

The Nature of Sources and Evidence

'The range of available sources, both written and archaeological, including ancient writers, official inscriptions, graffiti, wall paintings, statues, mosaics, human and animal remains'

Literary Sources

- Except for Pliny the Younger's eye witness accounts of the eruption, literary sources are rare and fragmented
 - Known for scientific accuracy of observation and logicity of argument.
- Also used is the Greek philosopher Strabo (64BC – 21AD) who is useful for geographical background and historical setting.
- Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4-1BC – 65AD) Roman philosopher
- Many of these sources, apart from Pliny's, have a particular focus of enquiry
- Pliny the younger:
 - Nephew to Pliny the elder, friend of Tacitus, famous for 'Letters to Tacitus' which describe the eruption, the death of his uncle and his own reactions to the disaster.
 - Experienced the eruption as a teenager and wrote the two letters 25 years later in response to a request by Tacitus.
 - Uncle commander of roman fleet
 - Was on the northern edge of the Bay of Naples
 - Provides geological clues used by modern Vulcanologists and eye witness accounts of personal reactions
 - Letters provide two geographical viewpoints (Stabiae and Misenum) he does not mention the overwhelming of Pompeii and Herculaneum. He does not record the year and makes no mention of the tremendous detenation that must have preceded the eruption; it seems strange that an eyewitness would neglect to write so much.

- The reliability of his letters must also be questioned as he uses second hand accounts of his fathers death, gathering information from those who were near who were undoubtedly traumatized.
- Obviously, over 25 years it is also difficult to recall minute facts
- There is an obvious purpose in at least the first letter and that is to glorify Pliny the Elder.
- It also appears that he was attempting to glorify his own courage and character.

Name	Date	Type of writing and reliability	Examples of information associated with Pompeii and Herculaneum
Cicero Politician, orator, lawyer and man of letters; had villa in Pompeii	160 – 43 BC	Various works	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The physical attributes of campanula • Political activities in Pompeii after it became a colony in 80BC • Comments on social and moral effects of the behavior of the Roman elite
Livy Latin historian	59BC – 43AD	<i>History of Rome</i> in 142 books covering the period 742 – 9 BC. Lacked a critical approach to history; a roman patriot.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The samnite wars • Effects of Hannibal’s Invasion of Campania • The spread of the cult of Bacchus (Dionysus)
Strabo Greek geographer	63BC – 21AD	<i>Geography</i> written in AD19 based on his own travels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of Vesuvius in its

from Pontus		and research from the great Alexandrian library	dormant phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of Sabo valley and port of Pompeii
Seneca Latin Stoic philosopher, studied rhetoric and law; tutor to the future emperor Nero	4BC – 65AD	<i>Moral Essays</i> one of which was <i>Naturales Quaestiones</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The geography of campania • Earthquakes • The earthquake that destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum AD 62
Tacitus Historian and intimate of Pliny the Younger	55AD – 120AD	<i>Historiae</i> – history o the empire from Galba to domitan (AD 68 – 96) much of this lost <i>Annals</i> (a year by year treatment of the julio-claudian emperors from the death of Augustus to Nero) reliable witness despite his obvious bias.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is possible that he included his <i>Historae</i> information provided to him by Pliny on the eruption but his work from 70AD is lost. There is only a brief allusion to the earthquake in his prologue • The riot between the Pompeian’s and the nucerians in the Pompeian amphitheatre in 79AD
Statius and Martial Poets	AD 61 – 96 AD40 – 104	Statius’s <i>Silvae</i> and Martial’s <i>Epigrams</i> – Poet’s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The fate of Pompeii and Herculaneum

		viewpoint; written in a moralizing fashion	
Dio Cassius Roman historian	AD150 – 235	<i>History of Rome</i> in 80 books. A mixture of fact and the supernatural; no knowledge of sources, Much not credible although some coincidences with Pliny's accounts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The eruption of Vesuvius and the date of AD79 • A scheme adopted by Titus in response to the eruption.

Archaeological

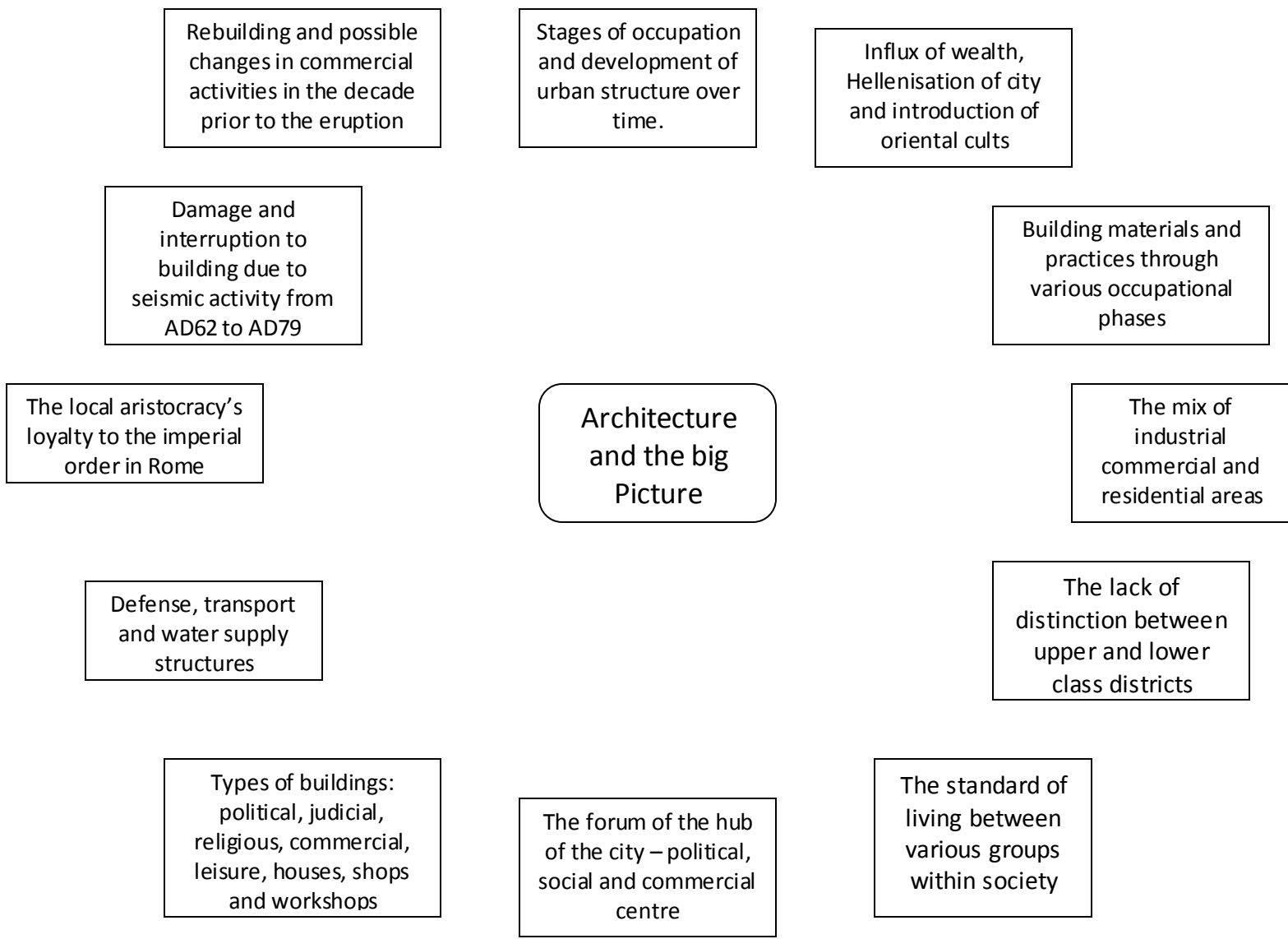
- Intact public and private structures with wall inscriptions and graffiti have been unearthed
- Amount and range of sources, provide authenticity and allow historians to empathize with the society (however empathy is always limited by interpretation)
- Due to a neglect to take proper precautions in early excavations, evidence was compromised and therefore, although Pompeii is the most studied ancient site, there is very little known
- Teams now challenge traditional accounts by:
 - Questioning widely held concepts of Roman life
 - Asking different questions about the material finds
 - Shifting away from the old certainties of “fact” and “truth” towards multiple and varied interpretations.
 - Recognizing the way in which past views were effected by the politics and ideologies of the present.
 - Accepting that while they try to make sense of the past it is never possible to know the past.

