing barriers related to the state and prevented smuggling. In this role they also functioned as a distinct screen symbolizing the city and its authority. These factors make the architectural correlations between the city walls, the gates, and the urban image all the more compelling.

The Towers

Despite the uncertainties concerning the curtains and gates, the similarities in plan and decoration point to the construction of the towers occurring in a single event. In essence engineers inserted the towers into the curtain by demolishing the outer wall. The buildings consisted of three floors with interconnecting stairways. They straddled the wall-walk and extended slightly beyond each side of the two parapets (fig.56). A door in

During the first excavation of the Porta Ercolano excavators recovered the body of a soldier in the large niche next to the gate. Scholars widely believed that the eruption killed him while standing guard to the gate. See Adams, *The Buried Cities of Campania*, 50; Clark, *Pompeii*, 73. The niche, however, is an honorary tomb for Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus, see Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, 44.

⁴³² On gates in their taxing and policing functions see R.E.A. Palmer, "Customs on Market Goods Imported into the City of Rome." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 36 (1980): 217–233; C. Van Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire* (London; New York: 2007) 85-126; C. Van Tilburg, "Gates, Suburby and Traffic in the Roman Empire." *Babesch* 83 (2008): 133–147.

⁴³³ See Aineias the Tactician *How to Survive Under Siege* Book 5.1. Their role was crucial and he describes many episodes where their bribery or differing political allegiance could lead to the fall of the city if they allowed enemy troops to enter.

the back and two on either flank opening onto the wall-walk provided access from the city side, while a small postern at their base opened onto the field side. As evidenced by the buried bastion in the Porta Vesuvio, a distinct possibility exists that these towers replaced earlier versions,⁴³⁴ but only further archaeological excavations can prove this hypothesis.

The reconstructions of the towers divide chronologically along the interpretations provided first by Mazois and later by Maiuri after his 1929 excavations. Each recognized a three—story building but fundamentally differed on the final reconstruction (fig.57). Mazois believed that the top floor was unroofed; he proposed a small covered stairway in the rear which he decorated with a Doric frieze after the recovery of a few pieces of stucco. He based his reconstruction on an amalgam of the ruined remains of Towers VII, X, XI and XII. With their elevation gone he projected the three window openings on the lowest floor onto those above.⁴³⁵ His drawings remained the standard in subsequent publications until Maiuri uncovered substantial pieces of Tower X buried in the volcanic fill in front of it. The pieces allowed him to reconstruct a gabled roof ornamented with a Doric frieze, and four windows on the second and third floors. Maiuri also based his reconstruction on the fresco of the brawl in the amphitheater where the towers clearly show regular roofs.⁴³⁶ Curiously, and for reasons that remain unclear to me, the currently rebuilt remains of Tower X feature crenellations rather than a gabled roof. Perhaps this reconstruction follows Mau's suggestion that the pediments were added to the towers when they were demilitarized.⁴³⁷ The most recent reconstruction, discussed further

⁴³⁴ See De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 78; Chiaramonte Treré, "The Walls and Gates," 143 for the replacement theory.

⁴³⁵ Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie I*, plates XII and XIII.

⁴³⁶ Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano," figs. 8 and 9.

⁴³⁷ Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* 241. Mau, however follows the reconstruction Mazois, proposes and uses this to justify the presence of the pediments in the amphitheater fresco.

below, shows the crenellations supporting a sloping roof, but it remains doubtful whether the merlons were strong enough to support the weight.⁴³⁸

A number of further questions concerning the towers remain unresolved particularly with regards to the placement of Tower I and the existence of a Tower XIII. Maiuri first suggested a Tower XIII near the Porta Marina based on the presence of *opus incertum* masonry flanking the gate. Excavations have since proved that this is part of a domestic dwelling built during the colony phase and known as the Villa Imperiale. More concrete evidence exists for Tower I. We know of the existence of at least twelve structures and their counterclockwise numbering through the *eituns* inscriptions. The inscriptions, a distinct group of six painted in red throughout the city, pointed the way to individual sectors of the fortifications for the *eituns*, or Samnite troops, defending the city during the Sullan siege.⁴³⁹ We shall return to their significance below, for now we can highlight that two of them describe Towers X and XII as the buildings east of Porta Vesuvio and west of Porta Ercolano. With the current number of unearthed towers at eleven and the counterclockwise count, most authors locate Tower I at the western tip of the Triangular Forum. The area is still buried today and excavations announced in 1966 have yet to take place.⁴⁴⁰ If a tower did indeed exist here it likely created a stunning visual relationship with the Doric Temple nearby, reinforcing the divine and martial aspects of protecting the city.

⁴³⁸ Russo and Russo, *89 a.C.: Assedio a Pompei*, 59.

⁴³⁹ R. Antonini, "Eituns a Pompei. Un frammento di DNA italico." In *Pompei, Capri e la penisola Sorrentina. Atti del quinto ciclo di conferenze di Geologia, Storia e Archeologia* (Capri, 2004), 279.

⁴⁴⁰ H. Van der Poel, *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum, 5. Cartography* (Austin, 1981), 88. Bonnet actually placed it just west of the Porta Stabia but he did so on an assumption that it would have covered the gate with flanking fire. Subsequent excavations have tended to disprove the theory. See P. Bonnet, "Pompéi quartier des théâtres mémoire P. Bonnet 1858." In *Pompéi travaux et envois des architectes français au XIX siècle* (Naples, 1981), 329.

One of the most striking aspects of the towers is their unequal spacing and general indifference to military precepts. Vitruvius and Philon of Byzantium both recommend towers regularly spaced within an arrow's flight to offer mutual cover against attackers.⁴⁴¹ Ideally they should protrude considerably from the curtain and their designs should be round or polygonal to better resist bombardment and avoid weak corners vulnerable to battering rams. Furthermore, their masonry should be separate from the curtain to prevent large sections on the wall collapsing with it if a tower goes down during the fighting.⁴⁴² At Pompeii we find the opposite with square towers almost flush with the wall and concentrated in the most vulnerable areas in the north and southeastern sectors. This layout is invariably related to Pompeian topography. The proximity of the walls to the natural tufa ridge inevitably forced the towers into the curtain.⁴⁴³ The ridge, however, carried the distinct advantages of inaccessibility and the look of great height, thereby imparting a formidable appearance to the circuit. The placement of Tower V at the tip of the amphitheater, for example, certainly worked in a defensive context, but also carried decorative and monumental elements giving the entire area the appearance of a fortress (fig.70).⁴⁴⁴

Although at first glance the siting and concentration of the towers might appear to be primarily related to weaknesses in the circuit, their location is not entirely arbitrary. For instance, the location of Tower X essentially transformed the Porta Vesuvio into a massive Scaean gate by forcing attackers to expose their right unshielded side to direct

⁴⁴¹ Vitruvius I.5.4. Philon of Byzantium recommends the same layout in his *poliorketika* I.20-24. For an English translation see Lawrence *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 67-107.

⁴⁴² Phil. *Poliior*. I.62

⁴⁴³ Johannowsky attributes this to the layout of the terrain and the presence of a fossa, forcing the towers into the walls. See W. Johannowsky, "Considerazioni sull'architettura militare del II Sec. a.C. nei centri della lega nucerina." In *Nuceria Alfaterna e il suo territorio: dalla fondazione ai Longobardi* (Nocera Inferiore, 1994), 133.

⁴⁴⁴ Maiuri, "Pompei. Sterro dei cumuli e isolamento della cinta murale," 179.

flanking fire (fig.45). Towers VI, VII, and VIII are spaced exactly halfway between neighboring gates or drastic angles in the circuit. These more isolated buildings essentially acted as small fortresses defending their sectors more effectively.⁴⁴⁵ The towers also invariably appear at the end of streets commanding the internal axes that facilitated communications toward them. As a result, they were a constant visual presence in the city (fig.58). Beyond their defensive character, fortifications, by their very nature, also functioned as effective policing structures by restricting population movement and providing expedient tax barriers at the gates.⁴⁴⁶ The towers, in essence, dominated the city, imposing a measure of population control, and forming a last line of defense if any enemy troops managed to overcome the walls.

A few examples serve to highlight how fortifications also dominated the city. Aineias the Tactician, writing on how to survive a siege, repeatedly warned against the threat internal plotters posed and advised authorities to take measures to expel or appease them in the event of a siege.⁴⁴⁷ Control of the walls was so important and symbolic that the Roman army awarded a special *corona muralis*, or mural crown, as a distinction to the first individual to scale an enemy wall.⁴⁴⁸ A single episode amongst many in Livy's history of the Second Punic War should suffice to further elucidate the notion. He describes the citizens of Henna in Sicily demanding the keys of the town gates from the Roman soldiers occupying the walls since they considered themselves freemen allied to

⁴⁴⁵ De Caro, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei," 72 and 77-79. The recent excavation of Tower IX with its placement at a great oblique angle in the fortifications confirms this concern with tower placement.

⁴⁴⁶ I. Pinder, "Constructing and Deconstructing Roman City Walls: The Role of Urban Enceintes as Physical and Symbolic Borders," 74.

⁴⁴⁷ See Aineias the Tactician Book 6, 11, and 14. See Aeneas and D. Whitehead, *Aineias the Tactician : How to Survive Under Siege: A Historical Commentary, with Translation and Introduction*, (London, 2001).

⁴⁴⁸ Aulus Gellius 5.6.16. Authorities awarded the "mural" crown to the man who first scaled the wall and forced his way into an enemy town. It was ornamented with representations of the battlements of a wall. Gellius, Aulus, and J. C. Rolfe, *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius* (London, 1927).

Rome. The implication here is that the keys to the gates and therefore the fortifications symbolize the liberty or subjugation of the town. Whoever controlled the walls of the city therefore also controlled its inhabitants. With these considerations in mind it is evident that the new towers reflected a powerful dual internal and external projection of strength.⁴⁴⁹

Most scholars consider the layout of the towers uniform, largely basing their observations on the structurally similar Towers X, XI and XII. This is hardly surprising since this portion of the wall remained visible after its first excavation while others were re-buried over time. Curiously, Mazois combined the three north towers for his generic reconstruction but actually depicted the ruins of Tower VII, with much of its stucco still in place, as the most complete example. He noted a slight variation of the plan, but did not explain the left rear door of Tower VII directly opposing the right door on the other three, in essence changing the layout of the stairways connecting the floors.⁴⁵⁰ This circumstance remained unnoticed by all subsequent authors, including Overbeck and Mau, who used Mazois as their main source on the towers. Only Reinicke recognized a difference in the layout of the towers, but he limited himself to pointing out that Towers II and III are mirror images to X, XI, and XII.⁴⁵¹ More recently, the *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum*, points out the discrepancies of Mazois' work, urging the reader not to take his plans as fully accurate. And it rightly points out Reinicke's faults in reversing the plan to an exact mirror image.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁹ Livy, 24.37.2.

⁴⁵⁰ Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie I*, plate XII fig. 4. Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, 42 fig. 11, copy Mazois' plate.

⁴⁵¹ R. Reinicke, "Die Befestigungsturme von Pompeii." In *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst mit dem Beiblatt Kunst-Chronik und Kunstliteratur* 7 (1896), 83.

⁴⁵² In fact as the CTP points out, the plans of the towers probably come from different structures and, although Mazois, claims to show the plan of Tower XII, it probably also derives from Tower X. In my opinion Mazois, rendered Tower VII as he also depicts names carved in the wall section between the tower

The main problem with the towers is that an accurate survey and plan of each structure is still lacking. Curiously, scholars have never fully noted the differences in the layout of the buildings, and a full survey of each tower is sorely needed. It is not the premise of this dissertation to fully map each structure, but my brief visual survey points out the presence of at least four different groups. The first, described in detail by various authors due to their visibility throughout the history of the excavations, includes Towers X, XI, and XII (fig.56). They feature an entrance on the rear right side of the building opening up on two sets of stairs, one heading down to the first floor and the other ascending to the second floor on the left. This setup allows for arrow slits at the corner of the staircases further protecting the front and sides of the towers. The first floor is a wide-open barrel-vaulted chamber with an opening toward a corridor in the rear heading to the postern on the right side of the building. On the second floor two doors opened onto the wall-walk and a staircase in the back heads up toward the third floor.

Group two includes Towers II, III, IV and VIII, where the right side entrance opens directly on the second floor and a staircase heads down to the first floor on the left (fig.59). This second group features a faux corridor in the rear of the first floor, mirroring the functional one accessing the postern in group one. The posterns of group two, present in Towers II, IV, and VIII, open directly onto the main first-floor chamber and the staircase layout precludes a flanking arrow slit set directly above the postern. Tower II features a high floating postern, suggesting a later lowering of the ground level around the building. Tower III, perhaps because of its height and inaccessibility, lacks a postern entirely, while Tower IV uniquely features a postern opening on the left flank. The position of this last postern is counterintuitive since all others offer sortieing infantry the

and Porta Nola. The CTP 5 however contains its own errors, confusing the tower depicted in Reinicke, which is actually VII, with number VIII. Van der Poel, *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum*, 5, 88-90.

chance to protect themselves behind the shield they held in their left arm. This postern does the opposite and perhaps purposefully functioned as a re-entry point for sortie parties who could protect their left flank when approaching the tower.⁴⁵³ The type also features a slight variation in the decorative scheme; whereas the other towers, with the exception of VII, all display raised voussoirs defining the postern vaults, the openings of group two are flush with the masonry.

Group three includes Towers V, VI, and VII, where the access from the city side is on the left side and opens up directly onto the second floor; a staircase on the right leads down to the first-floor chamber (fig.60). This type features the same corridor as group one winding behind the main chamber to the postern. The layout of the staircase heading down to the vaulted chamber, however, lowers the ceiling of the corridor and, as a result, cuts the arrow slit at its end in half, rendering it ineffective. The arrow slit seems almost decorative and put into place to give the tower the same external appearance as those in group one. Finally group four only includes Tower IX (fig.10). The rear door opens in the middle of the back wall directly onto the ground floor and the ruins hold no trace of staircases, posterns, or windows. This version of the building, however, is a much later reconstruction and probably served as a storage area rather than a defensive structure.⁴⁵⁴

Despite the differences, the layouts of the various groups are essentially very similar, with variations in the positions of the rear doors, stair access, and placement of the posterns. The reasons for the differences are difficult to pinpoint, but most probably relate to the surrounding terrain and the outworks in front of them, which remain largely

⁴⁵³ Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, 44-45 comment on the lack of these posterns in the wall circuit at Pompeii, but Tower IV was buried at the time. See also Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 241.

⁴⁵⁴ Etani, *Pompeii: Report of the Excavation at Porta Capua, 1993-2005*, 307-308.

unknown. This seems especially the case, if we take into account that the types concentrate in specific areas of the circuit. The towers composing group one, for example, concentrate on the north side of the city, where the gently sloping terrain offers the easiest attack routes. Those in group two, with the exception of Tower VIII, are located on the low, steep lava ridge on the south side limiting the possibilities for direct attack, but still allowing defensive troops to mount sorties against the enemy.⁴⁵⁵ Group three concentrates on the eastern side of the city, where the high and steep lava ridge likely diminished the necessity for short-range weapons on the lower floors. It is also possible that the divergent groups represent phased construction events, or the piecemeal replacement of earlier towers, but only future excavations can further elucidate this hypothesis.

Despite the internal plan variations the towers all appeared equal from a distance. Their embellishments included a formulaic First-Style white decorative scheme featuring an elevated socle, imitation ashlar blocks, and a Doric frieze (figs. 36, 47, 61). This layout differs slightly from the traditional First-Style scheme featuring a socle, orthostates, and ashlar blocks followed by a frieze. Originally some doubt existed about the coverage of the stucco on the towers. Some authors only recognized imitative ashlar blocks on the tower flanks and smooth stucco on the façades, but the full recovery of Towers VIII and X ended the debate.⁴⁵⁶ Anne Laidlaw describes the decorative remains in detail which need no repetition here. However, a few slight variations are evident. For example, the height of the socle on Tower VIII is slightly lower, suggesting perhaps a later

⁴⁵⁵ The terrain in front of Tower VIII is largely unexcavated and entirely unknown. See Chiaramonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane*, 1-10.

⁴⁵⁶ W. Clark, *Pompeii I* (London, 1831), 69. Also Gell, *Pompeiana*, 96.

remodeling or different workshop applying the stucco, but these details are only noticeable from up close.

As discussed further below,⁴⁵⁷ Laidlaw correlates the application of the First Style on public buildings to a notion of *pietas*, or duty to the state.⁴⁵⁸ The specific use of the Doric order on the towers, however, may also represent an oblique allusion to Minerva. We have already noted the goddess as performing a protective role on the fortifications of the city. Vitruvius notes that the strong proportions of the Doric order in particular reflect the martial strength of Mars, Minerva, and Hercules. He specifically recommends the use of the style on temples dedicated to her.⁴⁵⁹ The presence of the Doric frieze on the towers may therefore also relate to Minerva's role as protectress of the fortifications and the city. This religious aspect also reflected the benevolence of those who financed the construction of the fortifications to protect the community and their relationship with the goddess. Beyond military and religious considerations, it is clear that both towers and gates received nonmilitary and purely aesthetic decorative ensembles as a reflection of the city they enclosed. The new white towers acted as landmarks in effect marking the city and its territory for many miles around. The decoration of the gates and the towers complemented each other, further highlighting the transition between town and country. As in the previous phases, the architecture of the fortifications finds resonance in the city creating a direct connection with the ambitions of its citizens.

⁴⁵⁷ See p. 138 ff.

⁴⁵⁸ A. Laidlaw, *The First Style in Pompeii: Painting and Architecture* (Rome, 1985), 307-309.

⁴⁵⁹ Vitruvius I.2.5.

RECALIBRATING THE IMAGE OF THE CITY

After the end of the Second Punic War and the neutralization of Carthage, Pompeii tapped into the new Roman trade routes with the east. The city was still nominally independent from Rome and the Samnite elite controlled much of the export and centralized landownership. Slaves increasingly worked the land, producing a massive influx of population from the countryside into the city.⁴⁶⁰ This shift would eventually cause the stresses leading to the crisis of the Social War and the implantation of a Sullan colony in Pompeii. The city also participated in Rome's conquest of the east. Lucius Mummius, the great sacker of Corinth, dedicated a statue of Apollo in his Temple on the Forum in gratitude for Pompeian support in Roman eastern campaigns.⁴⁶¹ The rich spoils of war, as with many other centers in Italy, swept Pompeii into the currents of feverish construction activity occurring on the peninsula.⁴⁶² Recently Fabrizio Pesando referred to the second century BCE as Pompeii's golden age when it developed the necessary architecture to call itself a city.⁴⁶³ A short list of the public buildings involved easily highlights the dramatic shift of the urban layout. The Forum, the center of public life, sees the reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo, and the addition of the sanctuary to Jupiter, the Basilica, the Comitium, a new two-story portico, and an *opus caementicium* pavement framed with tufa slabs. Further south and east the large theatre goes up along

⁴⁶⁰ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 87. Also see Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 7. Others associate the influx with refugees coming from the areas of Lazio and Campania devastated by the Punic incursions, but this seems less likely. See Nappo, "Urban Transformation at Pompeii in the Late 3rd and Early 2nd Century. B.C.," 120. Also Lepore, *Origini e strutture della Campania antica*, 163.

⁴⁶¹ The donation implies some sort of Pompeian logistical support for the expedition perhaps in the form of troops or supplies or both. See Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 96. Also see Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 8.

⁴⁶² A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, 2008), 131-132.

⁴⁶³ F. Pesando, "Il secolo d'oro di Pompei. Aspetti dell'architettura pubblica e privata nel II secolo a.C." In *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica. Alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'occidente. Spoleto, complesso monumentale di S. Nicolò, 5 - 7 Novembre 2004*, edited by M. Osanna and M. Torelli (Pisa, 2006), 227-241.

with the colonnades and tufa pavement of the Triangular Forum, the Samnite Palaestra, and the Stabian baths.⁴⁶⁴ Strikingly the colonnade in the Triangular Forum features limestone foundations and tufa columns in a construction technique similar to the city walls.

The southwestern tip of the plateau sees the re-development of the sanctuary to Mefitis Fisica. As mentioned previously, Mefitis was a local Samnite goddess, and in the case of Pompeii, later appropriated and transformed into Venus Fisica Pompeiana after the installation of the colony.⁴⁶⁵ Recent excavations at the temple suggest two phases in the Samnite period: the first coinciding roughly to the limestone walls and the second to the late second century BCE. The results suggest that a tufa wall built during the first refurbishment acted as a terracing structure for both phases. This choice of material is probably related to the prestige of the sanctuary. The second temple was a grand concept imitating the great terraced sanctuaries of Praeneste, Tivoli, and Terracina, albeit on a somewhat smaller scale (fig.62). It signals the ambition of the Pompeian elite financing the building to join the architectural developments occurring on the Italian peninsula. A double terrace supported three porticoes surrounding a central temple with an open view toward the sea and the Monti Lattari.⁴⁶⁶ The complex towered some thirty meters above the riverine port below, dominating the landscape for miles around and forming a landmark for ships at sea. From a distance the tufa fortification wall essentially formed an enormous podium for the sanctuary, creating, as in the previous phases, a direct visual

⁴⁶⁴ Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 132, De Caro, "La città sannitica, urbanistica e architettura," 23-46, P. Zanker *Pompeii. Public and Private Life* (Cambridge, 1998), 32-60. Carafa recently dates the colonnade around the Doric Temple to the post-earthquake period. See Carafa, "Minervae et Marti et Herculi aedes doricae fient (Vitr. 1.2.5). The Monumental History of the Sanctuary in Pompeii's so-called Triangular Forum," 99.

⁴⁶⁵ See Coarelli, "Il culto di Mefitis in Campania e a Roma," 187.

⁴⁶⁶ Curti, "Il tempio di Venere Fisica e il porto di Pompei," 52-54. The report omits any further detail and without more evidence the dating remains hard to assess more accurately. The use of tufa is nevertheless curious considering the extensive remains of the limestone curtain in the nearby Porta Marina.

connection between the walls, a protective goddess of the city, and one of Pompeii's most ambitious architectural projects. The development of the sanctuary, therefore, also acted as massive political statement. It implicitly legitimized the power of the Pompeian elite by emphasizing their relationship with the deities protecting the city, and their role as protectors of the community through the construction of the fortifications. The choice of using tufa in particular resonated with elite housing and the image of the city to further underscore the message.

The construction materials used throughout Pompeii are the very same tufa and *opus incertum* employed on the city walls. Tufa is a relatively soft stone, easy to quarry and sculpt. Its compact character also allows it to be dressed to a uniform smoothness which is ideal for the application of stucco veneers imitating marble. These qualities led to its use as a building material from the late third century BCE up to the final days of the city.⁴⁶⁷ In this context the city walls very much formed a laboratory for tufa construction at Pompeii, since it is here that architects first used the material on a large scale. More versatile than limestone, tufa soon became a prestige material surpassed only by marble introduced during the Imperial period. In fact, builders used it primarily in highly visible places such as colonnades, stylobates, façades, and impluvium linings, for viewers to admire and patrons to flaunt. The exact quarries that fed the construction of the fortifications are still unknown, but miners extracted the stone from areas on the Sorrento peninsula, the Monti Lattari, and the neighboring town of Nocera, and transported it to town by ship, river barge, and carts.⁴⁶⁸ The diversity of the quarries used explains the brown to grey color range of the tufa employed throughout the city, but the fortifications

⁴⁶⁷ Adam, "Building Materials, Construction Techniques and Chronologies," 100.

⁴⁶⁸ De Caro, "La città sannitica urbanistica e architettura," 27. Also, Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 371.

tend to present a consistent grey/brown type indicating its origin from a common location. *Opus incertum* gained popularity in the middle of the second century BCE, and some of the less opulent houses used it for their façades and main building material.⁴⁶⁹ A stucco veneer, often arranged in the First-Style, or Incrustation Style, covered it in this period.

The decorative style is best known for its popularity as brightly painted imitative marble panels in the homes of wealthy Pompeians between 200 and 80 BCE. Its application was often formulaic featuring a lower socle with a surmounting middle zone of drafted imitative orthostate blocks. An additional third zone with imitation ashlar ended with elaborate cornices near the roof. It was widely popular throughout the Greek world and spread to Italy in the third century BCE perhaps as part of trading contacts with the emporium on the island of Delos.⁴⁷⁰ The plainer white version often found a place on the façades of houses and tombs, and also featured prominently on many public buildings including the Basilica, and the Temples of Apollo and Jupiter in the Forum to name a few.⁴⁷¹ In this context, the Style remained in use up to the eruption and became particularly popular during the Roman colony, where, as Laidlaw suggests, it perhaps also symbolized the notion of *pietas*, or the idea of duty toward the city and the state.⁴⁷²

The development of the Style is a matter of much debate, but it is clear that it originated in the eastern Mediterranean, more specifically Greece. Many scholars equate the imitative panels on the interior of buildings as part of a distinct desire of the house's patron to emulate the expensive marble paneling in the great palaces of the east. In this

⁴⁶⁹ Adam, "Building Materials, Construction Techniques and Chronologies," 100.

⁴⁷⁰ Laidlaw, *The First Style in Pompeii: Painting and Architecture*, 15-19.

⁴⁷¹ See E.M. Moormann, *Divine Interiors: Mural Paintings in Greek and Roman Sanctuaries* (Amsterdam, 2011), 69-85.

⁴⁷² Laidlaw, *The First Style in Pompeii: Painting and Architecture*, 303.

context the style carried aulic associations reflective of civic institutions and the eastern kings, essentially also expressing the connotations of power and the state. The First-Style on the exterior of buildings also imitated the marble and stone masonry of monumental civic buildings in ancient Greece. Vincent Bruno highlights the particular similarities between the Style and the masonry of Doric and Ionic temples. He points to the walls of the grand buildings on the Athenian Acropolis, such as the propylaia of Mnesicles and the Parthenon, as clear antecedents of the Style. Here the First-Style connected directly to the proper representation of public space, the state, civic duty, and carried religious associations.⁴⁷³ The widespread use of the First-Style throughout the Samnite period and the colony reflects similar ideals correlating to the proper representation of the city and its institutions. During the Augustan period in particular, it also reflected a wider symbolic return to the values and social *mores* of the Republic after the chaos of the first century BCE.⁴⁷⁴

The hypothesis that the First-Style embodied *pietas* is certainly interesting, but it remains debatable since the notion seems to be more a code of conduct rather than an implicit ideal.⁴⁷⁵ However, the connection between the First-Style and its presence on the Pompeian fortifications merits further discussion. In particular the decorations on the exterior of the fortifications seem to connect to the aulic connotations of the style and project their part as a civic building protecting the settlement. It stressed their role in projecting a proper civic image, and legitimized the community they protected as a city. The Style, therefore, also correlated to the euergetism of the commissioners as leaders of

⁴⁷³ V.J. Bruno, "Antecedents of the Pompeian First Style" *American Journal of Archaeology* 73, no. 3 (July 1969): 305–308.

⁴⁷⁴ As suggested by S.T.A.M. Mols, "Il Primo Stile 'retró': Dai propilei di Mnesicle a Pompei." In *Omni pede stare. Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos De Waele*, edited by S.T.A.M. Mols and E.M. Moormann (Naples, 2005), 245.

⁴⁷⁵ For an extensive discussion see J.D. Garrison, *Pietas from Vergil to Dryden* (University Park, 1992), 9–21; P.G.W. Glare ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1996), 1378.

society, and their role as protectors the community. The buildings and their embellishments contributed to legitimize the elite's power, and were a statement marking the independence of the city. Furthermore, its connections to sacred architecture suggests that the Doric order present on the towers may allude to Minerva as one of the city's protective deities. This complex interaction ensured that the First-Style on the fortifications also signified the relationship between the individual commissioners, the state, and the gods each providing their own contribution to the safety and well-being of the community.

This interaction explains why the late-Republican magistrates dedicating city walls in Italy and the Roman West often did so as a symbolic act reflecting the (re-) foundation of the city, or its achievement of municipal or colonial status under Rome.⁴⁷⁶ As we shall see in the next chapter, the reconstruction of the Pompeian walls in the early colony is an example of this process. For these reasons fortifications eventually became the object of Imperial patronage under the Augustan program of civic renewal in Italy and the Roman west as a reflection of the new order. The process eventually culminated in the endowments of the great city gates of the Antonine age and thereafter at Attaleia, Timgad, and Bizya, to name a few examples.⁴⁷⁷ In this context they also symbolized the protection and benevolence of the emperor and the state toward the community, and its reciprocal allegiance with Rome.

Beyond the connection between the First-Style and the city walls it is the tufa that created the strongest resonance between the fortifications and a distinct visual architectural image of the city. The rapid development of Pompeii included the large

⁴⁷⁶ E. Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age* (Oxford, 2007), 108-113.

⁴⁷⁷ Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age*, 110-112.

scale construction of houses that display similar, perhaps unambiguously designated, specifications.⁴⁷⁸ The most extensive use of tufa is therefore not in the monuments but rather in the private residences of elite citizens. The wealthiest families built on a lavish scale and scholars often view their dwellings, sometimes spanning the area of a full city block, as emulating the opulent Hellenistic palaces of the east. A concentration of these buildings exists in Regio VI, whereas others scattered through the city invariably face the main connecting arteries (fig. 63).⁴⁷⁹ Tufa blocks feature prominently on the façades of the most opulent houses and they immediately establish a dramatic visual presence in the city.⁴⁸⁰ In the earliest examples the tufa ashlar display rather sober carvings with plain rustication. They eventually gave way to more elaborate carved pilasters and canonically proportioned entablatures with carved Corinthian and Doric capitals framing the doorways.⁴⁸¹ This development suggests an element of competition amongst the home owners vying to flaunt their wealth on the exterior of their houses.⁴⁸² The implication is

⁴⁷⁸ See R. Ling, *Pompeii. History, Life and Afterlife* (Stroud, 2005), 36-37. Ling refers to these as the Hoffmann houses, after their descriptor, due to their regularity. See Hoffmann, "L'Architettura," 91

⁴⁷⁹ Zanker, *Pompeii. Public and Private Life*, 33.

⁴⁸⁰ The best preserved examples are: the House of the Faun (VI.12.2), House of Pansa, House of Sallust (VI.2.4), VI.1.16-18, House of the Large Fountain (VI.8.22), House of the Ancient Hunt (VII.4.48). VII.4.32. Most of the north side of VII.12 (via degli Augustali) and the southern façade of V.1 including the House of the Young Bull (V.1.7.) and the Domus Cornelia (VIII.4.23). The shops lining the west side of the via dei Teatri (VIII.5.31-35) perhaps dialogued with the *propylon* of the Triangular Forum. Almost the entirety of the via dell'Abbondanza heading west from the intersection of the via Stabiana with the exception of the north face of VIII.4, and the south face of VII.14 which both show signs of earthquake damage and were re-built at a later stage. In this stretch particularly handsome examples are the House of the Lime (VIII.5.28), and the southern side of insula VII.13. Also, VIII.3.10 where the adjacent surviving tufa pylons feature carved pilasters and doorway architrave perhaps prefiguring the later decorative scheme of the Eumachia building and the *comitium*. Finally, insula VII.6.20-28 including the House of the Peristyle.

⁴⁸¹ Adam, "Building Materials, Construction Techniques and Chronologies," 100.

⁴⁸² For a recent discussion on the importance of the façade as part of the expression of wealth see J. Hartnett, "Si quis hic sederit: Streetside Benches and Urban Society in Pompeii." *American Journal of Archaeology* 112, no. 1 (2008): 91-119. He particularly treats street benches as part of urban life, but also discusses the elements of private representation inherent on house façades.

that the tufa facades similarly replicated the high quality masonry that the First Style also imitated, but applied to a local prestige material.

Some scholars claim that the tufa façades carried a thin stucco veneer but, as in the case of the House of the Faun, this seems to be a colonial period phenomenon or even post-earthquake additions aimed at masking divergent repair masonry.⁴⁸³ A number of elements suggest that the façades were, by and large, left naked to emphasize the material. Chief amongst these are *programmata*, graffiti, and inscriptions, including the *eituns*, recovered on a number of the façades. We will discuss their significance further below, but we owe the very preservation of the *eituns* to the application of a stucco veneer that fell off the façades after excavation.⁴⁸⁴ In other instances, such as the House of Pansa (VI.6.1) and the House of the Little Fountain (VI.8.23), red *programmata* and graffiti still covered the tufa masonry at the time of the eruption suggesting a deliberate preservation of the façades.⁴⁸⁵ To some extent this circumstance may even reflect an element of façadism for the structures involved, but this particular aspect remains hard to

⁴⁸³ Hoffmann describes a thin veneer of stucco on the façade on the House of the Faun and uses it as evidence to apply stucco to all the tufa facades in the city. A. Hoffmann, “Elemente Bürgerlicher Repräsentation. Eine Späthellenistische Hausfassade in Pompeji.” In *Akten des 13 Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie* (Mainz, 1990), 491. On colonial stucco see A. Maiuri, “Portali con capitelli cubici a Pompei.” *Rendiconti della accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti*, 33 (1958), 210.

⁴⁸⁴ Pocetti ascribes their preservation to a stucco veneer that fell off after excavation. See P. Pocetti, “Riflessi di strutture di fortificazioni nell’epigrafia italica tra II II e I secolo a.C.” *Athenaeum* 66 (1988), 321. Similarly Mau mentions the discovery of one the north side of VIII, 5, 19-20 after the plaster peeled off. See Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 240. Cooley more recently also shares this view. See A. Cooley and M. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (London, 2004), 19. Sgobbo implicitly states that the first examples found and examined were actually placed on the naked tufa facades. See I. Sgobbo, “Un complesso di edifici sannitici e i quartieri di Pompei per la prima volta riconosciuti.” In *Rendiconti accademia di archeologia lettere e belle arti di Napoli* 6 (1942), 32.

⁴⁸⁵ For the House of Pansa, the right most pilaster also preserves an *eituns* inscription, while the pilaster next to doorway 19 features graffiti dating to the years leading up to the eruption announcing the rental of upper floors in the nearby insula of Arianna Poliana, see Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompeii, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 175. See also M. Pagano and R. Priscindaro, *I primi anni degli scavi di Ercolano, Pompeii e Stabiae: Raccolta e studio di documenti e disegni inediti* vol.2 (Castellammare di Stabia, 2006), 111. Finally Fiorelli mentions an electoral dipinto on the tufa of the pilaster next to entrance 19 reading P. Cipio, Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii*, 104. For the House of the Little Fountain see A. Varone and G. Stefani *Titulorum Pictorum Pompeianorum* (Rome, 2009), 320.

prove and needs further investigation in another venue.⁴⁸⁶ In any event, many patrons considered tufa an aesthetically acceptable material, especially in the more well-to-do households. The very expense incurred to build and carve the tufa probably led the owner to want it uncovered. This recognition lasted much further into the history of the city since many tombs outside of the Porta Nocera feature graffiti on the tufa, attesting to the absence of stucco on the masonry. Similarly the great tufa columns in the peristyle of the House of Pansa were only stuccoed over during the Imperial period, having been left naked since the time of its construction.⁴⁸⁷ Tufa therefore superseded the application of stucco on the facades of the most elite houses most likely because of a limited availability of marble, and the relative lesser intrinsic value of *opus incertum*. The result was a local civic image that married tufa as a prestige material with the concepts associated to proper civic representation associated with the First Style.

The extensive remains of tufa façades throughout the city actually push the concept of a unified civic image further. The via dell'Abbondanza particularly illustrates the point (fig.64). Its western tract, running between the via Stabiana and the Forum, originally featured a coherent lining of tufa façades on both public and private buildings.⁴⁸⁸ A tufa gateway on the east side of the Forum announced the beginning of the road. Both Nissen and Wallace-Hadrill suggest that the unified architectural appearance functioned as a purposeful ceremonial background for religious processions between the Forum and the Doric Temple.⁴⁸⁹ More importantly, the layout reflects a conscious shaping of the architectural image of the city. It seems reasonable to assume

⁴⁸⁶ As suggested in a private conversation with Prof. Clarke. See also the discussion further below concerning the application of the First-Style on the exterior of buildings.

⁴⁸⁷ Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 175.

⁴⁸⁸ The earthquake demolished much of the original masonry but enough remains, including the Stabian baths, to imagine the stateliness of the road.

⁴⁸⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 133.

that this vision also translated to the city walls as the largest structure in the urban framework. Further examples line the via di Nola and the via degli Augustali to the north, suggesting that the idea of a civic image permeated further throughout the city. Also striking is the survival of these façades for the remainder of Pompeian history, despite extensive remodeling occurring inside the houses. The representational element is clear, and the exterior of the house also functioned as a statement promoting the owner's status.⁴⁹⁰ Interestingly the construction of tufa façades ceased abruptly after the Sullan conquest,⁴⁹¹ and many of these houses remained the property of the old Samnite elite, suggesting the continuity of a strong local identity beyond the subsequent installation of the Roman colony.

Strikingly, in a similar fashion to the city walls, the façades sometimes rest on limestone foundations that occasionally still peek through the raised sidewalks.⁴⁹² This circumstance is likely the result of the Vitruvian prescription noting the qualities of travertine as a foundation stone. It suggests that the limestone/tufa combination is actually a standard construction technique used throughout Pompeii. This observation argues in favor of two important points; it strengthens the case that the appearance of the fortifications is the result of the application of standard construction technique, and that the outer curtain is actually the result of a single construction event. We have already commented on the continued uncertainty concerning the construction phasing of the walls. Furthermore, without further excavations it remains unclear to what extent the limestone was visible on the house façades. But the use of the limestone/tufa technique on the fortifications is, in my opinion, so marked and exaggerated that it clearly also

⁴⁹⁰ Zanker *Pompeii. Public and Private Life* 32-60.

⁴⁹¹ Eschebach and Eschebach, *Pompeji vom 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr. bis 79 n.Chr.*, 70-71.

⁴⁹² Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 370.

carried an intended aesthetic effect regardless of the individual phases assigned in the past. It essentially marked a strong local identity that reflected the ambitions of the community and the elite to define Pompeii as a proper city.

INSCRIBING THE WALLS

The surviving inscriptions of the golden age tell us that the construction of public buildings occurred at the hands of private individuals belonging to a few very select and powerful families. We have already seen how Vibius Popidius, as the *meddix tuticus*, or magistrate, at Pompeii highlighted his euergetism on the Porta Nola and the colonnade on the south side of the Forum.⁴⁹³ Other inscriptions also found on or near the walls stressed similar benefactions to the city. The excavations of Tower VIII recovered fragments of a monumental inscription in the Oscan alphabet, the letters:

T V D V I T ·

They were carved into the stucco and painted black.⁴⁹⁴ The surviving fragments have occasioned a number of interpretations including that they belonged to a dedicatory inscription, that they spelled out the Oscan word *svddit*, or tower, also mentioned in the *eituns*, or that they simply marked the tower with the numeral VIII.⁴⁹⁵ Two more inscriptions appear at the Porta Stabia. One, written entirely in Oscan, sits along the western passageway wall facing those that leave the city. It reads:

.siuttiis_ m, n pũntiis m | aidilis ekak viam
terem[na| a] tens. ant pũnttram staf(i)anam viu

⁴⁹³ The *meddix tuticus* was one of a few magistrates exercising power at Pompeii. See below for a further discussion.

⁴⁹⁴ First published by Chiaramonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane*, 30.

⁴⁹⁵ For the inscription theory see Pocetti, “Riflessi di strutture di fortificazioni nell’epigrafia italica tra il II e I secolo a.C.,” 315. For the tower theory see Chiaramonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane*, 30. For the Tower number hypothesis see Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 33.

te(r)emnatust per.] x· iussu via pũmpaiiana ter|
emnattens perek III ant ka.|la iũveis meelikiieis.⁴⁹⁶

As mentioned in chapter one an intense scholarly debate has surrounded the exact translation which we need not revisit here. Mau translates it loosely as:

The aediles M. Sittius and N. Pontius improved the street heading out of the (Stabian) Gate as far as the Stabian Bridge and the Via Pompeiana as far as the temple to Jupiter Milichius; these streets as well as the Via Jovia and ... They placed in perfect repair.

In short, it announces how the aediles M. Sittius and N. Pontius repaired the road from the gate up to the *pons Stabianus* crossing the Sarno River and the *via Pumpsaiiana* up to the Temple of Jupiter Melichius (fig.7).⁴⁹⁷ The other, located on the outside of the eastern bastion, is in Latin and dates to the colony. It reads:

L · AVIANIVS · L · F · MEN ·
FLACCVS · PONTIATVS ·
Q · SPEDIVS · Q · F · MEN ·
FIRMVS · II · VIR · I · D · VIAM ·
A · MILLIARIO · AD · CISIARIOS ·

⁴⁹⁶ Conway *The Italic Dialects*, 39.

⁴⁹⁷ Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* 184. The inscription led to the erroneous identification of the current Temple of Asclepius behind the small theater as dedicated to Zeus Melichius which is now identified with the sacred area of the Fondo Iozzino. See I. Sgobbo, "Un complesso di edifici sannitici e i quartieri di Pompei per la prima volta riconosciuti," *Rendiconti accademia di archeologia lettere e belle arti di Napoli* 6 (1942), 20 who uses it to further define Pompeian topography. See also Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 67.

QVA · TERRITORIVM · EST ·
POMPEIANORVM · SVA ·
PEC · MVNIERVNT ·⁴⁹⁸

It announces that the *duumvirs* L. Avianius Flaccus and Q. Spudius Firmus repaved the road from the gate to the station of the *cisarii*, the drivers of the *cissium*, a light two wheeled cart, at the limits of Pompeian territory at their own expense.⁴⁹⁹

The inscriptions are part of a wider group announcing the euergetism of private individuals throughout the city, but their presence here stresses the role of the gates as the conceptual beginning and end points of the urban matrix. Although written in Oscan, they are part of a Latin tradition suggesting that Pompeii is part of the wider cultural development of the Italian peninsula. Their position on the exterior of the towers particularly highlights the notion that the walls were meant to be seen from outside the city and they essentially announced its civic and social organization.⁵⁰⁰ In essence, they were the stage announcing the independence and political identity of the city.⁵⁰¹ As Isobel Pinder recently pointed out, the walls provided the conceptual setup for the *postmurum*, or the city beyond the wall, by implementing a structured entrance and exit to a hierarchy of public monuments and private dwellings.⁵⁰² As a result, they also reflected the ambitions and power of the elite that financed their construction. At Pompeii the clear association between the walls and the city resonated through its construction materials and decorative schemes. It seems clear that the patrons financing the walls

⁴⁹⁸ CIL X 1064

⁴⁹⁹ Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 243.

⁵⁰⁰ Pocetti, "Riflessi di strutture di fortificazioni nell'epigrafia italica tra II e I secolo a.C.," 314.

⁵⁰¹ Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age*, 109.

⁵⁰² Pinder, "Constructing and Deconstructing Roman City Walls: The Role of Urban Enceintes as Physical and Symbolic Borders," 72-74.

further emphasized this message as part of their own legitimization of power. The fortifications explicitly connected further with the ambitions of the local elite through the appearance of the walls and the façades of their houses. As a result, the walls not only announced and conceptually visualized the city; they also reflected the independence, social hierarchy, wealth, and status of a fully developed urban matrix.

Naming the Fortifications

With such strong architectural associations between the city and its walls, we return to the *eituns* inscriptions as valuable documents highlighting the relationship between the populace and the fortifications. Over the years the inscriptions have attracted much scholarly attention, and this is not the place to reinterpret or retranslate them.⁵⁰³ As mentioned above, the most commonly accepted interpretation is that they represent directions for Samnite troops sent to aid Pompeii during the Sullan siege. They get their name from the recurrent word *eituns* which loosely translates to *milites* or “foot soldiers” in Oscan.⁵⁰⁴ The inscriptions contain some crucial bits of information; they implicitly mention tower numbers and gate names. Two inscriptions found on the façades of VI.2.1 and VI.6.3 direct toward Tower XII and the *veru sarinu*, or salt gate, as a sector commanded by Maras Adirius.⁵⁰⁵ A third inscription, located on the House of the Faun (VI.12.1), points the way to Towers X and XI as a sector under the command of Titus

⁵⁰³ For a recent summary of the debate see S. Sakai, “VE28 Reconsidered.” *Opuscula Pompeiana* 2 (1992): 1–13.

⁵⁰⁴ R. Antonini, “Eituns a Pompei. Un frammento di DNA italico.” In *Pompei, Capri e la Penisola Sorrentina* (Capri, 2004), 279. Others see them as representing commercial sign post, see Conway *The Italic Dialects*, 69–71. Also H. Degering, “Über die Militarischen Wegweiser in Pompeji.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 13 (1898): 124–146.

⁵⁰⁵ Emil Vetter catalogued the inscriptions and scholars commonly refer to their catalog numbers, i.e. Vetter 1, Vetter 2 etc. See E. Vetter, *Handbuch der Italischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg, 1953), Vetter 23 and 24.