Architecture

Types of Architectural structures and spaces	
Public	Private
Walls, gates and streets	Town houses from the palatial to the humble
Aqueducts, water towers, fountains and sewerage systems	Suburban and country Villas – <i>Rusticae</i> (Farming villa) – <i>Otium</i> (for leisure)
The Forum – Temples, law courts, markets	Shops, e.g. bakeries and hot food bars
Public Lavatories	Taverns and inns
Public baths	Workshops e.g. Fulleries
Theatres	Brothels
Amphitheatre	Tombs
Exercise grounds (<i>Palaestra</i>)	
Other temples	

- Although architectural sites can provide an image of Pompeian society, it must be understood that much of this evidence, through early discovery, has been lost, poorly recorded, or totally unpublished. A lot of recordings show heavy bias
- It is also very difficult to ascertain the social class and status as well as the use of the structure without knowledge of the associated artifacts, most of which were looted during discovery.
- Literary sources often do not match architectural structures as they were written by the elite.
- Houses should be read in the way that Romans:
 - Did not see house and work as separate
 - Lived in close proximity to their slaves, dependants, freedmen, clients and tenants who were their source of social and economic power
 - Had a different idea of the meaning of house and family

- Unlike the Greeks, did not segregate women and children in the household
- Were chiefly concerned with using architectural and decorative features to distinguish between public and private areas of the house, for the grand and the humble, and as a social orientation or guide for the different people who frequented the house
- Used their houses to enhance their social status



Inscriptions

- Included:
 - Civic charters and regulations on bronze plates fixed to walls of public buildings
 - Dedications by wealthy citizens who saw it as their social duty to provide buildings and festivals, and to support the imperial cult. Their commemorative plaques can be found at prominent positions in the city, on public buildings, temples and pedestals for statues.
 - Funerary inscriptions found on the tombs lining both sides of the road outside the Herculaneum gate in Pompeii.
- Historians can learn:
 - Prominent families
 - Structure of government
 - Main political players
 - When buildings were constructed or renovated
 - The economic, political and social transformations in society
- The earliest being before 80BC when Pompeii became a Roman colony, the latest being in the post – earthquake period indicating political and administrative problems.

Wall Writings – Public notices

- Most wall writings refer to activities and events in the years immediately before the eruption
- Notices were written by professional scribes
- Brush of black or red on a whitewashed wall, washed with limewater
- Rarely, an individual would not hire a professional and would do it himself
- Often included
 - Electoral slogans
 - Gladiatorial programs
 - Sales and rental advertisements

Wall Writings – Graffiti

- Scratched into walls
- Anyone could and did scratch thoughts and feelings into the walls
- Often included
 - Amateur poetry
 - Crude verse
 - Angry outbursts
 - Tavern scrawlings
 - Love notes and messages
- Near and inside brothels and lavatories, erotic and explicit messages were found, e.g. “Apollinaris, the physician of the emperor, Titus, had a good shit here” :-p
- Invaluable source of information as to the true dynamics of the society

DECORATIVE ARTS

- These include:
 - Frescoes derived from the great Hellenistic pictorial schools, characterized by the chronological system known as “the four Pompeian styles”
 - Paintings referred to as ‘popular’ which were little affected by the Greek artistic tradition and featured aspects of real Italian life
 - Mosaics: pictures and designs on walls, floors grottoes and fountains, done in thousands (sometimes millions) of tiny chips of colored glass, shells, stone and pottery called *Tesserae*
 - Geometric patterned floors and pavements usually composed in a variety of stones such as limestone and travertine
 - Decorative sculpture in bronze and marble, featured in the atria, peristyles and gardens of Pompeian and Herculaneum homes. ‘Garden paths were lined with columns and pedestals displaying herms, masks, statues, of Bacchus, Venus, Hercules, Eros and various woodlands deities,
 - A magnificent array of household furnishings: precious silver, fine ceramic, tableware, personal ornaments, glass vases, and table settings.