Fisanius.⁵⁰⁶ A fourth on VII.6.24 more vaguely directs toward the sector commanded by Vibius Seximbrius between the houses of Maras Castricus and Maras Spurius.⁵⁰⁷ A fifth on VIII.6.19 points the way toward the Temple of Minerva in the Triangular Forum.⁵⁰⁸ A sixth inscription located on the via dell'Abbondanza III.4.2 mentions a tower and/or road named *mefira* along with a gate named *urublanu* forming a sector commanded by Lucius Popidius son of Lucius and Maras Purillius son of Maras.⁵⁰⁹

This basic evidence suggests a series of wider elements at work. First and foremost, the counterclockwise numbering of the towers and division in sectors clearly indicates a strict military planning and organization. Pocetti assigns much more significance to this sequence that suggests a Roman influence on the organization of the defenses. The numbering started with Tower I at the tip of the Triangular Forum, where it also was one of the most visually defining buildings of the cityscape. The number of the building reflects its status as a landmark contributing to create a visual concept of the city. The counterclockwise numbering perhaps also alluded to a religious association as processions often proceeded in the same direction.⁵¹⁰ This context connects the numbers to the direction of *lustratio*, or purification ceremonies, associated in this case with the act of tracing the *sulcus primigenius* at the founding of the city.⁵¹¹ It may also represent the annual *lustratio urbis* designed to purify the city and keep away evil spirits. The town

⁵⁰⁶ Vetter 26.

⁵⁰⁷ Vetter 25, unfortunately the dipinto is now lost after the Second World War air raid. The *etituns* had come to light after a plaster applied in the Roman times fell off from the tufa façade. García y García *Danni di guerra a Pompei*, 105.

⁵⁰⁸ Vetter 27.

⁵⁰⁹ Vetter 28.

⁵¹⁰ Pocetti "Riflessi di strutture di fortificazioni nell'epigrafia italica tra II e I secolo a.C.," 324-327. He particularly mentions the *argei* procession in archaic Rome.

⁵¹¹ F. Coarelli, "Pompei. Il Foro, le elezioni, le circoscrizioni elettorali." *Annali di archeologia e storia antica. Istituto Universitario Orientale. Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del mediterraneo antico* 7 (2000), 103. See also Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 116.

of Iguvium, modern Gubbio, preserves instructions for the ritual where priests led a procession around the *arx* and conducted a sacrifice at each of the three gates since these were the weak spots in the circuit.⁵¹² If we take these ideas to their next logical step they might explain why the religious elements of the Porta Stabia, Porta Vesuvio, and Porta Marina are all on the right. Here they further emphasized the counterclockwise direction as one approached the city.

Another key is that we catch a glimpse of the nomenclature with the names of the salt (*sarinu*) and *urublanu* gates, and a nickname *mefira*, loosely translated as “midway,” connected to a tower. Originally identified with Tower VIII, new evidence now assigns the *mefira* name to Tower VII because of its placement at the median between the Porta Sarno and Nola.⁵¹³ More importantly, this nickname highlights how the towers acted as familiar landmarks and a focus for navigation through the city.⁵¹⁴ If we consider, as Chiaramonte Trerè suggests, that the original text of the inscription on Tower VIII and the *eituns* reflected their official number or name, then the towers carried both popular and official names.⁵¹⁵ Both references correlate closely to the function of the towers; the official number or name refers to the civic and military definition of the building, whereas the other reflects their role as easily identifiable landmarks in the urban matrix.

⁵¹² W. Fowler, “Lustratio.” In *Anthropology and the Classics* (New York, 1966), 183.

⁵¹³ Traditionally, Tower VIII has received the ancient nickname *mefira*, because of its location half-way between the so-called Porta Capua and the Porta Nola. See Chiaramonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane*, 26. After the recent excavation of Tower IX disproved the existence of the Porta Capua, Coarelli reassigned the *mefira* nickname to Tower VII. This is the tower half way between the Porta Sarno and the Porta Nola, at the end of a street he identifies as the *via mefira*. He posits that this road is the continuation of the *via degli Augustali* which is the mid-way road between the *via dell’Abbondanza* and the *via di Nola*. Coarelli, “Pompei. Il Foro, le elezioni, le circoscrizioni elettorali,” 106.

⁵¹⁴ Pocetti, “Riflessi di strutture di fortificazioni nell’epigrafia italica tra il II e I secolo a.C.,” 324. This is entirely consistent with how people used landmarks to navigate the city, see R. Ling, “A Stranger in Town: Finding the Way in an Ancient City.” *Greece and Rome* 37 (1990): 204–214, especially regarding Pompeii. On how landmarks and identity work in neighborhoods and especially Pompeii see R. Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society* (New York, 2007), 34–45.

⁵¹⁵ Chiaramonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane*, 30.

With the gates the situation is slightly different since we do not fully understand whether the nomenclature is official or represents nicknames. The Porta Ercolano seems securely identified as the Salt Gate, or the *veru sarinu*, because the via Consolare passing through it probably led to a series of salt flats nearby.⁵¹⁶ We also have the name of the *veru urublanu*, identified variously as the Porta Nola,⁵¹⁷ Porta Sarno,⁵¹⁸ or the Porta Nocera.⁵¹⁹ This diversity of hypotheses is part of an intense debate on the gate names closely related to the *eituns*, the electoral *programmata*, and the identification of population groups associated with Pompeii. Scholars have identified a multitude of group names: the *salinienses*, *urbulanenses*, *campanienses*, *forenses*, *dianenses*, and the *stabianenses*, who either inhabited nearby settlements and territories known as *pagi*,⁵²⁰ or lived inside the city where they occupied distinct neighborhoods or *vici*.⁵²¹ The individual gates then received these names according to the *pagi* their roads led to, or their neighboring *vici*. Another hypothesis argues that the gates actually named the *vici*, whereas the inhabitants of both the neighboring *pagi* and *vici* they connected composed

⁵¹⁶ Originally Ribezzo identified the Porta Sarno with the *veru sarinu*. See F. Ribezzo, “La nuova eituns di Pompei.” *Rivista indo-greco-italica di filologia, lingua, antichità* 1 (1917), 58. For the arguments identifying the *veru sarinu* with the Porta Ercolano, see Sogliano, “Porte, torri e vie di Pompei nell’epoca Sannitica,” 162-164.

⁵¹⁷ Sogliano, “Porte, torri e vie di Pompei nell’epoca Sannitica,” 168. More recently see Coarelli, “Pompei. Il Foro, le elezioni, le circoscrizioni elettorali,” 107. See also Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 33.

⁵¹⁸ M. Della Corte, “Il pagus urbulanus ed i nomi antichi di alcune porte di Pompei.” *Rivista indo-greco-italica* 5, (1921), 80. See also G. Spano “Porte e regioni pompeiane e vie campane.” *Rendiconti dell’Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti, Napoli* 17 (1937), 276.

⁵¹⁹ Sakai, “Ve28 reconsidered,” 9.

⁵²⁰ Ribezzo, for example, floated the idea that the *urbulanenses* came from the town of Urbula. He used ancient texts to argue that they abandoned it to settle in a *pagus* outside of Pompeii. The road to the *pagus* then gave the name to the gate. See Ribezzo, “La nuova eituns di Pompei,” 55–63. More recently Pesando suggests that *veru urublanu* translates to ‘gate to the *urbs*’, the *urbs* and gate in this case being Pompeii and the Porta Nola. See also Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 33.

⁵²¹ See G. Amodio, “Sui ‘vici’ e le circoscrizioni elettorali di Pompei.” *Athenaeum* 84 (1996), 458- 468. She revisits much of the scholarly controversy and suggests that the electoral colleges included both *vici* and *pagi* united in *tribus*.

the electoral groups.⁵²² All of these hypotheses rest on shaky grounds.⁵²³ The *pagi* thesis, widely accepted in early scholarship, relies on a still uncertain regional topography. The *vici* theory, elaborated by Sgobbo, builds on Della Corte's controversial idea of correlating the electoral *programmata* on house exteriors with their owners.⁵²⁴

The *vici* thesis has received widespread acceptance. The most recent approach identifies five tribes responding to independent electoral colleges in Pompeii: the *urbulanenses* in Regio III and IX, the *campanienses* in Regio IV and V, the *salinienses* in Regio VI, and the *forenses* in the area around the Forum (fig.65). The fifth remains unnamed, but probably occupied the area of Regio I and II. In this framework the gates acquire the following names; the Porta Nola as the *veru urublanu* (*porta urbulana* in Latin), Porta Vesuvio as *porta campana*, Porta Ercolano as *veru sarinu* (*salienses* in Latin) and the Porta Marina as the *porta forensis*.⁵²⁵ Most of these names are originally Oscan and carried through into Latin, suggesting a remarkable continuity in the political organization of the city despite the implantation of the colony.

Regardless of the true nomenclature, the notion of naming gates according to the neighboring *vici* or *pagi*, or vice versa, suggests an intergroup identification with their respective structures. The question then naturally follows whether the city gates carried

⁵²² Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus*, 80-82.

⁵²³ Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society* 34-35.

⁵²⁴ M. Della Corte, *Casa ed abitanti a Pompei ricerche di epigrafia* (Naples 1914), 165. Sgobbo mapped the electoral notices set up by groups supporting individual candidates and assigned them to quarters in the city according to their concentrations. Sgobbo, "Un complesso di edifici sannitici e i quartieri di Pompei per la prima volta riconosciuti" 34. Both Eschebach and Amodio brilliantly summarize the further vicissitudes of the debate so we need not revise them here. Amodio in particular delivers a sharp critique of Della Corte's methods. See Amodio, "Sui 'vici' e le circoscrizioni elettorali di Pompei." 458- 468. See also Eschebach and Eschebach, *Pompeji vom 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis 79 n. Chr* 65-67, and more recently Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, 34-39 who actually prefers to use the distribution of fountains to recognize neighborhoods.

⁵²⁵ Coarelli further elaborates Sgobbo's thesis using the *compital* altars located on the main roads to mark the borders of the *vici*. He sees the division of Pompeii into five electoral regions, which relates to its name Oscan name 'pentapolis' or city of five. Coarelli, "Pompeii. Il Foro, le elezioni, le circoscrizioni elettorali," 97.

any individual traits highlighting these relationships. The present evidence does not immediately point to any embellishments explicitly stressing such connections. Rather, if we take away the minor exceptions of the Porta Stabia and Ercolano, the gates show a remarkable diachronic unity in design, decoration, and layout, as do the towers. In many ways, therefore, the fortifications acted as a unifying architectural force encompassing the social plurality of Pompeii. The follow-up question is whether this is a reflection of a local Pompeian identity or a foreign influence—or both.

POMPEII, NOCERA, AND THE TRANSMISSION OF THE ART OF DEFENSE

We have seen in the previous chapter that the neighboring city of Nocera, or Nuceria Alfaterna in antiquity, shares a close history with Pompeii. Scholars have always seen the town as heading the Nucerian League, a loose federation of cities, including Pompeii, Herculaneum, Nola, and Stabia, brought together under the umbrella of the Samnite *alfaterni* tribes. The volume of scholarship that the notion of this league has generated is again impressive. Briefly summarized, much of it concerns the identification of the league's political structure and leadership, including the role of the *meddices* or magistrates. Scholars have identified the *meddix tuticus* as the head magistrate of the federal league, with the individual cities represented by local *meddices*, e.g. the *meddix pompeianus*.⁵²⁶ The most recent re-evaluation demystifies the idea as well as the power of the league and characterizes the *meddices* as strong independent local magistrates

⁵²⁶ De Caro points to the *meddix tuticus* as exercising power in the name of the Nucerian League, and is unsure of the role of the *meddix pompeianus* who appears in inscriptions. He also mentions the presence of two *aediles* and a *quaestor* probably functioning on Roman models. Finally there was also a Senate, the *kunparakin*, and an assembly of free male citizens known as the *kumbenni*. See De Caro, "La città sannitica urbanistica e architettura," 32. This setup aligns with the early Samnite political organization where individual settlements, known as *vici*, were grouped into a regional *pagus*, or canton. Each *pagus* elected a *meddix* as a leader who in turn responded to the *meddix tuticus*. He headed a grouping of *pagi* organized along familial and tribal lines, known as *touta*. See Cornell, "Warfare and Urbanization in Roman Italy," 124.

responding to a very loose and weak federal league.⁵²⁷ The debate here is important to us since the politics of a league of cities may have influenced the design and construction of fortifications. Loose alliances, such as the Etruscan *dodecapoli*, ensured a degree of mutual security against external threats. The agreements reached could involve the siting of settlements, warning systems, the construction of common fortification works, and mutual non-aggression pacts. Furthermore, a central political body could also manage the resources necessary to coordinate the simultaneous defense of several settlements, or conduct offensive operations.⁵²⁸

Within our framework, the most important points of contact between Nocera and Pompeii come through in the astonishing similarities between their fortifications. The layout of Nocera is rectangular with heavy natural scarps defending the north, west, and eastern sides of the city. The southern side, as the most vulnerable section, received the heaviest fortifications and like Pompeii featured a tufa *opus quadratum* double wall with an *agger* in the back. Beyond our two centers, this design was fairly common throughout the region and displays strong similarities with other settlements such as Teano, Monte Santa Croce, and Saepinum.⁵²⁹ This circumstance may be the result of a strong Samnite military tradition, or a widespread adoption of the most effective defensive architecture. At Nocera the defenses proved formidable enough that Hannibal reduced the city by starvation rather than direct attack and subsequently destroyed it in 216 BCE.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁷ F. Senatore, "La lega nucerina." In *Pompei tra Sorrento e Sarno. Atti del terzo e quarto ciclo di conferenze di Geologia, Storia e Archeologia* (Rome, 2001), 185–265. Carafa actually sees the league dissolved in 304 BCE at the end of the Second Samnite War but he remains unclear how magistrates continued to exercise power. Carafa, "Minervae et Marti et Herculi aedes doricae fient (Vitr. 1.2.5). The Monumental History of the Sanctuary in Pompeii's so-called Triangular Forum," 93.

⁵²⁸ Rowlands, "Defense: A Factor in the Organisation of Settlements," 452. Also Lawrence *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 123.

⁵²⁹ Conta Haller designates it as type A'. See G. Conta Haller, *Ricerche su alcuni centri fortificati in opera poligonale in area Campano-Sannitica* (Naples, 1978), 78.

⁵³⁰ Johannowsky, "Considerazioni sull'architettura militare del II sec. a.C. nei centri della lega nucerina," 123.

After the war Nocera rebuilt and strengthened its defenses with the addition of towers in *opus incertum*. The use of tufa and *opus incertum*, local construction materials to both Pompeii and Nocera, is hardly surprising as these were cheap and easily available. Johannowsky identified two distinct types which, as part of a distinct evolutionary process, form predecessors to the Pompeian examples. The first type, dating to the early second century BCE, features a coarser *opus incertum* and a solid base.⁵³¹ The second is more intricate and almost identical to the towers in Pompeii (fig.66). The buildings had three floors with two doors opening on each side of the wall-walk and a rear access from the *agger*. The ground floor featured a vaulted chamber with an exit postern, while the elevation differed slightly with five and four windows on the second and third floors, as opposed to the four of Pompeian types. Excavations have confirmed a gabled roof aligned on the curtain embellished with acroteria matching those of the basilica at Pompeii. First-Style decorative stucco covered the masonry with identical measurements in the size of the imitative ashlar, and the triglyphs and metopes of the Doric frieze.⁵³² Given the similarities, it seems plausible to assume a common origin for the design and decoration of the structures at Pompeii and Nocera. Furthermore, the matching acroteria of the Basilica in Pompeii and the towers at Nocera may even reflect close political ties between the two settlements.⁵³³

⁵³¹ Johannowsky, "Considerazioni sull'architettura militare del II sec. a.C. nei centri della lega nucerina," 123. Johannowsky points to two construction phases at Nocera. The last occurred shortly before or contemporaneously to Pompeii. His dating however rests on typological differences which, as at Pompeii, may respond to the local terrain. This is not the place to dive further into this complex issue, but a distinct possibility exists that all towers in both cities are built in the space of just a few years.

⁵³² W. Johannowsky, "Nuovi rinvenimenti a Nuceria Alfaterna." In *La regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio. Studi e prospettive. Atti del convegno internazionale, 11-15 Novembre 1979* (Naples, 1982), 842. See also Johannowsky "Considerazioni sull'architettura militare del II sec. a.C. nei centri della lega nucerina," 123-131.

⁵³³ In particular, scholars traditionally date the construction of the Basilica to the last decades of the second century bce, making it roughly contemporary with the towers. As a building form this is a typically Roman edifice. Its presence in the city points to a strong Roman component to Pompeii. see Zanker "The City as

The origins of the basic design and layout are more difficult to trace since the mechanisms of martial architectural transmission have not received much scholarly attention. Richardson proposes that the limestone and tufa enceintes at Pompeii are the product of a single design modeled on the Athenian walls of the fourth century BCE, but there is little further evidence to support this theory.⁵³⁴ The Servian Wall in Rome is an example of the complexity of the issue. Built using tufa *opus quadratum* in the first quarter of the fourth century BCE, engineers exploited the natural topography and built an *agger* in the weak areas to maximize the wall's strength. In concept, therefore, the fortifications in Rome foreshadowed the Pompeian design. In the early 1930s Gösta Säflund conducted an intensive study of the remains. Based on the similarity of quarry marks and block sizes, he concluded that the Servian Wall borrowed heavily from Syracusan architects and construction techniques.⁵³⁵ In fact, a recent investigation on the section of walls preserved near the modern Termini railway station in Rome reveals construction seams roughly a plethron measure apart indicating a similar organization of construction crews mentioned by Diodorus Siculus for the Epiplaoe fortifications.⁵³⁶ The two cities shared Carthage as an enemy, a circumstance, Säflund believed, that led to their close collaboration as allies. Dionysius I of Syracuse was a pioneer in the use of siege machines in the Hellenistic world. He likely learned how to build them from his encounters with Carthaginians armies who had been exposed to advanced siege tactics in

Symbol: Rome and the Creation of an Urban Image," 126-40; more specifically for Pompeii see Zanker *Pompeii. Public and Private Life*, 61-78

⁵³⁴ Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 49.

⁵³⁵ G. Säflund, *Le mura di Roma repubblicana: Saggio di archeologia romana* (Uppsala, 1932), 115-118, 170-174

⁵³⁶ In this case the plethron measurement was thirty-six meters. Other striking similarities reside in the employment of the Achaean Greek alphabet for the quarry marks and the use of the two attic feet in the measurement of the blocks. Furthermore, the crews probably used Greek construction technology such as *polipastos* beams and were also recruited from the very poor of the city. See M. Barbera and M. M. Cianetti. *Archeologia a Roma Termini: Le Mura Serviane e l'area della stazione : scoperte, distruzioni e restauri* (Milano, 2008), 21-23

the Near East.⁵³⁷ This complex web is difficult to trace with further certainty, but it poses many questions on the dynamics concerning the transmission of defensive architectural designs. If anything it poses some serious doubts to the notion suggesting a purely Italic origin of the *agger* design. A similar study on the Pompeian fortifications is still lacking. Scholars have largely neglected the extensive quarry marks on the masonry of the city walls and a detailed study would certainly shed more light on their construction.⁵³⁸

Common concepts of siege warfare influencing basic designs throughout the Hellenistic world compound the problem. For example, the L-shaped merlons of the Pompeian battlements find parallels at Chalcis and the attic fortress of Phyle in the Greek world, and at Wiesbaden, Wimpfen, Altenstadt, Trier, and Avenches in the Roman west.⁵³⁹ Similarly, the gabled roofs of the towers at Pompeii and Nocera probably derive from Greek designs with the best surviving examples at sites such as Aigosthena and Perge.⁵⁴⁰ Incidentally, the round towers flanking the Hellenistic South Gate at Perge also carried a decorative Doric frieze and pilasters carved in low relief.⁵⁴¹ The presence of a roof on towers, however, is more a matter of practicality since they primarily functioned as fortified firing platforms for catapults and ballistae.⁵⁴² A roof was therefore almost a prerequisite to shelter the delicate machines and their crews from the elements and enemy

⁵³⁷ Säflund, *Le mura di Roma repubblicana: Saggio di archeologia romana*, 115-118, 170-174

⁵³⁸ For the quarry marks see FitzGerald, *Facts about Pompeii*, 62-86, Sogliano, "Relazione degli scavi fatti nel febbraio 1898," 64-65, and Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompeii," 280. Curiously, Bonucci believes that the inscribed characters were there not only for construction purposes, but also served an apotropaic function. This theory, however, has not received any further attention. See C. Bonucci, *Pompèi* (Naples, 1830), 81-82.

⁵³⁹ See F. Frigerio, *La cerchia di Novum Comum. Antiche porte di città italiche e romane* (Como, 1935), fig. 11. See also Adam, *L'Architecture militaire Grecque*, 39.

⁵⁴⁰ See A. Lawrence and R. Tomlinson, *Greek Architecture* (New Haven, 1996), 176. They represent the latest in fortification design, presenting a stronger unified façade to the enemy, and facilitating repairs as opposed to earlier pyramidal roofs. Also, Johannowsky "Considerazioni sull'architettura militare del II sec. a.C. nei centri della lega nucerina," 132.

⁵⁴¹ Winter *Greek Fortifications*, 88

⁵⁴² Lawrence and Tomlinson, *Greek Architecture* 174.

missiles. Most authors point to the towers at Paestum as predecessors of the Pompeian and Nuceria designs. Their first phase dates probably to the foundation of the colony in the late fourth century BCE.⁵⁴³ The towers on the north side of the city stand on a solid base, and have similar openings on the wall-walk with a second floor above. Furthermore, recovered decorative elements, including fragments of a Doric frieze, and Corinthian pilaster capitals with unidentified central busts, attest to highly ornamented towers (fig. 67). A recent theory suggests that these decorations are part of a refurbishment occurring in the early decades of the first century BCE pointing to further connections between Pompeii, Nocera, and Paestum.⁵⁴⁴

The evidence raises questions of design transmission which largely fall outside of the scope of our analysis. A few observations, however, are warranted. In the first century BCE many cities on the Italian peninsula engaged in fervent building activity. In the first decades, inscriptions attest that local magistrates of some twenty cities built or refurbished urban fortifications with the number rising to thirty-five at the close of the century.⁵⁴⁵ The inscription above Porta Nola confirms a similar local euergetism at work in Pompeii and it is clear that the towers of the city, along with the examples in Nocera, applied the latest in military architecture. Their design and construction required the technical expertise of highly skilled architects educated in the tactics of siege warfare. In my opinion, with both cities in close alliance with Rome, and the existence of the Nuceria league questionable, Roman engineers were probably involved in the designs. The wars in the east had exposed the Roman army to the sophistication of Hellenistic

⁵⁴³ I. D'Ambrosio, "Le fortificazioni di Poseidonia-Paestum. Problemi e prospettive di ricerca." *Annali di archeologia e storia antica* 12 (1990), 88.

⁵⁴⁴ See D'Ambrosio, "Le fortificazioni di Poseidonia-Paestum. Problemi e prospettive di ricerca," 74-75. Krischen, proposes two reconstructions Krischen, *Die Stadtmauren von Pompeji*, Pl. 7 and 8.

⁵⁴⁵ E. Gabba, "Urbanizzazione e rinnovamenti urbanistici nell'Italia centro-meridionale del I sec. a.C." *Studi classici e orientali* 21 (1972), 108-110; H. Jouffroy, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine* (Strasbourg 1986), 25.

siege warfare and the lessons learned were probably quickly applied to fortifications in Italy. Similarly, beyond defensive necessities responding to the insecurity of the time, the drive to build towers probably responded to Hellenistic notions of a turreted city where fortifications completed its image.⁵⁴⁶ These aspects are all the more compelling if we consider the application of the First Style on the towers as symptomatic of the local Samnite community trying to legitimize its status along the lines of the ideal Hellenistic city.

The extensive building program of the second century BCE attests to the desire to establish Pompeii as a city; its defenses certainly played no lesser part in constituting its image. This development occurred with a local Samnite elite exposed to Roman and Hellenistic traditions the extent of which remain difficult to quantify without further research on the golden age. Nevertheless, throughout the period the city walls, although monolithic and primarily military, connected with the city through the use of similar materials and subtle decorative additions. Their protective character translated naturally into the urban matrix by further highlighting the architectural landscape they enclosed. In this manner they very much acted as a crown, creating a constant visual reminder to those inside and outside their boundary of the city within. The walls also interacted socially, acquiring nicknames and acting as landmarks for navigation through the city. Politically they emphasized the piety of the elite and independence of the city, but also allowed for a measure of control on the local population. Their design and continuous upgrades stressed the awareness of the latest military precepts, projecting the power and

⁵⁴⁶ Also Gabba, "Urbanizzazione e rinnovamenti urbanistici nell'Italia centro-meridionale del I sec. a.C.," 96, 108. See also Pocetti, "Riflessi di strutture di fortificazioni nell'epigrafia italica tra il II e I secolo a.C." 317. These ideals found a direct corollary in the Greek Tychai, or the personifications of cities and countries, that symbolically wore a crown of walls. See J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, 1986), 2-3

connections of Pompeii with the rest of the Italy and the Mediterranean. They also carried a religious element emphasizing their role as the protectors of the community. In many ways, the evidence examined in this chapter points out that, like any other major monument, fortifications carried social, political, and religious meaning. These elements become clearer in the Roman period, when new kinds of evidence further highlight the deep connections between fortifications and the city.

Chapter 5 The Roman Colony: Continuity and Appropriation of the Civic Image

The previous chapters highlighted the multivalent meanings of the fortifications, but the nature of the evidence limited much of the analysis to the architectural comparison between the design and masonry of the walls with the city. These limits are less of a concern for the Roman colony since other types of evidence, such as surviving visual representations and a clear picture of the city's society, help to further contextualize the role of the walls. This chapter is therefore slightly different, focusing also on the wider social changes affecting the image of the city. The historical division afforded by the foundation of the colony is a very convenient one, but many notions related to the defenses, including civic pride and independence, remained true for the colony. The new colonial realities led to their negotiation and transformation in a process that continued up to the eruption of Vesuvius. Within this context the fortifications incorporated the essential Roman values of *virtus*, *securitas*, and *dignitas* which varied in importance as social and political changes affected the city. To some extent these notions undoubtedly carried over from the Samnite period, but like any other monument the meaning of the Pompeian fortifications changed with the developing realities. The history of colonial Pompeii traditionally divides into the late Republic, the early Empire, and the post-earthquake period from 62 CE to the eruption of Vesuvius. The changing roles of the fortifications consequently align with these events, but perceptions change gradually and it is precisely their continuous presence in the subsequent history of the city that made me treat them in a single chapter.

During the Social War Pompeii joined the ranks of the cities revolting against Rome. Sullan forces besieged the city, capturing it either in 89-88 BCE or 82 BCE

depending on the scholarly points of view. As a testament to the importance of the battle, Sulla himself led the siege after mutinous troops strangled the first Roman commander, Aulus Postumius Sabinus.⁵⁴⁷ Powerful reminders of the battle still mark the city. Pockmarks in the masonry near the Porta Vesuvio and Ercolano attest to the violent bombardment of ballistae and catapult missiles. The *etituns* inscriptions still point the way for the defending troops, and catapult balls, allegedly belonging to the siege, adorned the gardens of Pompeii at the time of their excavation.⁵⁴⁸ The event clearly lingered in Pompeian memory as a marker, positive or negative, of the changes that occurred shortly thereafter.

The damage wrought upon the city remains difficult to quantify, but the Roman army spared it the fate of the neighboring rebel city of Stabia, which was completely flattened as punishment for its affiliation with the revolt.⁵⁴⁹ Instead, Roman authorities transformed Pompeii into a colony, renaming it *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum* in 80 BCE.⁵⁵⁰ The title carried multiple personal meanings to Sulla; *cornelia* referred to his nephew and co-founder of the colony P. Cornelius Sulla, and referenced the Sullan *gens* Cornelia. *Veneria* alluded to Venus as the personal protective goddess of the dictator.⁵⁵¹ As discussed further below, the new status of the city included

⁵⁴⁷ Appian *civil wars* I.39 and I.50. Also see, E. Lo Cascio, “La società pompeiana dalla città sannitica alla colonia romana.” In *Pompeii I*, edited by F. Zevi (Naples, 1991), 123. See C. Amery and B. Curran JR, *The Lost World of Pompeii* (Los Angeles, 2002), 17.

⁵⁴⁸ W.F. Jashemski and F.G. Meyer, *The Natural History of Pompeii* (Cambridge, 2002), 7. See also A. Van Buren, “Further Studies in Pompeian Archaeology.” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 5 (1925): 110–111. Also see A. Van Buren, “Further Pompeian Studies.” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 10 (1932): 14–17 and García y García, *Danni di guerra a Pompeii* 15.

⁵⁴⁹ On Stabia see Pliny Nat. Hist. 3.70. For siege damage to the houses on the northern side of regio VI see R. Jones and D. Robinson. “The Structural Development of the House of the Vestals.” In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche a Pompeii ed Ercolano*, edited by P.G. Guzzo and M.P. Guidobaldi (Naples, 2005), 259. For a discussion on the extent of the buildings left standing see Castrén *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus* 50

⁵⁵⁰ Lo Cascio, “La società pompeiana dalla città sannitica alla colonia romana,” 122.

⁵⁵¹ J.P. Descoeudres, “History and Historical Sources.” In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by P. Foss and J.J. Dobbins (New York 2007), 16.

an influx of Roman veterans and their families as colonists, leading to decisive social changes and the new identity of Pompeii. Nevertheless, a large portion of the city also remained Samnite, dividing broadly into the pro- and anti- Roman camps that had shaped the previous period and had battled each other in the Social War.⁵⁵² This surviving population led to a measure of continuity that blurs any neat distinction the date 80 BCE invites modern scholars to establish.

THE WALLS OF THE COLONY

The immediate effects of the Roman victory are murky; scholars identify an interim period of uncertain rule between the battle and the installation of the colony.⁵⁵³ Soon afterward the *duumviri* T. Cuspius and M. Loreius restored the walls (fig. 68). The most recent hypothesis identifies the revolt of Spartacus around 70 BCE as a major catalyst for the reconstruction, but, as emphasized below, Roman notions correlating city walls with the proper image of a colony likely also played a part.⁵⁵⁴ The inscription celebrating their accomplishment mentions that the work concentrated on the *murum* and *plumam*, it reads:⁵⁵⁵

CVSPIVS · T · F · M · LOREIV(s) M · F

DVOVIR (d) D S MVRVM ET

⁵⁵² Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 118-119

⁵⁵³ Lo Cascio, "La società pompeiana dalla città sannitica alla colonia romana," 123.

⁵⁵⁴ As mentioned previously scholars first associated the renovation with the unrest resulting from Caesar's death. See Fiorelli *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 Al 1872*, 89 and also Nissen *Pompeianische Studien* 511. Since then a new theory associates the date with the revolt of Spartacus. See Castrén *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 88. F. Zevi, "Pompei 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), 129. Also Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 30 and most recently Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 118.

⁵⁵⁵ CIL X 937.

The term *murum* clearly refers to walls, but the translation of the inscription is still controversial since the term *plumam*, or plumes, as related to fortifications remains uncertain and may refer to the battlements. The extent of the renovations is therefore difficult to assess.⁵⁵⁶ As mentioned previously, whether by full demolition or the removal of battlements, the demilitarization of city walls was a common punishment to prohibit their effective re-use, prevent renewed uprisings, and dismiss any form of civic independence or bargaining power.⁵⁵⁷ Such measures are not immediately evident for Pompeii, although, as we have seen, a recent tenuous theory points out that the presence of drainage spouts in the *opus incertum* is the result of the reorganization of the battlements.⁵⁵⁸ A further complicating factor is the obscurity of the happenings throughout the siege. Only rams and mining operations could effectively bring down large sections of curtain wall and the use of these weapons at Pompeii remains uncertain. As in the previous chapter, I will assume that the *opus incertum* tracts surviving in the city walls largely represent post-siege repairs related to the battle and its immediate aftermath. I base this assumption primarily on the location of these tracts in the most vulnerable areas of the enceinte, their association with large construction projects such as the amphitheater, and some of the most recent masonry analyses and excavations.⁵⁵⁹ The following section offers a brief review of their appearance and, more broadly, the

⁵⁵⁶ Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien*, 511.

⁵⁵⁷ Rowlands, "Defense: A Factor in the Organisation of Settlements," 448. See also Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 115 and McK. Camp II, "Walls and the Polis," 48.

⁵⁵⁸ In particular Russo and Russo, whereas Hori is somewhat more reserved seeing their presence as generally typical of all *opus incertum* tracts. Russo and Russo, *89 a.C.: Assedio a Pompei* 71-75, and Hori, "Pompeian Town Walls and Opus Quadratum," 286.

⁵⁵⁹ See the discussion on p. 113-114

interventions on the fortifications between the installation of the colony and the eruption of Vesuvius.

The Evidence from the Curtain Wall

The primary evidence is again difficult to analyze as much of the surviving masonry is completely bare, although some sort of stucco coating usually accompanied the application of *opus incertum*. Furthermore, the parapet has also largely disappeared, complicating the interpretation of the appearance of the walls. Two sections of *opus incertum* stretch on either side of the Porta Stabia (fig. 69). West of the entrance a tract of *opus incertum* masonry quickly gives way to an entirely demolished area of the defenses likely looted in the post-earthquake period. To the east, the relic of an earlier internal Sarno limestone pier interrupts an otherwise uniform sixty-meter stretch of *opus incertum* masonry. The pier corresponds to a slight reentrant in the curtain and the eastern enclosure wall of the *schola* Tomb of Marcus Tullius.⁵⁶⁰ The masonry adjacent to the gate is slightly rougher and it may represent a refurbishment or a partial demolition of the wall face carried out with the tomb construction.⁵⁶¹ At its very bottom the wall displays a well finished surface that likely accommodated a now lost stucco veneer. East of the pier the masonry includes clear horizontal construction seams marking the sequential deposition of the concrete during the construction process. The parapet has completely disappeared, including any spouts that drained rainwater from the wall-walk.⁵⁶²

⁵⁶⁰As a prominent member of society, Marcus Tullius was probably responsible for the construction of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta. See Mau, *Pompeii: its Life and Art*, 422. Also Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompeii, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 259.

⁵⁶¹ The rough state of the wall facing may however also relate to surface sections collapsing from the *opus incertum* masonry as very recently occurred at the Porta Nola.

⁵⁶² As noted previously, the only example recovered from the area is a spout carved in a lion's head spout but its periodization is unclear.

The next large section of *opus incertum* supports the southern side of the amphitheater between Towers IV and V (fig. 70). Maiuri believed it was pre-Sullan and identified some early Imperial repairs to strengthen the wall against the *agger* behind it.⁵⁶³ Today modern imitation masonry composes much of the stretch and only the last ten meters leading up to Tower V are partially original.⁵⁶⁴ They display the remains of a plaster base coat that suggest a now lost embellishment. A couple of images from Maiuri's excavations around the amphitheater in the late 1950s confirm this layout. They show a low wall before its reconstruction and the ancient masonry is clearly visible next to the tower. Although Maiuri believed otherwise, the surviving ancient *opus incertum* masonry most likely relates to the construction of the amphitheater, but the current evidence does not allow any further elaboration on the matter.

Only two known large tracts of *opus incertum* survive between the amphitheater and the Porta Vesuvio. The eastern bastion of the Porta Nola is perhaps one of the most imposing stretches. It still towers above anyone passing through the gate (fig. 71). A subsequent lowering of the road in the Augustan period, carried out to ease access into the city, revealed its foundations and added to the formidable impression of the gate.⁵⁶⁵ Scant remains of a stucco base coat survive, but too little remains for any further assessment.⁵⁶⁶ Further west recent excavations have re-exposed a section of *opus incertum* associated with Tower IX (fig.10). The results confirm its post-colonial date and project its original height to some six meters, of which only some three remain.⁵⁶⁷ Interestingly, four counterforts rather than an *agger* strengthened the wall. Upon

⁵⁶³ Maiuri, "Muro della fortificazione," 233.

⁵⁶⁴ Maiuri, "Pompei. Sterro dei cumuli e isolamento della cinta murale," figs. 19 and 20.

⁵⁶⁵ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica* 115.

⁵⁶⁶ As with the Porta Stabia, the masonry displays a neat finish as a preparation for a base coat of plaster.

⁵⁶⁷ Etani, *Pompeii: Report of the Excavation at Porta Capua*, 94.

excavation, the lowest meter of the masonry displayed traces of a stucco coat, but any other remains had likely disintegrated soon after their first exposure in the 1800s.⁵⁶⁸

Three large sections of *opus incertum* masonry survive between the Porta Vesuvio and Ercolano (fig.39). None display traces of a decorative scheme, but they do present a more intact parapet. A small section stretching twenty-five meters east from Tower XI features seven regularly spaced drainage spouts and a unique decorative masonry architrave supporting a continuous battlement. A smaller ten-meter patch of masonry also survives roughly twenty-two meters from Tower XI but it is less well preserved. To the west, an extensive section of masonry starts some fifteen meters east of Tower XII and covers most of the ground toward Porta Ercolano (fig. 72). Limestone blocks compose the parapet east of the tower and tufa spouts sit lower down encased in the masonry.⁵⁶⁹ West of the tower the parapet transitions into a series of vertical tufa blocks standing on a horizontal architrave. Below it nineteen regularly spaced drainage spouts survive set into the masonry. A vertical seam in the wall façade further marks the transition, and it may represent successive construction events or the work of differing construction crews.⁵⁷⁰ The wall face displays clear horizontal construction seams recently dated to the Roman colony. They are strikingly similar to those found east of the Porta Stabia. Patches of rubble fill throughout the section point to secondary emergency repairs that most likely date to the post-earthquake period.⁵⁷¹ On the city side of the *agger* construction of a new

⁵⁶⁸ H. Etani and S. Sakai, "Preliminary Reports. Archaeological Investigation at Porta Capua, Pompeii. Second Season, September - December 1994." *Opuscula Pompeiana* 5 (1995), 60.

⁵⁶⁹ For a further description see Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano," 281-286.

⁵⁷⁰ Perhaps one crew focused on reconstructing the tower and the other on the curtain section.

⁵⁷¹ Hori, "Pompeian Town Walls and Opus Quadratum," 289.

retaining wall, recently securely dated to the early colony, and a pomerial road complemented the work on the exterior curtain wall.⁵⁷²

Further stretches of masonry survive on the western side of the city. The first creates a terrace for the vicolo dei Soprastanti and is incorporated into the later expansion of the House of Umbricus Scaurus (VII.16.15) (fig.21). Its southern edge displays the same spouts and tufa parapet as the curtain east of the Porta Ercolano. A large patch of fired brickwork at its base suggests similar post-earthquake repairs. A recent hypothesis posits that a colonist acquired the house immediately after the installation of the colony. The new owner demolished the previous limestone curtain and substituted it with the current *opus incertum* wall as part of an effort to build rooms on the new lower terrace.⁵⁷³ Perhaps as an implicit statement of conquest, or as a cost saving measure, he reused much of the limestone masonry as a building material for the refurbishments in the house.⁵⁷⁴

South of the Porta Marina *opus incertum* superimposed on a few older Sarno limestone courses acts as a terrace for the Temple of Venus (fig.22). A lonely block of tufa suggests that it replaced an earlier limestone/tufa curtain. The so-called Villa Imperiale (VIII.1.a) enveloped this section of the fortifications in the late first century BCE, covering them with Third-Style frescos and burying the external pomerial road.⁵⁷⁵ East of the temple another large section of fortifications emerges from remains of later buildings (fig. 73). It includes encased drainage spouts and the remains of a tufa parapet

⁵⁷² Excavations north of insula 2 in regio VI have recently identified and dated these remains. See D. Garzia, "Pompei. Regio VI, Insula 2. Aggere. Relazione di scavo settembre 2007." *Fastionline* 122 (2008): 1–3. Also, D. D’Auria, "Tratto dell’agger a nord dell’insula VI 2." *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 19 (2008): 103–106.

⁵⁷³ F. Pesando, *Gli ozi di Ercole: Residenze di lusso a Pompei ed Ercolano* (Rome, 2006), 148-150.

⁵⁷⁴ Cassetta and Constantino, "Vivere sulle mura," 200-202.

⁵⁷⁵ U. Pappalardo, "Nuove ricerche nella Villa Imperiale a Pompei." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche a Pompei ed Ercolano*, edited by P.G. Guzzo, and M.P. Guidobaldi (Naples, 2005) 331. Also Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 118.

similar to the wall east of the Porta Ercolano. The section displays signs of later re-use; the tufa blocks are sheared off and modified to support floor beams, and a terracotta sewer cut into the masonry at a later date drained excess water from the gardens above. Smooth white plaster and a surviving patch of embedded amphora pieces that likely functioned as a foundation for a stucco veneer still cover the masonry. It is unclear whether they are part of the original wall decoration or later buildings.⁵⁷⁶ Finally, a stretch of *opus incertum*, perhaps related to the construction of the yet unlocated Tower I, partially replaces the limestone terrace of the Doric Temple, but no parapet or drainage system survives.

With a few exceptions, the reconstruction effort largely preserved the layout of the battlements and *agger* system of the fortifications. The presence of drainage spouts in the *opus incertum* is a case in point since they probably are re-used elements of the tufa curtain. Along with the tufa parapet and the consistent horizontal seams, their very recurrence in the largest sections of masonry suggests that these curtain tracts belong to a single construction effort. Interesting to note, however, is the substantially lower level of the spouts below the continuous parapet east of Tower XI. This situation is probably the result of the unique battlement requiring a different drainage system, and may relate to a different construction event. A more important question is how the *opus incertum* matched up with the previous ashlar circuit since efforts to integrate or explicitly differentiate the masonry may represent implicit political statements. As far as any sort of stucco embellishment is concerned the analysis above points out that the current remains, besides a few scant traces, offer little to work with.

⁵⁷⁶ Similarly, a door cut into the nearby limestone masonry probably offered access from the House of Championnet II (VIII.2.3) above.

In an effort to reconstruct the appearance of the walls the individual wall descriptions and engravings of the earliest publications on Pompeii again offer some solace. We should keep in mind that these publications are part of an era that had far less detailed scientific standards than our modern age, and give us divergent pictures of the surviving remains. Several authors implicitly state that a stucco veneer covered the *opus incertum* curtain wall sections, but none mention whether it was smooth or replicated ashlar masonry.⁵⁷⁷ For example, William Gell describes the stucco as deliberately imitating the *opus quadratum* masonry, but it is unclear whether he refers to the towers, the curtain, or both.⁵⁷⁸ Thomas Dyer, referencing Gell, is equally vague describing the *opus incertum* sections as covered in stucco to better fit in with the adjacent masonry.⁵⁷⁹ Johannes Overbeck is somewhat more specific describing sporadic remains of stucco still covering the *opus incertum* masonry in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁵⁸⁰

Illustrations scattered throughout early publications offer further conflicting views. These are sometimes simple vignettes, and more often prints of engravings derived from field drawings that may have lost some detail in the copying process.⁵⁸¹ Most depict the exposed northern part of the fortifications from various angles, but only a handful seems accurate. Gell furnishes two drawings; the first depicting the section between Tower XI and the Porta Ercolano, and the second a close-up of Tower XII (fig. 74). Both show the lower sections of the curtain completely covered in a smooth stucco coating following the horizontal seams in the masonry. The accuracy is somewhat

⁵⁷⁷ Niccolini and Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei*. Vol. 2, 8. Also Bonucci, *Pompéi* 81 and Adams, *The Buried Cities of Campania*, 49. See also W. Mackenzie and A. Pisa. *Pompeii* (London, 1910), 20, and A. Sogliano, *Pompeii nel suo sviluppo storico: Pompeii preromana* (Rome, 1937), 280.

⁵⁷⁸ Gell, *Pompeiana*, 90.

⁵⁷⁹ Dyer, *Pompeii: Its History, Buildings, and Antiquities*, 58.

⁵⁸⁰ J. Overbeck, *Pompeii in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken für Kunst- und alterthumsfreunde dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1856), 39.

⁵⁸¹ See Gell, *Pompeiana* and his comments in the list of plates.

questionable with a few patches of *opus reticulatum* masonry appearing through the stucco that is clearly not present in the current remains. In addition, details such as the postern for Tower XII were not fully visible until Maiuri excavated the building in 1929.⁵⁸² Henry Wilkins, a contemporary of Gell, also renders stucco on the masonry west of Tower XII. He clearly delineates the *opus quadratum* near Porta Ercolano, but omits the current drainage spouts (fig. 75).⁵⁸³ Publishing soon thereafter in 1825, Paul Fumagalli shows the masonry between Towers XI and XII completely covered in stucco. However, the rendition is again inaccurate since the stretch included naked *opus quadratum* masonry that the author describes in the associated text.⁵⁸⁴ Le Riche similarly depicts completely smooth stucco on the *opus incertum* running west from Tower XII, but omits the stucco ashlar on the tower (fig. 75).⁵⁸⁵ A vignette published by Breton in 1855 shows the area almost completely free of plaster; with a few remaining slivers suggesting it imitated ashlar masonry.⁵⁸⁶ By the mid-nineteenth century, therefore, any stucco veneer in this stretch of the fortifications had likely disintegrated. The other section of *opus incertum* masonry frequently depicted in early illustrations is the eastern bastion of the Porta Nola. Here many authors depict the remnants of smooth stucco covering the masonry, with no further indications of First-Style embellishments or color

⁵⁸² Gell, *Pompeiana*, Pl. XVI and XVII.

⁵⁸³ H. Wilkins, L. Caracciolo, and F. Inghirami, *Suite de vues pittoresques des ruines de Pompeii et un précis historique de la ville, avec un plan des fouilles qui ont été faites jusqu'en février 1819 et une description des objets les plus intéressants* (Rome, 1819), pl. IX.

⁵⁸⁴ P. Fumagalli, *Pompeia: Trattato pittorico, storico e geometrico: Opera disegnata negli anni 1824 al 1827* (Firenze, 1828), 36.

⁵⁸⁵ J. Le Riche, *Vues des monuments antiques de Naples* (Paris, 1827), pl. 35. As mentioned previously the smooth stucco exterior of the towers was a common misconception of the age later corrected by Maiuri's excavations.