Frescoes - Hellenistic pictorial style painting

- Wall painting “fashion” spread right through **all levels** of society.
- Only areas isolated from view such as the kitchen or slaves quarters were unpainted.
- Very few could afford to decorate their houses in original Greek art, **imitations** were made.
- Wall paintings in the homes of prominent families in the area have:
 - Provided archaeologists and historians with valuable documentation of lost Greek and Hellenistic painting

- Allowed them to trace the development of Roman pictorial art over an uninterrupted period of three centuries.
- Given them an appreciation for the process of fresco painting and helped them to gain some understanding of the various workshops from which the private patrons commissioned their works, although usually not the names of particular artists. However Pliny the younger does have some clues as to the original Greek artists and their works, which the Romans copied.
- Revealed changes in society and showed evidence of social aspirations
- Reflections of imperial periods, for example paintings from the stable Augustan age reflected the emperor's taste for order and moderation but subtle re-interpretations of Greek myths by Augustus's court poets and playwrights.
- Augustus Mau in 1882 classified frescos into 4 categories:
 - Structural (-80BC)
 - Not in the form of frescoes but represents stone or marble masonry of sacred Greek culture
 - Architectural (80BC – 20BC)
 - Paintings concealed wall by illustration of Hellenistic style structures such as columns and doors
 - Ornamental (20BC – AD50)
 - Wall separated into 3 horizontal zones and two pairs of narrow vertical panel with a mythical painting in the middle
 - Fantastic (AD50 – AD79)
 - Bright shimmering colors create a theatrical fantasy, most left are of this style.

Mosaics

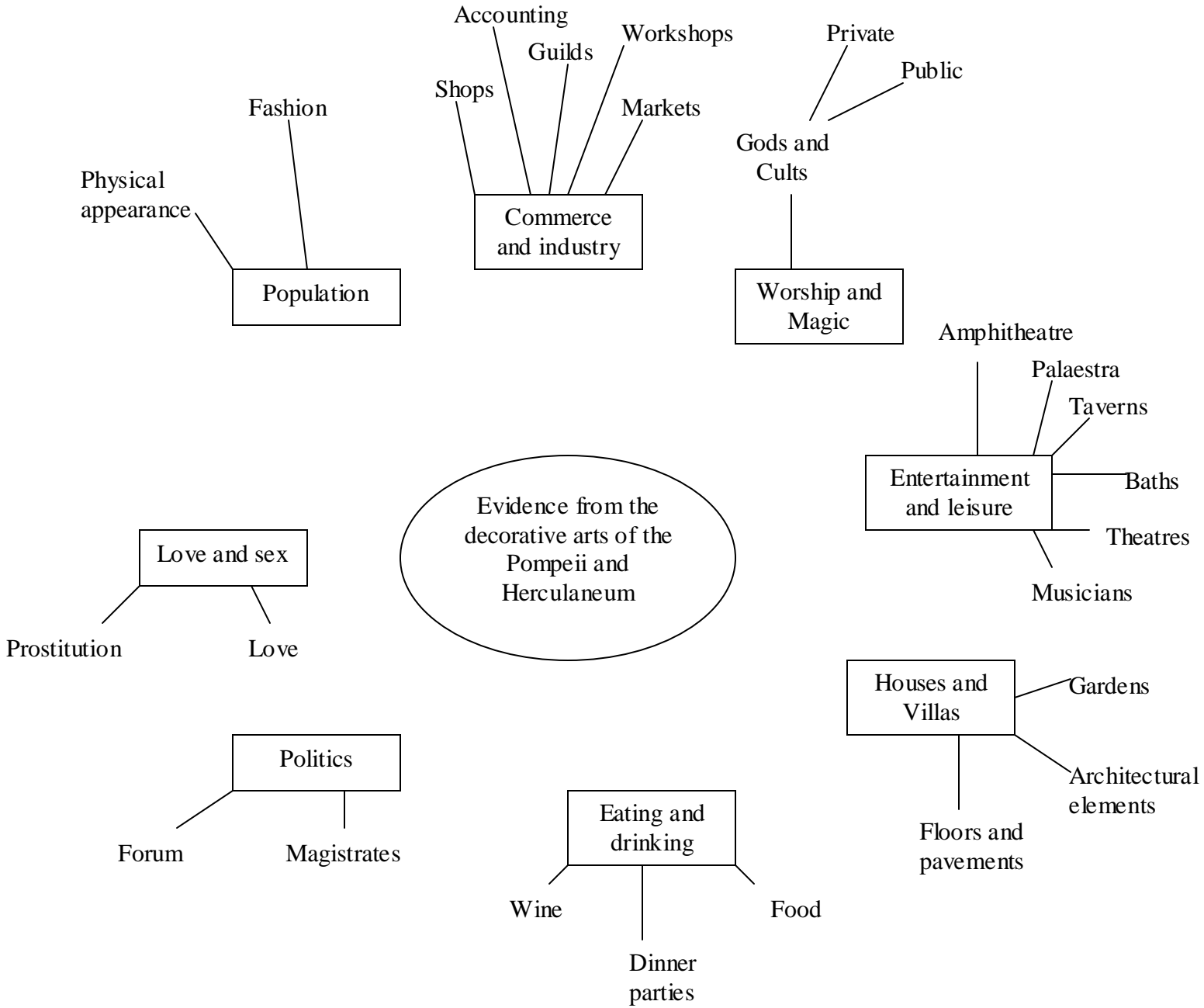
- Geometric and figurative

- Floors were often geometric patterns of black and white
- Mortar and crushed tiles or volcanic rock
- During Julio – claudian era marble was often used, however most of this was lost to looting

Statues

- Copied from classical and Hellenistic age prototypes
- Refined and precious silver table utensils
- Valued antiques

Illustration of some aspects of life in Pompeii and Herculaneum revealed by the decorative arts:



Human, animal and plant remains

- Reveals:
 - Sex and age
 - Appearance
 - Average height of men and women
 - General health
 - Specific medical problems and evidence of surgery
 - Population affinities
 - Probable occupations and social status
 - Cause of death and mental state at the time

Skeletons of Herculaneum

- Approx 500 corpses were found at Pompeii until the first was found in Herculaneum.
- Preserved well due to the 20m covering of moist volcanic material, which prevented oxygen from decaying the bones
- Dr Sara Bisel claimed that exposing the bones caused rapid deterioration and therefore they had to work quickly.
 - Carried out physical analysis and biochemical analysis
 - She examined:
 - The long bones of the legs to ascertain height
 - The state of the pelvis of women to tell their ages and if they had had children
 - Facial bones for appearance
 - The upper shafts of the humeri and thoracic vertebrae to tell if the person worked harder than usual.
 - The state of all bones for level of nourishment

- Teeth for an indication of the age of children and whether there was sugar in the diet as well as general nutrition.
- Chemical analysis of bones indicated diet
- Sara Bisel found evidence showing:
 - Low birth rate
 - She found methods for abortion, contraception mentioned frequently in literary sources were responsible
 - A widely diverse genetic inheritance
 - Heavy consumption of sea food helped maintain good dental health
 - High lead levels, possibly be caused by the use of lead in drinking cups, water pipes, cooking utensils etc.
- Since Bisel's studies, much work has been done on DNA which can identify genetic diseases