⁵⁸⁶ E. Breton, *Pompeia décrite et dessinée* (Paris, 1855), 179.

on the surface.⁵⁸⁷ Mazois in particular also details the presence of a secondary coat of stucco, suggesting a refurbishment of the decorative scheme (fig. 76).

Recently Russo and Russo hypothesize the presence of a First-Style veneer on the entire post-Sullan circuit. Their theory relies on a study of the pockmarks created by the Sullan war machine on the wall sections on the north side of the city. Along with a handful of less clear examples, a hole in the fifth block on the exterior western corner of the Porta Vesuvio contains a plaster plug that is their primary evidence for a decorative stucco coating. If true, the theory solves both military and aesthetic issues; the stucco presented a uniform façade to onlookers and masked divergent, perhaps weaker, masonry. However, the problems with this theory are many, not least the complete absence of substantial stucco remains on the *opus quadratum* including the early illustrations examined above.⁵⁸⁸ Furthermore, the towers provide ample evidence that, under the right conditions, large tracts of the stucco coating may have survived intact. Even so, the authors dismiss the missing plaster as the result of its complete disintegration after its excavation.⁵⁸⁹

Otherwise lacking on the rest of the circuit, the stucco plugs may therefore represent patches preventing the scaling of the fortifications by both individuals and enemy troops.⁵⁹⁰ Roman law indicates just how much such an illegal scaling was undesirable whether to keep out thieves or contrabandists trying to avoid the policing

⁵⁸⁷ L. Rossini, *Le antichità di Pompei: Delineate sulle scoperte fatte sino a tutto l'anno MDCCCXX* (Roma, 1831), Pl. LXXV. See also Mazois *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 1*, pl. XXXVI figs. 1 and 2. Gell, *Pompeiana*, Pl. XV. Gell also describes a piece of cornice on the ground before the north bastion of the gate as part of a decorative feature that collapsed from the parapet above, but no further evidence exists to place it there. See also Breton, *Pompeia décrite et dessinée*, 240.

⁵⁸⁸ Russo and Russo, *89 a.C.: Assedio a Pompei*, 71-75.

⁵⁸⁹ The only plaster surviving on the *opus quadratum* is on the western bastion of the Porta Vesuvio. Here it remains stuck behind an arch jamb built in the post-earthquake period of the city. The niche of the Porta Stabia also still carry stucco. In both cases the embellishments are limited to the shrines rather than covering the entire masonry.

⁵⁹⁰ As suggested by Prof. R. Taylor in a private conversation.

function of gates. City walls constituted a special category known as *res sanctae*, or holy things, protected by, but not consecrated to, the gods. Scaling or crossing them illegally was a sacrilege punishable by death.⁵⁹¹ Their status was probably related to the *sulcus primigenius* ritual since fortifications often closely shadowed the line of the *pomerium* in early colonial foundations. We have already noted the strong religious element associated with the Pompeian fortifications, and the new status of the city as a colony perhaps led to the strict enforcement of this law.

Whether plain or imitating ashlar masonry, the evidence points to some sort of stucco coating originally covering the *opus incertum* in the curtain wall, however elusive it might be to us. In many ways it formed a dramatic contrast with the *opus quadratum* of the previous circuit, and created a discrepancy in the visual unity of the wall. Perhaps the reasons for its presence are merely practical. After all, *opus incertum* was now the cheapest and fastest building material, and the stucco may represent nothing more than a coat meant to protect the masonry from the elements. Nevertheless, the stucco clearly resonated and probably functioned in unison with the decorative embellishments present on the towers and gate vaults. The new sections clearly announced and readily identified the euergetism of those involved in the reconstruction of the walls and by extension the new social order in the city.

This hypothesis seems particularly apt if we consider two key aspects: the associations of the First Style as applied on the exterior of buildings with the proper image of public structures; and the identity of Loreius and Cuspius, the two *duumviri* responsible for refurbishing the walls, as Roman colonists. In this context it is no

⁵⁹¹ Digest 1.8.1-9 Gaius, *Institutes*, book 1, in A. Watson, ed. *The Digest of Justinian*. (Philadelphia, 1985). . For further discussion on the matter see W. Seston, "Les murs, les portes, et les tours des enceintes urbaines et le problème des *res sanctae* en droit romain." In *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Andre Piganoil* (Paris, 1966), 1489–1498.

coincidence that two of the most prominent visual landmarks of the city, the Temple of Minerva and the Temple of Venus, received new terracing walls during this refurbishment. As highlighted further below, these two goddesses played instrumental roles in the identity of the city. The masonry in such a prominent location undoubtedly carried a stucco embellishment and, as is true for the previous phases, created a powerful renewed connection between the walls, the deities protecting the city, and the sponsors of the reconstruction effort.

Beyond their initial refurbishment, the curtain sections remained substantially unchanged until the earthquake of 62 CE. As emphasized further below, the area of public land associated with the walls continued to slowly shrink, overtaken by construction and accommodating burials. The walls slowly changed roles from an effective defensive line to a barrier with a diminished military function. After the earthquake the population used many areas in front of the curtain as dumps for the architectural debris resulting from the cleanup efforts.⁵⁹² Most notably, large tracts adjacent to the Porta Stabia, Nocera, and Nola became open-air quarries spoliated for building material in the ensuing reconstruction.⁵⁹³ Although they lost much of their imposing appearance, the walls contributed immensely both psychologically and physically to the rebirth of the city. They acted as functional markers beyond which the population placed the ruins of the devastated city, and simultaneously provided the necessary material to contribute to its reconstruction.

⁵⁹² Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano," 279-280. Also see M. De Vos, "Primo Stile figurato e maturo Quarto Stile negli scarichi provenienti dalle macerie del terremoto del 62 d.C. a Pompei." *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 39 (1977): 29-47. Chiaramonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane*, 57-9. Similarly the schola tombs outside the Porta Stabia were recovered covered in rubbish and debris deposited after the 62 CE earthquake. See "Pompei giornale dei soprastanti." *Notizie degli scavi di Antichità* 11 (1889): 281 and Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 254-5.

⁵⁹³ Maiuri, "Muro della fortificazione," 232.

The Development of the Gates

The Porta Marina

Beyond the various tracts of the walls, a few gates received structural makeovers in the period between the installation of the Roman colony and the eruption of Vesuvius. Some carry the signs of multiple interventions, but it is hard to ascertain when they occurred. The Porta Marina is a case in point (fig. 77). It lies on the western edge of the Pompeian plateau forming a primary link between the coast and the Forum. Its backbone is a large barrel-vaulted corridor built in *opus quasi-reticulatum* and brick quoins set inside the limestone masonry of the first Samnite enceinte. Two vaulted entryways extend in front of it; a smaller passage for pedestrians, and a large entrance reserved for pack animals and horses since the road through the gate was too steep for cart traffic. A limestone bastion extends forward on the southern side and contains a niche where excavators recovered a broken terracotta statue of Minerva. The corridor features a walled up door on the north side and another still opens to an unidentified space on the south side.⁵⁹⁴ On the city side a large *opus incertum* terrace, built at a later date to support a portico heading to the houses above the gate, abruptly cuts off the sidewalk, forcing would-be pedestrians onto the flagstones.⁵⁹⁵

The Porta Marina has received a lot of scholarly attention concerning its date and construction sequence.⁵⁹⁶ The current *communis opinio* identifies the barrel vault as a modification built in the early years of the colony and the smaller outer vaults as added soon thereafter. The main vault likely replaced an elongated version of the typical

⁵⁹⁴ Perhaps they were a series of water tanks later supplanted by horrea but its original function remains unknown. Eschebach and Eschebach, *Pompeji vom 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis 79 n. Chr.*, 77.

⁵⁹⁵ In my opinion, the use of the *opus vittatum mixtum* construction technique points to a likely post-earthquake reconstruction.

⁵⁹⁶ See Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien*, 184. Kurt Wallat recently confirms its early colonial date through the analysis of the fired bricks in the quoins. See K. Wallat, "Opus Testaceum in Pompeji." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 100 (1993): 364.

Pompeian tripartite gate stretching up to the top of the plateau near the current entrance of the Temple of Venus.⁵⁹⁷ Its long cavernous layout and double entrance have led many scholars to see it as ornamental, functioning primarily as a police and tax barrier.⁵⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the Porta Marina also preserved considerable military capabilities in tune with the general uncertainty of the times and the wider upgrade of the civic defenses.⁵⁹⁹ The steep road approaching the gate was inaccessible to carts, let alone heavy complicated siege engines, and naturally added to its military strength. Furthermore, its layout and elevation transformed the gate into a powerful defensive tower-like structure where the added height resulted in better views and weapon reach.⁶⁰⁰

A more pressing question is why this opening in particular received such an extensive refurbishment in the early colony. An answer may lie in two key factors in the wider urban context. The gate opened on the via Marina, linking the Forum with a side entrance of the basilica and the Temples of Venus and Apollo. Little noticed in Pompeian scholarship are the marble chips inserted in between the flagstones. They are unique in the city and serve to highlight the stateliness and importance of the road. Furthermore, the Temple of Venus in particular received new decorations as an explicit political statement in her role as the personal protectress of Sulla and her transformation from the Samnite Mefitis Fisica.⁶⁰¹ Outside the walls the road led to the *navalia*, a series of harbor facilities built soon after the installation of the colony, where Roman navy ships docked on land at night and during the winter. The full importance of this facility remains unclear, but it

⁵⁹⁷ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 116-117.

⁵⁹⁸ Mau first advanced this idea. See A. Mau, *Pompejanische Beiträge* (Berlin, 1879), 233-234.

⁵⁹⁹ See R. Palmer, "Customs on Market Goods Imported into the City of Rome." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 36 (1980): 217-218.

⁶⁰⁰ Parallels of the type in exist in Perugia and Ferrentium. For further discussion see Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica* 117.

⁶⁰¹ L. Jacobelli and P. Pensabene, "La decorazione architettonica del Tempio di Venere a Pompei. Contributo allo studio e alla ricostruzione del santuario." *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 7 (1995-96): 45.

probably played a key role in the area until the Augustan development of the naval base across the bay at Misenum.⁶⁰² The proximity to the Temple of Venus and the development of the naval facility explains the refurbishment of the Porta Marina as a marker of the new colonial realities in the city.

During the course of the first century CE the suburban baths, the Villa Imperiale (VIII.1.a) and private houses eventually engulfed the gate, dramatically changing the layout of the area. A terrace of the villa completely buried a stretch of the pomerial road linking the gate to the river harbor further south.⁶⁰³ Along with the development of Misenum, this factor probably led to a loss of importance for the gate. Similarly, the urban development and the gate's proximity to the coast also explain its unique status as the only entrance to the city lacking tombs in front of it.⁶⁰⁴ Despite the urban development the gate continued to play an active role in the city.⁶⁰⁵ A similar situation existed in Rome where the gates of the Servian Wall, long surpassed by urban development, continued to mark the crossing points through its boundary.⁶⁰⁶ In this context they functioned in a similar fashion to honorary arches, a form that architects increasingly used to connect districts of the city.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰² E. Curti, "Le aree portuali di Pompei. Ipotesi di lavoro." In *Moregine: Suburbio 'portuale' di Pompei* (Naples, 2005), 59. He directly counters the previous theory suggesting that the quay wall was defensive in nature. See J.P. Descoeudres, "The So-called Quay Wall North West of the Porta Marina." *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 9 (1998): 216.

⁶⁰³ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 116.

⁶⁰⁴ Unless, of course, they still await discovery.

⁶⁰⁵ Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii*, 216. He describes the remains of wooden doors and an iron gate each closing the main passageways implying they could still be closed when necessary.

⁶⁰⁶ D. Favro, "A City in Flux. The Animated Boundaries of Ancient Rome." In *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology: Boston, August 23-26, 2003* (Oxford, 2006), 193. She describes these gates as "vibrant boundary markers where occupants changed their actions in response to municipal requirements".

⁶⁰⁷ See D. Scagliarini Corlàita, "La situazione urbanistica degli archi onorari nella prima età imperiale." In *Studi sul arco onorario romano* (Rome, 1979): 29–72.

As a result, authorities carefully maintained the embellishments on Porta Marina and it retained most of its stucco coating at the time of excavation. Sadly, an allied aircraft bomb pulverized the outer vaults in the Second World War, and only a fragment of the decorative coat survives on the jamb of the northern arch.⁶⁰⁸ Drawings and photographs in early publications and guidebooks reveal a smooth stucco coat with a slightly raised socle covering the masonry, falling in line with the other gates of the city.⁶⁰⁹ The gate contained a shrine that was still in use at the time of the eruption. The presence of many graffiti, including one referencing the prostitute Attica and her fees, attest to the lively and vibrant role of the gate.⁶¹⁰

The Porta Vesuvio

The Porta Vesuvio is another gate that witnessed extensive changes with the new colony when it became the designated site for the arrival of an aqueduct (fig. 14). The establishment of the colony brought with it the expectation to meet the proper Roman living standards that included a supply of flowing fresh water.⁶¹¹ As the highest point in the city, the Porta Vesuvio lent itself naturally to the task; its status as a public structure obviated the necessity of costly expropriations. The current water *castellum*, or distribution tank, on the west flank of the gate is the *terminus* of a branch of the Serino

⁶⁰⁸ García y García, *Danni di guerra a Pompei*, 167-171. Until then the stucco coat had actually sparked a scholarly debate upon the date of the gate as it covered much of the identifiable masonry and construction techniques. See Van Buren, "Further Studies in Pompeian Archaeology," 106-107 and for a more general summary see Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien*, 184.

⁶⁰⁹ See Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii*, 215. H. von Rohden, *Die Terracotten von Pompeji* (Stuttgart, 1880) fig. 24. Also see E. Breton, *Pompeia* 3rd ed. (Paris, 1870.), 232. See also L. Fischetti and L. Conforti, *Pompeii Past and Present* (Milan, 1907), 26 containing a photograph complemented with a rather fancy reconstruction including a decorated socle. B. Molesworth, *Pompeii as it was & as it is* (London, 1904), 27 has an odd picture of just the center jamb with stucco and no additional decoration. See also García y García, *Danni di guerra a Pompei*, figs. 408 and 409.

⁶¹⁰ Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii*, 215.

⁶¹¹ Guzzo, *Pompeii. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 136.

aqueduct built by Augustus to supply the Roman naval base at Misenum around 35 BCE (fig. 78).⁶¹² Maiuri first proposed its Augustan date, but Christopher Ohlig recently suggested an earlier Sullan phase coinciding with the completion of the Avella aqueduct.⁶¹³ However, Duncan Keenan Jones has recently vigorously challenged this hypothesis, returning to Maiuri's thesis its first construction in the Augustan Age.⁶¹⁴

If we follow Ohlig's theory, the current version of the *castellum* had a predecessor in the form of an open air round nymphaeum set directly into the *agger* immediately west of the gate. The waterworks in this location created a deliberate visual statement announcing the arrival of the aqueduct into the city. A new wide plaza in front of it further stressed its presence to onlookers. The works necessary to build the *castellum* were substantial. They included the shortening of the western gate court by some 6.5 meters, the complete demolishing of its internal wall, and the construction of a new terrace to hold back the *agger*.⁶¹⁵ The new waterworks also affected the street network of the area. It closed the access to the pomerial road running at the base of *agger*, whereas the aqueduct channel approached the city slightly above ground, essentially cutting off the exterior route to the Porta Ercolano. In an effort to re-establish the connection, engineers raised the entire area between the two gates with a massive two-meter deep earth fill and built a road overtopping the aqueduct.⁶¹⁶ Construction of the channel

⁶¹² Eschebach and Eschebach, *Pompeji vom 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr. bis 79 n.Chr.*, 84.

⁶¹³ Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano," 277-279. His conclusion relies on the partial excavation of the fill and the inspection of a well shaft dug through the fill to reach the aqueduct channel a few meters in front of the fortifications.

⁶¹⁴ D. Keenan-Jones, "The Aqua Augusta Regional Water Supply in Roman and Late Antique Campania." Macquarie University, 2010, 250-252

⁶¹⁵ C.J.P. Ohlig, "Städtebauliche Veränderungen im Bereich des Pomeriums und der Porta Vesuvio Unter dem Einfluss des Baues der Fernwasserversorgung in Pompei." *Babesch* 79 (2004), 93-102. For the demolition see Seiler et.al "La regio VI insula 16 e la zona della porta Vesuvio," 224.

⁶¹⁶ C.J.P. Ohlig, *De Aquis Pompeiorum. Das Castellum Aquae in Pompeji. Herkunft, Zuleitung und Verteilung des Wassers* (Nijmegen, 2001), 272-273.

through the fortifications posed further challenges. Workers had to negotiate the masonry of the curtain and the buried bastion adjacent to the gate. Ohlig envisions the removal and later reconstruction of the masonry to reach the level of the channel, but the outer curtain preserves no trace of this event unless workers carefully put back every single block in place. This scenario is certainly possible if we consider a deliberate desire to preserve the effect of the tufa/limestone façade of the outer curtain, but it seems unlikely; tunneling through the *agger* was probably a more practical solution.

The overall consequences on the fortifications were dramatic. The external fill reduced their relative height, buried the tower posterns, and eliminated any outworks immediately in front of the walls (fig. 39, 72). Both Maiuri and Ohlig believe that these events were only possible after the walls had ceased to function militarily.⁶¹⁷ Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that the decision to locate the *castellum* within the fortified perimeter, and the burial of the channel, imply a distinct desire to keep them out of reach and maintain the protective role of the fortifications despite their weakening. If we follow Ohlig's suggestion, the new complex also carried an implicit colonial statement; the partially demolished gate also symbolized lost independence and framed the new, distinctly Roman waterworks. Furthermore, the exterior earthwork also cancelled out the limestone/tufa juxtaposition of the curtain, a hallmark of Samnite Pompeii, in one of the most visible and powerful areas of the fortifications. This message seems particularly poignant assuming that funding for the aqueduct originated in Rome as part of the foundation of the colony.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁷ Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano," 277-279, Ohlig "Städtebauliche Veränderungen im Bereich des Pomeriums und der Porta Vesuvio," 93-102.

⁶¹⁸ Ohlig, "Städtebauliche Veränderungen im Bereich des Pomeriums und der Porta Vesuvio," 104.

Similar connotations extend to a single Augustan phase to the *castellum*, although at this much later date associating it to a symbolic loss of independence is probably a lesser implication. Nevertheless, the partial burial of the fortifications carried similar symbolic mark upon the city, especially if we consider that that Temple of Venus also received a refurbishment in this phase.⁶¹⁹ Perhaps the memory of the symbolism of the limestone and tufa juxtaposition had faded by this stage. However, the construction of the *castellum*, the piazza and the modification of the Porta Vesuvio, ties in with a more general emphasis on the city gates that falls in line, as we shall see, with the broader trends on the Italian peninsula. The new emphasis to the Porta Vesuvio, transformed it into an important landmark for the city. It would maintain this role through the rest of Pompeian history.

The Porta Stabia

On the opposite end of the city, the Porta Stabia received an *opus incertum* arch in the early colony and finally achieved the same appearance as the other gates in the city (fig. 79).⁶²⁰ Until the recent excavations scholars commonly associated the vault with the construction of the towers, and we should keep in mind that future investigations may reveal more variations in construction events. If anything, the evidence of the Porta Nocera highlighted previously suggest a similar more complicated construction sequence. The completion of the Porta Stabia vault at this late date is perhaps related to the construction of the nearby small theater. This building is commonly associated with the

⁶¹⁹ See below

⁶²⁰ On the date see Devore and Ellis, “The Third Season of Excavations at VIII.7.1-15 and the Porta Stabia at Pompeii,” 14. They essentially revive Bechi and Minervini’s first belief that the vault represents a post-Sullan construction event. They, however, push it to postdating the earthquake of 62 CE. See Bechi, “Sommaro degli scavamenti di Pompei eseguiti nel corso del mese di agosto 1851,” 42.

colony, but a recent re-evaluation suggests that it was begun before the siege.⁶²¹ In this context we may suggest that the gate vault perhaps accompanied and/or celebrated its completion in the early years of the colony. In the Augustan period, or soon thereafter, a raised causeway built in front of the gate eased passage into the city from the bustling river port nearby. The inscription mentioned previously commemorating how the *duumviri* L. Avianius Flaccus, and Q. Spedius Firmus renovated the road likely also refers to the construction of the causeway.⁶²² The new roadway also bridged the defensive ditch in front of the gate, thereby significantly reducing its military effectiveness. It also compromised the natural drainage of rainwater through the passageway, leading to the construction of a sewer through the western *agger* that demolished the stairs leading up to the wall walk.⁶²³

The Augustan Gates

A few other gates experienced a similar change in the same period; the roads through the Porta Nola, Nocera, and Marina were lowered, and the Porta Ercolano and Vesuvio elevated.⁶²⁴ In practical terms these road works eased the passage into the city, and scholars associate these modifications with a general reduction of defensive concerns

⁶²¹ See Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 131 on the construction of the small theater.

⁶²² CIL X, 1064. See also Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 198. The date is somewhat uncertain. Castrén sees them in office in the early Julio-Claudian period. Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 141, 223. The new causeway may coincide with the closure of the pomerial road leading to the Porta Marina. A Claudian *sestertius* found beneath the paving stones below the vault points to a later date, but it may relate to a re-paving of the road. See G. Spano, "Pompei." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 19 (1911): 377.

⁶²³ Recent excavations of the drain put its construction date to very late in the colony on the basis of wear pattern of the nearby fountain. See S.J.R. Ellis and G. Devore, "Two Seasons of Excavations at VIII.7.1-15 and the Porta Stabia at Pompeii, 2005 - 2006." *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 18 (2007): 124-125. It is possible, however, that this fountain associates with the construction of the Avella aqueduct.

⁶²⁴ At the Porta Marina and Nocera the works also led to a similar blockage of the sewers passing through the *agger*. For the Porta Vesuvio see Seiler et.al "La regio VI insula 16 e la zona della Porta Vesuvio," 252.

resulting from the establishment of the *pax augusta*.⁶²⁵ We shall discuss the role of the fortifications in this period further below, but we may note that Augustus promoted the construction of many enceintes and gates as part of his program of civic renewal on the Italian peninsula. At Pompeii the early Imperial period saw the construction of many politically inspired buildings as the Pompeian elite aligned itself with the new realities of power.⁶²⁶ In particular, the Eumachia building, the Temple to the Genius of Augustus, the shrine to the public *lares* on the east side of the Forum, and the private Temple to Fortuna Augusta farther north all celebrated the emperor and his cult.⁶²⁷ The changes to the roadways may seem subtle, but they included radical interventions: cutting back scarps, filling in defensive ditches, and the re-paving of roads. The result was a new emphasis on the gates of Pompeii. This seems especially the case where the lowered roadways added to the height of the gates and walls as one passed through the *agger*. The tall walls compounded the cavernous effect of the passageways already inherent in the design of forecourt gates, thereby enhancing their stateliness and the experience of passing through the limits of the city (figs. 43 and 71). If anything, although the martial function of the fortifications decreased, these modifications on the gates followed the wider urbanization processes occurring on the peninsula.

⁶²⁵ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 219 and also Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 115.

⁶²⁶ As Guzzo, notes an overt marker of this process is the statue that the prominent Pompeian Holconius Rufus commissioned. He depicts himself as military general even though he never went to war to espouse these ideals. He even went as far as to mimic the Augustus Prima Porta. Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 170.

⁶²⁷ Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 23.

The Post-Earthquake Interventions on the Porta Ercolano and Porta Vesuvio

After these events the gates remained largely untouched until the effects of the 62 CE earthquake prompted a radical intervention on the Porta Ercolano.⁶²⁸ This is a remarkable circumstance considering the heavy damage wrought on the area during the siege. Presumably, the gate needed some sort of repairs after the siege, but its scars were likely still present on the masonry as they are on the adjacent curtain wall today. They acted as visual reminder of the attack and conquest of the city, a message perhaps reinforced by the partial burial and reconstruction of the wall toward Porta Vesuvio.

Excavated in the 1760's, and therefore on modern view for several centuries, scholars have extensively discussed the original appearance and function of the Porta Ercolano. The current remains frame a large central roadway open to cart traffic with two smaller flanking pedestrian passageways on either side (fig.80). Barrel vaults covered the side passages, whereas the central bay, closed with a portcullis on the field side and double-doored gate on the city side, was open to the sky. The result was a typical open court gate. The ruined piers standing today still preserve parts of the First-Style embellishments that once covered the gate, but the elements have taken a heavy toll on the remains. Illustrations in Mazois and Rossini point out how much decorative detail has disappeared including a black socle emphasizing the passageways and two lost pilasters applied in low relief on the far corners of the building (fig.81).⁶²⁹ Only Mau actually mentions the socle in print, describing it as a typical Augustan Third-Style variant of the

⁶²⁸ Until recently scholars believed that this version dated to the Augustan period, but a new convincing argument now puts its construction in the post-earthquake period. See T. Fröhlich "La porta di Ercolano a Pompei e la cronologia dell'opus vittatum mixtum." In *Archäologie und Seismologie. La regione vesuviana dal 62 Al 79 d.C. problemi archeologici e sismologici* (München, 1995), 153–159.

⁶²⁹ Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie I*, pl. XI, fig. II and fig. III. Also see Rossini *Le antichità di Pompei*, Pl. XII.

First Style.⁶³⁰ Drawings published in the volumes of Gell and Overbeck-Mau illustrate two Ionic marble columns framing the exterior of the eastern pedestrian entrance, but their presence at the time was the result of an erroneous reconstruction using pieces from a nearby tomb.⁶³¹ In similar fashion to the other city gates, the stucco was otherwise a plain white and functioned as an *album* containing graffiti, city ordinances, and announcements of gladiatorial games. Successive paint coats cleared the clutter, attesting to both the careful maintenance of the gate's appearance and its performance as a billboard in the city.⁶³²

William Gell also published a reconstruction of the gate, a task that few others have attempted ever since. The author himself admits the rather speculative nature of the reconstruction and he projects the gate as a full-fledged Roman triumphal arch crowned with a great *biga*.⁶³³ Subsequent reconstructions varied the theme only slightly. Niccolini lowered the height of the two pedestrian entrances, whereas Delaunay published a more reserved version without the crowning *biga* (figs. 82 and 83).⁶³⁴ These somewhat overzealous reconstructions clash with the physical remains. For example, Gell reconstructs full double parapets on either side of the gate, but an inn and stable flanked the gate's southern side, and a staircase rather than the internal parapet abutted it to the north. More

⁶³⁰ Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, 55. Mau, *Geschichte der Decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji*, 58.

⁶³¹ Gell, *Pompeiana*, Pl. XIII. See also Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in Seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, fig. 14.

⁶³² Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 1*, 29. Also see Niccolini and Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei vol. 2*, 9. Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii*, 76-77. See Dyer, *Pompeii: Its History, Buildings, and Antiquities*, 58; Bonucci, *Pompéi*, 79; Breton *Pompeia décrite et dessinée*, 240 and also E. Delaunay, *Une promenade à Pompéi* (Scafati, 1877), 84.

⁶³³ Gell, *Pompeiana*, Pl. XIX, re-used in Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, 42, and more recently F. Coarelli, *Pompeii* (New York, 2002), 32.

⁶³⁴ F. Niccolini, and F. Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei. vol. 4* (Naples 1896), pl. XIV. Later adopted in Fischetti and Conforti, *Pompeii past and present*, 80. Delaunay, *Une promenade à Pompéi*, 81. A word of caution on the accuracy of Delaunay, however, since he describes the side entrances on one of the towers as being the Porta Stabia, 12.

recently, Brands points out the parallels between the Porta Ercolano and the Augustan *cavaedium* gate types at Fano, Torino, and Spello.⁶³⁵ These grand gates featured a similar open central court and the Porta Ercolano resembled their core passageway without the flanking towers.

Scholars have questioned the nature of the gate and whether its function was primarily ornamental, defensive, or both.⁶³⁶ Open court gates have a clear military function to trap attackers and allow their bombardment from above. Yet the current remains preclude an easy access to the second floor except for an approach from the north. Although the gate resembled the design of the open court types, it likely did not achieve a full military functionality. The specifics of the scholarly debate need not concern us here since its monumental character is evident. In many ways it embodies the post-earthquake reconstruction effort. Its stucco embellishments fit into a roughly 180-year old decorative tradition on the fortifications reflecting the proper image of the city that in the post-earthquake period simultaneously referenced its resilience and history. The choice of rebuilding the Porta Ercolano is also no coincidence since it straddled one of the most important routes of the city, connecting it directly with Rome. As noted previously, this circumstance likely led to the construction of the well-finished adjacent *opus quadratum* tufa masonry. By the time of the gate's reconstruction opulent villas,

⁶³⁵ Frigerio, *La cerchia di Novum Comum. Antiche porte di città italiche e romane*, 93. See also Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien*, 190.

⁶³⁶ See Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien*, 188-190. Scholars have also focused their attention on the closing mechanisms and weather both interior and exterior entrances featured gates. The exterior entrances have no further evidence of closing mechanisms except for grooves intended to accommodate a portcullis shuttering over the main road. The presence of stucco in the rails, however, induced many to believe that the portcullis was never installed since it would have ruined the delicate coat when it opened or closed. See F. Niccolini and F. Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei. vol. 2* (Naples 1862), 9. Also, Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümen und Kunstwerken*, 55. Monnier in particular sees the absent portcullis as a deliberate ploy to draw in attackers and trap them see Monnier, *Pompéi et les pompéiens*, 101. See also M. Monnier, *The Wonders of Pompeii* (New York, 1870), 96. In any event, the gate closed on the interior and could still function to keep unwanted elements from entering the perimeter of the walls.

elite tombs, and a concentration of elite houses in Regio VI all lined the road, indicating that it retained its status as a prominent thoroughfare in the city.⁶³⁷

A new gate was also in the works at the Porta Vesuvio when the eruption occurred. Largely demolished in the earthquake of 62 CE, its new plan featured an elaborate double arch similar to the Porta Marina (fig.14). Unlike its earlier counterpart, where a terrace eventually shut off the pedestrian sidewalk, the Porta Vesuvio already included a blind sidewalk dead-ending on the old limestone bastion. As mentioned previously, this space preserved a *lararium* at the time of excavation and the new arch further monumentalized the shrine, suggesting a concern with the aesthetic effects and religious connotations of the gate. The similarity with the Porta Marina is hard to dismiss and, like the Porta Ercolano, points to a continued unified conceptual presentation of the fortifications and the city. A recent hypothesis even proposes that the final design of the Vesuvian gate was a carbon copy of the Porta Ercolano.⁶³⁸ Although within the realm of possibilities, this theory remains hard to prove. Regardless of its final monumental appearance the reconstruction effort carried the same message.

After the devastating seismic events of 62 CE, the area between the two gates became symbolic of the reconstruction effort since it received the greatest mass of architectural debris associated with the clean-up of the city.⁶³⁹ The reconstruction of the two gates therefore carried a further message of rebirth. This statement connected back to

⁶³⁷ See F. Senatore, "Necropoli e società nell'antica Pompei. Considerazioni su un sepolcreto di poveri." In *Pompei, il Vesuvio e la penisola Sorrentina* (Rome, 1999), 95. The Porta Ercolano necropolis seems to cater more to the rich where 48% of the tombs represent the elite, as opposed to the 20% of the Porta Nocera. The Porta Ercolano perhaps primarily served Regio VI where there seems to be a higher concentration of opulent houses. On the importance of key roads see Zanker, "The City as Symbol: Rome and the Creation of an Urban Image," 25-41.

⁶³⁸ On the matter see Frölich, "La porta di Ercolano a Pompei e la cronologia dell'opus vittatum mixtum," 151.

⁶³⁹ Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano," 278-280, describes large piles up to 1,60m deep outside these two gates.

Rome since the expenditures that accompanied the reconstruction effort likely came from the imperial coffers.⁶⁴⁰ It is unclear who financed the reconstruction; both Nero and Vespasian had further connections to the city. Nero was personally connected through his wife Poppaea, whose *gens* came from the Pompeii. He even dedicated a golden lamp to Venus Pompeiana as a symbol of his sponsorship to reconstruct her temple.⁶⁴¹ Vespasian's involvement in the post-earthquake period included the addition of a temple in his honor on the east side of the Forum. In fact, a recent re-evaluation points to his heavy involvement in the reconstruction of the city, to the extent that most of the public buildings were re-built by the time of the eruption.⁶⁴² As discussed further below, he also ordered the restitution of all illegally occupied public land to the city including its walls. The donation of the gates may therefore eminently express the completion of this process.

The lack of epigraphic evidence keeps us guessing whether Nero, Vespasian, or even Titus supplied funds for the reconstruction of the two gates. But we may draw a parallel to the specific choice of reconstructing these two gates with the commemorative arch of Augustus that simultaneously functioned as a gate in the enceinte of Rimini. The arch was one of a pair voted by the Senate in 27 BCE and it celebrated the completion of the Augustan renovations of the *via Flaminia*. Its twin marked the same event on the Milvian Bridge just outside of Rome.⁶⁴³ The monument also honored the massive renewal of the city's infrastructure after the emperor granted it colonial status as the

⁶⁴⁰ R. Ling, "Development of Pompeii's Public Landscape in the Roman Period." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by J.J. Dobbins and P. Foss (New York, 2007), 125.

⁶⁴¹ S. De Caro, "La lucerna d'oro di Pompei. Un dono di Nerone a Venere Pompeiana." In *I culti della Campania antica* (Rome, 1998), 239-244. See also F. Zevi, "Pompei, prima e dopo l'eruzione." In *Studi in onore di Umberto Scerrato per il suo settantacinquesimo compleanno* (Naples, 2003), 856-864.

⁶⁴² See F. Pesando, "Prima della catastrofe. Vespasiano e le città vesuviane." In *Divus Vespasianus. Il bimillenario dei flavi* (Milan, 2009), 378-385.

⁶⁴³ Cassius Dio, 53, 22-2, translated by E. Carey (Cambridge 1917). On this role for arches see Scagliarini Corlàita, "La situazione urbanistica degli archi onorari nella prima età imperiale," 29-72.

Colonia Augusta Ariminensis.⁶⁴⁴ The new Porta Ercolano probably carried similar messages, creating an interregional connection with Rome through its position on the via Consolare and celebrating the benevolence of the emperor financing the reconstruction effort. The message was clear: no other buildings could symbolize the rebirth of the city more effectively than renewal of the markers on its boundaries.

Considering the important developments concerning the gates a few more remarks concerning their function in the city are in order. As mentioned, city gates played an important role as tax barriers. As a result they also carried strong associations with the political and legal authority of the city. Starting in the first century BCE scholars trace a distinct evolution in gate design that included multiple passageways to relieve the traffic congestion that resulted from their role as bottlenecks. This trend continued with the advent of the *pax romana* under the empire.⁶⁴⁵ Although gates retained a defensive role, this development signals a shift in emphasis toward more practical and monumental considerations in gate design. In fact, monumental gates designed with less emphasis on defense also symbolized the wider protection offered by the emperor and the empire, along with their celebration of local civic identity.⁶⁴⁶

As Cornelis van Tilburg recently points out, the exponential development of Pompeii in the Samnite period probably compounded the issues of traffic congestion. The narrow passageways of the gates probably exacerbated the problem. The appearance of pedestrian passageways in Pompeii is perhaps the result of efforts trying to relieve it. Authorities could separate cart traffic and pedestrians so that they both had an easier

⁶⁴⁴ J. Ortalli “Nuove fonti archeologiche per Ariminum. Monumenti, opere pubbliche e assetto urbanistico tra la fondazione coloniale e il principato agosto.” In *Pro populo arimense. Atti Del Convegno Internazionale “Rimini Antica. una respublica fra terra e mare* (Faenza, 1995), 469–529.

⁶⁴⁵ Van Tilburg, “Gates, Suburby and Traffic in the Roman Empire,” 133-134

⁶⁴⁶ On this complex development and relationship see Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age*, 108-113, 127

route into the city.⁶⁴⁷ Although the Porta Marina, due to its heavy slope, seems to preclude the passage of large carts, pack animals could still transit through the gate. Furthermore, the design probably also carried a symbolic element related to the new colony if we consider the construction of the *navalia* and the strong political associations of the Temple of Venus. Similarly, the post-earthquake emphasis on the gates seems as much a matter of projecting the rebirth of the city as it is a reassertion of local authority. In this context the Porta Ercolano is a prime example of this development. In practical terms the pedestrian passageways helped to regulate and relieve traffic congestion on a main artery into the city. More importantly, the gate not only symbolized the benefaction of the emperor, but also the return of order and the state after the devastating earthquake. These factors also explain the continued emphasis on the proper maintenance of the embellishments on the gates.

Change and Continuity in the Towers

Following the analysis of the curtain walls and gates, we return to the towers which, by and large, display similar trends. Many carry the unmistakable marks of repairs occurring mostly in the early colony.⁶⁴⁸ Tower II presents some radical alterations to its original structure. Parts of the remains contain modern restorations, but clear seams in the masonry confirm its layout. Brickwork laid in regularly spaced toothed quoins, a technique adopted with increasing sophistication in the first century BCE, confirms restoration work carried out after the siege (fig. 84).⁶⁴⁹ As addressed previously, the

⁶⁴⁷ Van Tilburg, "Gates, Suburby and Traffic in the Roman Empire," 134-137, Van Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire*, 94-98

⁶⁴⁸ In the following section I base the dating upon construction techniques in the hope that future investigations can further clarify the sequences.

⁶⁴⁹ Adam, "Building Materials, Construction Techniques and Chronologies," 105-107.

unusual floating postern on its western flank suggests a drastic lowering of the surrounding terrain. Equally unusual are the rectangular openings in the front and back walls of the main chamber. Assuming that the modern reconstruction is largely correct, it seems that at some point after the early colonial restorations the tower radically changed function with the addition of the large openings. The circumstances of Tower II are peculiar enough to merit a separate discussion below.

Tower III to the east prominently displays *opus vittatum mixtum* quoins on the remaining corners of the main chamber and a patch of brickwork on the western wall (fig. 85). Maiuri suggests that the quoins represent early Imperial reparations and describes Towers III, IV and V as *mozzate*, or chopped off, during the earthquake and never rebuilt.⁶⁵⁰ The emergency brick patchwork and the application of *opus vittatum mixtum* construction technique, however, are typical of the post-earthquake period.⁶⁵¹ A small surviving patch of stucco on the eastern quoin points to the application of a new decorative coat restoring its appearance after the repairs. These interventions perhaps connect with a resumption of the burial activities in the necropolis below in the last years of the city after a brief period of abandonment.⁶⁵²

Heading toward the amphitheater, modern masonry almost entirely composes the remains of Tower IV and fall outside of our analysis (fig. 59). Tower V presents extensive toothed brickwork in its quoins and southern flank. The construction technique is very similar to that of Tower II suggesting that its refurbishment occurred in the early colony (fig. 86). The ground floor inside the tower has no pavement, and it remains

⁶⁵⁰ Maiuri believed that the quoins represent an early imperial reconstruction based on the employment of *opus vittatum mixtum* at the Porta Ercolano that he dates to the Augustan period. Maiuri, “Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei,” 232.

⁶⁵¹ Frölich convincingly shows that this technique is likely a post-earthquake introduction. See Frölich, “La porta di Ercolano a Pompei e la cronologia dell’opus vittatum mixtum.”

⁶⁵² Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 151-153.

unclear when or why it was removed. Modern masonry composes much of the structure higher up. If restored correctly, the floating back door and side entrances are probably the result of a lowering of the *agger* associated with the construction of the amphitheater in 70 BCE (fig. 60). A sliver of surviving *opus vittatum mixtum* masonry, set below a modern restoration on the first corner of the stairway, suggests a post-earthquake restoration carried out in conjunction with similar repairs on the neighboring amphitheater.⁶⁵³

Adjacent Tower VI does not indicate any major refurbishments in its surviving masonry. Like its neighbor, it also lacks a pavement on the ground floor. Curiously, the corridor accessing the postern sits some 1.5 meters lower than the door to the main chamber making it accessible only by stairs. The steps are otherwise missing, due perhaps to their original construction in perishable materials. Construction of the amphitheater lowered the *agger* enough to impede access thorough the rear and northern side entrance (fig. 87). As a result, only the southern doorway continued to offer direct access into the building. This is the second of the three towers surrounding the amphitheater clearly displaying measures that reduced its military effectiveness and enhanced its representational role. We shall return to this aspect below.

Passed the Porta Sarno, Tower VII also presents clear evidence of restorations. The quoins on each side of the building still display traces of *opus vittatum* composed of small tufa blocks and set in broad teeth (fig. 88). The application of this technique is rare at Pompeii and its earliest attested use is in the large arcades of the amphitheater.⁶⁵⁴ Despite the different material, the concept behind the technique is similar to the

⁶⁵³ The entire upper arcade of the amphitheater in *opus vittatum mixtum* is likely a post-earthquake reconstruction. Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 72.

⁶⁵⁴ Adam, "Building Materials, Construction Techniques and Chronologies," 108. Also, Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 72.

brickwork highlighted in Towers II and V, and likely represents the same reconstruction event.

Further west, the remains of Tower VIII still preserve most of their lower stucco and display clear signs of alteration and demilitarization. The arrow slits on the lowest floor were modified and partially filled in with masonry. Inside, white stucco frames carefully highlight the modified openings, implying their use for an unspecified period of time. On the exterior, extra stucco work masked the alterations but it remains unclear when this transformation occurred. The new arrow slits suggest that the tower changed its strategic role. The windows were clearly adjusted for small caliber weapons indicating that defenders no longer needed to worry about, or no longer possessed, the necessary organization to withstand well-organized sieges. Soon afterward the postern was walled up and the exterior covered with stucco to hide the alteration (fig. 89).⁶⁵⁵ Johannowsky suggests that defensive strategies called for the express camouflaging of the postern and troops would only smash through it in case of a sortie. However, the arch jambs still carry traces of a previous stucco coat indicating that it was once open.⁶⁵⁶ Instead, the careful application of new stucco marks a clear effort to preserve the representative aspect of the tower throughout its history. The earthquake subsequently damaged the building and it effectively ceased to function when a shabby concrete wall closed off the stairs leading to the main chamber. A few fragments of the tower recovered in the *lapilli* suggest that parts of the building were still standing at the time of the eruption, but that it largely stood abandoned and in ruins.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁵ Chiaramonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane*, 28-31. Her excavations recovered dumped earthquake debris in front of the postern, supplying a *terminus ante quem* for its closure.

⁶⁵⁶ Johannowsky, "Considerazioni sull'architettura militare del II sec. a.C. nei centri della lega nucerina," 131.

⁶⁵⁷ Chiaramonte Trerè, *Nuovi contributi sulle fortificazioni pompeiane*, 28-31.

Nearby, the ruins of Tower IX differ significantly. Recent excavations have demonstrated that they are part of a post-Sullan reconstruction of the building that included the adjacent curtain wall. The same investigations recovered fragments of the previous tower as they had fallen during the siege. They still carried the original decorative First-Style stucco thereby providing direct evidence of the continuous use of the style on the towers. The remains preserve a barrel vault covering a large chamber (fig. 90). In the back a window surmounts a door that, in absence of the *agger*, opened onto a street. The lack of stairs and further windows have led the excavators to conclude that the new building only had a ground floor and eventually changed its function to a warehouse. Nevertheless, the exterior of the rebuilt structure also featured First-Style embellishments suggesting that it retained some sort military or public function in unison with the fortifications.⁶⁵⁸

The three towers on the north side of Pompeii do not reveal any distinct repairs in the masonry (fig. 91). As mentioned above, the deep fill that buried their posterns was the most radical change affecting the buildings and reduced their military capabilities. Interestingly, Maiuri discovered the postern and the stairs heading down to the main chamber of Tower XI walled up in a similar fashion to Tower VIII, but it remains unclear when or why this happened.⁶⁵⁹ The earthquake likely demolished large portions of the two western towers. In particular, Tower XII is missing its entire exterior façade and crude walls seal the passageways. Although some of its flanking arrow slits were walled

⁶⁵⁸ H. Etani and S. Sakai, "Rapporto preliminare. Indagine archeologica a porta capua, Pompei. Sesta campagna di scavo, 26 Ottobre - 11 Dicembre 1998." *Opuscula Pompeiana* 9 (1999): 125. See also Etani, *Pompeii: Report of the Excavation at Porta Capua, 1993-2005*, 307-309 and pl. 20.

⁶⁵⁹ Maiuri, "Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano," 292. Perhaps engineers closed the opening to facilitate the deposition of the earth fill and keep the corridor free from debris.

up at an unspecified date, Tower X fared slightly better. Maiuri uncovered large parts of it collapsed in the eruption debris on the field side of the fortifications.⁶⁶⁰

Claiming Public Land, Chipping away at the so-called Pomerium

Perhaps one of the most consistent trends between the installation of the colony and the eruption is the progressive occupation of the stretch of public terrain associated with the line of the fortifications. Its limits began roughly at the base of the *agger* and moved out to some thirty meters in front of the fortifications. Nissen and Della Corte identified this stretch of land as the *pomerium*, or sacred boundary of Pompeii, based on the recovery of the *cippi* of Suedius Clemens each placed some thirty meters in front of the Porta Ercolano, Vesuvio, Nocera, and Marina (fig. 92).⁶⁶¹ They displayed an inscription that reads:

EX · AUCTORITATE
IMP CAESERIS
VESPASIANI AUG
LOCA · PUBLICA · A · PRIVATIS
POSSESSA · T · SUEDIUS · CLEMENS
TRIBUNUS CAUSIS COGNITIS · ET
MENSURIS · FACTIS · REI · PUBLICAE
POMPEIANORUM · RESTITUIT

⁶⁶⁰ Maiuri, “Pompei isolamento della cinta murale fra Porta Vesuvio e Porta Ercolano,” 286, 292.

⁶⁶¹ CIL X 1018 for the Porta Ercolano example. Other smaller *cippi* with the letters L.P.P. were found at the suburban baths outside the Porta marina and seem to function to claim the land. See L. Jacobelli, “Su un nuovo cippo L.P.P. trovato nell’area delle terme suburbane di Pompei.” *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 17 (2006): 67–68.

Mau translates it as follows:

By virtue of authority conferred upon him by the Emperor Vespasian Caesar Augustus, Titus Suedius Clemens, tribune, having investigated the facts and taken measurements, restored to the city of Pompeii plots of ground belonging to it which were in the possession of private individuals.⁶⁶²

The *cippi* announced the work of the Tribune Titus Suedius Clemens sent to Pompeii, under the authority of Vespasian, to restore illegally occupied public lands to the city. Scholars have traditionally associated these public lands solely with the fortified line, but a recent theory points out that his intervention included the entire city and its hinterland. In actuality, the work Suedius carried out was part of a wider Vespasianic effort to reclaim public land that also involved Rome itself and cities such as Cuma and Cannae.⁶⁶³ Similarly, although the public character of land associated with the fortifications remains undisputed, its function as a *pomerium* is still debated.⁶⁶⁴

The establishment of a military zone around the fortifications was a matter of strategic importance; defenders could see and engage the enemy, and the attacker could

⁶⁶² Translation after Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 408

⁶⁶³ L. Jacobelli, "Pompeii fuori le mura. Note sulla gestione e l'organizzazione dello spazio pubblico e privato." In *Pompeii tra Sorrento e Sarno* (Rome, 2001), 44 and 49; For Rome in particular see F. Castagnoli, "Politica urbanistica di Vespasiano in Roma." In *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi vespasianei: Rieti, settembre 1979* (Rieti, 1981), 261–275.

⁶⁶⁴ E. Magaldi, "Echi di Roma a Pompei III." *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 3 (1939): 21–60.

More recently F. Senatore, "Necropoli e società nell'antica Pompei. Considerazioni su un sepolcreto di poveri." In *Pompeii, il Vesuvio e la penisola sorrentina* (Rome, 1999) 101–110. More importantly, see L. Jacobelli, "Pompeii fuori le mura. Note sulla gestione e l'organizzazione dello spazio pubblico e privato," 44.

not use any obstacles to his own advantage.⁶⁶⁵ During the history of the colony the *ordo decurionum*, or town council, had jurisdiction over the land. Starting in the Augustan period special dispensations allowed for the construction of honorary *schola* tombs awarded to prominent citizens in the space directly in front of the gates.⁶⁶⁶ Other types of burials also found their way into the public land but in less visible places. In 1854 excavators recovered some thirty-six cremation burials in the area in front of Tower VII. A few of the names carved into the nearby curtain walls likely refer to some of the individuals in the tombs (fig. 93).⁶⁶⁷ Over the years excavators have recovered further examples west of the Porta Nola and near the Porta Sarno. Also known as the *sepulture dei poveri*, or tombs of the poor, these were simple burials in a specially designated space for lower classes who could not afford lofty monuments. Coins found in the graves date between Pompey and Tiberius, suggesting a long use of the area.⁶⁶⁸ Other tombs recovered near the amphitheater and outside of the Porta Nola and Sarno, were simple burials for members of the Praetorian Guard.⁶⁶⁹ The Senate dispatched them to Pompeii to restore order to the city after the riot of 59 CE, and their burial in public land likely related to their special status.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁵ See Tacitus *histories* 3.30. He vividly describes how attacking troops used buildings illegally built near the walls as firing platforms in offensive operations during the siege against Vitellius in Cremona. See also Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification*, 39.

⁶⁶⁶ To date only the Porta Marina and Porta Sarno do not have any evidence of *schola* tombs. On the type see L. Borrelli, *Le tombe di Pompei a schola semicircolare* (Naples 1937) and V. Kockel, *Die Gräbbauten vor dem Herkulaner Tor in Pompeji* (Mainz, 1983), 18.

⁶⁶⁷ CIL X 8349 to 8361. See Senatore, "Necropoli e società nell'antica Pompei. Considerazioni su un sepolcreto di poveri," 96-100. For the original excavation reports see Minervini in PAH 2 pars quarta, 593-597, April 10 – October 17 1854. Mazois notes some inscriptions scratched into the tufa in his drawing of Tower VII. See Mazois *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 1*, Pl. XII fig.5. These are probably the same ones Minervini noted years later.

⁶⁶⁸ Senatore, "Necropoli e società nell'antica Pompei. Considerazioni su un sepolcreto di poveri," 110.

⁶⁶⁹ S. De Caro, "Scavi nell'area fuori Porta Nola a Pompei." *Cronache Pompeiane* 5 (1979), 85-95.

⁶⁷⁰ D'Ambrosio and De Caro, *Un impegno per Pompei*, 25 and also Senatore "Necropoli e società nell'antica Pompei. Considerazioni su un sepolcreto di poveri" 103-110.

The housing expansion initiated in the second century BCE continued to encroach upon the city walls stretching between the Porta Ercolano and the Doric Temple. As mentioned, early properties still allowed for a measure of defense since their wide-open terraces were able to accommodate defensive troops. With the advent of the colony the houses eventually spilled over and incorporated the walls (fig. 46).⁶⁷¹ The exact phasing of this process remains elusive and probably occurred on an individual property basis continuing well into the Julio-Claudian period and beyond.⁶⁷² Identifying the old line of the walls became increasingly difficult and owners deliberately covered up the masonry of the city walls with wall paintings.⁶⁷³ Only the House of Umbricius Scaurus (VII.16.15), straddling the walls slightly north of the Porta Marina, included a nod toward the ancient fortifications with a new luxury wing extending slightly beyond the walls built to resemble a defensive tower.⁶⁷⁴ Private property also started chipping away at the fortifications in Regio VI after construction of the Augustan *castellum* led to the closure of the inner pomerial road at the base of the *agger*. The effect upon the city walls was less dramatic, essentially turning most of the north-south roads of the Regio into private dead-end streets. The House of the Vestals (VI.1.7) eventually incorporated a large part of the *agger* between the Porta Ercolano and Tower XII.⁶⁷⁵ As the Vespasianic intervention suggests, the expansion of the houses onto the fortifications was not always

⁶⁷¹ R. Tybout, "Rooms with a View. Residences Built on Terraces along the Edge of Pompeii (Regions VI, VII and VIII)." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by J.J. Dobbins and P. Foss (Andover, 2007), 407–420. Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji*, 5-15. For a similar process on the House of Fabius Rufus see Pappalardo et.al. "L'insula occidentalis e la Villa Imperiale," 294.

⁶⁷² Tybout, "Rooms with a View," 407-409.

⁶⁷³ See Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji*, 5-9 and the individual entries for the instances of stucco covering the fortification masonry.

⁶⁷⁴ Pesando, *Gli ozi di Ercole: Residenze di lusso a Pompei ed Ercolano* (Rome, 2006), 148-150, and F. Pesando, "Le residenze dell'aristocrazia sillana a Pompei: Alcune considerazioni." *Ostraka* 15, no.1 (2006), 91. Nevertheless, the exact connotation of the building's appearance remains difficult to trace.

⁶⁷⁵ Jones and Robinson, "Intensification, Heterogeneity and Power in the Development of Insula VI, 1," 389-394.

legal. Nevertheless, they most likely occurred with permission of the *ordo decurionum* since these projects are too massive and well-coordinated to represent illegal construction activity.⁶⁷⁶ As the expansion continued the old city walls faded away and together with them went the identity of Samnite Pompeii.⁶⁷⁷

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS

Broadly speaking, the evidence above highlights a distinct trend: the city walls received an early refurbishment, followed by a weakening of the line in the Augustan period, and ending with reconstruction efforts of the northern gates in the post-earthquake period. These developments largely fall in line with the wider political and historical events of the centuries in consideration. Throughout the history of the Roman colony the walls seem to dramatically change function from a defensive to a more ceremonial role. We have already noted that the First-Style stucco on the towers and gates projected their association with the proper image of the city, but the fortifications also embodied the notions of *romanitas*, *securitas*, *dignitas*, and *virtus*. The extent to which these notions were associated with the walls changed over time, achieving various degrees of complexity that hinged upon the changing urban, social, and political developments.

Given the instability of the Italian peninsula during the early colony, military considerations likely motivated Cuspius and Loreius to rebuild the walls. In this context, the hypothesis identifying the reconstruction occurring in conjunction with the revolt of Spartacus is certainly plausible. Nevertheless, their actions are also appropriate to the establishment of the colonial identity and their euergetism is also an extension of their

⁶⁷⁶ Jacobelli, "Pompei fuori le mura. Note sulla gestione e l'organizzazione dello spazio pubblico e privato," 57-58.

⁶⁷⁷ Tybout, "Rooms with a View," 408.

pietas. Furthermore, the Hellenistic notions that included city walls in the definition of the ideal city, so influential in the previous Samnite period, probably also played a part in the decision to reconstruct the fortifications. Nevertheless, city walls were also intrinsic to Roman colonial identity. Early colonies often functioned as bridgeheads in dangerous enemy territory and were usually fortified as a result of their exposed position.⁶⁷⁸ Their strict Hippodamic layout reflected the plans of army camps and the walls projected an inward sense of security to citizens, and dominance upon local populations.⁶⁷⁹ Colonies also symbolically shared their plan with early Rome, also known as *Roma Quadrata*, or square Rome.⁶⁸⁰ The elaborate *sulcus primigenius* ritual associated with the foundation of Rome also delineated the new colonies and created a symbolic connection to the legendary inception of the city. The crossing of the *decumanus* and *cardo maximus*, the main axial roads dominating colonial plans, usually accommodated the Forum and *capitolium*. From here surveyors laid out the city and the streets that extended into the regional road network connecting the heart of the colony to the outside world and to Rome.⁶⁸¹

It is within this framework that we must conceptualize the role of city gates and walls as a projection of Roman *securitas* and *dignitas*. These two concepts translate loosely to the security and dignity of the state and the walls, in essence, marked the differentiation between civilized and uncivilized, the *urbs* and *ager*.⁶⁸² Although these ideas generally apply to city walls, they were particularly significant as part of the

⁶⁷⁸ Cornell, "Warfare and Urbanization in Roman Italy," 126.

⁶⁷⁹ Salomon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic*, 17

⁶⁸⁰ P. Gros, *L'Architecture Romaine* (Paris 1996), 33.

⁶⁸¹ J. Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town* (Cambridge 1988), 137. Also P. Zanker, "The City as Symbol: Rome and the Creation of an Urban Image," 25-41. He explains that Roman roads allowed the urban image to incorporate the surrounding landscape since burial monuments, centuriation, villas and sanctuaries lined approach routes to the city and established dramatic backdrops to anyone approaching the *urbs*.

⁶⁸² Salomon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic*, 17

colony's position in hostile territory. As a result major city gates heralded the entrance back into civilization and projected *romanitas*, or Romanness, and the protection of Rome. In this context the fortifications also acted as engines of mutual assimilation.⁶⁸³ City walls were therefore inherently symbolic of a colony's status, signifying its allegiance to Rome, but also its liberty and independence as the privileged markers of actually possessing them.⁶⁸⁴ Pompeii was not an *ex-novo* foundation, but these ideals likely permeated the new colony, leading to the necessity to rebuild the walls in a way that had little bearing on their intrinsic military value.

A multitude of factors led to the successive weakening of the fortifications. With the establishment of the *pax augusta* the focus on defending the empire shifted to far-away frontiers. As a result, some scholars describe the city walls built during this period as ceremonial rather than defensive.⁶⁸⁵ At Pompeii the period saw a progressive reduction of the defenses with easier access routes into the city and the increased occupation of the fortified line. This phenomenon has led scholars to identify a slow and inexorable decline of the fortifications, including outright abandonment. Yet the evidence suggests that the gates continued to form crucial controlled passageways in and out of the city, perhaps as a reflection of the new emphasis on the state. This development reflects a similar situation occurring in Rome, where the expansion of the city eventually took over and incorporated the line of the Servian Wall built in the fourth century BCE. As the limits of

⁶⁸³ F. Rebecchi, "Les enceintes augustéennes en Italie." In *Les enceintes augustéennes dans l'occident romain* (Nîmes 1987): 130-150.

⁶⁸⁴ See P. Février, "Enceinte et colonie. De Nîmes à Vérone, Toulouse et Tipasa." *Rivista di studi liguri* 35 (1969): 286, and Pinder, "Constructing and Deconstructing Roman City Walls: The Role of Urban Enceintes as Physical and Symbolic Borders," 72.

⁶⁸⁵ G. Rosada, "Mura porte e archi nella decima regio," 364-368; G. Rosada, "Mura e porte: Tra architettura e simbolo," 171-183.

the empire grew, so did the city, and the two conflated to symbolize the power of the Roman state.⁶⁸⁶

An explanation for the degraded military capabilities of the walls may also lie in the absence of a regular body of troops to maintain the walls. Three cohorts were stationed at Pompeii during the first civil war and they offered Cicero control of the city as he passed through on his way to join Pompey in Greece in 49 BCE.⁶⁸⁷ Their presence may explain some minor modifications such as those present on Tower VIII. Presumably the *pax augusta* led to their withdrawal and re-deployment elsewhere. It is not until after the riots of 59 CE between the Nucernians and Pompeians that the Senate sent the Praetorian Guard to restore the order and troops were once again in the city. Their deployment perhaps explains some of the minor repairs carried out on the towers and wall curtain in the last years of the city.

Despite their faltering, the defenses still formed a formidable barrier and, as highlighted above, the city added a new emphasis on the gates in the early Imperial period. Perhaps a more productive line of approach to establish their role is to try and answer what exactly the walls intended to keep out. As mentioned in the introduction, city walls also kept out unwanted elements including wild beasts and bandits. These factors clearly played a role throughout the history of the city, but they are particularly clear for the colonial period. In particular wild wolves spotted within the perimeter of the walls were one of the worst omens that could befall a Roman city. They represented an affront to the city's protective gods and also symbolized, death, war, and the wider threats posed by dangerous species.⁶⁸⁸ Bandits were similar undesirable elements. They

⁶⁸⁶ Favro, "A City in Flux. The Animated Boundaries of Ancient Rome," 191.

⁶⁸⁷ Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 91. Cic. *Fam.* 7,3,1; Cic *Att.* 10,16,4

⁶⁸⁸ Trinquier, "Les loups sont entrés dans la ville: de la peur du loup a la hantise de la cité ensauvagée," 85-118

often lived beyond the confines of the cities and were identified as uncontrollable elements posing a danger to order. They were not subject to class distinction and took many forms in the Roman world including regular robbers, bandit and noble rebels, rivals, and avengers.⁶⁸⁹ Spartacus forms a prime example of these elements, and, as we have seen, his presence in the region of Pompeii may have stimulated the initial reconstruction of the walls.

On a similar note, political adversaries, not necessarily bandits per se, posed serious threats to the established order especially when they concerned noble peers such as Catiline. His example points out how city walls functioned to symbolically protect the order of Roman society from the dangers of the 'other'. Thomas Habinek recently discussed how Cicero's speeches condemned and exposed Catiline as a traitor conspiring against the state, essentially framing him as a dangerous outsider. His escape from Rome to join his army in the countryside near Fiesole further highlights the challenge to the established order of the city. Symbolically, the orator referred to city walls as forming the last line of defense protecting the civilized *urbs*, whereas the wild countryside harbored the improbabilities and dangers of disorder.⁶⁹⁰ Such unpredictable forces were amongst the chief reasons communities first chose to defend themselves beyond immediate military concerns.⁶⁹¹ Certainly the charged climate and multitude of political adversaries in the decades of the dying Republic emphasized the role of city walls as the guarantors of order and stability. The fortifications of Pompeii were still formidable enough to repel

⁶⁸⁹ For a definition see T. Grünwald, *Bandits in the Roman Empire: Myth and Reality* (London; New York, 2004), 161-165.

⁶⁹⁰ See T. Habinek, *The Politics of Latin Literature Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, 1998), 71-74.

⁶⁹¹ Rowlands, "Defense: A Factor in the Organisation of Settlements," 453.

these threats and, without the immediate danger of organized armies attacking the city, their makeup changed to reflect their role.

The post-earthquake shift in emphasis on the gates of the city may find an explanation in the continued connection between the city and its hinterland. The two were not mutually exclusive and gates acted as formalized filtering points for the continuous movement of produce and the population.⁶⁹² The Porta Marina, for example, continued to function as a boundary marker despite the urbanization process occurring around it. In simple terms gates continued their role as tax barriers and we find parallel examples in the custom points first designated under Augustus specifically for this purpose in Rome. Their role became so important that architects of the later Aurelian wall included many existing toll points in its circuit rather than designating new gates to the city. A striking connection with Pompeii lies in the redefinition of the custom points in Rome during the censorship of Vespasian and Titus in 73-74 CE, and perhaps further explains the emphasis on the gates in the final years of the city, especially if we consider the work of Suedius Clemens returning illegally public land to the state.⁶⁹³ In this context, it is not surprising that the gates on the north side were the objects of an elaborate reconstruction despite the fact that many areas of the curtain walls were abandoned.

ADJUSTING THE CIVIC IMAGE, THE FORTIFICATIONS AND THE APPEARANCE OF THE CITY

Beyond the practical reasons for the changes in the fortifications they continued to resonate in the social and urban matrix of the city. The influx of veterans marked a

⁶⁹² Pinder, "Constructing and Deconstructing Roman City Walls: The Role of Urban Enceintes as Physical and Symbolic Borders," 73.

⁶⁹³ See Palmer, "Customs on Market Goods Imported into the City of Rome," 217–218 for the walls of Rome as custom points.

dramatic shift in its demographic and social make-up, but the exact connotations of this event remains debated. Scholars estimate their numbers anywhere between an entire legion, i.e., 4000-5000 men, and about half that number, all bringing with them family and dependents.⁶⁹⁴ The debate also concerns the extent of property reallocation, a process that often accompanied the establishment of a colony, where the new settlers lived, and how they interacted with the local population.⁶⁹⁵ A point of contention is that many of the grand houses remained in the hands of the old aristocracy, but proscriptions did occur and many properties changed hands.⁶⁹⁶ In broad terms scholarship now identifies three main areas where more affluent colonists settled; the large agricultural villas north of the city, a series of houses lining the via Marina/via dell'Abbondanza axis near the Forum, and the houses along the south and western ridge of the city.⁶⁹⁷ These concentrations reflect the new order; the reallocation of the villas represent an economic takeover, the dwellings near the Forum highlight the presence of the elite near the political center of the city, and the houses along the ridge exploited the views and luxury of the city for the new

⁶⁹⁴ For the latest on the debate see Zevi, "Pompei dalla città sannitica alla colonia sillana: per un'interpretazione dei dati archeologici," 130-132 and Lo Cascio, "La società pompeiana dalla città sannitica alla colonia romana," 123-125. Also, E. Lo Cascio, "Pompei dalla città sannitica alla colonia sillana: le vicende istituzionali." In *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire des Gracques à Néron* (Rome, 1996), 118-119. See also E. Savino, "Note su Pompei colonia sillana: popolazione, strutture agrarie, ordinamento istituzionale." *Athenaeum* 86, no. 2 (1998): 440-444.

⁶⁹⁵ Much of the exploited land remained property of large centralized villas. If land reallocation did occur it probably was never completed or the colonists quickly sold their allotments. For the latest on the matter see Savino, "Note su Pompei colonia sillana: popolazione, strutture agrarie, ordinamento istituzionale," 448-455.

⁶⁹⁶ See J. Andreau, "Pompéi: Mais où sont les vétérans de Sylla ?" *Revue des Études Anciennes* 82 (1980), 183-184.

⁶⁹⁷ Savino, "Note su Pompei colonia sillana: popolazione, strutture agrarie, ordinamento istituzionale," 460 bases his conclusions on the adoption of the Second-Style in many of these houses. He borrows this method from Zevi who used it to identify many of new owners of villas outside of Pompeii as pro-roman or even just Roman colonists. See F. Zevi, "La città sannitica l'edilizia privata e la Casa del Fauno." In *Pompei I*. (Naples, 1991) 71-72 and also Zevi, "Pompei dalla città sannitica alla colonia sillana: per un'interpretazione dei dati archeologici," 130, and Lo Cascio, "Pompei dalla città sannitica alla colonia sillana: le vicende istituzionali," 122. Pesando justly warns against reading too much into this phenomenon as redecoration do not necessarily point to new owners. Pesando, "Le residenze dell'aristocrazia sillana a Pompei: Alcune considerazioni," 75.

arrivals.⁶⁹⁸ Other, less affluent colonists probably found a home somewhere northwest of the city in the newly founded *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus*.⁶⁹⁹

Perhaps the most overt markers of transformation of the city are the construction of the amphitheater, the completion of the so-called Odeion, and the construction of a new set of baths immediately north of the Forum. Further developments, as we have seen, included the refurbishment of the Temple of Venus, and her transformation from the Samnite Mefitis Fisica into Venus Fisica Pompeiana.⁷⁰⁰ More subtle, but similarly symbolic works included the adaptation of the Temple of Jupiter in the Forum to accommodate the Capitoline triad, and the dedication of a new altar and staircase at the Temple of Apollo.⁷⁰¹ These were public temples and the First-Style decoration applied on their exterior further highlights its role in the definition of the new colony. As opposed to the brightly painted private sanctuaries, the more somber white decorations were part of their official status. As we have seen, this aspect of the style finds its origin in the Greek Ionic and Doric architectural orders. Its continued application likely reflects the same notions associated with proper civic image that began in the Samnite period. Eric Moorman argues that the use of the First Style on temples relates to their role as houses of the gods and connects this context to its application on the exterior of private dwellings. The Temple of Jupiter therefore acquired a representative element befitting the

⁶⁹⁸ See Pesando for the exact designations. He identifies this as a deliberate concentration due to the close proximity of the dwellings to the Forum as political center of the city. Pesando, "Le residenze dell'aristocrazia sillana a Pompei: Alcune considerazioni," 91. Zanker estimates that a centurion probably received roughly three times more land than an ordinary soldier due to his rank. Zanker, *Pompeii. Public and Private Life*, 62.

⁶⁹⁹ S. Adamo Muscettola, "La trasformazione della città tra Silla e Augusto." In *Pompei 2*, edited by F. Zevi (Naples, 1992), 76. The epithet Felix testifies to its foundation under Sulla, while Augustus points to a second phase of the settlement occurring under the first emperor.

⁷⁰⁰ See Jacobelli and Pensabene, "La decorazione architettonica del Tempio di Venere a Pompei. Contributo allo studio e alla ricostruzione del santuario," 43-45 and Coarelli "Il culto di Mefitis in Campania e a Roma."

⁷⁰¹ Zevi, "Pompei dalla città sannitica alla colonia sillana: Per un'interpretazione dei dati archeologici," 128.

image of the city as a new Roman colony. The same concept applies to the Temple of Apollo, where further repairs conducted in the late Julio-Claudian period included the reapplication of First-Style embellishments, attesting to the official status of the style well into the first century CE. The changes in the urban landscape, most notably in the buildings, transformed Pompeii into a late Republican colony and the First-Style exterior embellishments reflected its status.⁷⁰²

The houses seem to follow the same trend with some, but not all, of the distinctive tufa masonry façades disappearing beneath a thin coat of white stucco, in essence creating what the First-Style plaster was trying to achieve. Other wall faces in the city included smooth stucco on a brightly painted socle, similar to the internal vaults of the gates, or the full-fledged imitation of ashlar masonry (fig. 94).⁷⁰³ These facades grew increasingly elaborate, and perhaps reflected the social prominence of the owner, with ornamental First-Style schemes including a low socle, surmounting ashlar zone, and door pilasters featuring tufa capitals either carved or stuccoed in the Corinthian order.⁷⁰⁴ It is unclear when exactly this type of decoration began in Pompeii, but it is likely a continuation from the previous Samnite period. In any event, the First Style as applied to house facades clearly was in dialogue with the exterior of public buildings, persisting throughout the colony to create a unified civic image. Although it may have represented

⁷⁰² See E. Moormann, *Divine Interiors: Mural Paintings in Greek and Roman Sanctuaries*, 69-85. Also Ling, "Development of Pompeii's Public Landscape in the Roman Period," 122.

⁷⁰³ Maiuri, "Portali con capitelli cubici a Pompei," 203-211. Notable examples are the House of the Figured Capitals (VII.4.57), the House of Julius Polybius (IX.13.1), the House of Caecilius Jucundus (V.1.26), The House of the Vettii (VI.15.1), The House of the Centaur (VI.9.5), the House of Messius Ampliatus (II.2.4), the House of Cuspius Pansa (I.7.1), The House of Meleager (VI.9.2), and the House of the Menander (I.10.4) which includes a yellow socle similar to the gates of the city. On the via dell' Abbondanza shop facades have a similar layout: see the Thermopolium of Asellina (IX.11.2-4) and the Tavern of the Four Divinities (IX.7.1).

⁷⁰⁴ F. Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 2* (Paris, 1824), 41 and Maiuri, "Portali con capitelli cubici a Pompei," 205. Other prominent examples survive on the House of the Dioscuri (VI.9.6-9), the House of the Small Fountain (VI.8.24), the House of the Suetii (VII.2.51), and the House of the Mosaic Doves (VIII.7.34).

the notion of *pietas*, it more tangibly connected to the local population purveying an image of Pompeii as a proper Hellenistic city.

Besides examples such as the House of the Faun where the stucco clearly helped mask earthquake repairs, it is unclear what exactly motivated the decision to cover the tufa façades. To some extent it may relate to the notion of “façadism” where the owner deliberately chose to preserve or change façades as a reflection of his identity, status, or even political allegiance.⁷⁰⁵ Stephan Mols recently pointed out that the First Style on the exterior of buildings saw a particular resurgence in the Augustan period as a reflection of the renewed emphasis on social *mores* during his reign. This connection also relates to the proposed origin of the style as an imitation of Athenian civic architecture and the Augustan exaltation of the Classical Greek aesthetic.⁷⁰⁶ The application of the First Style in the Augustan period, therefore, seems to respond to the fashion and politics of the time. It may also reflect a conscious effort to replicate the effect of white marble, especially if we consider its role as a status marker after the opening of the Carrara marble quarries under Augustus.⁷⁰⁷ In fact, the very opening of these quarries allowed the emperor to boast that he transformed Rome into a city of marble and went hand in hand with the development of the new Imperial ideology.⁷⁰⁸

The notions of civic duty and private euergetism to the community were particularly strong in Roman society. It was duty of those who had the resources to

⁷⁰⁵ The idea that it might relate to façadism in particular came up in a private conversation with Prof. Clarke. Recently J. Richards broadly defines facadism as the deliberate preservation of the facades of historic buildings, while a new building may appear behind it, or the choice of erecting replicas. Similarly architects may design specific facades to fit into and reflect an already existing cityscape. See J. Richards, *Facadism* (London, 1994), 7. Such elements may have played a part in the deliberate retention of the tufa facades. The elaboration of this hypothesis, however, merits further investigation elsewhere.

⁷⁰⁶ As suggested by S.T.A.M. Mols, “Il Primo Stile ‘retro’: dai propilei di Mnesicle a Pompei,” 245.

⁷⁰⁷ Zanker *Pompeii. Public and Private Life*, 117

⁷⁰⁸ P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, 1988), 105.

contribute to the well-being of the community. It is important to remember that the individuals sponsoring projects dictated the style, building types, and their placement in the city, thereby implicitly reflecting their ideology.⁷⁰⁹ Extending their benevolence on the community through the construction of fortifications was therefore an important symbolic act that carried with it political calculation. Furthermore, it was through the power of their office and their personal wealth that these men could set in motion building programs. Ambitious projects were therefore also the object of jealousy and sometimes blocked when those who sponsored them were set to gain too much influence on the community. Nevertheless, euergetism was part of the politics of the period since grand endowments promoted the status of the individual amongst the population. Wealthy provincial individuals hoping to join the political process in Rome first had to prove their mettle at home.⁷¹⁰

A brief look at the actions of the men of the early *ordo decurionum* serves to highlight their role in the early colony and further explains why figures such as Loreius and Cuspius chose specifically to rebuild the fortifications. The two most prominent men of the *ordo*, Marcus Porcius and Quinctius Valgus, were *fedelissimi* of Sulla and both profited handsomely from his proscriptions. Their personal advancement was directly related to Sulla's cause and their building activity reflected both their personal ambition and that of the Roman dictator. They were responsible for the completion of the *teatrum tectum* and the amphitheater, two of the most imposing buildings of the new colony. Valgus in particular was very familiar with the importance of architecture as a means to define a city and therefore its use to advance such claims. Originally from Hirpinia, he served as *patronus municipii*, or city patron, in Aeclanum, where he paid for the

⁷⁰⁹ Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, 24.

⁷¹⁰ Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 87-92.

construction of the city walls including the towers and gates.⁷¹¹ He is also mentioned as a *duumvir quinquennalis* for an unidentified settlement near Abellinum where he built the city walls and gates, the Forum, the Curia, and a cistern.⁷¹² His sponsorship of city walls attests to the role these structures played in the establishment of urban identities, and the ideals of the new elite of Pompeii. These elements suggest that the reconstruction of the fortifications was a reflection of the city's colonial status and part of the euergetism expected from its leaders.⁷¹³

It was in the interest of the local elite, therefore, to achieve a complete civic image as part of their own political claims. Interestingly, Pompeii by this stage had already built many of the buildings that could define it as a Roman city. In fact, it included a Forum and a Basilica; spaces which were inherently part of what constituted a Roman colony.⁷¹⁴ Pompeii likely adopted them as part of its alliance with Rome. Nevertheless, the buildings erected and modified in the early colony period reveal a distinct effort to further claim the city as Roman. For example, the modifications to the Temple of Apollo, one of the oldest cults in the city, were a clear act of appropriation. Similarly, the transformation of the Temple of Jupiter into a *capitolium* was a reference to Rome. Furthermore, its placement facing the open forum followed a blue print stretching back to the earliest Roman colonial foundations such as Ostia. Other building types such as the amphitheater and the Palestra were new but became typically

⁷¹¹ CIL I² 1722

⁷¹² ILLRP 598. Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 89, also Adamo Muscettola, "La trasformazione della città tra Silla e Augusto," 80 and F. Zevi, "Personaggi della Pompei sillana." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 63 (1995): 9-10.

⁷¹³ Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age*, 110-112.

⁷¹⁴ For the dynamics of this process see Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 79-81. The author specifically outlines how cities allied to Rome willfully adopted Roman architectural forms, perhaps even as a mirror of colonies such as Cosa and Alba Fucens.

appropriate to a proper Roman city.⁷¹⁵ Fortifications were, as we have seen, part of these essential buildings that expressed its *romanitas* and an integral part of colonies. It seems evident, therefore, that the reconstruction of the fortifications was a necessity beyond immediate military concerns. In this context these powerful notions also reflected upon Loreius and Cuspius, their personal ambition, and their influence upon the community.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AN ENTERTAINMENT DISTRICT; THE FORTIFICATIONS, THE AMPHITHEATER, AND THE PALESTRA

The amphitheater, built on top of the fortifications in the southeastern corner of the city, is perhaps the most overt symbol of the Roman colonization of Pompeii. It is important to our discussion because its placement created a direct architectural dialogue with the walls for the remainder of Pompeii's history (fig. 95). Dating roughly to 70 BCE, the dedicatory inscription tells us that the *duoviri quinquennales* C. Quinticius Valgus and Marcus Porcius built the structure and donated it in perpetuity to the colonists of the city.⁷¹⁶ Scholars have related the choice of locating it in this quarter of the city to a general lack of urbanization and a matter of expediency as the *agger* supported over half the structure. Recent reevaluations, however, suggest a more complicated reasoning tying the building in to the status of Pompeii as a colony. To a certain extent the traditional views still hold true; engineers likely chose the *agger* as a convenient terrace to shore up the building. This factor is also true since this is one of the first attested stone amphitheaters, and at this early stage architects were still experimenting with the form.⁷¹⁷ Similarly its placement in a relatively underdeveloped area of the city allowed for the

⁷¹⁵ For these elements see Zanker "The City as Symbol: Rome and the Creation of an Urban Image," 126-40; more specifically for Pompeii see Zanker *Pompeii. Public and Private Life*, 61-78

⁷¹⁶ CIL X 852.

⁷¹⁷ Zanker, *Pompeii. Public and Private Life*, 69-72.

crowds attending the games from the surrounding territory to smoothly transition in and out of the district.⁷¹⁸ New archaeological discoveries, however, have revealed a distinct urbanization of the regio perhaps along the lines of the agricultural houses present before the eruption. To build the amphitheater the *duoviri* needed to conduct costly expropriations, demolitions, and perhaps even receive special dispensation from the city council to build on the city walls.⁷¹⁹ Tybout has even gone as far as relating the choice of placing the building directly on the fortifications to a political statement of conquest and subjugation rather than just a simple matter of convenience.⁷²⁰

More importantly, the amphitheater also carried a relationship to the army, and its veterans, and the colonial identity of the city. A recent theory sees the amphitheater as part of a wider military entertainment complex that included an early version of the neighboring Palestra.⁷²¹ Although an early version of the Palestra remains uncertain, the notion of an entertainment complex initially designed specifically for veterans seems plausible. A building this large carried intrinsic meanings beyond its connections to gladiatorial fighting and included a strong relationship between the army and the Roman colonies of the late Republic. By the first century BCE soldiers trained in gladiatorial techniques and watched spectacles to introduce them to the brutal realities of battle.⁷²² Army camps often included amphitheaters and its appearance at Pompeii with a contingent of veterans is a clear result of these associations. In this context the connection

⁷¹⁸ Zanker, *Pompeii. Public and Private Life*, 69-72.

⁷¹⁹ See Guzzo, *Pompeii. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 137. On the agricultural nature of the regio see Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii*, 202-284.

⁷²⁰ Tybout, "Rooms with a View," 408.

⁷²¹ K. Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From its Origins to the Colosseum* (Cambridge; New York, 2009), 88-100

⁷²² This was a direct result of the Marian reforms. These included recruiting a standing professional army from the poorest Roman citizens and equipping them at the state's expense. The state also paid for their training using gladiator trainers. Prior to this the traditional recruit paid his way into the army on a seasonal basis. See Goldsworthy, *In the Name of Rome*, 136-140.

between the amphitheater and army camps included visual similarities between the stairways of the arena and the ramps flanking camp gates, giving its façade a reference lost on the modern viewer.⁷²³

The new amphitheater also acted on a regional level as a spectacular landmark drawing crowds from in and around the city. The fortifications formed an architectural backdrop carrying implicit messages to those attending the games. For visitors, especially those arriving from the Sarno plain to the south and east, the towers and walls set the stage for the amphitheater and city behind them. The spectators arrived through the Porta Sarno and the Porta Nocera, which symbolically marked the entrance into the colony and funneled them toward the new entertainment district (fig. 96). The influx of crowds probably led to the lowering of the Porta Nocera since the road going through it connected directly to bridges over the Sarno River toward Stabia and Nocera. The works related to this lowering included cutting back the scarp in front of the walls, thereby exposing their foundations. Although the result effectively weakened the fortifications from a military perspective, the lowering added to their height and created a further impression of strength and impenetrability.⁷²⁴ Once one was inside Pompeii, Towers IV, V, and VI entirely framed the arena acting almost as an architectural crown as visitors approached the building. The upper platform of the amphitheater afforded spacious views of the region visually punctuated with tall towers defining the city and projecting its power onto the countryside. Inside the building spectators of the early colony likely sat according to military rank, which transitioned into an arrangement by class in the

⁷²³ Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From its Origins to the Colosseum*, 88-100.

⁷²⁴ Conticello de' Spagnolis, *Il pons sarni di scafati e la via Nuceria-Pompeios* 19-25. A terminus ante quem for the lowering of the gate are the earliest tombs outside of the gate dating to the second half of the first century BCE. D'Ambrosio and De Caro *Un impegno per Pompeii*, 29.

Augustan age, thereby creating a microcosm of the Roman social order.⁷²⁵ In fact amphitheaters and their gladiatorial games in general would become venues of encased ritualized violence reflecting the brutality life and empire, and acting as agents of Romanization.⁷²⁶ In this role the fortifications surrounded the gladiatorial spectacles, in essence fights among animals and criminals, representing the very irrational forces the walls were also meant to keep out. The walls therefore further expressed the Roman character, or *romanitas*, of the city beyond their immediate associations with the proper image of the colony.

The amphitheater physically weakened the fortifications by demolishing the internal parapet and lowering the *agger* thereby isolating the towers. Nevertheless, they continued to play an important role in the defense of the city and its status quo. As evidenced above, engineers rebuilt the towers in conjunction with the amphitheater or soon thereafter as part of the general refurbishing of the walls. In this new context the walls continued to perform their usual outward defensive function, but also gained more complex practical and symbolic roles, including fulfilling a measure of crowd control.

The riot of 59 CE between the Nuceriaans and Pompeians at the amphitheater provides a powerful reminder of the dangers of large crowd gatherings. In the early colony the arrival of the veterans and their families created considerable social tensions. Cicero's pro-Sulla speech clearly refers to a degree of mutual distrust between the local inhabitants and the new arrivals.⁷²⁷ In it Cicero defended Sulla's nephew Publius Cornelius Sulla, one of the founders of the colony, against the accusation of siding with

⁷²⁵ Zanker, *Pompeii. Public and Private Life*, 69-72; Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 147-156.

⁷²⁶ A. Futrell, *Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power* (Austin, 1997), 4-9.

⁷²⁷ For the most recent discussion on the nature of the speech and the relationship between newcomers and the local population see Savino, "Note su Pompei colonia sillana: popolazione, strutture agrarie, ordinamento istituzionale," 455-460 and Guzzo, *Pompeii. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 120.

the Catiline conspiracy. The orator praised Sulla as an exemplary citizen and pointed to his role as an arbiter quelling dissension and tensions between the two populations in the colony. The exact connotations of these disputes are the matter of an extensive scholarly debate that we need not revisit here but, as a recent theory prudently points out, the tensions most likely also divided along the pro-Roman and pro-Italian lines of the Social War.⁷²⁸ Given Pompeii's previous allegiance, the intensity of the conflict, and its lingering effects, authorities probably isolated the towers as a security measure. Similarly the revolt of Spartacus, quelled only after a long and bloody conflict that directly involved Campania and the environs of Pompeii, had exposed the dangers related to the gathering of large numbers of gladiators. In both cases the inaccessibility of the towers prevented their hostile takeover during an uprising or riot, and provided a powerful reminder of civic order especially if they were visibly manned during gladiatorial contests.

If we follow the traditional dating sequence, the addition of the so-called Palestra radically changed the district with the advent of the empire. The building became part of an organic unit with the amphitheater and its presence altered the meaning of the walls in the district.⁷²⁹ The Palestra, in essence a large three-sided portico with an internal pool, is still massive and of equal size to the amphitheater occupying some six regular *insulae* of the city. Its exact function remains somewhat obscure, but it seems to have worked as a *campus*, or training ground, for a paramilitary youth organization known as *iuventus*, formalized under Augustus. The organization specialized in training young men to become ideal citizen soldiers who would demonstrate their skills in annual open drills

⁷²⁸ Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 118-119.

⁷²⁹ A. Maiuri, "Pompei. Scavo della grande palestra nel quartiere dell'anfiteatro." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 45 (1939): 168-169.

known as the *juvenalia*. This festival perhaps took place inside the amphitheater, further strengthening the military connection and symbolism of the two buildings.⁷³⁰ The building probably also functioned as a *porticus* open for citizens and spectators to enjoy similar to those built by the new emperor in Rome.⁷³¹ Although the benefactor of the building remains unknown, its role expressing the realities of the new empire is apparent.

The western precinct wall displays diminutive merlons implicitly mirroring those of the city walls nearby (fig. 97). They imparted the image of a fortress and acted as backdrop to the basic military training expected of young Romans. They symbolized the concept of *virtus*, or excellence and bravery of the individual, to those training within its grounds.⁷³² This was a central Augustan ideal promoting the physical fitness and moral character of Roman citizens. *Virtus*, of course, was a much older concept and an essential quality in the character of the Roman aristocrat. It encompassed the characteristics of martial prowess including the individual skill at arms, the broader tactical insight, and the physical and moral courage needed to command units in combat.⁷³³ Considering the associations between the nearby amphitheater, the fortifications, and their embellishments, a wider symbolism seems at work in the area. Together they projected *virtus*, the Augustan renewed emphasis on social *mores* accompanying the image of the proper colony. This was the strongest beliefs connected to military life and, along with the notion of *pietas*, fundamental to the Augustan ideals accompanying the program of civic renewal and construction of city walls on the Italian peninsula.⁷³⁴ The district and

⁷³⁰ Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From its Origins to the Colosseum*, 95-100.

⁷³¹ Ling, "Development of Pompeii's Public Landscape in the Roman Period," 123.

⁷³² Zanker, *Pompeii. Public and Private Life*, 114-116, Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 170.

⁷³³ Goldsworthy, *In the Name of Rome*, 25.

⁷³⁴ See P. Gros, "Moenia: Aspects défensifs et aspects représentatifs des fortifications." In *Fortificationes Antiquae. Including the Papers of a Conference Held at Ottawa University, October 1988*, edited by S. van

the city walls therefore acquired a new meaning, once again intimately connected with the realities of power.

After the earthquake of 62 CE the towers and large sections of the fortifications around the amphitheater probably collapsed and were spoliated for use in the reconstruction effort. Although the towers display some repair work, the powerful messages the fortifications previously projected on the area lay in ruins. Starting in the early colonial period the amphitheater district changed symbolic roles from an explicit imposition reflecting the ideals of the new colony to an encompassing reflection of Roman order in the Augustan period. Throughout this period the city walls remained a constant presence translating their protective roles as reflections of civic institutions on the colonial and imperial city. From the original strong symbol of Samnite independence to the Roman appropriation and projection of the new social order, the meaning of the fortifications transformed along with the changing architectural landscape.

FORTIFICATIONS AND THE TOMB: DIALOGUES IN SOCIAL ORDER

One of the most dramatic changes coinciding with the arrival of the colonists is the shift in burial practice from inhumation to cremation, and the appearance of monumental tombs lining the roads in and out of the city.⁷³⁵ The aim was promotion of oneself and the *gens*, resulting in the owners of the tombs jockeying for the best and most prominent locations. Their proximity to the fortifications led to an architectural dialogue between the two, reflecting therein the idea of the city (fig. 98). Tombs were primarily

de Maele and J.M. Fossey (Amsterdam, 1992): 211–224. He explains how these twin notions were central to Augustan ideals and the construction of city walls throughout the peninsula.

⁷³⁵ S. Cormack, “The Tombs at Pompeii.” In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by P. Foss and J.J. Dobbins (New York, 2007), 586.

representative of the individual, and their relationship with the fortifications highlights the image of the ideal citizen and hence the city.

Tomb forms are notoriously difficult to differentiate chronologically, but Pompeii seems to follow a few distinct trends.⁷³⁶ The so-called *aedicula* tombs found outside of the Porta Nocera were a particularly popular form in the early colony. They feature a high base supporting an *aedicula* or *cella* usually displaying statues of the deceased.⁷³⁷ The type lost popularity in the Julio-Claudian period when new more elaborate forms appeared in conjunction with the rise of wealthy freedmen who replaced some of the established elite. The new forms included the schola, circular superstructure, chamber, and altar-type tombs that expressly mimicked civic honorific architecture in an effort to connect the deceased with the image of the city.⁷³⁸

The dialogue between civic and funerary structures continued with the use of the First Style on the exterior of tombs where it symbolized the notions of citizenship and the city. The *aedicula* tombs in particular alluded more directly to the city walls. The surviving decoration suggests that they lacked the orthostate-ashlar sequence otherwise characteristic of the First-Style. Instead they only displayed stucco imitative ashlar as a reflection of the masonry that made up the city walls and the embellishments on the towers and gates. The correlation between the two is likely an explicit reference to the

⁷³⁶ H. von Hesberg, "Il recinto nelle necropoli di Roma in età Repubblicana. Origine e diffusione." In *Terminavit Sepulcrum. I recinti funerari nelle necropoli di Altino. Atti del convegno, Venezia 3-4 Dicembre 2003* (Rome, 2005), 59.

⁷³⁷ In particular the *aedicula* tombs 9OS, 13OS, the tombs of Marcus Octavius and Vertia Philumina, 23OS of Publius Vesonius Phileros, of Vesonina and Marcus Orfellius Faustus, also 27OS of Aulus Campius Antiochus, and 29OS of Lucius Caesius and Annedina.

⁷³⁸ Cormack, "The Tombs at Pompeii," 593.

role of the newly refurbished fortifications as markers of the city, or as the functional dividers between the realm of the living and the dead, or both.⁷³⁹

A further connection perhaps lies in the shape of the *aedicula* tombs and the nearby towers. Most known examples of the type lie on the western side of the Porta Nocera necropolis at the foot of Tower II. As described previously, the tower stood on a high isolated podium, as did its nearby neighbor to the east. Along with their construction technique of brick quoined *opus incertum*, the architectural similarity between towers and tombs is striking. The large opening on the façade of Tower II may reflect its later transformation into an *aedicula* similar to the tombs, or for that matter, some of the other funerary structures featuring high podia nearby (fig. 99). Excavation notebooks report the discovery of an epitaph in the main chamber of the tower during the excavations of the 1950s. The report describes its recovery in a layer of backfill deposited inside the building sometime after its first excavation in the 1800s.⁷⁴⁰ Although this is a secondary context, the epitaph presumably came from the near vicinity—perhaps even from the building itself (fig.100). The notebook tells us its dimensions, 42x28x4.5 centimeters, and the literal transcription reads:

P. TIN. TIRIVS. P. T. ADIVTOR. ET
TIN. TIRIAE. ESTAE
ILIAE. SVAE. V. ANNVII
ET. SIBI ET. PONTIAE. HE
DYMAE. LENI XV. SO

⁷³⁹ Mols, “Il Primo Stile ‘retró’: Dai propilei di Mnesicle a Pompei,” 245-246 in particular points to tombs 3S, 13 OS, 9 OS, 29 OS.