Bones and Casts from Pompeii

- Misconduct during early years of excavation meant most skeletons at Pompeii were damaged.
- Studies confirmed that the general population was in good health
- In Pompeii unlike in Herculaneum, courses were covered in a fine layer of ash which did not preserve them as well
 - Bodies decayed, leaving cavities in the ash which historians, since Fiorelli, have filled with liquid plaster and resin forming casts of the bodies as they were positioned at death
 - From these casts historians can determine sex, age, possible occupations and status

Animal and plant remains

- It is believed that many horses and mules in Pompeii were mobilized for escape
- Some remains of horses were found still in their stables
- 27 plant found in carbonized hay
- discovery of commercial vineyards and orchards have thrown a different light on Pompeii's economy and the relationship between town and countryside

The Limitations, Reliability and Evaluation of Sources

Variability

- apart from Pliny the younger's eye witness accounts, most texts have a focus of enquiry such as geography of architecture and therefore historians have to supplement these with primary sources such as graffiti from monuments and walls
- Pliny the younger's eyewitness accounts are seen as valuable historical and scientific document
 - Pliny the younger:
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The evidence provided by the sources from Pompeii and Herculaneum

- ***The eruption***
- ***The economy: trade commerce, industries, occupations***
- ***Social structure; men, women, freedmen, and slaves***
- ***Local political life***
- ***Everyday life: leisure activities, food and dining, clothing, baths, water supply and sanitation***
- ***Public buildings – basilicas, temples, fora, theatres, palaestra, amphitheatres***
- ***Private buildings – villas, housing, shops***
- ***Influence on Greek and Egyptian cultures: Art, architecture, religion***
- ***Religion: Temples***

The Eruption

- New research into volcanology combined with the efforts of archaeologists have provided insight into the sequence of events
- There is debate over the exact date of eruption due to the possible corruption of the textual history of Pliny the younger
- Much of the knowledge we have now on the eruption is based on the works of modern volcanologist Haraldur Sigurdsson who used the grain sizes in the volcanic material to reconstruct the phases of the eruption

- He confirmed his findings by looking at the eruption of Mt Saint Helens, following the eyewitness accounts of Pliny the younger, and by studying the position and condition of the human remains at Pompeii and Herculaneum.
- Divided the eruption into 4 stages
 - 'Plinian stage'
 - "enormous eruptive column of pumice and ash"
 - felt late morning to early afternoon
 - "pyroclastic phase" in the form of six surges and flows
 - 1-2:15 am 25th of august
 - S1 and S2 (surge 1 and 2) felt soon after pyroclastic stage)
 - S3 and S6 (surge 3 and 4)
 - 6:30 – 8am
 - Herculaneum covered completely in 23 meters of hardened volcanic material
 - Most severe, knocked down buildings in Pompeii and covered town in 90-110 centimeters of volcanic material
- Seneca described eruption as the volcano returning to life "disturbed all the adjacent districts"
- Seneca said that although the area was not free from its dangers it had never been damaged before and usually "got off with a fright"
- Seismologists think it unlikely that there was not an eruption in the 17 years prior to the eruption however there are no reports of one
- ***Pliny's account – much of the letter is derived from accounts of other survivors***
- ***Dio Cassius pg 72***
- Many attempted to escape by sea as the coast was 'densely populated' (cassius)
- Many attempted to leave with the warning signs of pumice, evident through the lack of horses. Bodies have been found just outside the walls. It is possible that some made it several kilometers before the actual eruption; however they would have then experienced darkness and tremors.

- Some ignored the warnings and tried to stay, bodies have been found in beds, baths, at cemeteries etc.
- Surge 1 contained toxic ash with the force of a hurricane which flattened several people. One woman was found with a crushed skull, fractured pelvis and ankle around her shoulder as she was thrown a long distance.
- Pliny the elder died on the beach of Stabiae
- ***Pliny pg77 fleeing from the eruption.***

Early August warnings:

- Earth tremors
- Wells and springs dry up
- Waves increase in size
- Animals become agitated



Few notice



Morning of August 24:

- Minor explosions
- Showers of fine tephra



Few notice



Plinian eruption:

- Late morning to early afternoon – umbrella shaped cloud moves east
- Accumulation of white pumice over Pompeii, day turns to night
- 8pm – grey pumice, tremors and electrical storms



*Some Pompeian's flee immediately, others delayed or took shelter in sealed rooms or cellars, some unable to escape
Pliny the elder launched a warship to sail across the bay to Stabiae*

Pyroclastic surges and flows:

- Between 1 and 8am 25 august, billowing volcanic ash and superheated gasses (surge) followed by a flow of larger fragments made liquid by high temperatures
- In 6 phases
 - *The inhabitants of Herculaneum who had not already escaped waited on the beach to be rescued, but died in the first surge and the town was sealed forever in the second*
 - *Pompeii people who left it too late to flee were cut down, trampled in the dark, felled by masonry and asphyxiated by ash saturated air*
 - *Pliny the elder died on the beach at Stabiae*
 - *Pliny the younger and his mother escape Misenum just before the final surge.*

The economy: trade, commerce, industries and occupations

- Forum the “heart of political and commercial life” of both Herculaneum and Pompeii
- 40m wide and 150m long white limestone and contained about 40 statues of leading citizens and imperial family
- at eruption was undergoing post-earthquake restorations
- Herculaneum forum still buried under volcanic material
- closed to wheeled traffic but located where main roads met
- deep wheeled ruts in rocks used to pave the surrounding roads highlight the amount of use and popularity of the forum
- Herculaneum had no need for heightened crossings as it had an excellent drainage system
- **Frieze in the house of Julia Felix shows aspects of life in the forum**
- Pompeii a “Bustling commercial centre where “making a profit was favorable by the gods” shown by:
 - 600 excavated privately owned shops
 - the city-controlled markets surrounding the forum
 - epigraphic evidence of the number of guilds of tradesmen and retailers
 - paintings of cargo boats and people carrying products to be loaded into vessels
 - trade signs depicting various manufacturing processes
 - Inscriptions on the walls and floors of houses and workshops paying tribute the pursuit of profit. E.g. “**profit is joy**”
 - images of mercury, god of commerce
- economics largely based on agriculture and fishing
- Pompeii renowned for fish sauce

- wine and oil were the principle form of income
- profitable cultivation of oil and wine limited to the wealthy as setting up such crops was costly
- wine and olives were pressed either by presses *Torcular* or by foot
- wine was not stored but brought in when needed
- Pliny states that areas with mild climate stored their wine in jars and buried them to protect them from the weather
- this stored up to 50, 000 liters
- wide variety of wines produced, shown by advertisements in bars
- the estates that produced wine also produced oil
- Pliny states more skill was needed to produce oil than wine
- oil from the green olive also used to create perfume
- oil rooms and presses were warmed by large fires
- olive presses often built from lava stone
- Renowned for 'garmen' – fish sauce used for food flavouring
- Pliny – "no other liquid had become more valuable"
- Fish sold by fishermen in the forum
- Wealthy farmers maintained a monopoly over the manufacture of the sauce
- Sauce sold to street retailers
- Foul smell
- **Seneca pg93**
- Salt used in production of garmen – salt collected in a depression on the coastal road to Herculaneum
- Production of wool important in Pompeii – washing and dyeing and production of cloth
- Carried out in workshops – *fullonicae* (laundries)
 - Raw wool first sent to *officina lanificariae* where it was degreased by boiling in leaden boilers
 - Then taken to spinners and weavers in private homes or on *officinae textoriae*
 - Then sent to *officinae tenctoriae* for dyeing
 - Then distributed to cloth merchants
- 18 laundries have been excavated
- Cloth trod on by workers in fuller's earth, potash, carbonate of soda and urine
- Camel urine was most prized however most made do with urine donated by passers-by
- Cloth bleached with sulfur then dyed
- Wool used to make felt used for slippers hat bags etc
- 'guild of fuller – powerful organization within the city – headquarters located in the eumanchia building in the forum
- Approx 30 bakeries (*pristrina*)
- Poor quality flour – hard bread
- Lack of yeast – deteriorated quickly
- Used mills

- Dispatched from bakeries to small shops
- Commercial activity of Herculaneum based on the work of skilled craftsmen
- Perfume manufacture was an important industry in Campania
- Garden of fugitives and garden of Hercules used to grow flowers for the perfume industry
- Brick and tiles came into demand after 62 earthquake
- Either side of the forum – markets own by the city – governed by two magistrates called *aediles who ensured*
 - Markets ran smoothly
 - Goods were measured and priced accurately
 - Quality was maintained
 - City regulations were upheld
- Marcellum – north-eastern side of the forum – busy market area specializing in the sales of fish and meat and sometimes fruit and vegetables
- In the centre a building called *tholos* believed to be used for cleaning and selling fish (pool at centre.
- East of the forum used to house a wool and cloth market
- Saturday was market day
- Forum – public latrine for 20 ppl
- Many private shops and businesses attached to living quarters – advertised with paintings
- About 200 public eating and drinking places identified
- Fast food snack bars – food taken away or eaten standing up
- Wine bars and taverns in both towns – Pompeii more densely clustered around entrance gates and amphitheatres
- Wine mostly drunk diluted with water and other ingredients such as honey
- Sweetened sour wine
- Hot wine popular
- Asellina (women) owned a bar and hired foreign waitresses believed to be prostitutes
- Customers debts scribbled on inside of walls political slogans on outside
- Hotels also used in both cities
- Hotel of muses believed to be a hotel for wealthy traders
- Some hotels offered prostitutes
- Basilica in forum not only law court but a meeting point for businessmen and clients
- Money claimed in renting and selling land – caecilius acted as agent for previous master (ex-slave)

NAME OF COIN	MATERIAL	USE
1 aurous (25 denarii)	Gold	Major purchases such as
1 denarius (4 sestertii)	Silver	slaves, land, houses and payment of taxes

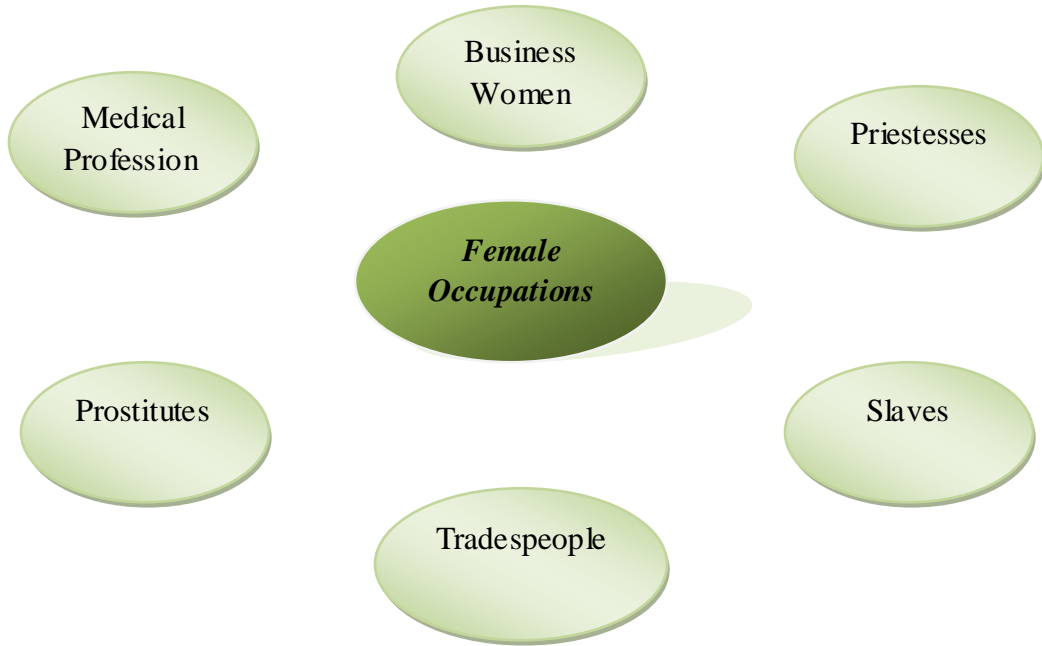
1 sestertius (2 dupondii)	Bronze	Most widely used coin
1 dupondius (2 asses)	Zinc orichalcium	
1 as (4 quadrans)	Red copper	For everyday use – shopping, trade and payment of wages
1 quadran	Red copper	

- Traded with cities within Campania and the Italian peninsula imported wine and oil from Spain, Sicily and Crete and pottery from Spain and Gaul
- Unknown exactly how extensive their exports were
- Port less than 1 kilometer from the city centre