⁷⁴⁰ The excavation reports are incredibly vague describing the recovery of the epitaph in what the excavators designate tower 1. Assuming continuity in excavation nomenclature, this associates it with Tower II since Maiuri later describes it as 1. See Maiuri, *Pompei ed Ercolano: Fra case e abitanti*, 82-83.

RI. SVAE. ET SVIS

Unfortunately no other information exists regarding the epitaph and the transcription in the excavation diary seems to contain a few errors. An aggressive translation may read as follows:

Publius Tintirius Audiutor, son of Publius [made this] for
his daughter Tintiria ...esta [beginning of name apparently lost] (she lived
7 years)
and for himself
and Pontia Hedyma, his gentle wife
and their [family?] ⁷⁴¹

The Tintiria *gens* mentioned in the epitaph are not well attested in Pompeian epigraphy with the exception of N. Tintirius Rufus, who served as an aedile in the year 2 BCE. This was a comparatively low office amongst those available in the governance of the city, but it attests that, for a time at least, the Tintirii were part of the Pompeian elite and perhaps competed for prominence in the funerary landscape.⁷⁴² Considering the inherent height and dominant position of the tower, its re-use as a tomb is not inconceivable in a period when individuals increasingly appropriated the terrain belt associated with the fortifications. In addition, the competition for space in the Porta Nocera necropolis rapidly increased as it expanded first toward the Porta Stabia and later toward the amphitheater in the Julio-Claudian period.⁷⁴³ In these circumstances, the

⁷⁴¹ I wish to thank Prof. A. Riggsby for his invaluable translation of the text.

⁷⁴² Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 229.

⁷⁴³ See A. Emmerson, "Reconstructing the Funerary Landscape at Pompeii's Porta Stabia." *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 21 (2010): 77–86. Also D'Ambrosio and De Caro, *Un impegno per Pompei*, 24-25.

tower carried the distinct advantages of prominent display and architectural drama essential in tomb construction. Its transition into private hands may also explain its derelict state, if the expropriations conducted by Suedius Clemens led to the partial demolition of the building. Although we cannot prove that the expropriations led to the demolition of tombs, a nearby schola tomb strikingly displays the signs of a similar fate (fig. 101).⁷⁴⁴ Admittedly, the evidence for a complete transformation of the tower into a tomb is somewhat circumstantial, but it does help explain the curious remains.

In any event, the correlation between fortifications and funerary architecture continued more tangibly in the walls that increasingly fenced off tombs starting in the first century BCE.⁷⁴⁵ Outside of Pompeii, a series of unique late-Republican miniature funerary reliefs found mostly in Campania and central Italy, further elucidate the connection between the enclosures and city walls.⁷⁴⁶ The reliefs separately depict the typical monumental *cavaedium* (court) gates, and towers similar to those of Torino and Spello that appeared in Italy during the Augustan program of civic renewal (fig.83).⁷⁴⁷ Although most examples are now without context, they probably appeared in tomb enclosures to mimic the city walls that were often located nearby (fig. 102). In a similar fashion to the role of city walls, the precincts symbolically separated the dead from the living and signaled the social status of the tomb owners as freedmen who strongly

⁷⁴⁴ This is the only schola tomb immediately outside of the Porta Nocera and its owner is unknown. See A. Varone, "Attività dell'ufficio scavi: 1987-1988." *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 2 (1988): 143–154. Also Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, 177.

⁷⁴⁵ von Hesberg, "Il recinto nelle necropoli di Roma in età repubblicana. Origine e diffusione," 59.

⁷⁴⁶ H. von Hesberg, *Römische Gräbbauten* (Darmstadt, 1992), 63-65.

⁷⁴⁷ See H. Kähler, "Römischen Torburgen der Frühen Kaiserzeit." *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 57 (1942): 1–108. And also I.A. Richmond, "Commemorative Arches and City Gates in the Augustan Age." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 23 (1933): 149–174.

identified with citizenship and the city.⁷⁴⁸ The connection between the two is clear and fortifications continued to form a powerful reference point for civic identification.

At Pompeii many of the enclosure walls functioned in a similar manner and kept unwanted things and people away from the buildings. Amongst the surviving examples many have doorways offering access to the tombs, whereas others featured small jogs to secure a ladder, or included rough lava boulders set as steps in the concrete to climb over the wall.⁷⁴⁹ The most prominent enclosures, located primarily in the Porta Ercolano necropolis, featured further decorations. For example, the Tomb of N. Festius Amplius prominently displayed gladiatorial reliefs on the exterior. Another pair of gladiators is painted on one of the interior walls of the Tomb of Caius Vestorius Priscus at the Porta Vesuvio. These scenes are particularly apt to the funerary realm given the funerary origin of the combats.⁷⁵⁰ Another common theme is the presence of small merlons marking the enclosures.⁷⁵¹ On occasion the merlons also featured small detailed scenes related to the funerary realm including scenes of offering, or depictions of the Oedipus and the sphinx (fig.103). The two merlons facing the road on the cenotaph of the *augustales* C. Calventius Quietus featured Victoria carrying a Celtic horn, a motif borrowed from triumphal art.⁷⁵² As is the case with the Palestra, these merlons referenced the ideal of

⁷⁴⁸ See F. Rebecchi, "Antefatti tipologici delle porte a galleria. Su alcuni rilievi funerari di età tardo-repubblicana con raffigurazione di porte urbiche." *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 86 (1978-79): 153–166. Also see von Hesberg, *Römische Gräbbauten*, 63. In the Etruscan figurative tradition gates often represented the separation between the dead and the living, and were sometimes represented as city gates. See G. Camporeale, "La città murata d'Etruria nella tradizione letteraria e figurativa." In *La città murata in Etruria* (Pisa 2008): 22.

⁷⁴⁹ Typical examples are: the Tomb of M. Obellius Firmus outside of Porta Nola, tomb ES7 at the Porta Nocera, and South tomb G at the Fondo Pacifico.

⁷⁵⁰ Kockel, *Die Gräbbauten vor dem Herkulaner Tor in Pompeji*, 75, 84.

⁷⁵¹ The most marked examples are tomb ES5 at the Porta Nocera, the tombs of Marcus Veius Marcellus and Caius Vestorius Priscus outside the Porta Vesuvio, Tomb of Naevoleia Tyche (süd 22), Tomb of Numerius Istacidius Helenus (süd 21), Tomb of C. Calventius Quietus (süd 20) Caius Fabius Secundus (süd 18), and Aulus Umbricius Scaurus (süd 17).

⁷⁵² Many disappeared soon after excavation but Mazois recorded four surviving examples. One merlon featured Victoria carrying a Celtic horn, a motif borrowed from triumphal art. A second depicted Oedipus

virtus and commemorated the deceased as an ideal citizen. In their wider meaning they acted as a small fortress alluding to the real fortifications nearby, protecting the tomb and the deceased within. Together with the stucco embellishments we again encounter the twin notions of *virtus* and citizenship permeating the funerary and military architecture of the city.

CITY WALLS IN THE DOMESTIC SPHERE: REFLECTIONS OF URBAN AND SOCIAL IDEALS

Beyond the correlations with civic architecture, Pompeii preserves evidence for the social performance of the city walls in the form of artistic expressions. These are important since they give us a glimpse into the visual conceptualization of city walls, and how select individuals perceived the fortifications in the wider context of the city where they lived. Images of city walls in Roman art are a well-known phenomenon and the object of much discussion. Broadly speaking, they follow a general trend from the late Republican and through the Imperial period where they become inextricably linked to the image of the ideal city and the establishment of Roman order. Paul Zanker describes the changing environment including the installation of colonies, roads, sanctuaries, tombs, and monuments as a reflection of a new ideal establishing order on the landscape.

The Avezzano relief in particular, showing a city and its walls dominating the newly developed landscape, highlights its formation (fig. 104).⁷⁵³ Such civic representations fall within a wider trend of establishing an urban model and the

with the sphinx and Theban dead who failed its riddle lying below. A third relief depicted a reposing Theseus holding a club as trophy for the slaying of Corynetes. A fourth displayed a female figure holding a torch horizontally, probably representing a female mourner. See also the Tomb of Caius Fabius Secundus (süd 18). See Kockel, *Die Gräbbauten vor dem Herkulaner Tor in Pompeji*, 85-90 and 92-93. Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie I*, 45 and also Overbeck, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken für Kunst- und Alterthumsfreunde dargestellt*, 283 fig. 209.

⁷⁵³ Zanker, "The City as Symbol: Rome and the Creation of an Urban Image," 31.

prominence of city walls underscores their association with the image of the ideal city in Roman art. The Augustan fresco recovered from the Tomb of the Statilii in Rome further exemplifies the concept. The pictorial sequence depicts the mythological foundation of Rome. In it soldiers build a city wall in two separate scenes symbolizing the mythical foundation of Lavinium and Alba Longa (fig. 105).⁷⁵⁴ In each image a goddess personifying the city looks upon workers toiling to build her wall.⁷⁵⁵ Strikingly, despite the well-attested rituals associated with urban foundations, including that of Rome itself, the artist chose to depict the foundational act with the construction of defenses rather than any other symbolic moment.⁷⁵⁶ If anything, the scenes are a vivid representation of the mutual relationship between the deities protecting the walls and vice versa, expressing the same concept described earlier between the walls and temples of Pompeii.

In the Bay of Naples city walls appear prominently in harbor motifs where they serve as metaphors for refuge and security as a reflection of new man-made harbors often serving the new villas developing in the area.⁷⁵⁷ Artists also used fortifications to depict the concept of the city, as opposed to the personified Tychai representing cities present in the eastern Mediterranean. Without analyzing every known depiction in Pompeii, two examples in particular serve to highlight the point. The fresco of the Fall of Icarus in the House of the Sacerdos Amandus (I.7.7) still decorates the wall of a *triclinium* where it

⁷⁵⁴ M. Borda, "Il fregio pittorico delle origini di Roma." *Capitolium* 34, no. 5 (1959), 4. Also R. Sanzi di Mino, "Fregio pittorico dal colombario esquilino." In *L'Archeologia in Roma capitale tra sterro e scavo*, (Venice, 1983): 163–164; R. Cappelli, "The Painted Frieze of the Esquiline and the Augustan Propaganda of the Myth of the Origins of Rome." In *Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*, edited by A. La Regina (Rome, 1998): 51–58; E. Moormann, "Scene storiche come decorazioni di tombe romane." In *La Peinture Funéraire Antique: IVe Siècle Av. J.-C.-IVe Siècle Ap. J.-C.* edited by A. Barbet (Paris, 2001): 101.

⁷⁵⁵ R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca, 1984), 30.

⁷⁵⁶ Such as the already discussed *sulcus primigenius* ritual. See chapter 2.

⁷⁵⁷ B. Bergmann, "Painted Perspectives of a Villa Visit. Landscape as Status and Metaphor." In *Roman Art in the Private Sphere. New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula*, edited by E. Gazda (Ann Arbor 1991): 49-50. See also J.R. Clarke "Landscape Paintings in the Villa of Oplontis." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9 (1996): 93.

probably served to foster erudite conversations during elaborate meals (fig. 106). It is a simultaneous narrative of the story from the moment the son of Daedalus plunges to his death after nearing the sun to the recovery of his body.⁷⁵⁸ Notably the artist depicted Crete, or Knossos, in the background as a heavily fortified city showing its walls surrounding a mass of unidentifiable buildings. The towers and the gates prominently face the viewer and stand out as the most obvious markers of the city. The artist displays the fortifications as robust ramparts built in regular ashlar isodomic masonry that may reflect the *opus quadratum* of the walls of Pompeii. More importantly, it is not the collection of buildings that symbolize the city, but rather their placement behind the protection of fortified defenses that complete its image and status.

The House of the Lararium of Achilles (I.6.4) contains a similar but more simplistic example in the stucco frieze depicting the Homeric cycle in a *sacellum* dedicated to the familial cult. In three separate instances the artist, although clearly constrained by the limited space of the frieze, chose to render Troy as a simple large city gate flanked by two large towers (fig. 107). Each scene depicts the departure from or the arrival to Troy, whether it is Hector in the act of leaving to confront Achilles, the dragging of his body around the city, or Priam recovering his remains.⁷⁵⁹ The gate vault is overly large to accommodate the figures. The gate itself is reminiscent of the large tower-flanked gates built in the Augustan period throughout the Roman west. In both cases, and these are certainly not isolated examples, the visual and imaginative concept of

⁷⁵⁸ See V. Sampaolo, "I 7,7: Casa del Sacredos Amandus." In *Pompei: Pitture e mosaici 1* (Rome, 1990), 594-596.

⁷⁵⁹ N. Blanc, "L'Énigmatique Sacello Iliaco: Contribution à l'étude des cultes domestiques." In *I temi figurativi nella pittura parietale antica (IV Sec. a.C. - IV Sec. d.C.): Atti del VI convegno internazionale sulla pittura parietale antica*, edited by D. Scagliarini Corlàita (Bologna, 1997): 37-38.

the city translated to the fortifications enclosing it more than any other architectural element.⁷⁶⁰

Images of fortifications also gained popularity as framing bands in black-and-white mosaics during the first century BCE. They originate from the imitative carpet fringes bordering Hellenistic mosaics.⁷⁶¹ Although lost to us, the most elaborate carpets were probably a status symbol, and the translation of their borders into city walls may reflect similar connotations of elite ostentation and perhaps even citizenship. The earliest examples of fortified bands date to the late third and mid-second century BCE and were found in opulent houses in the Roman colonies of Atri and Suasa in Italy (fig.108).⁷⁶² They likely referred to the notions of *securitas*, *dignitas*, and the projection of Roman power associated with the fortifications of colonies exposed in enemy territory. In the late Republic and early Principate they became particularly popular in Italy and the Roman west as explicit emblems of *romanitas* reflecting the real fortifications built in new

⁷⁶⁰ Simple representations of city walls appear in the early third century BCE Esquiline tomb of Fabius or Fannius. Here at least one scene shows a simple monolithic wall with merlons representing a city. Later more complicated renditions of city walls coincide with broader urban images such as the fresco depicting a city in a cryptoporticus beneath the Baths of Trajan in Rome. The fresco illustrates an ideal Roman city complete with characteristic monuments, such as temples and theaters, and the city walls feature prominently as part of the urban ideal. On the Esquiline tomb see E. La Rocca, "Fabio o Fannio. L'affresco medio-repubblicano dell'Esquilino come riflesso dell'arte rappresentativa e come espressione di mobilità sociale." *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 2 (1984): 31–53 and Moormann "Scene storiche come decorazioni di tombe romane." On the baths of Trajan see La Rocca, E. "L'affresco con veduta di città dal Colle Oppio." In *Romanization and the City* edited by E. Fentress (Portsmouth, 2000): 57–71 and D. Favro "The iconiCITY of Ancient Rome." *Urban History* 33, no. 01 (2006): 20–38.

⁷⁶¹ G. Becatti, *Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei* (Rome, 1961), 297–298. See also M.L. Morricone, "mosaico." In *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale. Suppl. [1], Supplemento 1970* (Rome, 1973), 507.

⁷⁶² M. Pensa, "Immagini di città e porti: Aspetti e problemi." In *XLIII corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* (Ravenna, 1998), 705. The earliest known example comes from Atri where a band depicting city walls frames an *opus signinum* pavement, See G. Azzena, *Atri: Forma e urbanistica* (Roma, 1987), 51–55. The next known example is the mosaic discovered in Suasa showing a similar motif but this time in a black and white mosaic. S. De Maria, "Mosaici di Suasa. Tipi, fasi, botteghe." In *Atti del III colloquio dell'associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico* (Bordighera, 1996), 414.

colonies and the Augustan program of civic renewal.⁷⁶³ A more practical hypothesis defines these mosaics as apotropaic metaphors of protection and safety for visitors entering the confines of the house.⁷⁶⁴ In some cases they also framed elaborate labyrinths, and the fortified bands may also function as reflections of the Minotaur myth.⁷⁶⁵ A distinct possibility exists that these mosaics were mere decorative motifs and acted as functional dividers guiding viewers through houses.⁷⁶⁶ These views are undoubtedly valid, and the mosaics likely included a varying mix of these meanings depending on their immediate contexts and commissioners.

In the region of Campania, Pompeii alone holds six known examples at the villas of Diomedes and P. Fannius Synistor, and the Houses of the Menander (I.10.4), M. Caesius Blandus (VII.1.40), the Centenary (IX.8.6), and the Wild Boar (VIII.3.8).⁷⁶⁷ The depictions range from simple tower or city gate motifs in the House of M. Caesius Blandus to the elaborate wall systems surrounding labyrinths at the Villa of Diomedes. They became particularly popular with the introduction of the Second-Style, placed either in panels or thresholds announcing spaces, or as bands functioning as complete metaphorical fortifications protecting the space.⁷⁶⁸ The similarity and extensive tradition

⁷⁶³ H. Lavagne, "Un emblème de romanitas: Le motif des tours et ramparts en mosaïque." In *Le monde des images en Gaule et dans les provinces voisines* (Sèvres, 1987), 135–143. Also Pensa, "Immagini di città e porti: Aspetti e problemi," 704-705.

⁷⁶⁴ V. Iorio, "La presenza della cinta muraria nei mosaici di Pompei e del suo ager ed in quelli di Ostia. Un confronto." In *Atti del XIII colloquio dell'associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico*, edited by C. Angelelli and F. Rinaldi (Tivoli, 2008), 289.

⁷⁶⁵ H. Kern, *Labirinti: Forme e interpretazioni 5000 anni di presenza di un archetipo: Manuale e filo conduttore* (Milano, 1981), 25-26. Kern connects the representations of labyrinths with the *troiae lusus* festival where equestrians performed labyrinth-like dances. These dances were also performed at the foundations of cities as apotropaic devices meant to shy away spirits from the area inside the city walls. Evil spirits could allegedly only fly in straight lines, so the combination of walls and the labyrinth formed an effective counter measure.

⁷⁶⁶ J.R. Clarke, *Roman Black-and-White Figural Mosaics* (New York, 1979), 10.

⁷⁶⁷ R. Ling, P. R. Arthur and L. Ling, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii: The Decorations* (Oxford 2005), 56-58. See also V. Iorio, "La presenza della cinta muraria nei mosaici di Pompei," 290.

⁷⁶⁸ Ling et.al, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii: The Decorations*, 57-59.

of the type, ranging from the third century BCE to the Flavian period, suggests that they also were decorative motifs widely available in pattern books.⁷⁶⁹ The House of the Menander, for example, preserves a fragmentary Second-Style mosaic panel depicting a fortification lining the *impluvium* of the *atriolum* (fig. 109). The panel here fits into a wider patterned repertoire of crenellated-tower patterns, discussed further below, and its isolated context suggests its primary function as a decorative motif.⁷⁷⁰ The examples contained in the villas of Diomedes, and P. Fannius Synistor are either completely lost or in such a fragmentary state as not to merit extensive discussion (fig.110).⁷⁷¹ Suffice it to say that, like the panel in the House of the Menander, they functioned in Second-Style ensembles in luxury dwellings associated with the new colonists. They may therefore have carried further symbolic references with the refurbished fortifications of Pompeii such as *romanitas*. With these issues in mind, Pompeii also preserves examples that are specific commissions diverging from the typical representations. They have induced

⁷⁶⁹ See Becatti, *Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*, 297-299 and also Lavagne, “Un emblème de Romanitas: Le motif des tours et ramparts en mosaïque,” 138-139.

⁷⁷⁰ The Second-Style panel is heavily damaged but still displays the corner of a city gate and a wall curtain rendered in *opus quadratum* and capped with an oversized T-shaped merlon. It leads to a tower with a small window. Ling describes it as a single gate flanked by two towers, whereas Iorio rightly identifies a continuation of the enceinte on each side of the tower. This continuation suggests that it derived from band mosaics. Ling et.al *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii: The Decorations* 58; Iorio, “La presenza della cinta muraria nei mosaici di Pompei,” 290. Scholars have consistently described the *Poppaei* as the *gens* owning the house. They eventually produced Poppea, the wife of Nero. Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 122.

⁷⁷¹ The example in the Villa of Diomedes is preserved only in an early nineteenth century drawing. See L.Barré, *Ercolano e Pompei: Raccolta generale de pitture, bronzi, mosaici*, vol. 5 (Venice, 1862) fig. 6.4. The drawing shows an elaborate enceinte surrounding a labyrinth with no entry or exit. It dates to anywhere between 80 and 60 BCE. See Kern, *Labirinti* 25-26, 115 for the date. The Villa of P. Fannius Synistor once contained an early example of a complete band mosaic depicting a fortification running around the entirety of the small peristyle. Today only a fragment survives dated variously to the early Second-Style and the Imperial period. See F.Barnabei, *La villa pompeiana di P. Fannio Sinistore scoperta presso Boscoreale* (Roma, 1901), 17; Ling et.al *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii: The Decorations* 57; Iorio “La presenza della cinta muraria nei mosaici di Pompei,” 291. For the identification of the owner see G. Sauron, “Le propriétaire de la villa dite de P. Fannius Synistor à Boscoreale vers 50 Av. J.C. P. Aninius C.f., ancien duovir de la colonie de Pompéi, ou son fils?” *Atti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti* 71 (1998- 1999): 1–28.

scholars to associate them with particular individuals. These associations are often rather doubtful. Nevertheless, they merit further discussion as evidence of how their owners engaged with the fortifications and recognized their symbolic roles.

The House of M. Caesius Blandus preserves a prominent Second-Style example in the threshold between the *fauces* and the *atrium*. It is a fairly straightforward symmetrical rendition centered on a city gate flanked with curtain walls ending in a tower on either side (fig. 111). The gate is vaulted and closed with a simple two-leafed door further fortified by a jagged crown and three exaggerated T-shaped merlons. The curtain sections are orthostate walls topped with smaller merlons. The towers each feature two large vaulted windows with surmounting crenellations. Shields above each curtain further stress the martial character of the panel. The threshold is part of a wider mosaic that spans the *fauces*. It includes a central rudder set before a trident and framed with dolphins. A sea dragon and a small bird perched on the rudder in the top right corner fill in the scene. The vertical composition of the mosaic acted as a guide leading spectators into the house, whereas the threshold, further highlighted by the closed gate, invited spectators to stop and appreciate the view of the *atrium* and the *tablinum* beyond.⁷⁷² The combination of the two motifs is atypical for mosaics displaying fortifications and likely reflects an explicit commission connecting personally to the owner of the house. The rudder and trident clearly reference the sea and navigation, and they seem particularly apt for a port town like Pompeii. Both carried further associations; the trident was a symbol of Neptune, and the rudder was a prominent attribute of Venus Pompeiana. The bird on the trident may also represent a woodpecker that alluded to Mars in keeping with the martial character of the city walls and the shields.⁷⁷³ This mix of clues does not present a

⁷⁷² Clarke, *Roman Black-and-White Figural Mosaics*, 9.

⁷⁷³ M. Della Corte, *Casa ed abitanti di Pompei* (Naples, 1965), 186.

clear identification of the owner beyond his strong association with Pompeii and its maritime character. Yet, at the time of the mosaic's commission, Neptune was a god more popular in Rome than in Campania and his attribute suggests a pro-Roman affiliation of the owner of the house.⁷⁷⁴

Originally named the House of Mars and Venus because of the Fourth-Style medallions representing the two divinities throughout the house, the complex now receives its name from the graffiti scratched in the peristyle. Several mention M. Caesius Blandus, and one refers to him as a centurion of the Praetorian Guard.⁷⁷⁵ The Caesii were a distinguished colonial family and L. Caesius, a pro-Sullan man enriched by the proscriptions, financed the Forum baths during his tenure as a *duovir iure dicundo*.⁷⁷⁶ Fiorelli first associated Blandus with the house, and Matteo Della Corte connected him further by describing the distinct martial character of the decorations as reflective of his rank.⁷⁷⁷ He argued that the entrance mosaic referenced his overseas military adventures including a victory over an unknown city acknowledged in the threshold.⁷⁷⁸ This reasoning is in many ways far-fetched and, although the house may have belonged to the Caesii, most of the pavements date to the Second-Style and certainly do not reflect the exploits of Blandus as a Praetorian Guard.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁴ L. Bernabei *Contributi di archeologia vesuviana. Raccolta critica della documentazione III, i culti di Pompei* (Rome 2007), 35-36.

⁷⁷⁵ See A. Los, "Quand et pourquoi a-t-on envoyé les prétorienes à Pompéi?" In *Studia archaeologica et historica Georgii Kolendo ab amici et discipuli dicata* (Warsaw, 1995): 167.

⁷⁷⁶ Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 146.

⁷⁷⁷ Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii*, 165. Della Corte, *Case ed abitanti di Pompei*, 167. In particular he identified the figures present in the medallions as Caesius Blandus and wife in a deliberate reference to Mars and Venus. He also associated the shields and lightning bolts present in the threshold mosaic between the *tablinum* and the *atrium* as part of the same martial theme in the *fauces*.

⁷⁷⁸ Della Corte, *Case ed abitanti di Pompei*, 186-188.

⁷⁷⁹ For the date of the pavements see E. Pernice, *Pavimente und Figürliche Mosaiken* (Berlin, 1938), 53-54. Also I. Bragantini, "VII 1,40: Casa di M. Caesius Blandus." In *Pompei: Pitture e mosaici*, 6 (Rome, 1990), 380.

A more recent hypothesis builds on the six fragments of the inscription commemorating Loreius and Cuspius as the restorers of the walls. Excavators originally found them re-used in a threshold and the peristyle floor of the house.⁷⁸⁰ Damaged in the earthquake of 62 CE, the theory proposes that the fragments found their way into the house because one of the two *duumvirs* was an ancestor of its last owner.⁷⁸¹ The evidence is again somewhat circumstantial, especially if we consider that the inscription ended up in the floors rather than a more prominent position referencing the ancestry of the owner. Yet, if we assume a continuity of ownership, the *fauces* mosaic may represent a direct commission by one of the *duumvirs* to further celebrate his euergetism. In any event, all we can really say is that the *fauces* mosaic reflects the owner's strong identification with the symbols of Pompeii. In this context the fortifications in the threshold likely reference to the newly refurbished city walls as a conceptual expression of the colony and its *romanitas*. Such an expression is all the more compelling if we accept the Loreii, Cusprii, or Caesii as owners of the house, since all three were strong pro-Sullan *gentes* supplying *duumvirs* early in the colony.

The House of the Wild Boar (VIII.3.8) preserves a spectacular example of a mosaic with city walls in its *atrium* (fig. 112). Dating to the early Imperial period, the mosaic spans the entire space with a continuous band depicting city walls framing a motif of intersecting perpendicular “T” shaped forms.⁷⁸² The curtain wall features oversized regular ashlar masonry and large T-shaped merlons similar to the mosaic in the House of C. Blandus. Towers appear at regular intervals and on each corner of the rectangular

⁷⁸⁰ Fiorelli, *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei vol. 13-15* (Naples, 1862), 96. Also see Fiorelli, *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 Al 1872*, 89.

⁷⁸¹ Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 212-213.

⁷⁸² Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae* 230-231. Niccolini renders this mosaic incorrectly with dolphins and other marine life rather than the intersecting I shapes. This serves as a reminder not to accept secondary evidence as implicitly correct. F. Niccolini and F. Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei. vol. 3* (Naples 1890), Pl. 5.

space. The artist used smaller ashlar masonry to denote the towers, perhaps in an effort to mimic the similar contrast between tower and wall curtain present in the Pompeian circuit. The representation of ashlar masonry, in particular, began in the late Republic and perhaps reflects the application of the First-Style used on the exterior of buildings.⁷⁸³ The towers have two stories with two windows on the first floor and three on the second. Two of them, each centrally placed before the *tablinum* and *fauces*, further highlight the entry axis into the house. The artist stressed their functional importance by subtly changing their aspect; the *tablinum* tower features only a second floor and no ashlar masonry, whereas the *fauces* tower includes a large vaulted opening. This open gateway further complements the role of the *fauces* where a scene detailing two dogs attacking a wild boar acted as an invitation for visitors to stop before entering the house.⁷⁸⁴

The mosaic and the electoral slogans on the façade enabled Matteo Della Corte to link the house to L. Coelius Calvus. He was a member of the Coelii whom he allegedly joined as a way to gain access to the local elite. The Coelii traced their ancestry to a Roman consul in 94 BCE, a *quaestor* in 50 BCE, and the general C. Coelius Calvus, who served as *praetor* in Hispania Citerior in 99 BCE where he participated in the siege of Clunia. According to Della Corte the mosaics of the *atrium* explicitly referenced the *gens*; the wild boar was a symbol of the Hispania Citerior, and the fortified enclosure referred to the siege and their military exploits.⁷⁸⁵ The theory is rather far-fetched and without further evidence the conclusions remain highly debatable. We do know, however, that the dwelling was a so-called *ordo decurionum* house lining the *via Marina/via*

⁷⁸³ See also Lavagne, “Un emblème de romanitas: Le motif des tours et ramparts en mosaïque,” 135 on the representation of ashlar masonry.

⁷⁸⁴ Clarke, *Roman Black-and-White Figural Mosaics*, 10.

⁷⁸⁵ Della Corte, *Case ed abitanti di Pompei*, 228-229. On the *Coelii* see Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 155-156.

dell'Abbondanza axis near the Forum. As mentioned previously, these houses belonged to prominent early colonists, most likely high-ranking officers of the Roman army, who acquired them specifically for their visibility and proximity to the Forum as the political heart of the city. Interestingly, the new owner built an exedra in the back of the peristyle similar to one containing the Alexander Mosaic in the House of the Faun, suggesting his ambition to emulate the grand Samnite houses of Pompeii.⁷⁸⁶

Although the commissioner of the *atrium* and *fauces* mosaics remains unknown, he probably belonged to an influential Pompeian family. Beyond their functional address and the apotropaic symbolism associated with the bands depicting city walls, the mosaics probably expressed the Roman identity and political affiliation of the owner. Their early Imperial date coincides with the period when city walls mosaics expressing *romanitas* reached the apex of their popularity in the Augustan colonial establishments of the Roman west.⁷⁸⁷ In this context the mosaic dialogued with the real fortifications of Pompeii as part of the Augustan political message. Its presence in the *atrium* further reinforced this statement since this was the space where the patron of the house met his clients on a daily basis.

Another mosaic belonging to the same period once adorned a *cubiculum* opening onto the main peristyle of the House of the Centenary (fig. 113).⁷⁸⁸ Its main black and white geometric pattern consists of swastikas set in large octagons each separated by

⁷⁸⁶ Pesando, "Le residenze dell'aristocrazia sillana a Pompei: Alcune considerazioni," 91-95. Also Pesando *Gli ozi di Ercole: Residenze di lusso a Pompei ed Ercolano*, 149; I. Bragantini, "VIII 3, 8-9: Casa del Cinghiale I." In *Pompei: Pitture e mosaici*, 8 (Rome, 1990), 365-366.

⁷⁸⁷ Lavagne, "Un emblème de romanitas: le motif des tours et ramparts en mosaïque," 137.

⁷⁸⁸ See A. Coralini, "I pavimenti della Casa del Centenario a Pompei (IX 8, 3, 6, A). I temi figurati." In *Atti del VII colloquio dell'associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico* (Ravenna, 2001), 51. Scholars first identified it as a Second-Style mosaic due largely to its erroneous attribution to the House of the Silver Wedding. A new evaluation identified it as a rare Third-Style composition dating to the early Augustan era. See also, V. Sampaolo, "IX 8, 3.7: Casa del Centenario." In *Pompei: Pitture e mosaici*, 9 pt.2 (Rome, 1990), 978-980.

squares. The central *emblema* depicts a gorgon head set between panels; one depicting a nautical scene and the other an image of a fortified circuit. The nautical panel displays a merchant ship and small support vessel moored onto a lighthouse. The opposing fortified circuit includes ten towers and is a semi-octagonal shape with a square protrusion reminiscent of the wider geometric pattern of the mosaic. An unidentified structure, perhaps a crude version of the tower gate found in the House of the Wild Boar, surmounts the walls to the right. It points toward a palm tree and two smaller subsidiary buildings identified as a possible *sacellum* outside of the circuit.

The gorgon and fortified scene, both facing the rear of the room, acted as an apotropaic device safeguarding the individuals inside. However, the fortified circuit and its inclusion in the *emblema* is a motif without known parallels that was probably uniquely associated with the owner. The composition fits into a wider marine decorative theme of the house linking perhaps to the merchant profession of the owner, or as a port metaphor for the safety and refuge offered by the home.⁷⁸⁹ The two panels in the *cubiculum* likely composed a single scene, and a recent theory suggests that the mosaic might even depict a city particularly dear to the owner, perhaps Alexandria, due to the presence of the lighthouse and the palm tree.⁷⁹⁰ If it indeed represents the Egyptian city, the rendition of the walls and the lighthouse are a remarkable short hand for the large and complex metropolis.

Less complex city wall renditions, typical of the Second-Style, involve seriated towers joined with low curtain walls placed in thresholds. The House of Tryptolemus (VII.7.5) contains a prime example of the type with a double band acting as an extended

⁷⁸⁹ Coralini, "I pavimenti della Casa del Centenario a Pompei" 48, 54-56. The house allegedly belonged to A. Rustius Verus, or Ti. Claudius Verus, in the final years of Pompeii, but the commissioner of the mosaic remains anonymous, Della Corte *Casa ed abitanti di Pompei*, 133. On the *Caudii* and the *Rustii* see Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 154, 214.

⁷⁹⁰ Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompeii, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 241.

threshold to a prominent *oecus* (fig. 114). The polychrome mosaic features an ingenious reversible design where the merlons of each tower form the crenellations of the opposite low curtain walls and vice-versa, resulting in a line of fortifications on either side. The overall result depicts two lines of walls that clearly announced the limits of the room on each side.⁷⁹¹ The space was a *tablinum* of sorts that still contains a prestigious *emblema* in *opus scutulatum*, a rarity for this period in Pompeii. Its presence, along with a general refurbishment of the dwelling in the early colony, has led to a recent conclusion this was an *ordo-decurionum* house, belonging perhaps to one of the founders of the colony.⁷⁹²

A slightly simpler band runs around the *impluvium* of the House of Cornelius Rufus (VIII.4.15). Now almost completely destroyed, a few old photographs capture its original layout composed of black and white towers alternating to form two lines; one facing the *impluvium* and the other the *atrium* (fig. 115).⁷⁹³ On the southern side the band jutted out to envelop the well-head and a large marble table with prominent back to back griffins as leg supports. A herm recovered in the *atrium* attests that the house belonged to Cornelius Rufus, a member of the Corneli, the descendants of Sullan clients including P. Cornelius Sulla, one of the founders of the colony.⁷⁹⁴ In practical terms the apotropaic value of these two examples is evident and their regular pattern suggests that they were a common decorative theme. Considering their placement in public areas related to patron-

⁷⁹¹ I. Bragantini, "VII 7,5: Casa di Trittolemo." In *Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici*, 7 (Rome, 1990), 232-233.

⁷⁹² The *emblema* was a particularly prestigious collection of marble types, with parallels found only in the House of the Faun, the Temple of Apollo and the Temple of Jupiter after its early colonial refurbishment. The House of Tryptolemus is also a prime example of the proscription process as it expanded to include the entire insula strategically located north and west of the Temples of Venus and Apollo, see Pesando, *Gli ozi di Ercole: Residenze di lusso a Pompei ed Ercolano*, 103-105. Scholars have otherwise, rather precariously, identified L. Calpurnius Diogenes or the Cisonii as the owners of the house. See Della Corte, *Casa ed abitanti di Pompei*, 220.

⁷⁹³ I. Bragantini, "VIII 4, 15.30: Casa di Cornelius Rufus." In *Pompei: Pitture e mosaici*, 8 (Rome, 1990), 518-520.

⁷⁹⁴ Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 157; Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii*, 340-341. The mosaic is undated due to the loss of the decorative schemes in the house, although much of the atrium receives new Fourth-Style paintings.

client rituals however, and the prominence of the families, the mosaics likely also carried associations of *romanitas* and probably referenced the newly refurbished walls of the city.

This brief survey highlights the preponderance of city wall mosaics dating to the late Republican and early Imperial period of the colony. To a certain extent they undoubtedly were part of decorative motifs available to artists; their significance sometimes did not go beyond that. Nevertheless, their boundary defining and protective roles translate naturally from the real enceintes defending the community. The period of their highest popularity broadly coincides with the refurbishment of the fortifications. The connection between the two occurred on multiple levels with the examples in the Pompeian pavements working as apotropaic devices and distinct emblems of the new colony. Furthermore, the mosaics provided a powerful reminder of the relationship between the city walls, the Pompeian elite, and even the political messages of the new empire. The ideals associated with city walls, their status as boundary markers, and their apotropaic and religious values, clearly connected in the domestic and political sphere to help foster the identity of the new city.

Moving beyond the mosaics, we return to the amphitheater district and the city walls framing it. The fresco depicting the riot between Pompeian and Nucernian factions offers an impression of the quarter in the years leading up to the earthquake (fig.116). It is a vivid depiction of Tacitus's narration of the events of 59 CE which left many spectators dead, and ensured an imperial ban on games in the city for a period of ten years.⁷⁹⁵ These events are a testament to the continued importance of the district in the history of the Pompeii. The fresco is an unusual historical document responding directly

⁷⁹⁵ Tacitus, *Annals* XIV.17.

to very specific demands of the commissioner. It therefore offers a glimpse of the buildings and the fortifications in the public imagination. The owner was likely involved in the happenings of that day and chose to immortalize and display the event in his peristyle where only selected guests could admire it.⁷⁹⁶ However, we should remember that the fresco survives because excavators detached it from the wall and that parts of the composition may be lost and unknown.

The fresco displays the arena quarter from a bird's eye perspective, allowing the best view of the action occurring in and around the amphitheater. The artist stressed the recognizable aspects of the building including its prominent stair ramps that even today are the most conspicuous features of the façade. As the focus of the riot, the amphitheater stands out as the largest structure, whereas the Palestra to the right is much smaller despite their almost equal size in real life. The artist deliberately represented only part of the *velum* and the masts holding it up to allow a full view of the action inside the arena.⁷⁹⁷ Further back the city walls frame the riot standing at roughly the same scale as the amphitheater to highlight their importance. A comparison to the actual appearance of the walls reveals a few glaring differences serving to emphasize their importance and stature. In an effort to suggest their length the artist dramatically curved the wall curtains and included two small posterns which, due to their position, might represent schematic depictions of the Porta Nocera and Sarno. The absence of the *agger* serves to visually isolate the arena and emphasize the ashlar masonry present on the exterior of the fortifications as their most recognizable aspect. As we have seen, the exterior curtain at the time was a medley of construction techniques and this representation emphasizes the

⁷⁹⁶ See J.R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 315* (Berkeley, 2003), 154-156. The author also reconstructs the fresco within a wider composition that included flanking pairs of gladiators fighting on either side.

⁷⁹⁷ On the masts holding up the *velum* see R. Graefe, *Vela erunt: Die Zeldächer der Römischen Theater und ähnlicher Anlagen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1979), 66-70.

wider visual conceptualization of the fortifications. Similarly, the towers stand frontally in the most directly recognizable view. Their appearance, with large open backdoors and four windows, is quite different from the real multistoried buildings.⁷⁹⁸ The First-Style embellishments are conspicuously absent, and the towers instead appear as plain white buildings. This element has the effect of differentiating them from the wall curtain in an effort perhaps to highlight their role in the area. The result is a wider recognizable external conceptualized view of the walls, emphasizing their architectural and symbolic roles, not only as a frame to the district, but also to the city and its citizens.

Pompeii preserves one further representation of its fortifications on one of the reliefs from the *lararium* of Caecilius Jucundus (fig. 117). The relief shows the effects of the 62 CE earthquake on the Porta Vesuvio with the open gate toppling over to one side, the intact *castellum* to its left, and the fortifications to the right. In the foreground panicked mules or bulls dart off to the right, and an altar next to a tree probably represents a *sacellum* outside the walls. Although found out of context, scholars have associated the relief to a *lararium* in the House of Caecilius Jucundus (V.1.26) where a second depiction in the same style portrays the effect of the earthquake on the Temple of Jupiter and an adjacent arch in the Forum.⁷⁹⁹

The reliefs have drawn much scholarly discussion concerning their placement, ownership, and depicted buildings.⁸⁰⁰ A similar complex discussion involves the motive

⁷⁹⁸ The large backdoor, however, is reminiscent of Tower IX. The artist perhaps took this building as inspiration because this stretch of wall is also without the *agger*.

⁷⁹⁹ Here I agree with Maiuri's assessment, A. Maiuri, *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei* (Spoleto, 1942), 17-21. Although his assessment that the cart and the altar represent an offering for the survival of Jucundus's pack animals seems a little far-fetched.

⁸⁰⁰ See V. Huet, "Le laraire de L. Caecilius Jucundus: Un relief hors norme?" In *Contributi di archeologia vesuviana. Raccolta critica della documentazione III, i culti di Pompeii*, edited by L. Bernabei (Naples, 2007), 142-150 for a summary of the various theories.

for their commission identified as commemorative, votive, or apotropaic.⁸⁰¹ The reliefs are a clear historical document and as such differ significantly from other more generalized civic images. Their importance lies in the very conceptualization of the disaster with the Temple of Jupiter, and the Porta Vesuvio as monuments defining the city. To a certain extent this should be hardly surprising since the gate was an important landmark in the city and lies within sight of the entrance to the house. In fact, if we follow the theory outlined previously associating the gate with the ancient Porta Campana, we may even speculate that its presence on the *lararium* is the result of the Caecilii identifying with the *campanienses* electoral college.⁸⁰² We have no concrete evidence of that, but the house belonged to L. Caecilius Jucundus. He was a wealthy banker and son of L. Caecilius Felix, a freedman of the Caecilii, a family tracing its roots to colonial settlers.⁸⁰³ As freedmen they had little direct Roman ancestry, and Lauren Petersen recently points out how the *lararium*, and the main *atrium* where it stood, were part of a deliberate decorative design expressly creating an ancestor house to dignify the *gens*. Here Jucundus attempted to portray himself as more Roman than he actually was and the *lararium* exalted him further as an exemplary citizen of Pompeii.⁸⁰⁴ Jucundus belonged to the wealthy freedmen, a class that often exhibited a strong identification with the status quo that had enabled their social mobility.⁸⁰⁵ Perhaps Aeneias the Tactician best

⁸⁰¹ Maiuri, *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei*, 17-21 argues for commemorative, I. S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman art* (Rome, 1955), 170-171 makes a case for votive, whereas G. Spano, "Nuove osservazioni intorno ai bassirilievi pompeiani ricordanti il terremoto del 63 d.C." In *Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri* (Napoli, 1959), 16-19 sees them in an apotropaic function.

⁸⁰² Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, 34-45 describes the strength of neighborhood identity in Pompeii and discusses a reformation of the *vici* under Augustus as part of the new policy of empire. The neighborhood may therefore not be related to the Campanienses, but may have acquired a different name at this stage.

⁸⁰³ Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 120, 145.

⁸⁰⁴ L. Hackworth Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History* (New York, 2006), 181-182.

⁸⁰⁵ Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 124.

emphasized the concept when he recommended that the most prominent members of a city receive the highest ranking positions in its defense. They would exhibit the most loyalty to the existing status quo since they had the most to lose if the city fell.⁸⁰⁶ The choice of associating the disaster with a collapsing Porta Vesuvio and making it the object of daily prayers in a private *lararium* speaks volumes about the role fortifications, and more specifically gates, still played in the concept of the city.

FORTIFICATIONS AND RELIGION: APPROPRIATION, CONTINUITY, AND CHANGE

One of the common themes throughout the history of Pompeii is the religious symbolism associated with its city walls. As discussed in the previous chapters, the topic closely relates to the identity of the inhabitants and how they perceived the fortifications protecting them. In most basic terms the gods protected the city and the citizens protected them by placing their sanctuaries behind the safety of the fortifications. The direct visual association between the fortifications and the gods of the city was a recurrent theme at Pompeii that focused on the Temple of Mefitis Fisica on the southwestern tip of the plateau, and the Temple of Minerva in the Triangular Forum. In this position they fulfilled the Vitruvian prescriptions that the temples of the protective gods should be in eminent places with commanding views of the city.⁸⁰⁷ The Roman period of Pompeii preserves important evidence revealing the depth of the connection between the gods, the city walls, and the image of the city. They suggest a complex relationship that mirrors the delicate balance of appropriation and preservation of the fortifications.

Perhaps the most recognizable and direct symbolic connection between the image of Pompeii and its city walls was the manifestation of the Venus Fisica Pompeiana.

⁸⁰⁶ Aeneas Tacticus 1.6, 1.7, and 5.1.