Social structure; men, women, freedmen and slaves

- most recent figure estimating population size is 8-10,000 – estimated from 800 excavated houses
- Herculaneum is harder to estimate as less has been excavated however 5,000 has been guessed from the seating capacity of the theatre
- 3 broad categories of social structure, slaves, those freed from slavery and freeborn
- Majority of servile origins creating ethnic diversity
- Hierarchy in slaves – from evidence at villa of Agrippa postumus, those slaves on estates tended to be treated more harshly
- Educated male slaves were privileged – female slaves unable to marry and all offspring belonged to master
- Slaves could be manumitted (granted freedom) by their masters or could buy their freedom and pay a freedom tax of 5% of their valuation
- Feed males = *libertus*, freed females = *Liberta*
- Pompeii – bulk of freedmen and women involved in crafts, trade and commerce
- Freedmen became quite wealthy
- Many freedmen imitated the lifestyle of roman nobility in order to gain membership in the society
- Pliny the elder criticized the tendencies of freedmen to “ape the aristocracy”
- A *libertines* was freed in all ways but tended to remain tied to their master with gratitude and loyalty – contributed in public life and their children intermarried in freeborn families
- Women emancipated when it came to commerce and were often extremely rich
- Patron/dient relationship – males of the upper level of roman society had social ties with friends (*amici*), clients (*clientele*) and dependants both freeborn and freed whom they advised a looked after their interests. Social standing of a member of the elite was enhanced by the number of people who sought them out as patron in their houses during the morning *salutatio*
- *Plebs media* = rich but outside elite e.g. Freedmen
- Existence of beggars – evidence (graffiti) “I detest beggars” however there are paintings depicting the wealthy offering coins to beggars

- Priestess and business women eumanchia – patron of fullers guild



Local Political Life

- Self governing in local matters but subject to imperial decree from Rome
- Emperor rarely interfered
- Following revolt in amphitheatre Nero dismissed two chief magistrates and elected two more as well as a law-giving prefect to advise them
- Inhabitants demonstrated maintained loyalty to the imperial family through dedicatory statues, shrines, arches and buildings
- City council met in Curia opposite people's assembly in the forum
- People's assembly could question decisions of government in town meetings
- Tabularium – forum – where government business recorded and filed
- Next to offices of magistrates
- Basilica = seat of judiciary and law courts as well as centre for business activities
- Two magistrates or *duoviri* made judgments about:
 - Unworthy decurions
 - Electoral candidates without required qualifications
 - Inappropriate behavior during elections
 - Misuse of public funds
 - Robberies
 - Murder
- Responsible for sentencing – could only give the death penalty to foreigners and slaves
- Civil cases – limited by law suits whose value did not exceed 15,000 sesterces or defamatory trials that did not exceed 10,000 sesterces
- Half electoral propaganda related to election of march 79AD
- Slogan whitewashed over to make room for next candidates
- Candidates wore white togas – employed slaves to whisper their names to anyone they came in contact with
- Candidates did not
 - Write manifestos themselves
 - Make electoral promises about tax cuts, road maintenance, or building programs
 - Boast about what they did in the past
 - Voters interested in personal integrity and prestige of candidate
- Women could not vote or run for office
- Just as interest in campaigning as men
- Magistrates unpaid but expected to contribute generously to keep the people happy
- Graffiti – also an expression of dissatisfaction with elected candidate e.g. **“here's my advice, share out the common chest, for in our coffers piles of money rests”**

Social Structure, economy and politics in

Population possibly 8-10,000

Economic dependence of all groups in society

“Trade a leveller”

Ingenui – freeborn
 hierarchy of wealth
 Women socially and economically emancipated
 Elite – patron/client relationship important
Libertini – manumitted slaves – loyalty and often economic ties with former master hierarchy of wealth women involved in crafts and commerce
Servitii – slaves – in all areas
 Hierarchy dependant on education and position
 Female slaves unable to marry

Commercial nature of the city based on fishing and agricultural production

Wine, olive oil, wool, grain, fish,

City Markets	Workshops	Shops and Bars
Macellum – fish, meat and veges Olitorium – granary Eumachia building – wool and cloth Itinerant traders and peddlers all over city on market day	Officinae – wine, oil, and Garum. Bakeries, weavers, dyers, laundries, tanneries, perfume, pottery Others – carpenters, metal workers, gem cutters, cobblers etc	Tebernae Numerous shops for selling foodstuffs – fruit veges, honey, bread Hot food snack bars Wine bars and taverns

Intense political interest and competition for office

2500 political manifestos
Ordo decurionum – city council, 100 former magistrates – position for life
 Debated and voted on administrative issues
 Quattuoviri – board of four, two pairs of officials, duoviri and aediles
 Every 5 years a quinquenales for census and city council register
 People’s assembly – for questioning officials and voting only
 Election fever each year around March – candidates supporters write slogans and manifestos on walls around cities

Everyday Life: Leisure activities, food and dining, clothing, health, baths, water supply and sanitation

- Dinner = main meal began at 4pm – divided into 3 phases
 - *Gustatio* – entre – eggs, veges, olives and sausages, honeyed wine
 - *Fercula* – (“dishes that are carried”) several courses of fish, shellfish, poultry, stuffed roasts of meat (pork, lamb, kid and wild boar) and veges and wine
 - *Mensae Secundae* – (dessert) fresh and dried fruit, nuts, cheeses and cakes. Followed by snails, oysters and olives (salty foods) so guests would drink lots of wine
- Evidence provided in a Roman cook book
 - Enjoyed sweet food
 - Spicy
 - Fish sauce, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg and cloves (imported) as well as local spices
- Dinner parties bound a patron to his network of clients who often brought their own slaves to serve them
- Slaves of host washed and dried the feet of guests
- Guests sat on couches which held three
- Diners wore fine white togas – *synthesis*
- Slave known as *scissor* cut up the food before it was served
- Etiquette – **“don’t cast lustful glances or make eyes at another man’s wife. Don’t be coarse in conversation. Restrain yourself from getting angry or using offensive language. If you can’t, go back to your own house”**
- Herculaneum – dangerous at night
- Visit to baths a social occasion as well as **“opportunity to satisfy not only the wellbeing of the body but also of the spirit”**
 - males and females separated
 - hot, cold and warm baths
 - condensation collected and channeled down walls

- baths at Herculaneum evidently superior in luxury
- activities at the baths:
 - physical exercise/sport
 - therapies e.g. massage
 - stroll in gardens
 - music and poetry recitals
 - read in library
 - conduct business
 - receive invitations
- pornographic graffiti suggests sexual behavior
- **Seneca pg134**
- Women bathed in two piece clothing called *balnearis*, men bathed in leather trunks or naked.
- Men often played bladder-ball (*pila*) played with inflated animal bladders painted green
- Theatre complexes at both Pompeii and Herculaneum.
- Motifs, decorations and graffiti indicate high value of theatre
- Two theatres uncovered in Pompeii – Greek in design – likely built during a time of Hellenistic influence
- Renovated under Augustus
- Divided into three horizontal areas, the section nearest the stage was for authorities and important visitors, the highest part was for women
- Up until the time of Augustus women sat with men
- Stage had 3 doors – decorated with columns and statues
- Small covered theatre (Odeon) added by two magistrates and was “***The stamp of Hellenistic architectural tradition***”
- **Vetruvius pg136**

- Theatre of Herculaneum – about 2500 ppl – perfect condition when found, however earliest excavators used it as a quarry for marble and treasures
- Lots of statues and color
- Performances organized for religious festivities
- Performances were held with or without an awning (*velarium*) and perfume sprayers (*sparsiones*)
- Entry was free – token of either bone or ivory with images indicated where person would sit
- Everyone attended theatre although there is some doubt about slaves
- Actors were popular despite low social status
- Actors had fans – graffiti **“comrades of the Paris club”**
- No female actors however women played roles in mime and pantomime
- Performances often put on for private groups
- Mimes and pantomimes ventured from traditional masks and clothing
- Every roman town had an open air sport ground (*palaestra*)
- Centre of palaestra – large swimming pool, surrounded by portico, shade trees and wall
- Athletic, wrestling, javelin and discus throwing practiced
- Main entrance **“like a majestic columned cella”**
- Augustus formed groups of young people *collegia* who participated in ‘youth games’ before their elders
- Evidence for gladiatorial battles and wild animal hunts in the form of graffiti, wall paintings and reliefs in public and private buildings, various forms of ceramic art, terracotta statues and gladiatorial equipment.
- *Munera gladiatorial* – gladiatorial games
- Many paintings have disappeared and are only known to the historian who found them or through drawings done upon excavation
- Buildings associated with gladiatorial contests were:
 - Amphitheatre built 70BC

- The Barracks – built in the time of Augustus - destroyed 62AD
- The quardiporticus – build to accommodate gladiators – possibly due to damage to barracks in earthquake – built during Nero’s reign
- Schola armaturium – depository of gladiatory army – although also believed to be a school for the *luventus pompeiana* (Pompeian youth)
- According to **seneca** *sparsiones* were dropped through crown from perforated pipes – it is unknown what these were however some suggest gifts of fruit and coins
- Funded by sponsors *editors munerum*
- Lanista – agent who bought and sold gladiators for the munus – shameful career – “**vendor of flesh**” however wealthy
- **Pamphlets survive from battles**
- Often lanista ran his own school
- Editor commissioned distribution of pamphlets on the streets including
 - Name of magistrate
 - Reason for spectacle
 - Other events such as beast hunts
 - The date
 - Provision of velarium and *sparsiones*
- **PAMPHLETS PAGE 142**
- Names of gladiators not included unless they would add prestige to the turnout
- Dawn till dusk
- Gladiators – celebrity status shown through graffiti – “**But then he was a gladiator! It is this that transformed these fellows into hyacinths**”
- *Editors* – sponsors
- *Edicta munerum* – pamphlets
- *Familiae gladiatoriae* – gladiator ‘family’
- Category of gladiator determines armour – most wore loincloths tied to a belt and fought bare – chested

- Prisoners of war, slaves , freedmen and criminals
 - Editor had to pay lanista for all gladiators killed
 - **“set out the wine and dice – to hell with him who cares for the morrow”** - graffiti
 - gambling a passion – carried out in various establishments
 - taverns regarded as dishonest places
 - evidence in frescos
 - prostitution a legitimate buissiness
 - prostitutes registered with aediles
 - 23rd April set aside for holiday for prostitutes
 - **“moral values were set by men”**
 - taxed under Caligula
 - stigmatized
 - some employed by pimps or brothel owners
 - brothel *lupanar*
 - most were foreigners
 - services cheap
-
- Pompeian’s dressed like Romans
 - males wore tunics (like a long t-shirt) under togas
 - status was distinguished by stripes and colors
 - **Wall painting *lararium* in Pompeii shows senatorial tunic with broad stripes extending from the shoulder to the hem. Also shows tunic of magistrates – off white with a broad purple boarder**
 - Toga national dress of Rome – worn for public occasions and usually in the forum
 - Women only wore togas to signify disgrace.
 - Married women wore stola and tunic with or without sleeves

- While at home women wore leather sandals *soleae*, a vest like garment against the skin *tunica interior*, covered by an ankle length woolen tunic.
- Upon leaving the house she added a colorful *stola* tied at the waist with a belt, added jewelry and replaced the sandals with a sturdier pair *calcei*. In bad weather she would protect her shoulders and hair with a loose cloak *palla*
- After construction of Augustan aqueduct – received water from springs of Acquaro 26k away
- Previously relied on wells
- Most houses in 1AD had some water connection
- Aqueduct reached Pompeii at its highest point near the Vesuvian gate (water tank) where a huge cistern redistributed the water in three large lead pipes which ran under footpaths. Three pipes went to baths, private houses and public fountain
- Elaborate system of pipes then delivered water from here to public and private buildings
- Rome brought level of sanitation to its highest
- Pompeii – skull mosaic used as a table top to remind diners of the value of life. Skull was a common motif
- Sanitation levels were high but inadequate s connection between disease and sanitation never appreciated
- Sanitation a matter of aesthetics
- Greeks knew of the importance of fresh water which ran to some private homes through lead pipes
- Baths were not circulated – visitors sat in murky water filled with germs
- Bathrooms often situated close to the kitchen
- Bathroom often just a pool of water
- Toilets were an oblong hole joined by pipes to a subterranean cesspool
- A stick and sponge and bucket of salt were used for washing
- Latrine directly opposite or opened up to the kitchen
- Both rooms used same pipes for water supply

- Generally, kitchen overflow flushed the toilet
- **Graffiti urges people not to defecate in the streets indicating a lack of toilets**
- Trained doctors and midwives – often Greek slaves or independent freeborns
- Often regarded as charlatans
- Most families doctored each other
- Surgical equipment found in most houses in Pompeii

Public Buildings: Basilicas, temples, *fora*, theatres, *palaeastra*, amphitheatres