⁸⁰⁷ Vitruvius 1.7.1

Scholarship has traditionally identified her cult as an overt stamp of the dictator's conquest on the city and the construction of her temple directly onto the city walls as an indelible mark of subjugation and loss of independence.⁸⁰⁸ As evidenced previously, recent discoveries provide a less dramatic view. Cultic traces stretch to the Archaic period and downdate construction of the main sanctuary to the last quarter of the second century BCE, well before the foundation of the colony. The sanctuary featured a central temple enclosed by porticoes on three sides that afforded a visitor spacious views of the countryside and the Bay of Naples (fig. 62). This design resembled the larger sanctuaries in Italy such as Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina, Hercules in Tivoli, and Jupiter Anxur in Terracina, reflecting Pompeii's will to join the architectural developments of the peninsula.⁸⁰⁹

Recent scholarship also revises the cult of Venus Fisica Pompeiana as an appropriation of the Samnite Mefitis Fisica.⁸¹⁰ Her main sanctuary was in the territory of the Hirpini near the sources of the Sarno River in the Asanto Valley. Mefitis was the personification of bad sulfurous air and the appellative Fisica indicates her primary role as an intercessor between the underworld and the heavens.⁸¹¹ She also presided over fertility, initiation rites into adulthood, natural cycles, and agreements (*fides*), and was associated with grain, water, and the goddess Ceres. The Mamii were her principal

⁸⁰⁸ M. Wolf, "Tempel und Macht in Pompeji." In *Macht der Architektur, Architektur der Macht. Bauforschungskolloquium in Berlin vom 30. Oktober bis 2. November 2002*, edited by E.L. Schwander and K. Rheidt (Mainz, 2004), 193-194. See also Tybout "Rooms with a View," 408; Zanker *Pompeii. Public and Private Life*, 61-70

⁸⁰⁹ M. Wolf, "Forschungen zur Tempel Architektur Pompejis - Der Venus-Tempel im Rahmen des Pompejanischen Tempelbaus." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 115 (2009): 322-323; Zanker *Pompeii. Public and Private Life*, 61-70

⁸¹⁰ See M. Lejeune, "Vénus Romaine et Vénus Osque." In *Hommages à Jean Bayet*, edited by M. Renard (Bruxelles, 1964), 393-394; Coarelli, "Il culto di Mefitis in Campania e a Roma," see also A. Lepone, "Venus Fisica Pompeiana." *Siris. Studi e ricerche della scuola di specializzazione in archeologia di Matera* 5 (2004): 162.

⁸¹¹ See A. Sogliano, "Sulla Venus Fisica Pompeiana." *Accademia di archeologia di Napoli* 12 (1932): 359-361 and also Lepone, "Venus Fisica Pompeiana," 163-167.

known champions inside the city. They were an old and powerful Samnite family who later also included a prominent priestess to the cult of Venus. The transformation of Mefitis occurred with the arrival of the colonists. Her temple received modifications that included a new decorative program and the reduction of the double terrace supporting it into a single platform (fig.118). Although less dramatic than building an entirely new temple, this modification, or completion depending on the point of view, still provided a powerful example of Roman appropriation of both the cult and the city.⁸¹² Venus was also a personal protectress of Augustus and a subsequent refurbishment of the temple in the late Augustan period provided a similar political statement. This phase marked a grand expansion of the sanctuary leading to the further narrowing of the via Marina, and the extensive use of marble to replace the previous tufa. This move is reminiscent of the grand *aurea templa*, or golden temples such as the Temple of Apollo, built by the emperor to emphasize his *pietas* in Rome.⁸¹³

Venus Pompeiana usually carries a standard set of attributes: a mural crown or diadem, a scepter, an olive or myrtle branch, and an overturned ship's rudder. She is often heavily bejeweled and wears a blue mantle covering a purple *chiton*, occasionally decorated with stars (fig. 119).⁸¹⁴ Her attributes are similar to those of Cybele and Fortuna, sometimes leading to debates concerning her identification. Her overall iconography is close to that of the Greek Tychai personifying cities, and the rudder

⁸¹² Lepone, "Venus Fisica Pompeiana," 163-167. See also Bernabei, *Contributi di archeologia vesuviana. Raccolta critica della documentazione III, i culti di Pompei*, 46. And see Curti, "Venere Fisica trionfante ed il porto di Pompeii, 72. M. Wolf, "Forschungen zur Tempel Architektur Pompejis," 269 suggests it was finished under Sulla and this is certainly possible.

⁸¹³ Jacobelli and Pensabene, "La decorazione architettonica del Tempio di Venere a Pompei. Contributo allo studio e alla ricostruzione del santuario," 45-53. Wolf, "Forschungen zur Tempel Architektur Pompejis," 269. On the *aurea templa* see Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 104-110.

⁸¹⁴ M. Della Corte, "Dipinti Pompeiani." *Ausonia* 10 (1921): 68-70. See also Clarke *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 89.

clearly refers to Pompeii as a port city, or perhaps to Fortuna as guider of lives.⁸¹⁵ We find her depictions in three main contexts: household *lararia*, public *compita*, and on the exterior of houses and shops where she either stands alone, or is part of wider representations of the twelve gods.⁸¹⁶ The most widely recognized depictions survive on the façade of the Shop of the Procession of Cybele (IX.7.1), and the Shop of Verecundus (IX.7.5-7). On the first façade she stands opposite to a procession honoring Cybele and their combined occurrence stresses the role of both goddesses as protectress of the city. Their presence reflects the piety of the store owner who sought their protection for his business. On the Shop of Verecundus, Venus stands in a *quadriga* pulled by elephants. In a separate register below her stands Verecundus, a cloth maker and owner of the store she protected.⁸¹⁷ Along with her presence in many public and private shrines, these images attest to her widespread popularity as protectress of the city and its population.

The preservation and transformation of the cult poses some interesting questions regarding the social development of the city from the Samnite to the Roman period. The evidence from the walls and gates suggests a similar continuity but not a direct appropriation. We have already proposed that the Porta Stabia, Ercolano, Marina, Nola, and Vesuvio likely carried religious references to Minerva. However, unlike Venus Pompeiana, the references to Minerva are less evident. For example, besides the graffito mentioning PATRVA, the statuette recovered in the fill of the sidewalk at the Porta

⁸¹⁵ F.L. Bastet, "Venus in Pompeii." *Hermeneus* 47 (1975): 65. On the Greek Tychai wearing a turreted crown see Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 2-3

⁸¹⁶ Della Corte lists 14 known representations of Venus Pompeiana. Further records are lacking and many of the original depictions are now lost except for some rather crude drawings. See Della Corte, "Dipinti Pompeiani," 85-87.

⁸¹⁷ See Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 88-90 for an in depth discussion of the two shop façades.

Stabia remains unidentified (fig. 28).⁸¹⁸ A secure identification also is lacking for the fragments Maiuri found near the Porta Ercolano. The scholar associated them with a shrine that was completely demolished along with the Samnite gate, and struggled to securely identify the pieces pointing to Venus and Minerva as possible candidates.⁸¹⁹ In addition, the frescos of the *lararium* at the Porta Vesuvio were faded beyond recognition at the time of excavation.⁸²⁰ Only the Porta Marina and Nola have provided more secure identifications. The bust above the Porta Nola, albeit heavily damaged, still displays a few long curly locks extending from the base of her helmet that have provided its link to Minerva (fig. 41 and 50). The Porta Marina still includes an overt religious reference in the form of a large niche in its right forward bastion as one enters the city. Apart from a small podium and a rectangular frame, the niche is now largely devoid of embellishments, but white stucco completely covered it at the time of its excavation (fig. 120).⁸²¹ The reports describe the recovery of three large terracotta statue fragments and two smaller pieces of a hand associated with the shrine.⁸²² Hermann von Rohden reunited the fragments in a drawing published in 1880, but they subsequently vanished into obscurity and were considered lost.⁸²³ As a result of these circumstances, scholars have

⁸¹⁸ Devore and Ellis, "The Third Season of Excavations at VIII.7.1-15 and the Porta Stabia at Pompeii. Preliminary Report," 14. Also S.J.R Ellis and G. Devore "Uncovering Plebeian Pompeii. Broader Implications from Excavating a Forgotten Working- Class Neighbourhood." In *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003 - 2006)*, edited by P.G. Guzzo, and M.P. Guidobaldi (Roma, 2008), 319

⁸¹⁹ Maiuri, "Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei," 239-242. Interesting, although equally difficult to contextualize, is the recovery of a small terracotta figurine of a helmeted Minerva from a trench on the eastern side of the gate as it may associate with the protome on the Porta Nola, see p. 234.

⁸²⁰ Sogliano, "Relazione degli scavi fatti dal Dicembre 1902 a tutto Marzo 1905," 99-100.

⁸²¹ Breton, *Pompeia*, 80.

⁸²² G. Fiorelli, *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei vol. 8-10* (Naples, 1861), 370.

⁸²³ L. Eschbach and J. Müller-Trollius, *Gebäudeverzeichnis und Stadtplan der Antiken Stadt Pompeji*. (Köln, 1993), 12.

largely ignored Minerva's connection to the fortifications and any wider associations she might have had with the protection of the city.

In the summer of 2010 the insight of the archives director at Pompeii, Dott.ssa Grete Stefani, led to the rediscovery of the Porta Marina Minerva. Although somewhat battered, the pieces unmistakably join into Von Rohden's reconstruction (fig. 121). The figure stands on her left leg in a gentle contrapposto pose with her right hand resting on her hip. She wears a sleeveless *chiton*, and a *chlamys* draped over her right shoulder and arm. The head is gone as is almost the entirety of her left side above the knee. Her left foot peeks through the drapery next to a stylized rock. It preserves an attachment that may be the remnant of a shield that once stood next to her leg. The trace of the shield is the only defining attribute that led to her identification with Minerva in her role as protectress of the fortifications. Von Rohden pointed out the exquisite workmanship of the piece and its Hellenistic character. Yet he was unable to date the statue on stylistic grounds because of its heavy damage. Instead, he dated it more broadly to a refurbishment of the gate based on the fact that the niche is an integral part of the masonry and was not cut into it at a later date.⁸²⁴ Scholars now consider this part of the gate to be part of a post-colonial refurbishment, but the statue may be a relic of an earlier phase. The statue is badly damaged, but its recovery context suggests that it broke and was put back into place sometime before the eruption. Despite her battered state she continued to stand vigil over the gate, suggesting a strong continuity with her role as protectress of the fortifications.

August Mau originally suggested that Minerva protecting the city gates in Pompeii was part of an overt Greek influence on the city and her role as Athena Polias.

⁸²⁴ Von Rohden, *Die Terracotten von Pompeji*, 44.

He argued that Juno would have been a more apt Roman cult since the *Aeneid* describes her role as the protectress of city gates.⁸²⁵ However, the picture is slightly more complicated, and the cult of Minerva, along with that of Apollo, was one of the oldest in the city. The Triangular Forum, where she had her temple, remained important up to the final days of the city and included a *mundus* and a *heroon* dedicated to the mythical but unknown founder of the city. The area saw some refurbishments in the Augustan and post-earthquake periods, but the Temple of Minerva lay in a symbolic ruin by the time of the eruption, reduced to a small cella housing the goddess.⁸²⁶ We have already noted the spectacular placement of the temple, its relationship with the neighboring fortification walls, and the consistent refurbishment of both occurring almost simultaneously (fig. 122). The ruinous state of the temple may therefore be the result of a new emphasis on Venus Pompeiana after the foundation of the colony.⁸²⁷

The correlation perhaps extended further and new evidence suggests that the Minerva in the gate shrines linked to the Doric Temple. We have already noted the strong association of the Doric order with Minerva, since the masculinity of style was particularly apt to the valor of the goddess.⁸²⁸ In this context, the presence of the Doric friezes on the towers likely referenced Minerva in a similar way. If we assume a continuity of cult, the lower niche of the Porta Stabia gate court suggests a further direct connection between the temple and the fortifications. Little remains of the fourth-century Doric Temple, with the exception of a metope and a series of antefixes depicting Hercules and Minerva wearing a prominent Phrygian helmet. Scholars recognize the

⁸²⁵ Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 531.

⁸²⁶ J.A.K.E de Waele, *Il tempio dorico del Foro Triangolare di Pompei* (Rome, 2001), 337; Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompeii, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 56.

⁸²⁷ Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, 23.

⁸²⁸ Vitruvius I.2.5.

Phrygian Minerva as a pro-Roman cult originating in Tarentum in the fourth century BCE.⁸²⁹ A series of nearby sanctuaries at Stabia, Punta della Campanella and the site known as Località Bottaro, along with regional temples further south at Fratte, Tarentum, and Paestum, signal the importance of the cult.⁸³⁰ More importantly, the Athena and Hercules antefixes recovered at Pompeii, Stabia, and Punta della Campanella were fashioned from the same molds, suggesting that the cult was part of an orchestrated political introduction in the region.

Scholars have identified the Nucernian league or a nascent Neapolis as financing the sanctuaries outside of Pompeii, motivated either by their new alliance with Rome, or a final assertion of local identity during the Samnite wars.⁸³¹ For the Punta della Campanella Sanctuary, the most important in the bay, this effort may represent a distinct act of appropriation of a previous cult and, therefore, the region. In fact, some scholars consider the earliest sanctuary at the Punta della Campanella as distinctly Greek, tying it

⁸²⁹ S. De Caro, "Appunti sull'Atena della Punta della Campanella." *Annali di archeologia e storia antica. Istituto Universitario Orientale. Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del mediterraneo antico* 4 (1992): 176. Also, Bernabei, *Contributi di archeologia vesuviana. Raccolta critica della documentazione III, i culti di Pompei*, 20-24.

⁸³⁰ P. Miniero, A. D'Ambrosio, A. Sodo, G. Bonifacio, V. Di Giovanni, G. Gasperetti, and R. Cantilena, "Il santuario campano in località Privati presso Castellammare Di Stabia. Osservazioni preliminari." *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 8 (1997): 11-16; A. D'Ambrosio, *La stipe votiva in località Bottaro (Pompei)* (Naples 1984), 11-17, 153-207. On the distribution of sites between Sorrento and Pompei see L. Jacobelli, "Alcune osservazioni sull'area di Punta della Campanella." In *Scritti di varia umanità in memoria di Benito Iezzi* (Naples, 1994), 65-77; M. Russo, "Il territorio tra Stabia e Punta Della Campanella nell'antichità. La via Minervia, gli insediamenti, gli approdi." In *Pompei, il Sarno e la penisola Sorrentina. Atti del primo ciclo di conferenze* (Pompei, 1998), 23-98.

⁸³¹ See also L.A. Scatozza Höricht, "Il sistema di rivestimento sannitico e altre serie isolate." In *Il tempio dorico del Foro Triangolare di Pompei*, edited by J.A.K.E. de Waele (Rome, 2001), 224-227. For an in depth discussion and the pro-Roman suggestion see Scatozza Höricht, "L'Athena del foro triangolare e la fase sannitica di Pompei," 662-666; De Caro, "Appunti sull'Atena della Punta della Campanella," 176-178. For the early connection with Greek Neapolis see L.A. Scatozza, "Le terrecotte architettoniche del tempio dorico di Pompei. L'eredità arcaica." In *Deliciae Fictiles, 2. Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Archaic Architectural Terracottas from Italy*, edited by P.S. Lulof and E.M. Moormann (Amsterdam, 1997), 192-197; M. Russo, "Materiali arcaici e tardo-arcaici dalla stipe dell'Athenaion di Punta Campanella." *Annali. Sezione di archeologia e storia antica* 14 (1992): 207-213. And also Russo, "Il territorio tra Stabia e Punta Della Campanella nell'antichità. La via Minervia, gli insediamenti, gli approdi," 24

to Neapolis and Athens, and a mythical foundation by Odysseus.⁸³² The first traces of the sanctuary, however, stretch back into the sixth century BCE. In a brief article, J.P. Morel even goes as far as connecting its foundation, and that of the Temple of Athena at Pompeii, to a Neapolitan attempt to culturally appropriate the southern Bay of Naples.⁸³³

This early connection between the sanctuaries is difficult to trace with any further certainty. Nevertheless, the votive terracotta statuettes recovered in the sanctuaries associated with the Phrygian Minerva, including the temple at Pompeii, display remarkable similarities (fig. 123). The most common example shows a standing Athena wearing a Phrygian helmet; she braces a shield against her left leg, and in her right hand she holds a *patera* resting on a colonnette.⁸³⁴ The popularity of the type has led some scholars to identify it as a copy of the cult statue at Punta della Campanella. The other recovered types need not concern us with the exception of a variant recovered at Paestum and Stabia where Minerva rests her right arm on her hip and holds a shield on her left side in a similar fashion to the Porta Marina example (fig. 124).⁸³⁵ Although removed and in the Naples museum, a similar variant also appears in a fresco on the façade of the Shop of the Carpenters' procession (VI.7.8-11). The fresco shows carpenters carrying an effigy of Minerva on a bier in honor of her role as protectress of their trade. Only a fragment of

⁸³² On the debate see L. Breglia Pulci Doria, "Atena e il mare. Problemi e ipotesi sull'Athenaion di Punta della Campanella." In *I culti della Campania antica. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in ricordo di Nazarena* (Rome, 1998), 101-108.

⁸³³ J.P. Morel, "Marina di Ieranto, Punta Della Campanella. Observations archéologiques dans la presqu'île de Sorrente." In *Ἀπαρχαί. Nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in Onore di Paolo Enrico Arias*, (Pisa, 1982), 147-153.

⁸³⁴ M. Russo, *Punta della Campanella: Epigrafe rupestre osca e reperti vari dall'Athenaion*. (Rome, 1990) fig. 16; M. D'Alessio, *Materiali votivi dal Foro Triangolare di Pompei* (Roma, 2001) pl. 16

⁸³⁵ See L.A. Scatozza, "Le terrecotte architettoniche del tempio dorico di Pompei. L'eredità arcaica," 189. Also P. Carafa and M.T. D'Alessio, "Cercando la storia dei monumenti di Pompei. Le ricerche dell'Università di Roma 'La Sapienza' nelle regioni VII e VIII. Il santuario del tempio dorico a Pompei alla luce dei nuovi rinvenimenti." In *Pompei, il Vesuvio e la penisola Sorrentina* (Rome, 1999), vii-viii. Miniero et.al, "Il santuario campano in Località Privati presso Castellammare di Stabia," fig. 15

the statue is visible, but enough remains to identify the goddess holding a patera in her right hand and a shield resting against her left leg (fig. 125). Scholars hypothesize that these depictions represent actual cult statues. The image on the bier may well reflect the Punta della Campanella or the Temple of Minerva statues, especially if the lowered *patera* on the statuettes is artistic shorthand for her extended arm.⁸³⁶ If anything, these close associations suggest that the Porta Marina statue was part of the wider regional Minerva cult that also protected Pompeii. Rather aptly this Minerva, amongst her traditional roles promoting fertility and artisanship, also protected navigation, a crucial activity for a port city like Pompeii.⁸³⁷ The placement of her sanctuary as a visual beacon in the bay and its strong association with the fortifications seems hardly accidental, and perhaps also explains a decline of the cult once the colonists appropriated Venus Pompeiana.

Nevertheless, the evidence suggests a distinct continuity of her cult at the gates and walls of the city perhaps due to her wider role as protectress of fortifications. Elsewhere in the Roman world, the colony of Tarragona in modern Spain preserves a relief of Minerva on a defensive tower known as the Torre de San Magín, or Torre de Minerva, dating to the foundation of the colony in the early second century BCE. The material, a local lime-sandstone, and the style suggest that a local artist carved the relief.⁸³⁸ Only the bottom half survives, but it is enough to identify the figure as Minerva holding a lance and leaning on a shield decorated with a wolf's head (fig. 126). Its

⁸³⁶ For the possible association with actual cult statues see Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 85-89.

⁸³⁷ L. Breglia Pulci Doria, "Atena e il mare. Problemi e ipotesi sull'Athenaion di Punta della Campanella," 101-108; M.T. D'Alessio, "Nuovi materiali votivi dal tempio dorico di Pompei." In *Depositi votivi e culti dell'Italia antica dell'età arcaica a quella tardo-repubblicana*, edited by A. Comella and S. Mele (Bari, 2005), 541.

⁸³⁸ W. Grünhagen, "Bemerkungen zum Minerva-Relief in der Stadtmauer von Tarragona." *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 17 (1976): 212, 225.

placement on the tower is a clear indication of Minerva's role as protectress of fortifications, but it also acted as a projection of *romanitas* upon the countryside and the city.⁸³⁹ Another example comes from the Porta Romana at Ostia Antica where a life-size monumental marble sculpture of Minerva still survives. The statue includes her familiar attributes; she holds a shield decorated with a gorgon with her right hand, wears a helmet on her head, and two prominent wings spring from her back (fig. 127). The sculpture functioned as a type of caryatid in a monumental version of the gate built under Domitian, but it perhaps originally belonged to an earlier version built allegedly built by Cicero in the 63 BCE.⁸⁴⁰ In both phases she performed in her guise as protectress of the city gate. Incidentally, Cicero himself describes Minerva as *custos urbis*, or the protectress of the city of Rome, and Plutarch recounts how the orator dedicated a statue of her from his own home at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline.⁸⁴¹

The evidence, scant as it may be, points to a strong continuous presence of Minerva protecting the walls at Pompeii. To some extent the cult is also traceable to the start of the Roman influence in Campania and Pompeii's alliance with Rome. The ruined state of the temple after the earthquake points to a reduced importance of the cult, and the city walls, in addition to some of the gates, were similarly in disrepair and used as a quarry.⁸⁴² Much of the evidence is debatable and perhaps accidental as Athena/Minerva

⁸³⁹ F. Pina Polo, "Minerva, custos urbis de Roma y de Tarraco." *Archivo español de arqueología* 76 (2003): 117

⁸⁴⁰ H. von Hesberg, "Minerva Custos Urbis. Zum Bildschmuck der Porta Romana in Ostia." In *Imperium Romanum. Studien zu Geschichte und Rezeption. Festschrift für Karl Christ zum 75. Geburtstag*, edited by P. Kneissl and V. Losemann (Stuttgart, 1998), 374.

⁸⁴¹ Pina Polo, "Minerva, custos urbis de Roma y de Tarraco," 111. Cic. *fam.* XII 25,1; Plutarch *Cic.* 31,6

⁸⁴² Although the temple was in ruins, recent investigations suggest that a reconstruction of the wider sanctuary occurred after the earthquake including the construction of the Doric colonnade defining three sides of the Forum. See Carafa, "Minervae et Marti et Herculi aedes doricae fient (Vitr. 1.2.5). The Monumental History of the Sanctuary in Pompeii's so-called Triangular Forum," 99.

traditionally plays an important role as protectress of city walls. Nevertheless, her vigilance over the city and its gates provided a powerful reference point for Pompeii's inhabitants and the region. The pro-Roman inception of the Phrygian Minerva, however, led to the continuity and the strong association between Minerva and city walls.

This continuity is in stark contrast to the development of Venus Pompeiana. Her specific Samnite origin probably motivated her appropriation. The placement of her temple carried a similar inherent symbolism to the Minerva and Hercules cult further along the ridge. Its refurbishment at the inception of the colony provided a powerful reminder and testament of allegiance to the new social order dominating the city. Her popularity and attributes attest to her continued intimate relationship with the populace and explains the refurbishment carried out under Augustus as a legitimization of his own power. This event is more compelling if we consider the rebellious history of the city and its Sullan colonial foundation as factors that imply the city's backing of Pompey against Caesar. Furthermore, the elaborate reconstruction of the temple underway at the time of the eruption attests to her continued symbolic importance. At any rate, two of Pompeii's most important deities find resonance in its city walls, serving as proud displays of its identity, and creating a strong sense of devotion, pride, security, and community amongst the populace for most of its history.

The role of the city walls after the inception of the colony was as rich and full of symbolism as any other existing monument in Pompeii, and their significance changed in unison with the political and social landscape. The tensions of appropriation and continuity inherent with the establishment of the colony are evident in the religious landscape with the development of Venus Pompeiana and the preservation of Minerva's cult in the gates of the city. The Roman conquest immediately appropriated the fortifications, a strong symbol of independence in the Samnite period, and ushered in the

new social order of the city. A continued emphasis on defense and their general association to the *securitas* and *dignitas* of the colony were factors that led to their reconstruction. In the Augustan period clear connections appeared with of the notion of *virtus*, although we cannot discount its previous presence in the symbolism of the walls. These concepts found further architectural resonance in the city as a reflection of the new order of the empire. Similar trends are present in the preserved art of the city where we catch a glimpse of the importance of the walls as a projection of *romanitas* right up to the eruption including in the views of a freedman such as Caecilius Jucundus. After the earthquake the fortifications acquired a new role, helping as massive quarries with the reconstruction of the city. However, they continued to function as a boundary marker and the imperial message found its voice in the reconstruction of the gates. The Porta Ercolano in particular was a new crown jewel of the city scape announcing the rebirth and reconstruction of Pompeii. Together these elements testify to a dynamic significance of the city walls throughout the colony, a role far more complex than their monolithic appearance tends to suggest.

Conclusion

Looking back, the conclusions we may gather from the evidence show a few consistent factors in the role of fortifications. Chief amongst these is that they played a central role in the determination of the city's identity throughout its history. Their sheer size, scale, and investment made them the largest public monument and a solid marker of the city. As a result, the population actively engaged in shaping and appropriating the structure as a reflection of their own social make-up and political status. In most basic terms the fortifications consistently provided an area of refuge setting a lowest common denominator of security to the population. This factor is most evident in early Pompeii when the fortifications responded to clear basic needs protecting the community: its people, magistrates, religious idols, and sources of sustenance. The placement of the settlement on a high strategic ridge controlling communication routes and overlooking the Sarno valley also projected and legitimized its power. The city walls essentially acted as a monument to territorial claims. The use of local construction materials in particular further strengthened the notion, connecting the fortifications directly to the landscape supporting the community. In addition, the physical proximity between the fortifications and the sanctuaries of the city symbolically strengthened the bond between the religious and martial elements protecting the community. These factors also further legitimized the power of the commissioners of the structures. The use of similar construction materials in both monument types visually stressed these statements: the walls acted as proud markers of independence to the population and those approaching by land or sea. These powerful elements also resonated throughout the settlement finding a direct correlation between the enceinte, the buildings it enclosed, the landscape, and the people it protected. These were

critical elements to basic survival and translated into a distinct symbolic role for the defenses that helped define the image of the city throughout its history.

The degree to which the enceinte could forge a sense of security relates to its real and perceived effectiveness to neutralize the threat of war and the dangers of the unknown “other.” The community continuously upgraded the defenses to meet ever-changing tactical and military developments. The use and adaptation of these technologies reflected the wealth and status of the community. It also symbolized its willingness to invest in the walls and Pompeii’s connections at the forefront of the wider trends in martial architecture on the Italian peninsula and the Mediterranean. This consideration is especially important if an outside party aided in the design and financing of their construction. It inevitably stressed the strong relationship and bond between patron and client.

The fortifications were therefore dynamic and up to date buildings despite their intrinsic massive monolithic character. As a result, their image transformed in unison with social and political changes affecting the community. In this context construction, reconstructions, and overhauls were acts of appropriation, but also efforts to preserve in memory the history of Pompeii. The interventions were symbolic markers on the inherent time capsule that the massive fortifications inevitably created as indicators of the antiquity and identity of Pompeii. This aspect is a natural translation of the continuous role the fortifications performed as territorial markers and their projection of power, domination, and security upon the population and the landscape. They were, in essence, the proud markers of what the population and their leaders claimed, built, and achieved.

The basic notions of protection, achievement, and independence were powerful concepts that translated into the enceinte as a stage for the community they enclosed. They were a monument to the social structure that built them. The figures behind their

construction manipulated and appropriated these messages as a legitimization of their own power and ambition. As a result their resonance with the urban framework is far from coincidental. From their earliest inception they established an architectural dialogue with the city clearly indicated in the aesthetic considerations at play beyond their purely military design. The most emphatic statements reside in the rusticated masonry socle and the use of limestone and tufa throughout the defenses. These are not subtle embellishments but massive statements of power, all the more evident in the implicit correlation between the appearance of elite housing, manicured avenues such as the via dell'Abbondanza, public buildings, and the city walls. Although the periodization remains somewhat unclear, the employment of such materials echoed the wealth and ambitions of the community. As a result, the fortifications mirrored the status quo and their role to preserve it from both internal and external threats. These factors also explain the acts of private euergetism on the city walls as a direct reflection of the elite's status as the patrons of civic order. The deliberate aesthetic juxtaposition of limestone and tufa may therefore constitute a single conceptual design or a symbolic act of appropriation echoing the new wealth and social changes affecting Pompeii. These aspects found further resonance in the gates where the masonry acted as staged entrances linking the aesthetic statements of the fortifications and the appearance of the city. Despite the uncertainties of dating, similar notions pervade the use of *opus incertum* as a new material in the fortifications. In immediate terms it reflected the application of new technologies and tactics. It also directly stressed the renewed patronage of the walls; this was emphasized, without coincidence, on the gates and the new gleaming towers of the city.

With the advent of the colony these notions become more tangible; they were subject to change, but also continuity as a clear attempt at appropriation mixed with

strong notions of local independence associated with the walls. In particular the amphitheater, the *castellum*, and the redesign of symbolic gates such as the Porta Marina accessing the politically charged Temple of Venus, reveal a distinct manipulation of the fortifications. Yet, instead of a complete demolition, the city walls were also repaired and the battle scars on the walls preserved the memory of conflict and independence. The reconstruction effort undoubtedly relates to the general insecurity of the age, but also connects to the Roman values of *securitas*, *dignitas*, and *virtus* as part of the association between fortifications, the army, and the establishment of veteran colonies. The city walls came to implicitly frame the new buildings of power and Roman life as a reflection of colonial order and identity. The efforts of Loreius and Cuspius rebuilding the walls were not solely concerned with defense. They also signal the crucial role of the walls in the image of colonial Pompeii. The result was also a renewal of the implicit correlations between the applied embellishments of the enceinte and the appearance of the city. The fortifications carried an associated message of citizenship, proper civic image, and perhaps even *pietas* each reflected in the application of the First-Style. It is already apparent for Samnite Pompeii, but it received a new impetus with the establishment of the colony.

Similar associations continued into the Augustan period when the fortifications received a new emphasis in the changed political and social layout of the empire. In particular, the city walls played a new symbolic role in the ideology of the model citizen and governance, and although subtle, the changes in the gates served to highlight their new social function. The fortifications also renewed their resonance throughout the city, framing and dialoguing with the newly arrived architectural forms such as the tombs and the great Palestra. By the time of the eruption this emphasis coalesced onto the gates as markers of Pompeii's rebirth, not only because of the wider role the fortifications played

in the reconstruction effort, but also as explicit statements of imperial endowment and patronage.

Throughout the history of Roman Pompeii the fortifications addressed, to varying degrees, powerful core values of Roman citizenship and community. These values are more evident for this period due to the greater amount of the surviving material, but probably carried over from the Samnite phase. This seems especially the case, if we consider the strong Romanizing and Hellenizing elements that influenced its appearance continued throughout the city's history. However, these concepts do not fully outline the distinct day to day role and familiarity of the population with the enceinte. Far from being at the fringes of the community, the city walls were a fluid boundary with the gates acting as nodes with the territory. Along with the towers, they provided crucial landmarks and both building types quickly acquired nicknames, even playing a part in the identity of single urban districts.

Perhaps it is the surviving material culture from the colonial period that best expresses the dynamic role of the fortifications as representational elements. From official elite representation in mosaics, to an emphatic reference in the riot fresco, and a powerful identifier of social mobility in a private shrine, the walls were essential markers of the city. The religious connotation is a similarly indicative marker of the social, political, and protective roles of the fortifications. The presence of Minerva in the defenses implies the continuity of a cult directly related to the identity of the city and may even signal a long-term political bond between Pompeii and Rome. Furthermore, the transformation of Mefitis into Venus was a deeply political act; her crown of walls and her attributes constitute implicit symbolic appropriations of the image and identity of the city. Both cases highlight how religious elements related to the walls were powerful forces for the identity and protection for the city.

What this study shows is that like any other important monument, the city walls of Pompeii carried multivalent dynamic religious, social, and political meanings that touched deep into the very essence of the community. Similar investigations into other population centers can potentially reshape our understanding of notions related to civic and cultural identity, and self-determination. At Pompeii the fortifications continuously helped define the community throughout the life of the city. They represented the very notions that defined Pompeii. They were part of a mutual process of identity creation where the fortifications, built by and for the community, marked and established the society they protected. As a result their symbolism was subject to change and manipulation in unison with the social and historical dynamics sweeping the city. Far from a static boundary, the walls played a crucial role in the architectural and social definition of the city and were conceptually synonymous with its identity in the mind of its citizens.

Illustrations

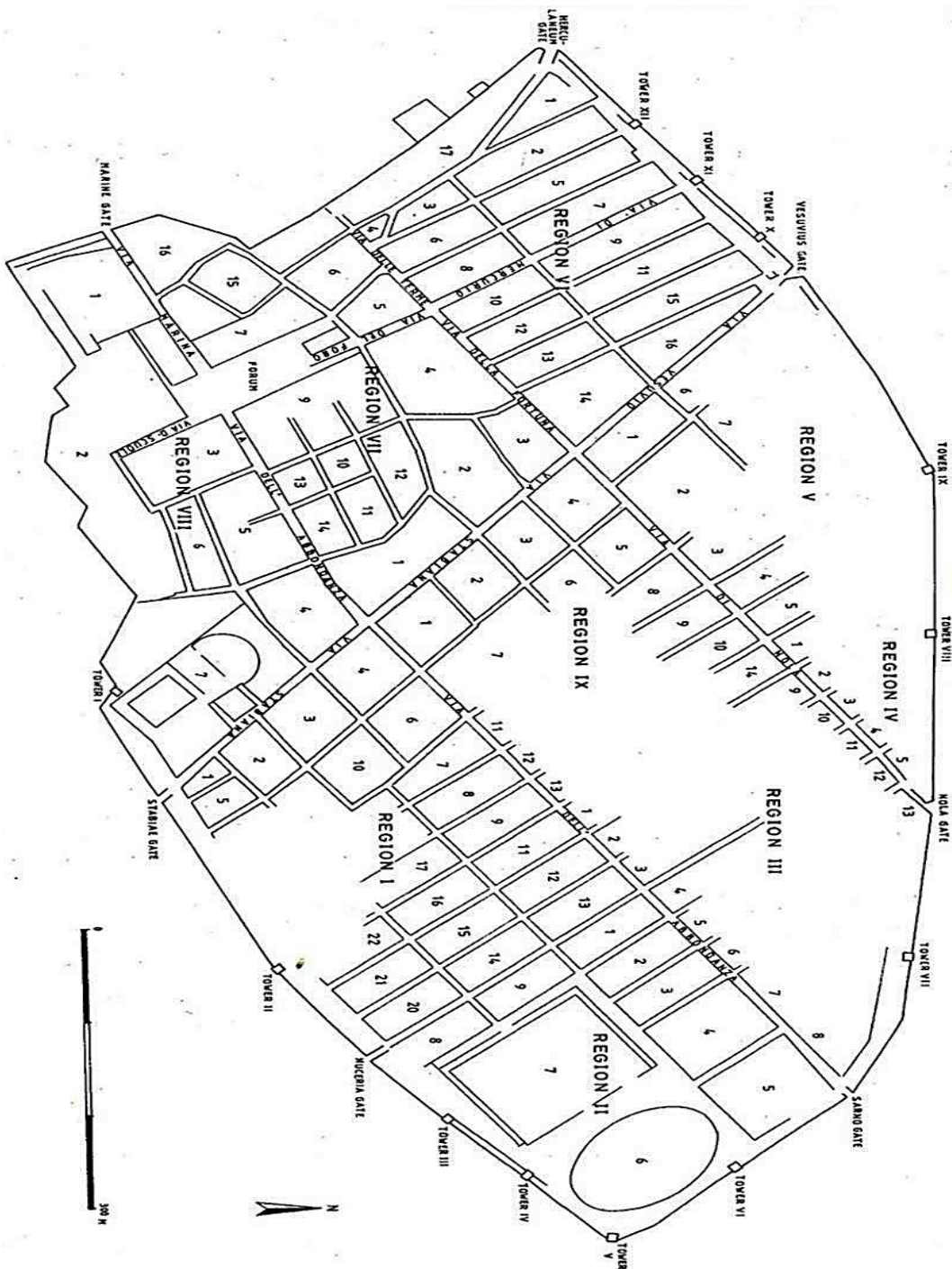


Figure 1 Pompeii and its fortifications, after Ling, *Pompeii. History, Life and Afterlife*, fig.3.



Figure 2 The fortifications near Tower III with the remains of the pappamonte wall in the foreground, photo author.



Figure 3 Remains of the orthostate wall near Porta Vesuvio, photo author.

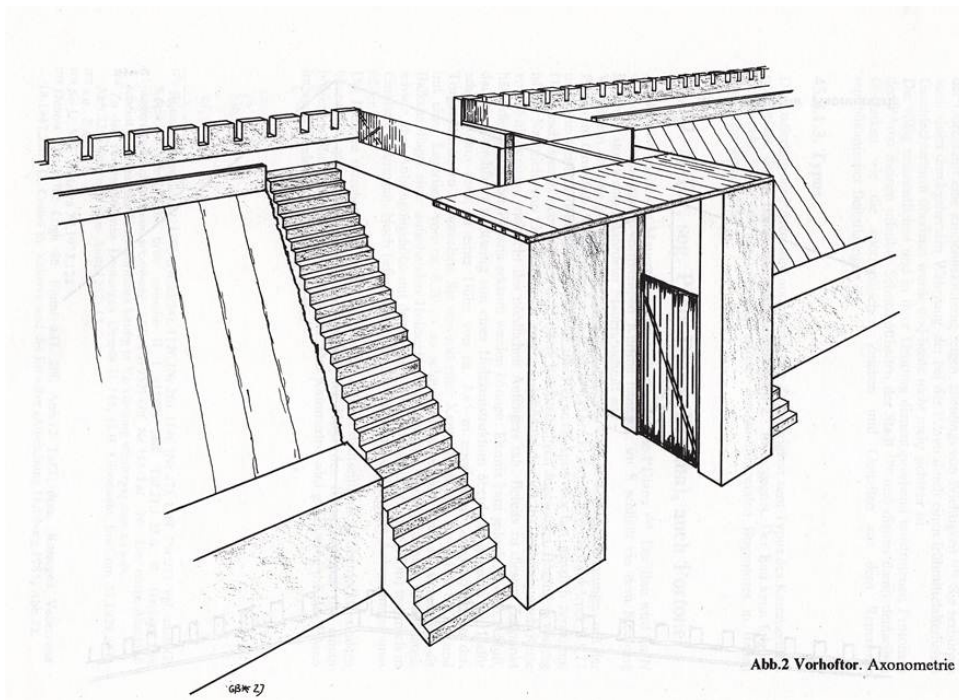


Figure 4 Reconstruction of a forecourt gate, after Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien*, fig. 2.

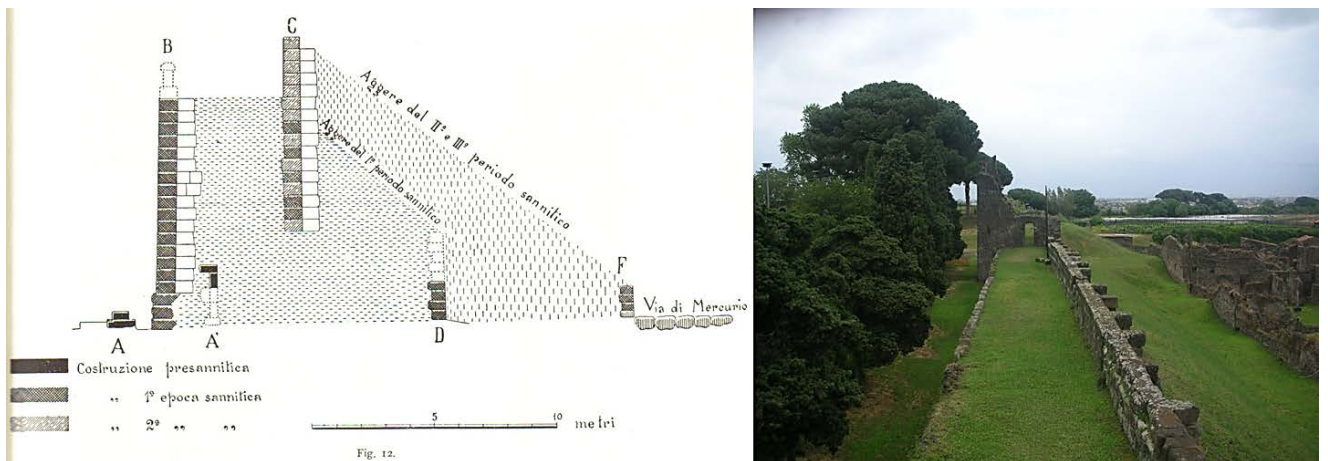


Figure 5 The phases of the fortifications: the orthostate wall (A-A'), the limestone wall (B-D) and the tufa addition (C-F), after Maiuri, *Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni*, fig. 12. Right: A photograph of the fortification system with Tower X in the background, photo author.

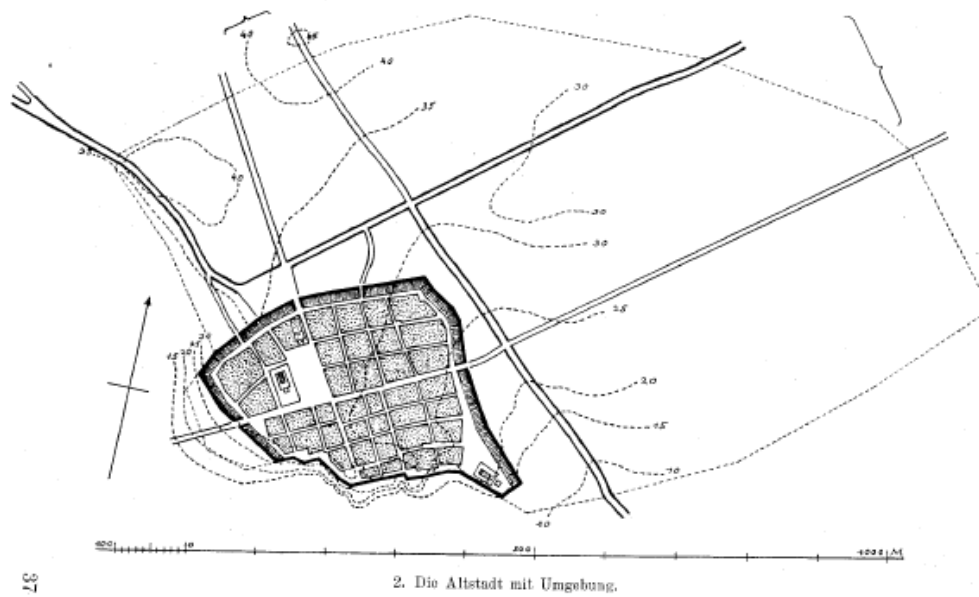


Figure 6 The *Altstadt*, after Von Gerkan, *Der Stadtplan von Pompeji*, fig.2.



Figure 7 The Oscan inscription at the Porta Stabia. Note that it is largely buried beneath modern sediment and only the top is visible, photo author.



Figure 8 The graffito mentioning Sulla in Tower X. Note that it is in two parts with L.SUL above and a lower A below the S. Photo author.



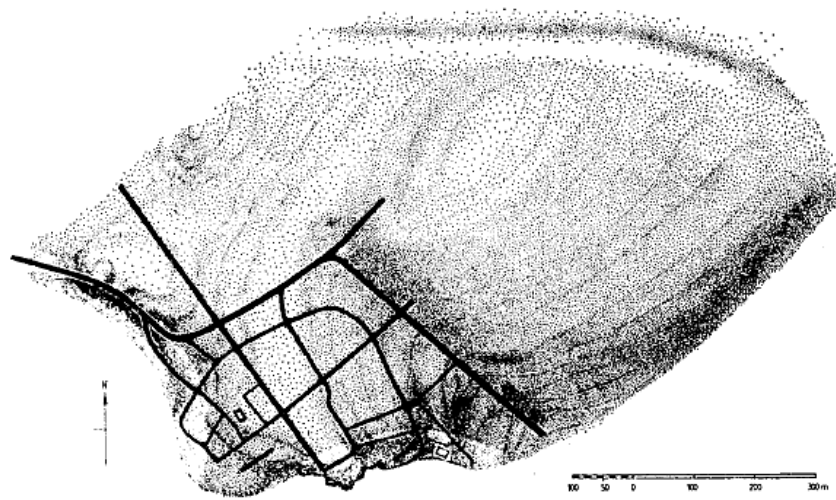
Figure 9 The excavations near the Porta Nocera, after Maiuri, *Sterro dei cumuli*, fig. 16. Note Tower II on the left, the Porta Nocera emerging in the background, and the completely buried necropolis.



Figure 10 The ruins of Tower IX, photo author.



Figure 11 The bombed ruins of the Porta Marina, after García y García, *Danni di guerra a Pompei*, fig.410.



5 Pompeji, Phase I und II. Geländeformation mit Einzeichnung der vermuteten archaischen Straßenzüge

Figure 12 The topography of Pompeii and the early road network, after Eschebach and Eschebach, *Pompeji*, fig. 5.

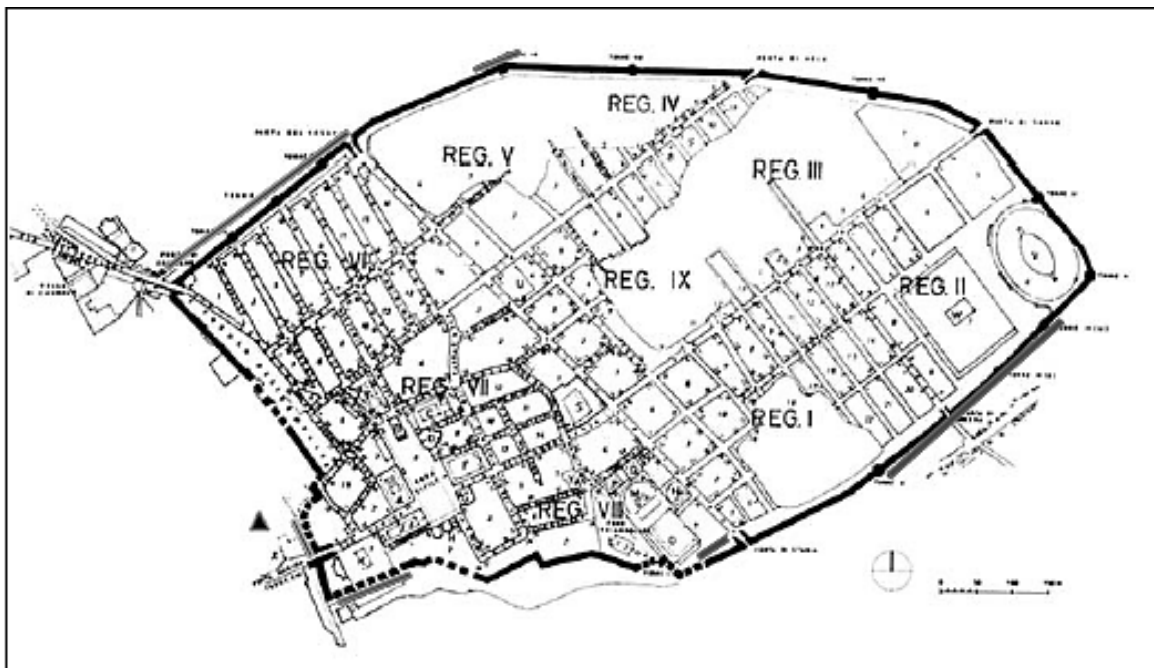


Figure 13 Map of Pompeii with the known locations of the Pappamonte wall highlighted in grey, after Pesando, *Appunti sull'evoluzione urbanistica*, fig.4.

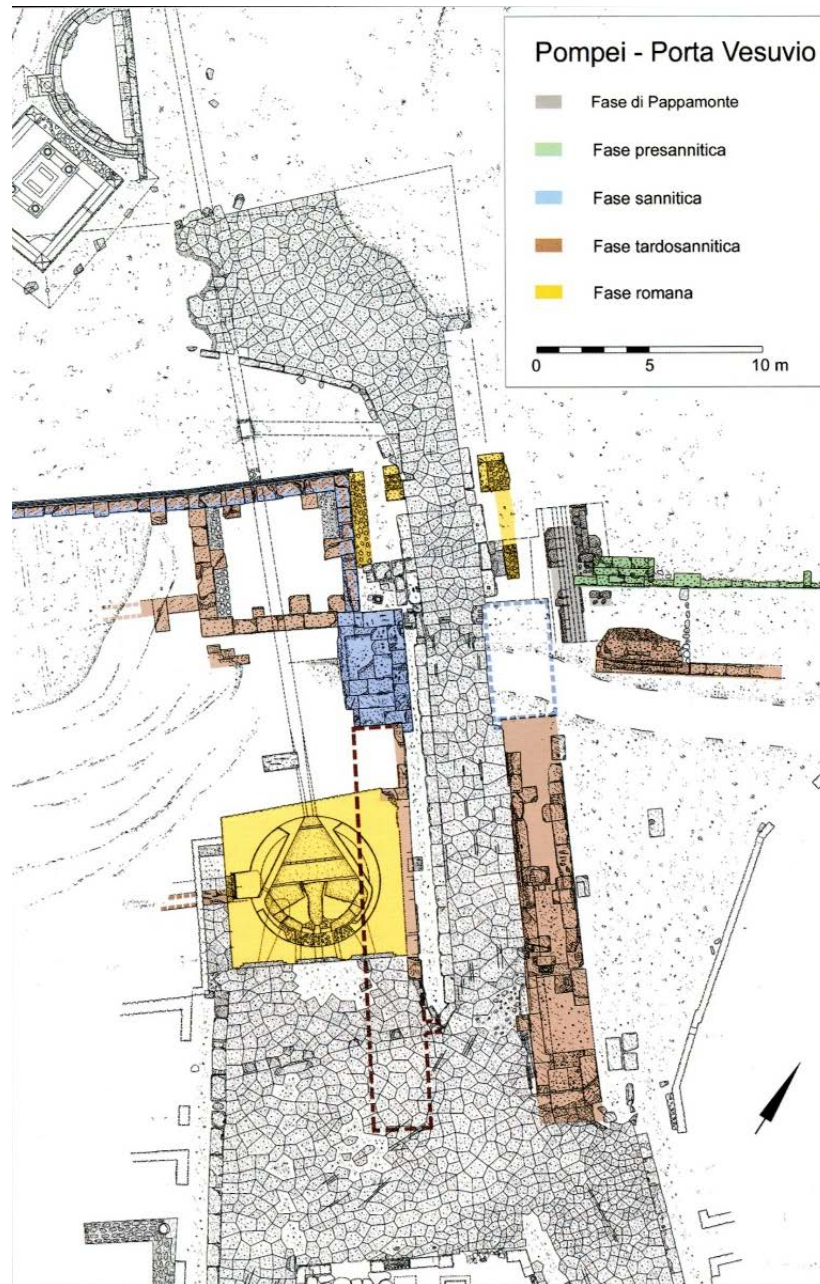


Figure 14 Plan of the Porta Vesuvio with the various phases color coded, after Seiler et.al., *La Regio VI Insula 16 e la zona della Porta Vesuvio*, fig.11.



Figure 15 View of the lava spur on the southern side of the city beneath the Doric Temple. Note the later mansions built to exploit the view on the left, photo author.

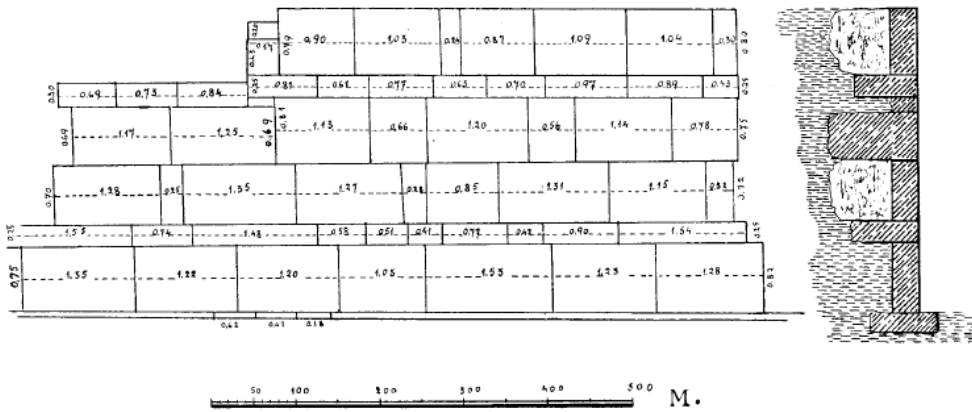


Fig. 18.

Figure 16 Drawing of the orthostate wall near the Porta Vesuvio, after Maiuri, *Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei*, fig. 18.

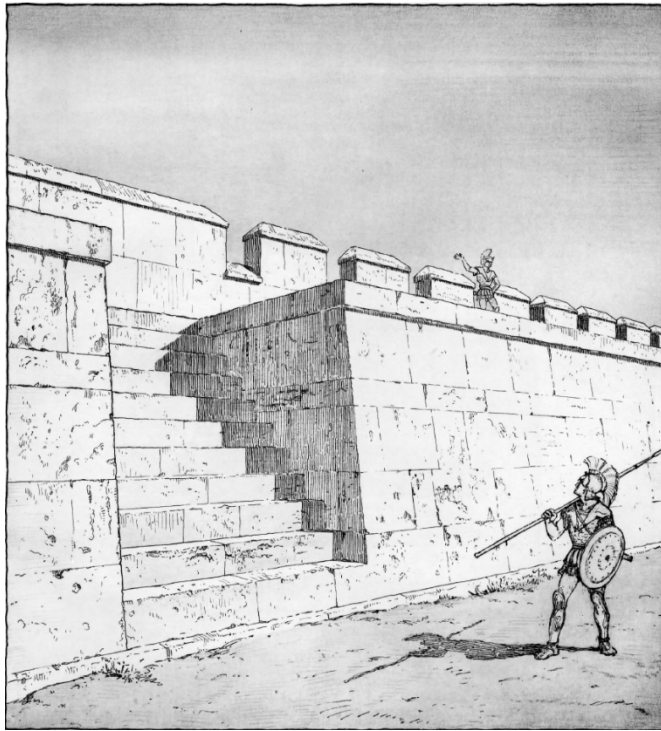


Figure 17 Reconstruction of the orthostate wall, after Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeji*, Pl. 4.

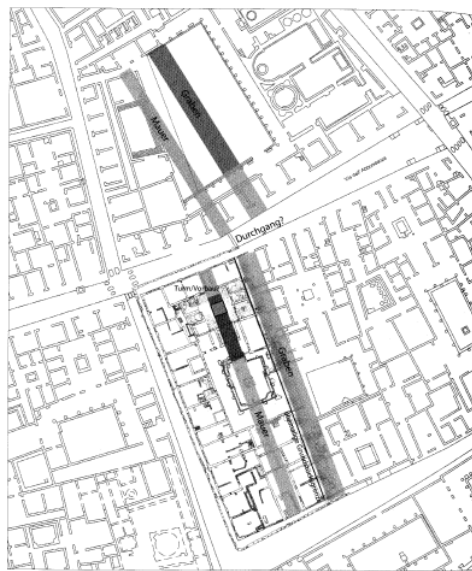


Abb. 6 Rekonstruktionsversuch der Altstadtbefestigung im Bereich des Untermarchungsgebietes; Ergrabenes und Prospektiertes dunkelgrau, Hypothetisches hellgrau

Figure 18 Projection of the *Altstadt* fortifications along the *via dell'Abbondanza*, after Pirson, *Spuren Antiker Lebenwirklichkeit*, fig.6.



Figure 19 Pompeii viewed from ancient Stabiae. The red arrow marks Pompeii. Note the dominating position and views, photo author.



Figure 20 Remains of the limestone fortifications, left near Porta Nocera, and right near Tower XI, photo author.



Figure 21 The limestone fortifications beneath the House of Umbricus Scaurus. The circle marks the only surviving spout. Note the *opus incertum* substituting the limestone to the right, photo author.



Figure 22 Remnants of the rustication in the lowest three courses south of the Porta Marina, photo author.



Figure 23 The tufa and limestone blocks (center and left) near Tower XI, photo author.



Figure 24 The rusticated blocks of the buried tower (center) near the Porta Vesuvio, photo author.



Figure 25 The fortifications beneath the House of Fabius Rufus. The three arrows indicate the seams in the wall, photo author.

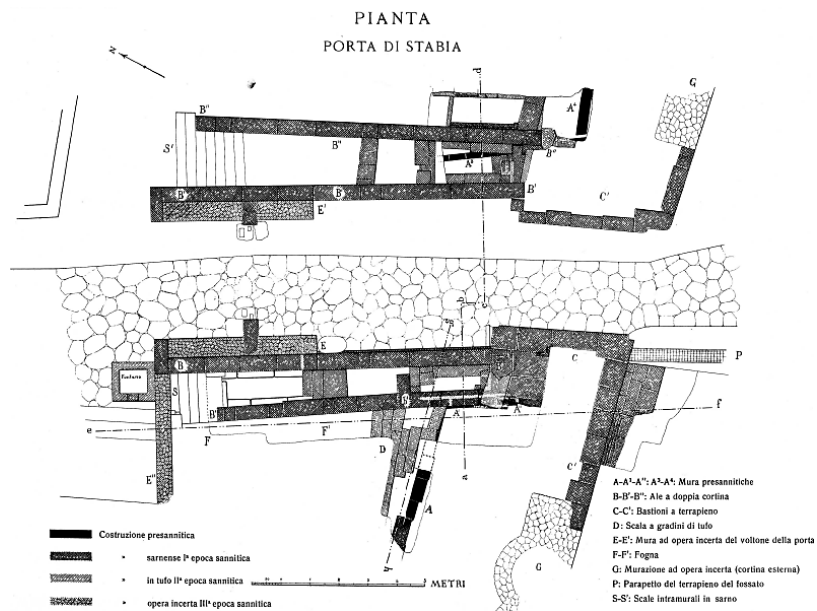


Figure 26 Plan of the Porta Stabia with its individual phases, after Maiuri, *Studi e ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Pompei*, Pl.VII.



Figure 27 View toward the exterior of the city from the court of the Porta Stabia. Note the contrast between the masonry of the court walls and the outer bastions, photo author.



Figure 28 Religion at the Porta Stabia. Left: The two niches cut into the masonry, photo author. Right: The second phase of the altar and a drawing of the statuette, after Ellis and Devore, *Uncovering Plebian Pompeii*, fig. 12.



Figure 29 Façade of the House of the Scientists, photo author.

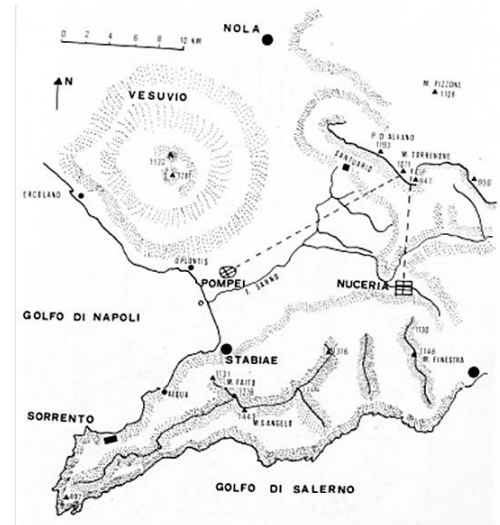
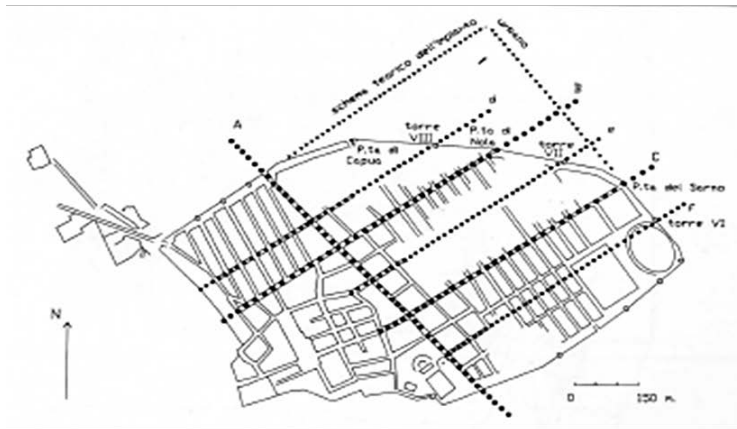


Figure 30 De Caro's projections of Pompeii's urban development, after De Caro, *Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompeii*, Pl. V and VII.

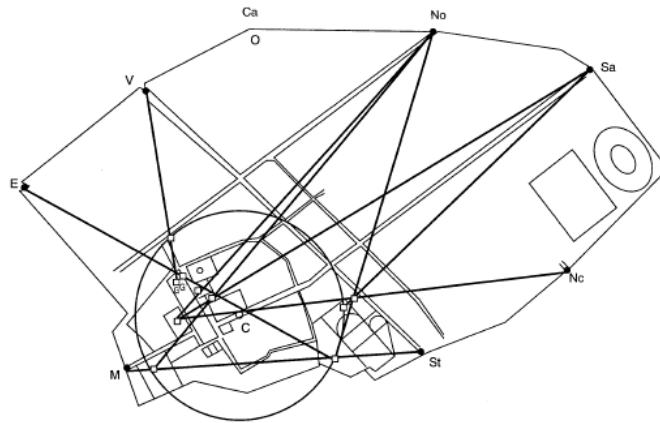


Figure 31 Vitale's alignments between sanctuaries and gates, after Vitale, *Astronomia ed esoterismo nell'antica Pompei*, fig. 15.



Figure 32 Wall curtain between Towers XI and XII highlighting the differentiation between limestone and tufa, photo author.

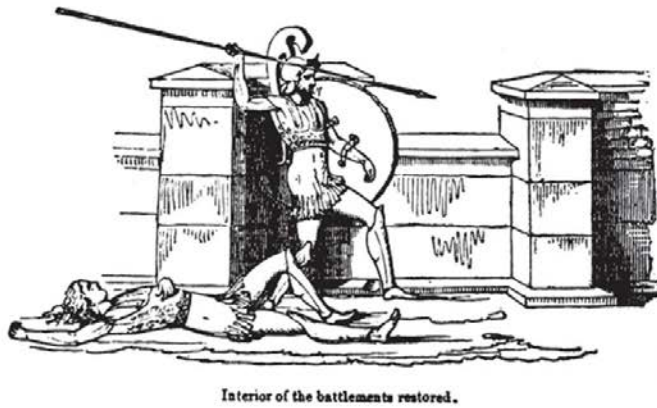


Figure 33 The battlements. Left: a dramatized reconstruction, after Clark, *Pompeii*, 68. Right: A surviving merlon cap with Tower XII in the background, photo author.

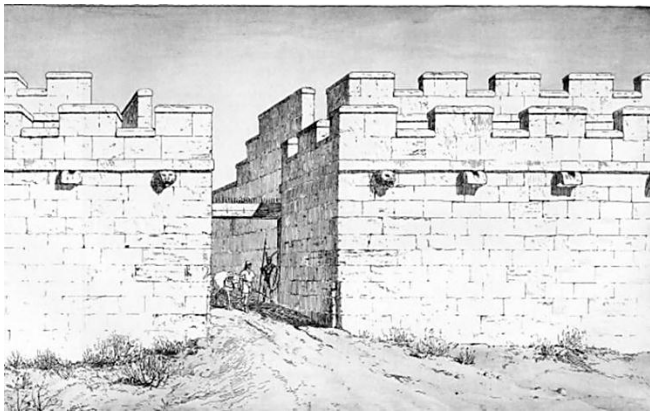


Figure 34 The water spouts at the Porta Stabia. Left: The reconstruction according to Krischen, after Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeji*, Pl.V. Right: A photograph of the lion spout, after, Photo D-DAI-ROM-32.1313.



Figure 35 Wall curtain near Tower III. Note the exposed wall foundations of the lowest courses and the dark grey of the tower, photo author.



Figure 36 Tower VI near the amphitheater. Note the limestone and tufa masonry on the left and the tower clearly cutting into it, photo author.



Figure 37 Wall curtain near Tower VII. The red line indicates the separation between limestone and tufa, photo author.



Figure 38 Curtain wall near Porta Nola. Note the red line indicating the switch between limestone and tufa. The large section of missing tufa masonry was likely looted after the earthquake, photo author.

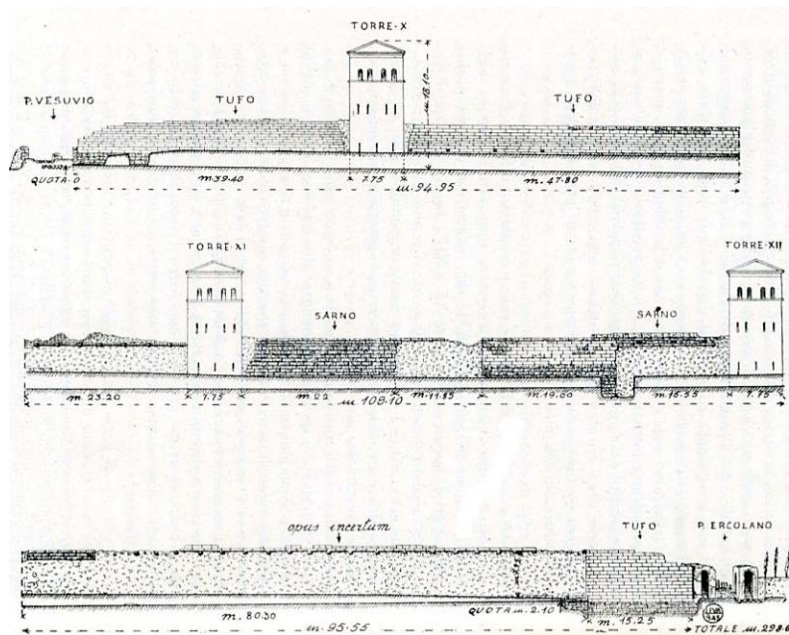


Figure 39 Drawing of the construction techniques between Porta Vesuvio and Ercolano, after Maiuri, *Pompei isolamento della cinta murale*, fig.1.



Figure 40 Reconstruction of the Porta Nola during the limestone phase. The color differentiation shows the extent of the tufa addition, after Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeji*, Pl. IV modified by author.



Figure 41 The city side of the Porta Nola and a close up of the protome of Minerva, photo author.



Figure 42 The gate court of the Porta Nola. Note the difference in masonry between the limestone bastions and the tufa court, photo author.



Figure 43 The Porta Nocera and its exposed foundations. The red lines indicate the concrete and the exposed tufa foundation blocks, photo author.

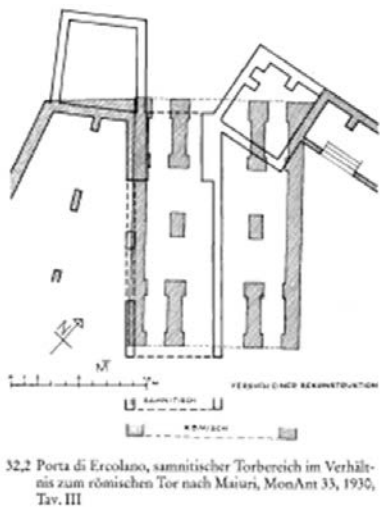


Figure 44 Samnite Porta Ercolano. Left: The gate outlined in white and the post-earthquake version superimposed in grey, after Eschebach and Eschebach, *Pompeji*, fig. 32.2. Right: The surviving tufa wall, photo author.



Figure 45 The western flank of the Porta Vesuvio. Note the yellow limestone bastion embedded in the tufa masonry and the *castellum* on the left, photo author.

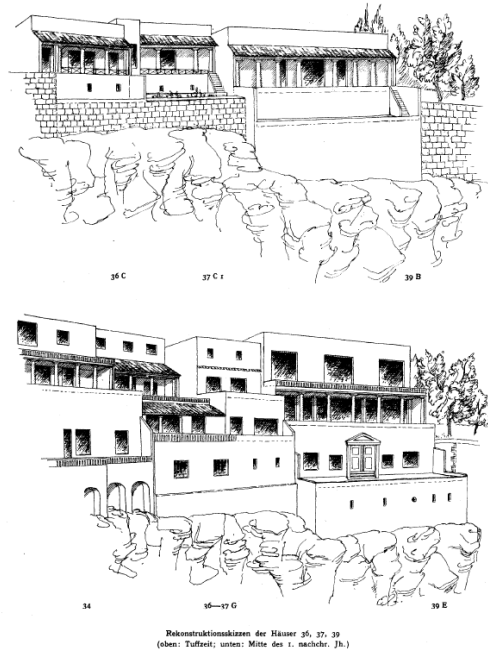


Figure 46 The development of the houses near the Doric Temple. Above the houses in the tufa period and below in the mid first century BCE, after Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Pl. 21.



Figure 47 Lowered *agger* near Tower X and the walled-up postern on the right, photo author.

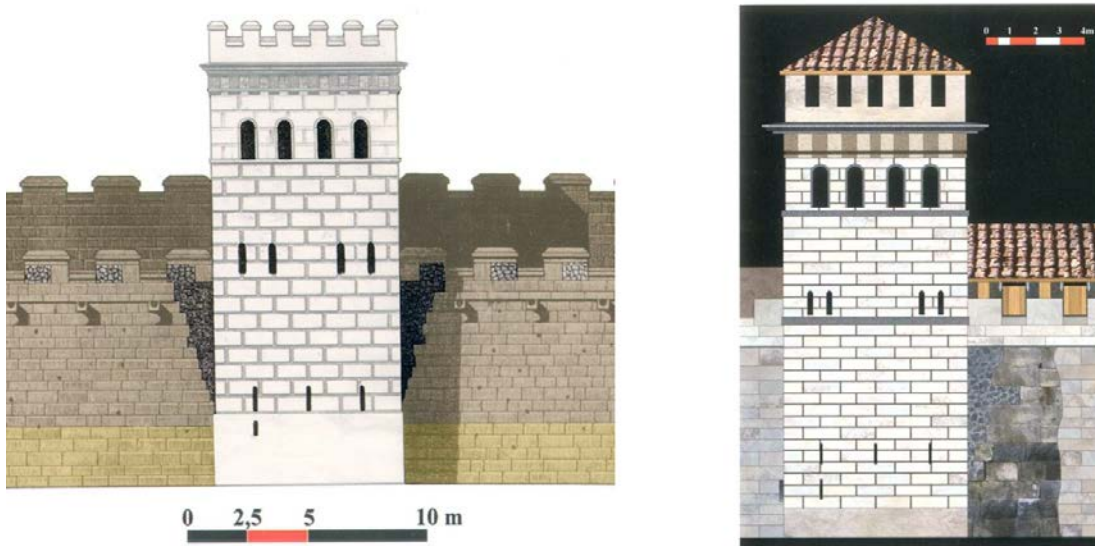


Figure 48 Reconstructions of the walls and towers. Left the traditional view modified by the author to include the masonry colors. Right the latest reconstruction, after Russo and Russo, 89 *a.C.*: *Assedio a Pompei*, 59, 69.



Figure 49 The columns in the vicolo dei Soprastanti. Note the central triangular opening and the drain below, photo author.



Figure 50 Print of the keystone and inscription on the Porta Nola, engraving, after Clarac and Mori, *Fouille faite à Pompei*, cover.

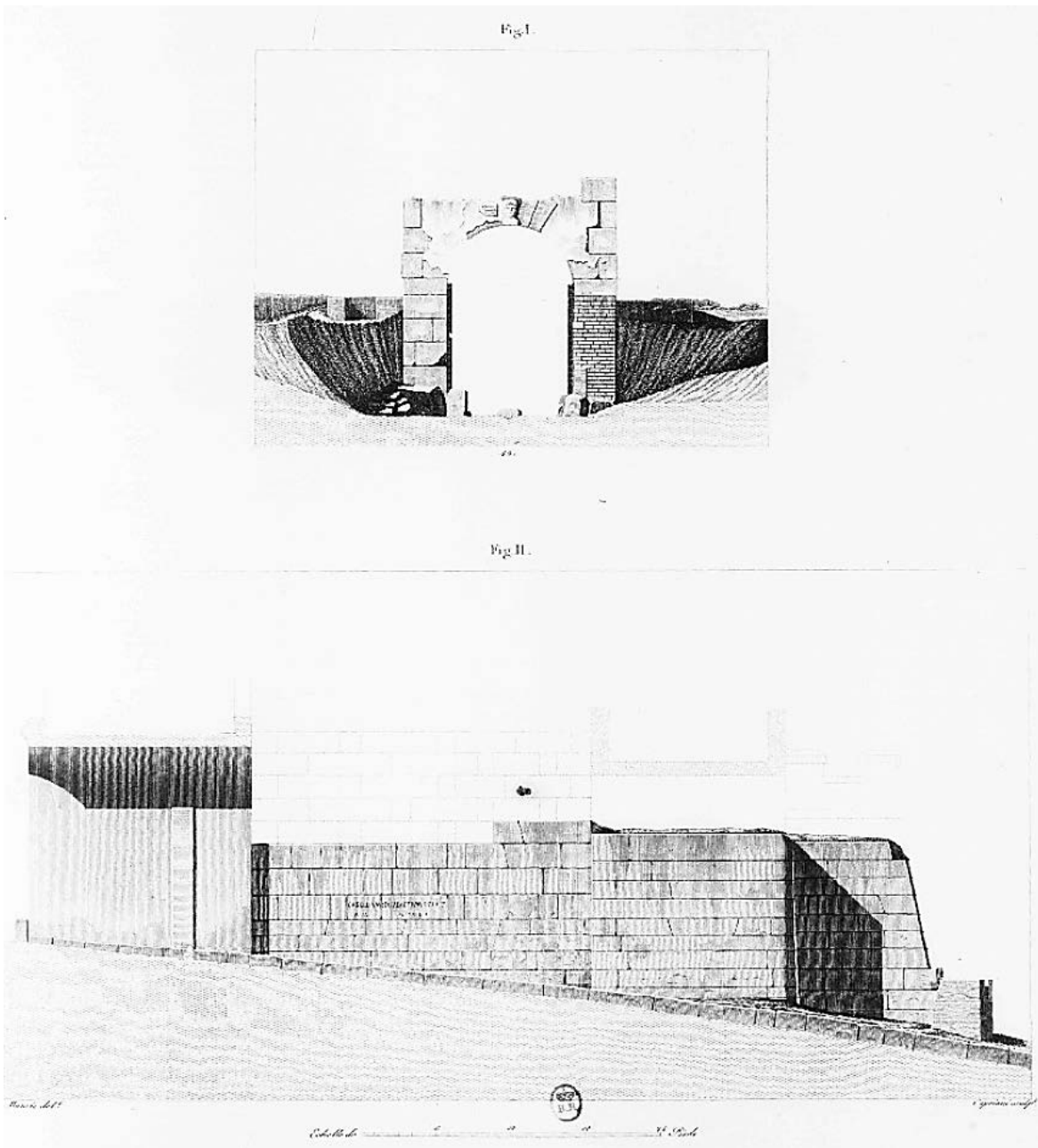


Figure 51 The Porta Nola, etching, after Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 1*, Pl. XXXVI.



Figure 52 Porta Nola drain viewed from outside the city. The arrow marks the outlet, and the red line emphasizes the limestone/ tufa transition. The inset shows the drain inlet, photos author.



Fig. 13 - Testa muliebre di divinità tutelare, probabile chiave d'arco di una porta della città

Figure 53 Surviving keystones. Left: The sculpture in the *antiquarium*, after Elia, *La scultura pompeiana in tufo*, fig. 13. Right: The image above the *dromos* of the large theater, photo author.



Figure 54 Remains of the shrine at the Porta Vesuvio, photo author.



Figure 55 The Porta all'Arco in Volterra with the three crowning busts, photo author.

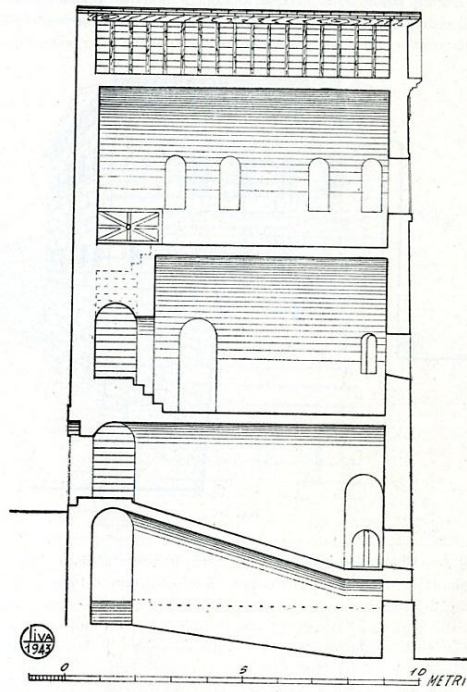


Fig. 11.

Figure 56 The layout of the towers, after Maiuri, *Isolamento della cinta murale*, fig.11.

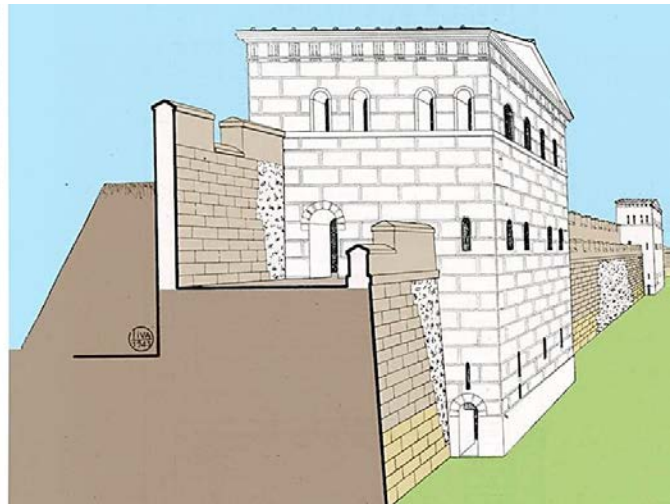
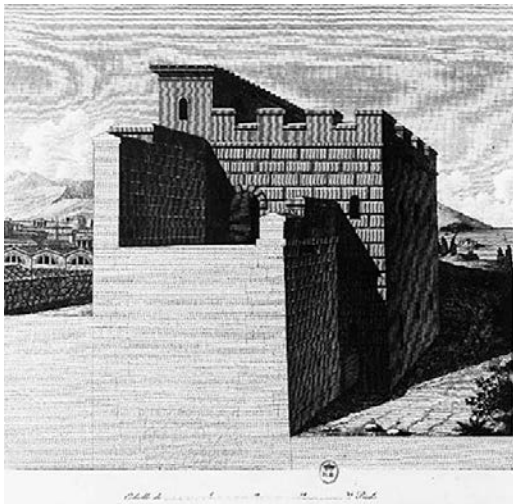


Figure 57 Two tower reconstructions. Left after Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 1*, Pl. XIII. Right after Maiuri, *Isolamento della cinta murale*, fig. 10, modified by the author to emphasize the masonry.



Figure 58 View from the top of Tower XI toward the Forum. Note how the structure dominates both the city and landscape, photo author.



Figure 59 Tower IV as part of group two. The arrow highlights the staircase coming down from the left, photo author.



Figure 60 Tower V as part of group three. Note the variation of the staircase and the blocked off arrow slit at the end of the corridor to the postern, photos author.



Figure 61 Surviving decorations on Towers VIII and X, photos author.

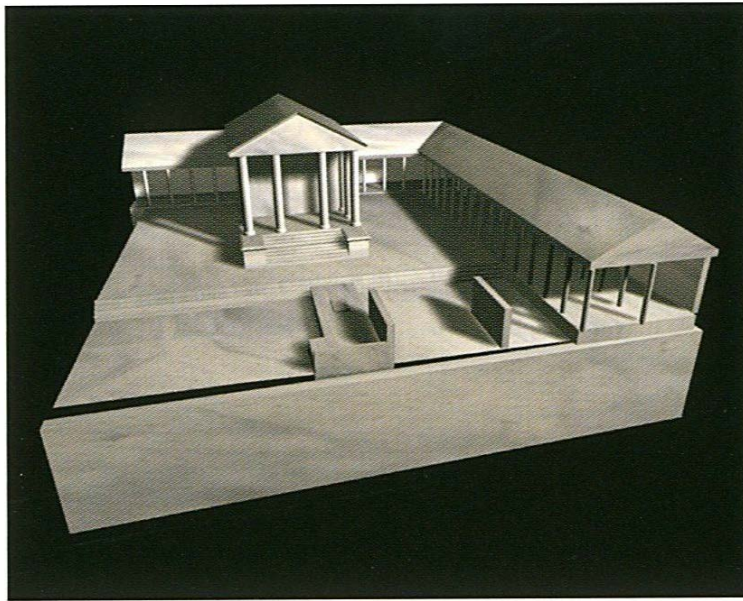
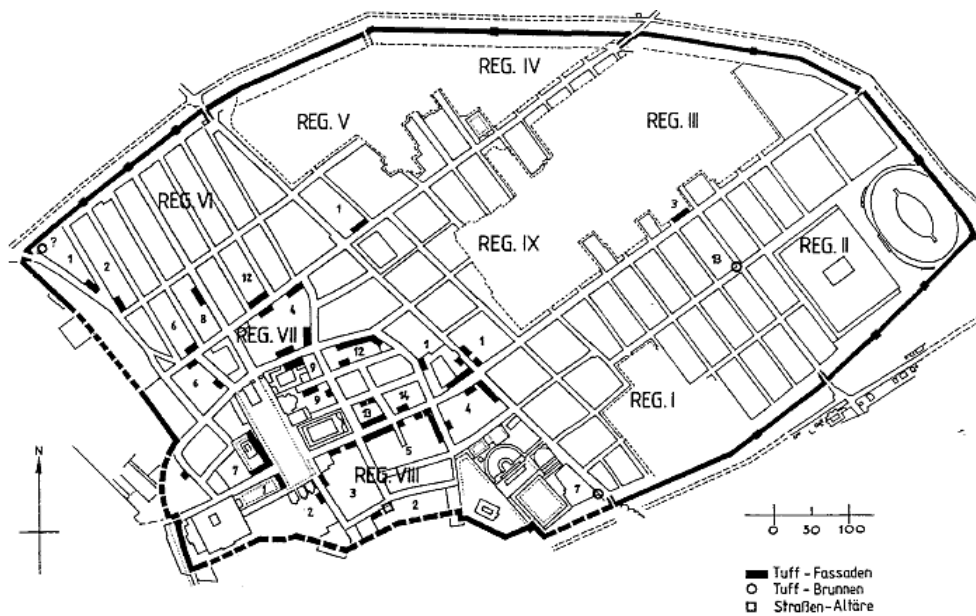


Figure 62 Reconstruction of the Sanctuary to Mefitis Fisica at the end of the second century BCE, after Curti, *Il tempio di Venere Fisica e il porto di Pompei*, fig.8.



28 Übersichtsplan der erhaltenen Tuff-Fassaden

Figure 63 Plan detailing the surviving tufa façades, after Eschebach and Eschebach, *Pompeji*, fig. 28.



Figure 64 Tufa façades lining the via dell'Abbondanza, photo author.

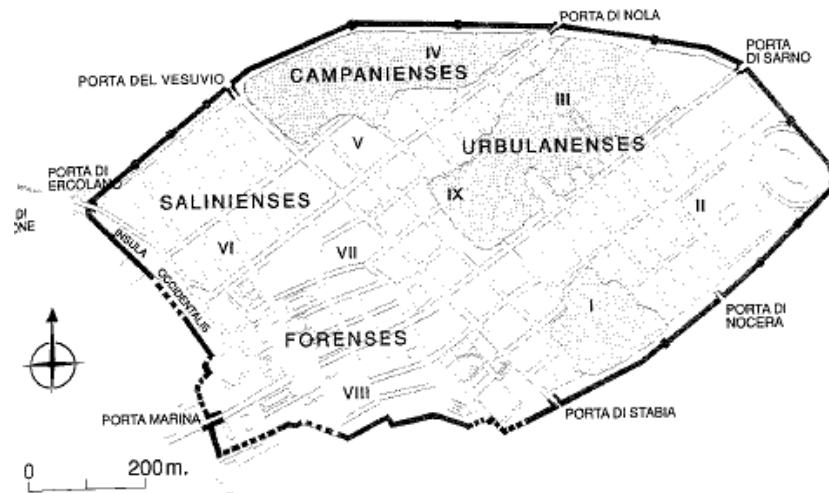


Figure 65 The division of the electoral colleges in Pompeii, after Pesando and Guidobaldi, *Pompeii, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, 17.

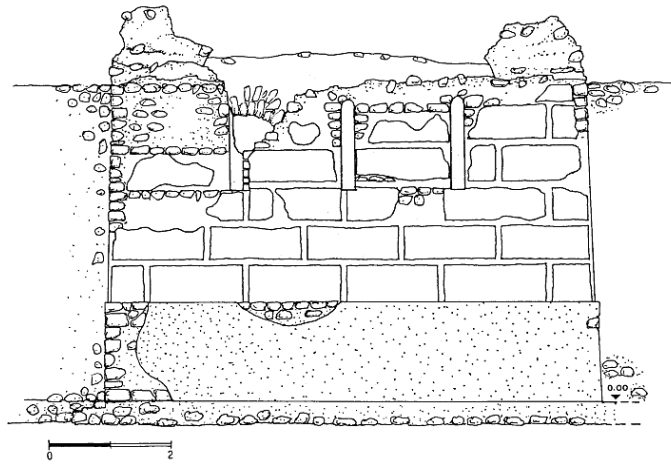


Figure 66 Drawing of the remains of Tower 3 in Nocera, after Johannowsky, *Considerazioni sull'architettura militare*, fig.7.

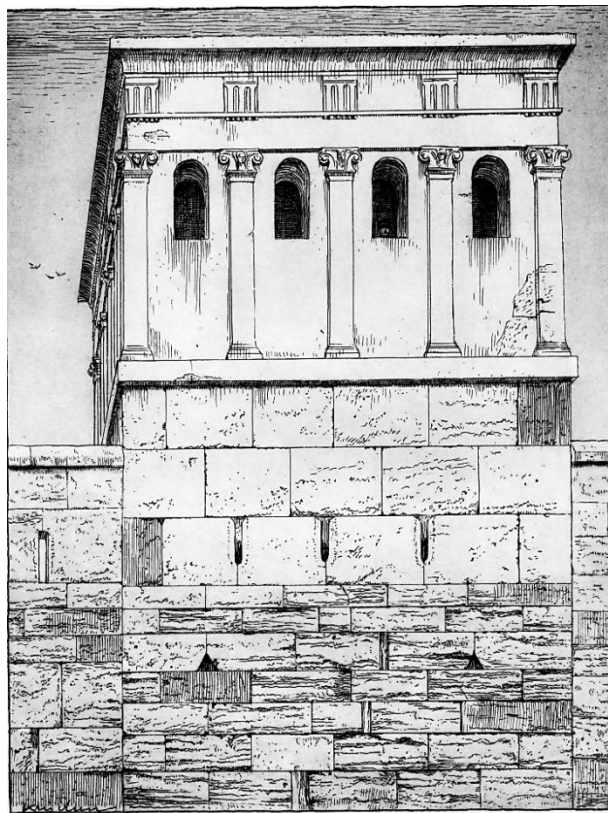


Figure 67 Reconstruction of a Tower at Paestum, after Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeji*, Pl. 8.

1
2
3

/ CVSPIVS · T · F · M · LOREIVS M · F
 DVORR d D S M V R V M e T
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4
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Figure 68 The inscription as it is restored in the CIL, after CIL X 937.



Figure 69 The *opus incertum* sections on either side of the Porta Stabia, photos author.



Figure 70 *Opus incertum* leading up to Tower V. Note the remains of stucco on the original masonry, photo author.



Figure 71 The Porta Nola as seen approaching the city. Note the *opus incertum* bastion on the left, photo author.



Figure 72 *Opus incertum* leading up to the Porta Ercolano. Note the remains of Tower XII to the left including the buried postern, photo author.



Figure 73 Section of the city walls east of the Temple of Venus, photo author.

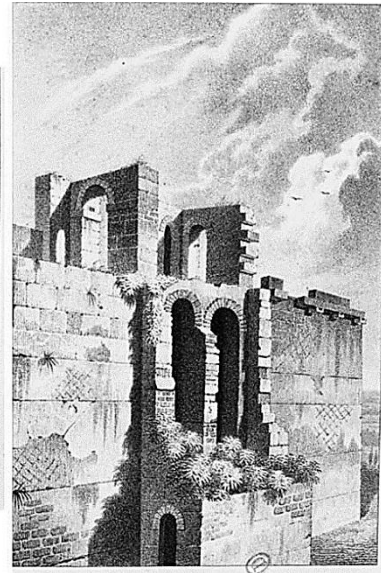
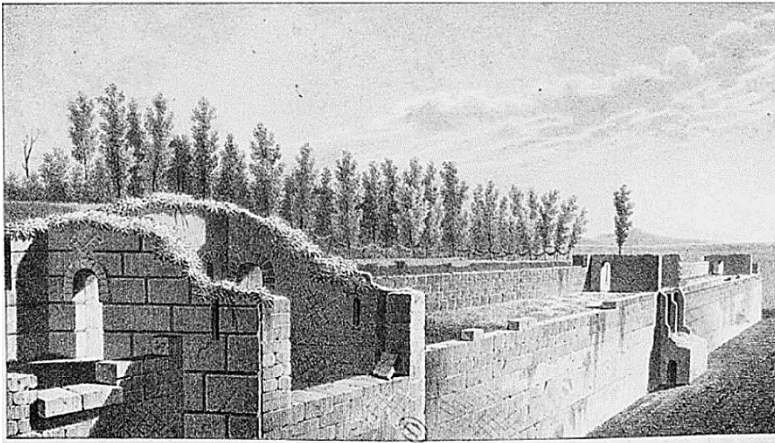


Figure 74 Towers XI and XII, etchings, after Gell, *Pompeiana*, Pl. XVI and XVII.

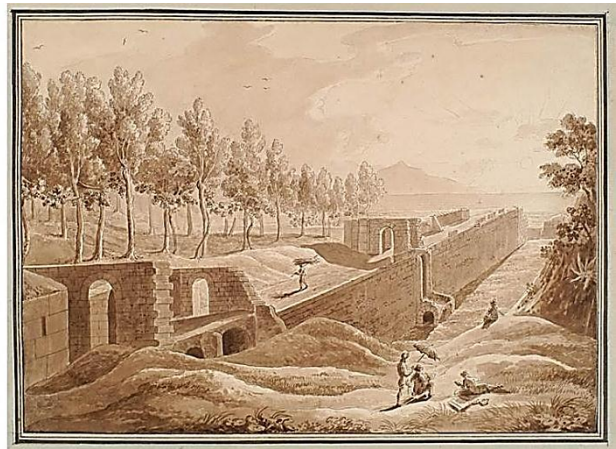


Figure 75 The northern fortifications. Left: Lithography, after Le Riche, *Vues des monuments antiques de Naples*, 38. Right: Watercolor, after Wilkins, *Suite de vues pittoresques*, Pl. 9.

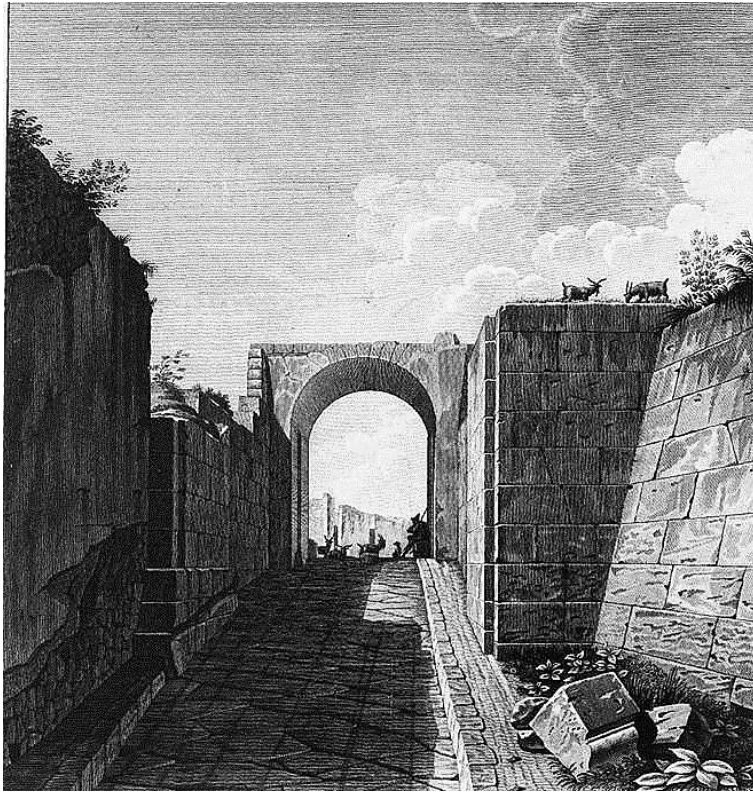


Figure 76 Exterior view of the Porta Nola, etching, after Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie I* Pl. 37.



Figure 77 Porta Marina. Left: An external overview, photo author. Right: Plan, after Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*, fig. 19.



Figure 78 Overview of the Porta Vesuvio from the south east. Note the *castellum* cutting off the gate court wall, photo author.



Figure 79 The Porta Stabia. Left: Exterior view, right: Interior view, photos author.



Figure 80 The Porta Ercolano. Left: Exterior view, right: Interior view, photos author.

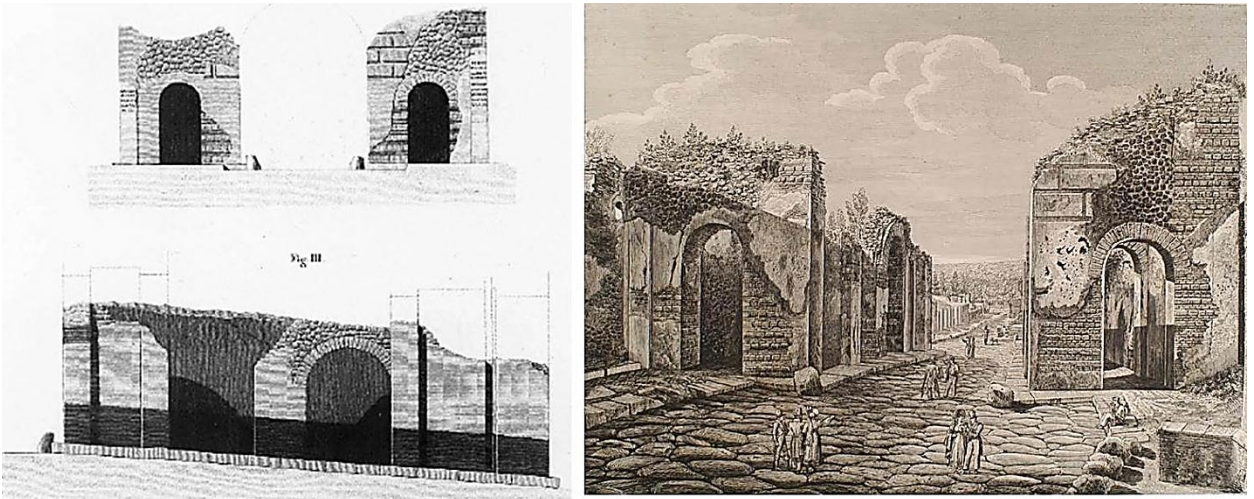


Figure 81 The Porta Ercolano in the early 1800s. Left: Etching, after Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie I* pl. XI. Right: Etching, after Rossini, *Le antichità di Pompei* Pl. XII.



Figure 82 Reconstructions of the Porta Ercolano. Left: Etching, after Gell, *Pompeiana* pl. XIX. Right: Watercolor, after Niccolini and Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei* 4, pl. XIV.

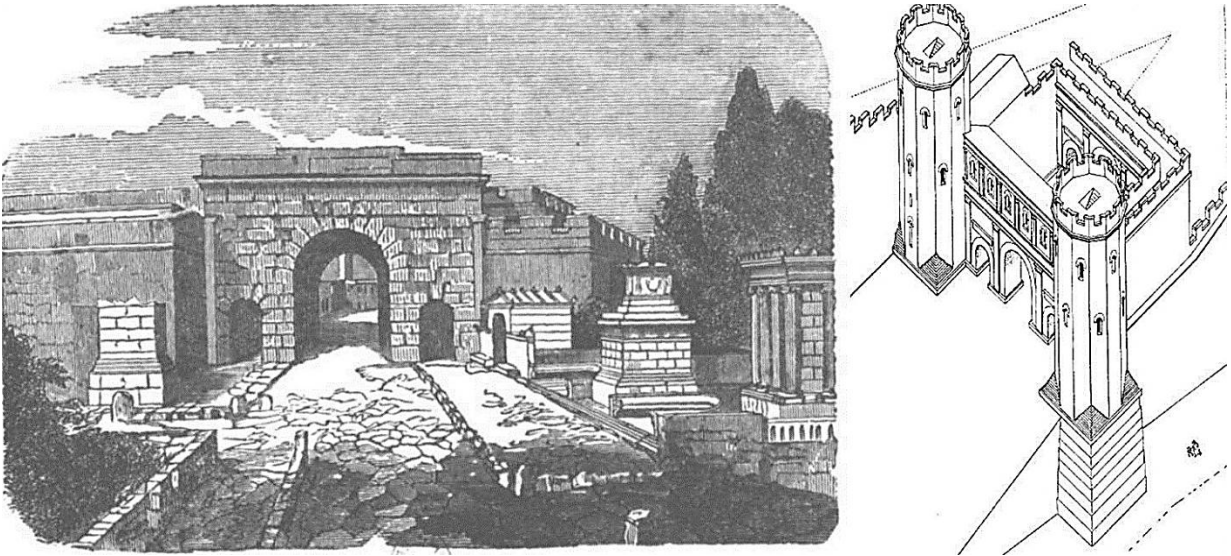


Figure 83 Reconstructing the Porta Ercolano. Left: Etching, after Delaunay, *Une promenade à Pompéi*, 81. Right: Reconstructive drawing of the Porta Venere in Spello, after Frigerio, *La cerchia di Novum Comum*, fig. 118.



Figure 84 The Ruins of Tower II. Note the brick quoins above the exposed foundations and the rectangular openings in the front and back. The fence on the left leads to the floating postern, photo author.



Figure 85 Tower III. The red circle denotes the brick patchwork. The arrow indicates the quoin repairs and the line of exposed foundations, photo author.



Figure 86 Brickwork on Tower V, photo author.

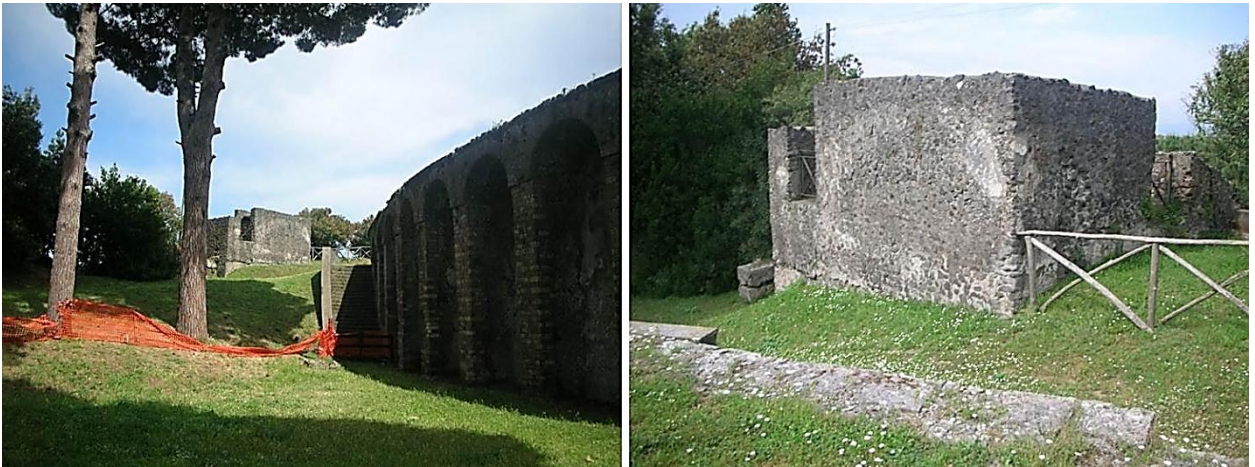


Figure 87 Tower VI. Left: As it stands next to steps leading up to the amphitheater, right: A close up. Note the high floating entrance as a result of the lowering of the *agger*, photo author.



Figure 88 The ruins of Tower VII. The circle marks the *opus vittatum* tufa quoin. The red line marks the transition between limestone and tufa, photo author.



Figure 89 Tower VIII. Left: Note the walled up postern and modified arrow slits, right: White stucco frames on the interior, photo author.



Figure 90 The interior of Tower IX, photo author.



Figure 91 The heavily reconstructed Tower XI, photo author.



Figure 92 The *cippus* of Suedius Clements in front of Porta Nocera, photo author.



Figure 93 An inscription scratched into the wall curtain between Tower VII and the Porta Nola reading XC· COΣIDIVS (*CIL* IV 2494), photo author.



Figure 94 Façade of the House of the Ceii, photo author.



Figure 95 The Amphitheater and the Palestra. The circles mark Towers II-VI. The arrows point to the Porta Sarno above and Nocera below, image after Google Earth.



Figure 96 The Porta Nocera. Note the divergent flagstones further emphasizing the gate, photo author.



Figure 97 View of the Palestra from the top of the amphitheater, photo author.



Figure 98 Tower III and the necropolis on the left, photo author.



Figure 99 Tower II (center) and tombs in the Porta Nocera necropolis. Left: The early Augustan examples east of the gate, right: The *aedicula* Tomb 23OS of the Vesonii, photos author.

Es. II Ins. le XI-XII -Cinta a sud ovest della Palestra -

In questa località si procede ancora più speditamente con i mezzi forniti dalla Impresa Riccio, sia alla rimozione del materiale di riporto del grande cumulo che si estende a sud della fortificazione in corrispondenza della Palestra, e sia allo scavo vero e proprio lungo la fronte stessa della fortificazione al fine di metterne a luce l'intero partito di paramento a vista, del quale già se ne sono individuati e portati a luce due brevi tratti, l'uno nelle immediate vicinanze della Torre I^a, l'altro nel tratto intermedio compreso tra questa e il Viale di ingresso all'Anfiteatro.

Nel corso di questo lavoro nulla altro è stato rinvenuto di importante; ma nella camera della Torre, mentre effettuava la rimozione del materiale eruttivo, dalla parete orientale, si aveva la sorpresa di rinvenire esposta nella strato di materiale eruttivo già sconvolta una lapide funeraria in marmo bianco con la seguente leggenda incisa a caratteri latini :

- IO -

P. TIN. TIRIVS. P. T. ADIVTOR. ET
TIN. TIRIAS. ESTAE
ILLAE. SVAR. V. ANNVII
ET. SIBI. ET. PONTIAR. RE
DYMAR. LENT IV. SO
RI. SVAR. ET SVIS

La lapide misura: m.0,420 x 0,28 x 0,045.

Figure 98 Scanned image of the excavation notebook detailing the discovery of the epitaph in Tower II, date 06-04-1952.



Figure 101 Spoliated schola tomb outside of the Porta Nocera, photo author.

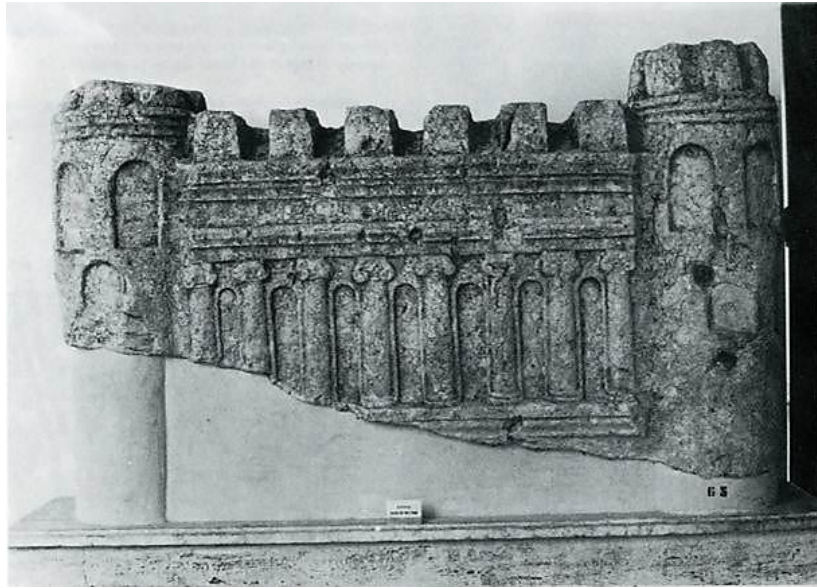


Figure 99 Relief depicting a city gate in the Avellino Museum, after Rebecchi, *Antefatti tipologici delle porte a galleria*, fig. 2.



Figure 103 The Tomb of C. Calventius Quietus. The inset shows the lost merlon images, after Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéi. Partie 1* pl. XXVI, photo author.

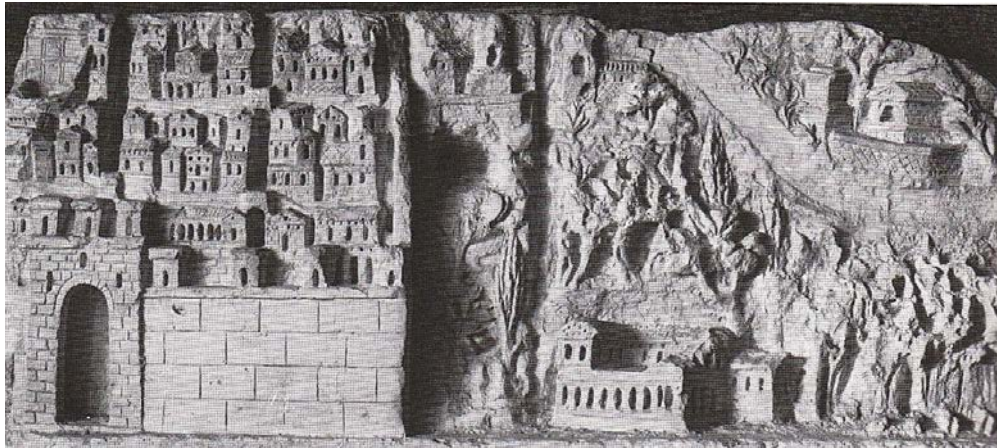


Figure 104 The Avezzano Relief, after Zanker, *The Power of Images*, fig. 260.

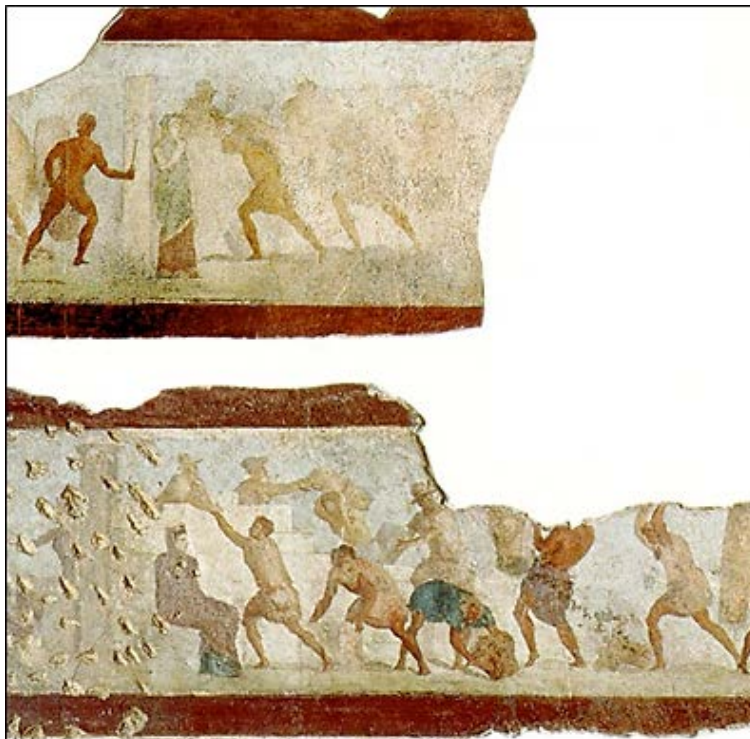


Figure 105 Tomb of the Statilii Fresco, above the foundation of Lavinium and below Alba Longa, after Cappelli, *The Painted Frieze of the Esquiline*, 51.

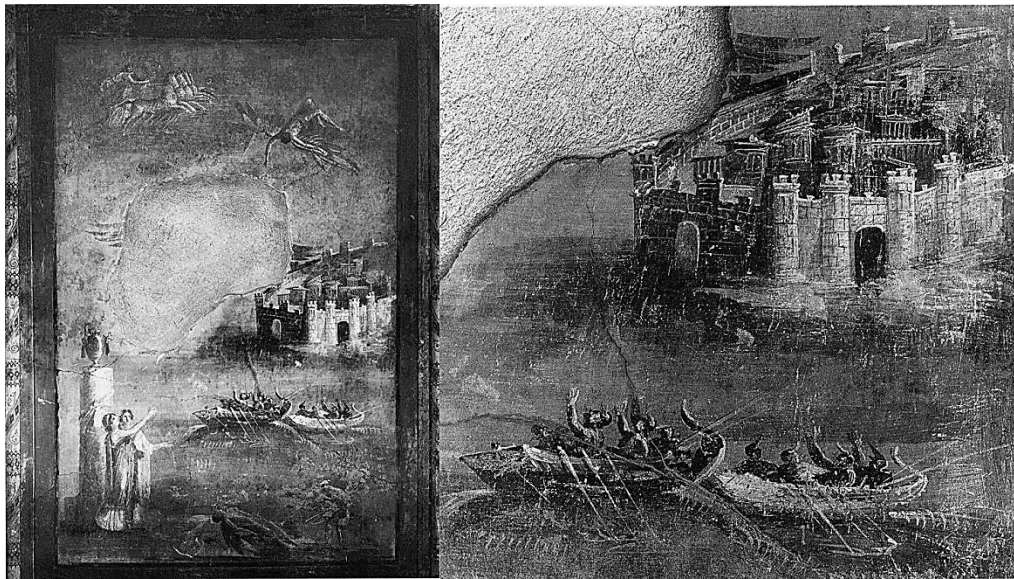


Figure 106 The Fall of Icarus. Left: Overview, right: Detail of the fortified city, after Bragantini *Pompeii: Pitture e mosaici* 1, figs. 11, 13.



Figure 107 Stucco frieze from the House of the Lararium of Achilles. Detail of a warrior exiting Troy, photo author.



Figure 108 Floor band depicting fortifications dating to the late third century BCE, after Azzena, *Atri*, fig. 53.

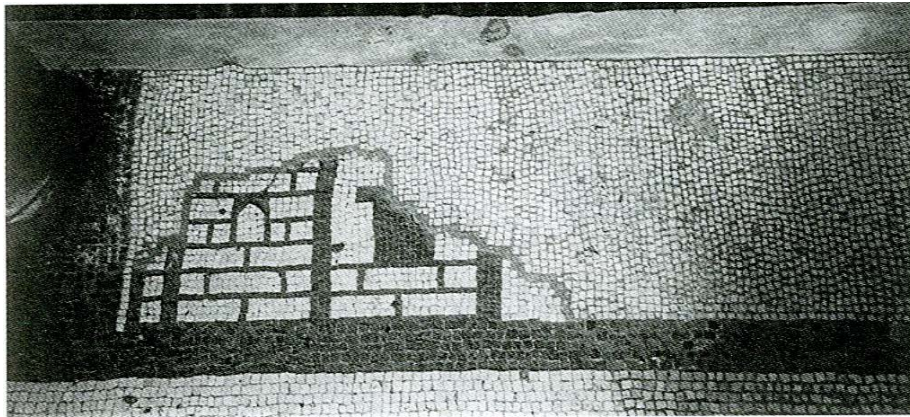


Figure 109 The Second-Style mosaic depicting a gate in the *atriolum* of the House of the Menander, after Ling et.al, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii*, pl. 48.

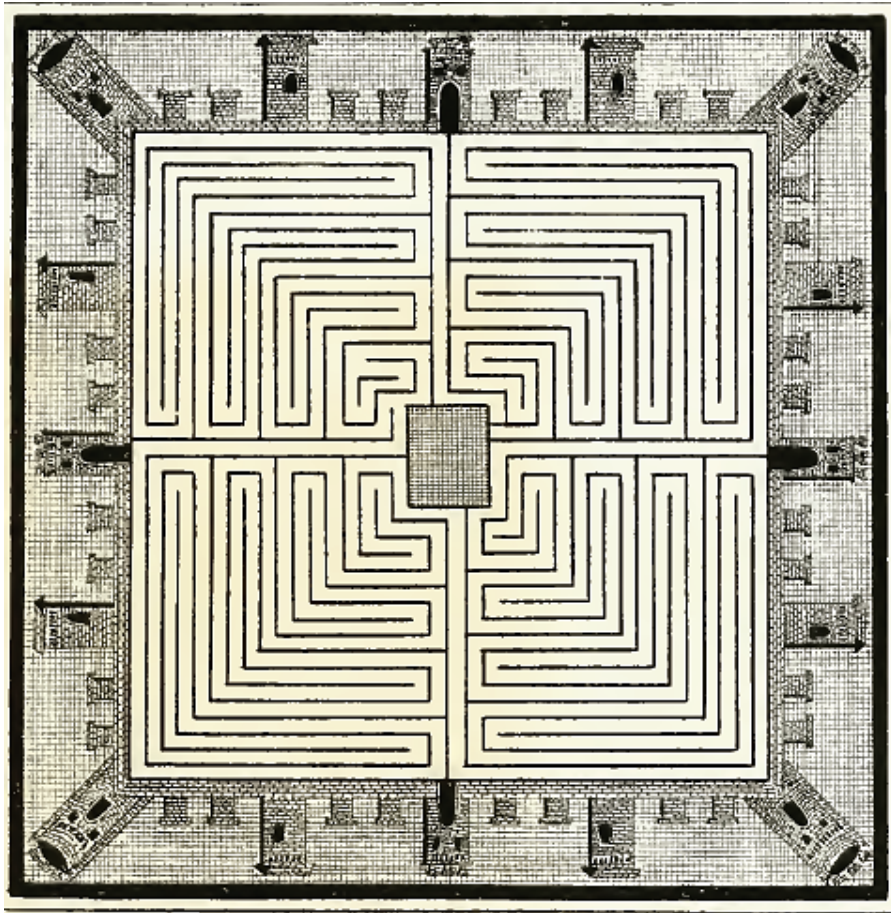


Figure 110 Drawing of the lost mosaic in the Villa of Diomedes, after Barré, *Ercolano e Pompei: Raccolta generale de pitture, bronzi, mosaici*, vol. 5, fig. 6.4.



Figure 111 Second-Style mosaic in the House of Caesius Blandus, after Bragantini, *Pompeii: Pitture e mosaici* 6, fig.1.

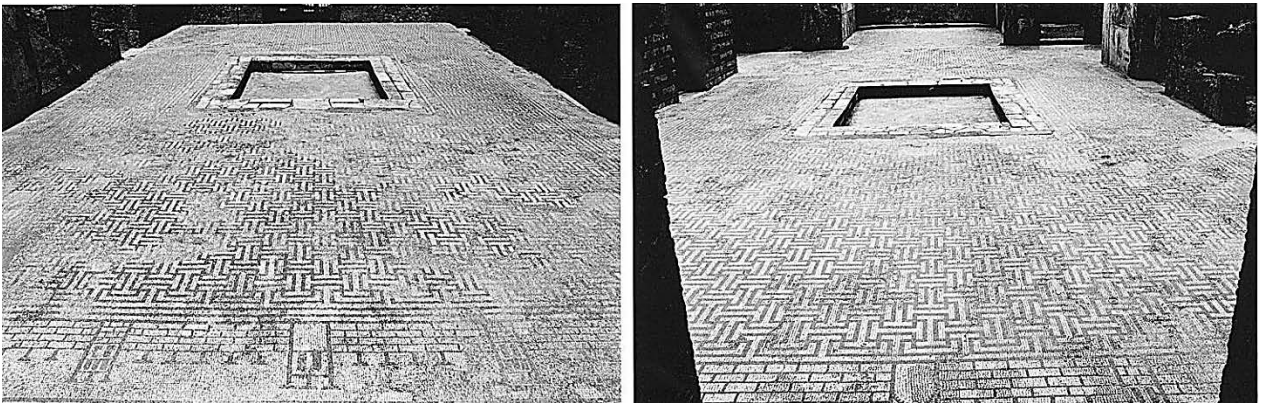


Figure 112 Augustan floor mosaic in the House of the Wild Boar. Left: View from the *tabularium*, right: View from the *fauces*, after Bragantini *Pompeii: Pitture e mosaici* 8, figs. 4, 5.

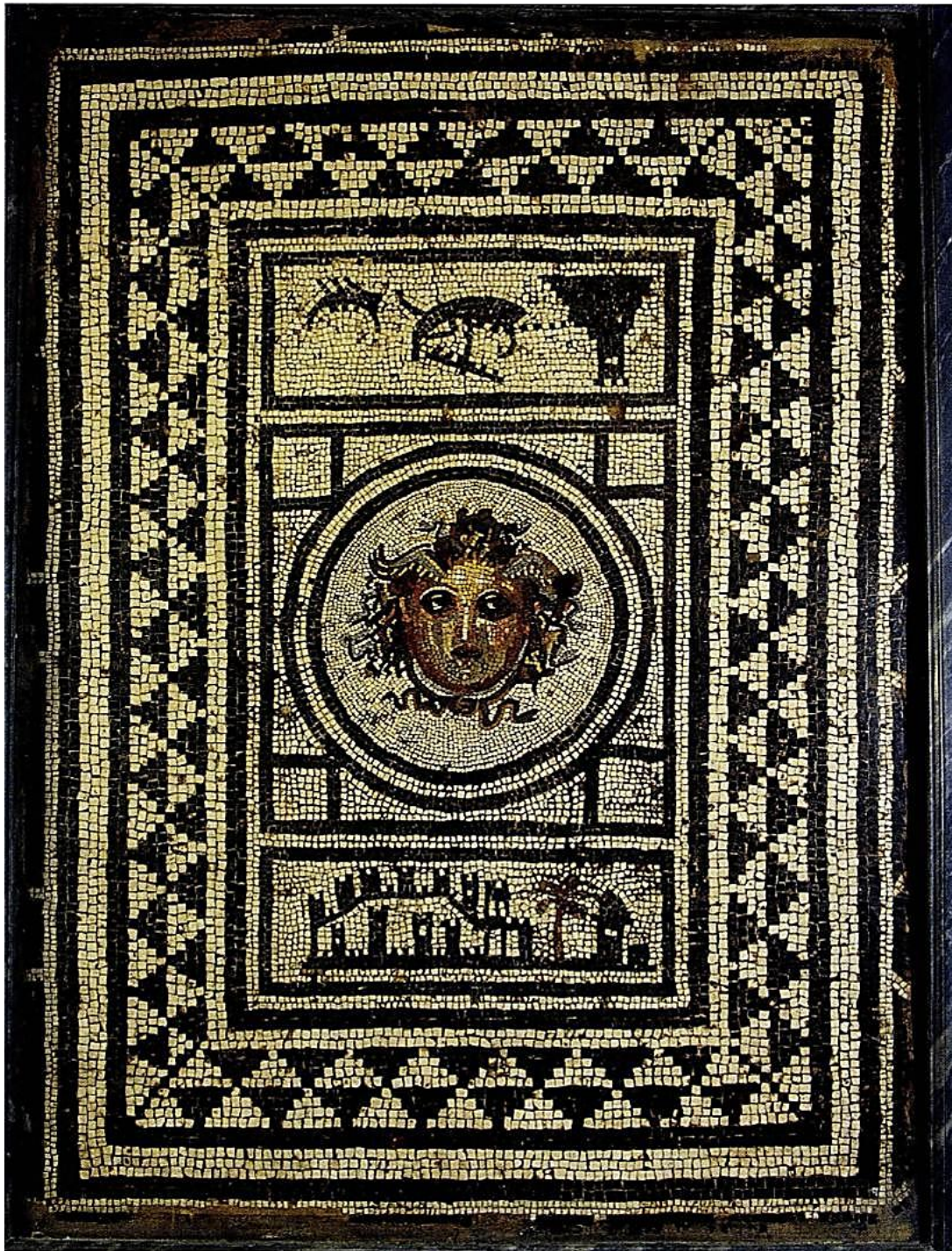


Figure 113 Early Imperial floor mosaic in the House of the Centenary, after Sampaolo, *Pompeii: Pitture e mosaici* 9 pt.2, fig. 142.



Figure 114 The Second-Style mosaic band delimiting exedra *u* in the House of Tryptolemus, after Bragantini, *Pompeii: Pitture e mosaici* 7, fig. 40.



Figure 115 The Second-Style band mosaic framing the *impluvium* of the House of Cornelius Rufus, after Bragantini, *Pompeii: Pitture e mosaici*, 8, fig. 1.



Figure 116 Fresco of the Riot at the Amphitheatre, Pompeii House I. 3. 23, after www.artstor.org.



Figure 100 Relief of the 62 CE earthquake from the House of Caecilius Jucundus. The Porta Vesuvio topples in the center. On either side stand the *castellum* and the wall curtain, after www.dase.laits.utexas.edu.

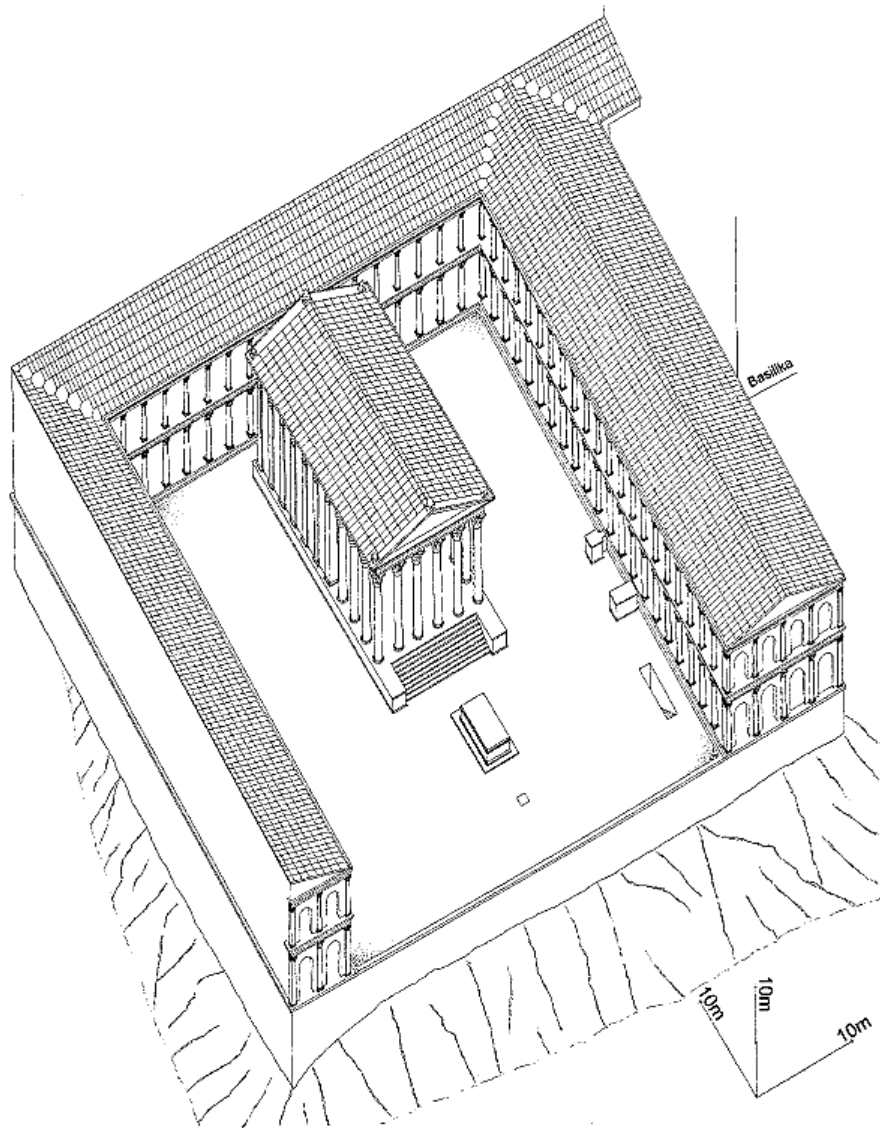


Figure 101 The Sullan Temple of Venus, after Wolf, *Tempel und Macht*, fig. 5.

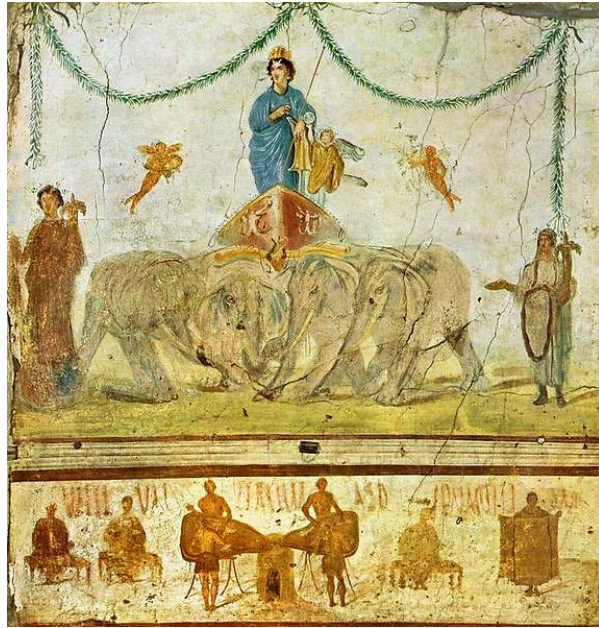


Figure 102 Fresco of Venus Pompeiana on the Shop of Verecundus, after www.dase.laits.utexas.edu.

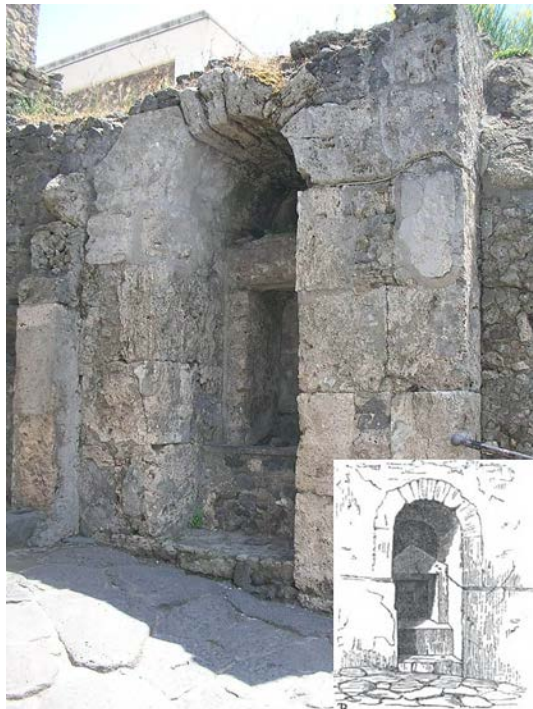


Figure 103 The Porta Marina niche. The inset shows a drawing of it covered in stucco, after Breton, *Pompeia* 3rd edition, p. 80, photo author.



Figure 104 The terracotta statue of Minerva from the Porta Marina. Left the reconstruction, after Von Rohden, *Die Terracotten von Pompeji*, pl. 31. Right its state as recovered in 2010, photos author.

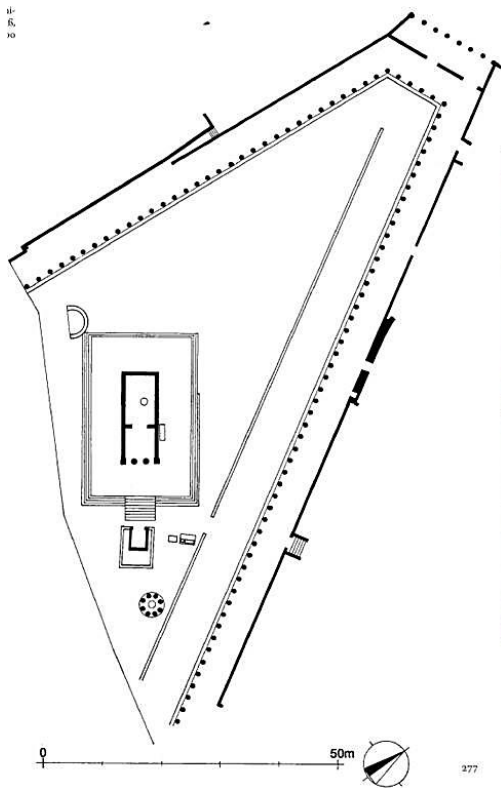


Figure 105 Plan of the Doric Temple. Today only the podium remains amongst the trees.
Plan after Wolf, *Forschungen zur Tempel Architektur*, fig. 68, photo author.

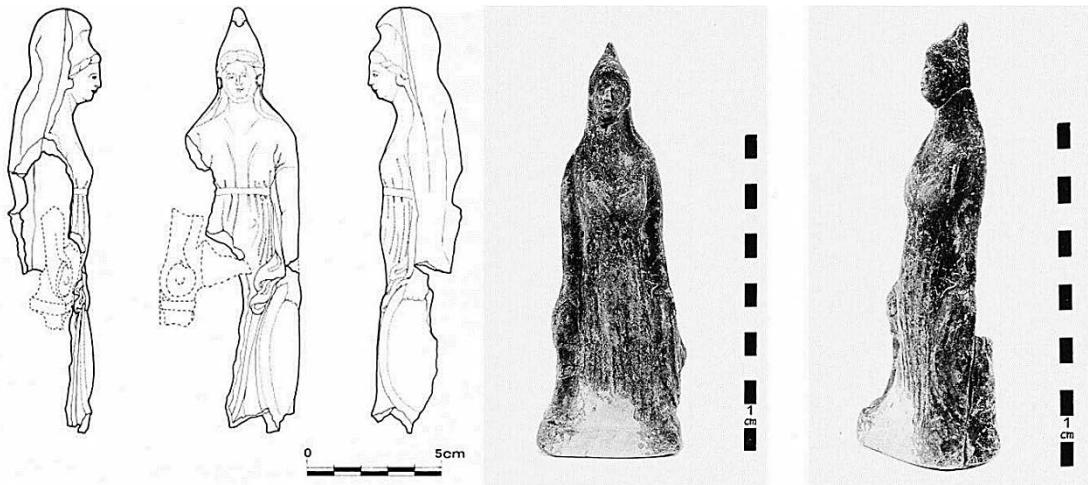


Figure 106 Punta della Campanella Athena. Left a drawing of an example recovered at Punta della Campanella, after Russo, *Punta della Campanella*, fig. 15. Right an example recovered near the Doric Temple, after D'Alessio, *Materiali votivi dal Foro Triangolare*, pl. 16.



Figure 107 Terracotta statuette of Minerva recovered in the Località Privati Sanctuary near Stabia, after Miniero et.al, *Il santuario campano in Località Privati*, fig. 15.



Figure 108 Procession on the Shop of the Carpenters, Pompeii, VI, 7, 8-11. The arrow points to Minerva holding a shield and patera, after Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, pl. 3.

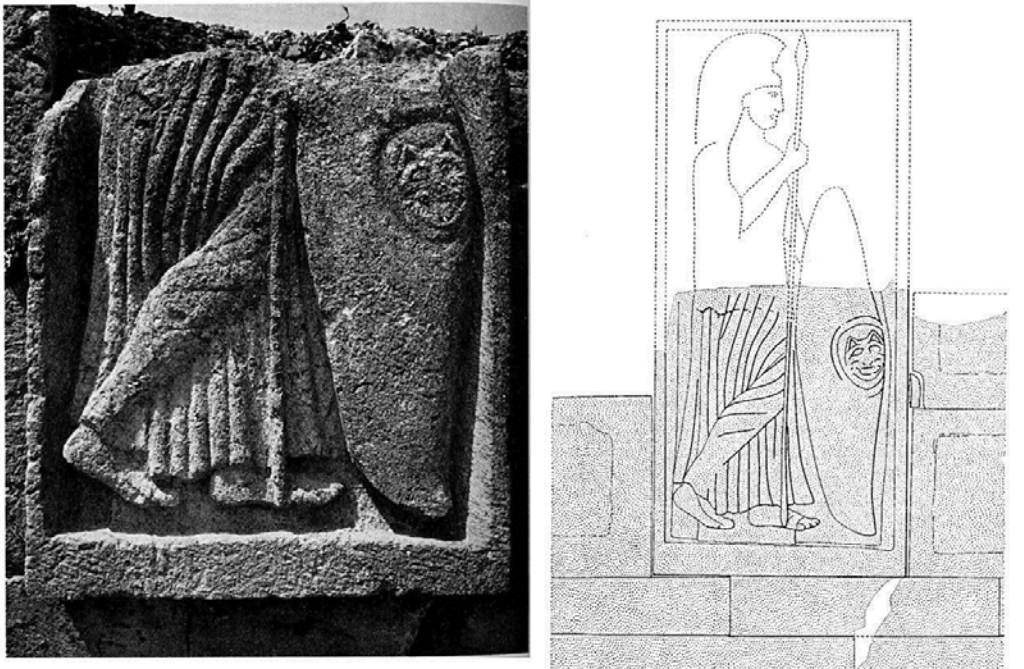


Figure 109 The Tarragona Minerva. Left actual state and right a reconstruction, after Grünhagen, *Bemerkungen zum Minerva-Relief in der Stadtmauer von Tarragona*, p. 212, 225.

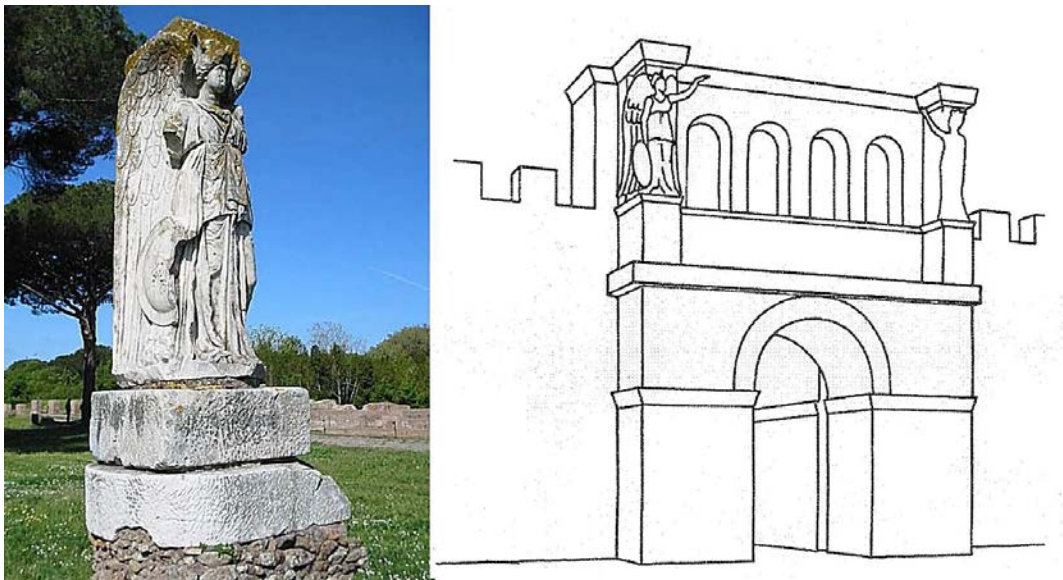


Figure 110 The Minerva on the Porta Romana in Ostia Antica. Left actual state, after www.ostia-antica.org. Right a reconstruction sketch of its placement on the gate, after von Hesberg, *Minerva Custos Urbis*, fig. 4.

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This dissertation was typed by Ivo van der Graaff.