- Held 20000 ppl – prior to construction battles held in forum
- Seating capacity and evidence from Tacitus of riots indicate everyone attended
- Ran along the east of the city to “**Take advantage of the embankment**” and to avoid congestion as east was not so populated
- Women seated in order of Augustus (women at the back (*summa cavea*), men and other visitors in the middle (*media cavia*) and city authorities sat in the front section (*Ima Cavea*)

- *Fora* – forum – centre of social, political and commercial life of the city
- Herculaneum forum still buried
- Rectangular paved area surrounded by double colonnaded limestone portico
- 40 statues of leading citizens
- Located where main roads of Naples, Stabiae and Nola met.
- Closed to wheeled traffic by large rectangular blocks
- Deep wheel ruts worn in volcanic stone surrounding the forum imply the popularity of the site
- “**Always busy**”
- markets ran by aediles – city magistrates
- shops *tabernae*, and workshops *officinae* lined the forum
- public eating places and taverns scattered everywhere
- Basilica – located in the forum

- Colonnaded hall
- Economic, social judicial and political hub
- Basilica derived from Greek
- **“the united fruitmen with helvius vestalis urge you to make marcus holcanus priseus duumvir with judicial power”**
- *duumvir* – two heads of Rome
- Large theatre - Theatre complexes at both Pompeii and Herculaneum.
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- **“Tell the wet nurses to take care of the babies at home and not bring them to the theatre to avoid them bleating like sheep. Let the matrons be silent as they look on and laugh, and let them keep their shrieks and chatter for at home” – Plautus – Roman comic poet while performing on stage. – implies slaves attended theatre however it is possible this was simply dramatic irony**


- Numerous temples in roman forum
- Temple of capitolium – dedic. To Jupiter – located in the north of forum – where divine emperors were worshiped – symbolized religious and political union – Jupiter – guardian of Rome brought peace and prosperity
- Temple of Apollo – scared ground from as early as 6th century BC when Greek cult of Apollo reached Pompeii – Apollo and sister Diana worshiped here
- Temple of the Lares – *lararium* – patron gods of the town, believed to protect the town – constructed, possibly reconstructed after the earthquake.
- Temple of vespasian – worship of emperor vespasian
- **Marble altar shows priest performing sacrifice**

- Every roman town had an open air sport ground (*palaestra*)
- Centre of paleastra – large swimming pool, surrounded by portico, shade trees and wall
- Athletic, wrestling, javelin and discus throwing practiced
- Main entrance **“like a majestic columned cella”**
- Augustus formed groups of young people *collegia* who participated in ‘youth games’ before there elders

Private Buildings: Villas Houses and Shops

- Large body of evidence for houses at Pompeii and Herculaneum
- Wallace Hadrill – **“Interlocking jigsaw of large, medium and small houses”**
- Houses changed over time to reflect fashions of the day

- Wallace Hadrian – formed 4 categories for housing
 - Shops and workshops with one or two roomed residences behind or above
 - Larger workshop residences of two to seven rooms on the ground floor, some with an atrium and often even ornately decorated
 - The average Pompeian house with between eight to thirteen rooms most with an integrated workshop or shop, a fairly symmetrical plan and common architectural features such as decorated atria, tablinum and colonnaded gardens
 - The largest house designed for **Hospitality and large-scale admission of visitors** with separate space for slaves. Often had two atria, large ornamental gardens and were richly decorated
- Middle class apartments found in Pompeii and Herculaneum. One bedroomed flats and two storeyed terrace houses
- Flimsy house in Herculaneum possibly built in a hurry to cater for growing population survived the eruption with all furniture intact – wooden skeleton – square frames filled with mortar and stones.
- Some houses catered for more than one family, e.g. House of the Trellis – two families one on each storey
- Houses opened directly onto raised pavement of street - few windows on street side.
- Exterior usually showed no indication of elegance inside
- Flat or gently sloping red tiled roofs
- Wood doors
- Visitors came through entrance hall *vestibulum*, to atrium with a small central pool *impluvium* and roof opening over the top *compluvium*. Through to the masters reception room *Tablinum* and to the colonnaded peristyle and garden.
- Public spaces in the house designed to impress visitor
- **“columns, whether in an atrium or a peristyle or within a room, have the effect of marking out space as prestigious**
- **“Buildings having a magnificent interior should also have elegant entrance courts to correspond: for there will be no propriety in the spectacle of an elegant interior when approached by a low, mean entrance” Vitruvius**

- 
- **“Beware of the dog”** mosaics in many entrance ways
 - impluviate atrium – lightened room – variety of impluviate atriums
 - ceremonial and sacred
 - second atrium added in crowded households
 - e.g. House of faun and house of vettii at Pompeii
 - tablinum – used for conduct of daily buissiness like a study
 - usually most richly decorated room
 - two wings in basic house called *alae*
 - garden used to bring in light
 - grand houses had two or three peristyles
 - Hellenistic influence present in colonnaded design
 - To some – a garden was the early form of a promised after life
 - Most had fountains
 - In houses without peristyles a room next to a garden was decorate with scenes from nature
 - *Triclinium* ‘three couches’ – roman adoption of Greek tradition of reclining while dining
 - Service and slave areas marginalized
 - Kitchens badly ventilated with fires a constant problem
 - Latrine directly opposite or opened up to the kitchen
 - Both rooms used same pipes for water supply
 - Generally, kitchen overflow flushed the toilet
 - **Graffiti urges people not to defecate in the streets indicating a lack of toilets**
 - wealthy homes designed with terraces to catch the sea breeze
 - poorer homes suffered summer heat
 - Cold winter winds and rain were troublesome for houses which faced the sea.

- Windows made from crystallized gypsum or sulfate of lime and crude glass in a bronze or wooden frame turned on a pivot
- Curtains were used to keep the house warm
- Wooden partitions and shutters also used
- Artificial lighting always inadequate and difficult in bad weather
- Most common form was a terracotta or glass oil lamp
- Evidence of eye troubles through graffiti and wall inscriptions may have been due to poor lighting and eye strain
- **“a lamp consisting of a single candle gives only one hundredth of the light of a 60 watt globe”**
- iron gate occasionally fitted to compluvium to prevent thieves
- numerous bronze bolts on both inside and outside of external doors

- around 100 villas have been excavated
- designed to take in the view of the sea or countryside
- villa of papyri – built ultimately for pleasure
- belonged to notable roman aristocratic family
- **source page 120**
- dimensions of an imperial residence
- water supplied to fountains through a system of hydraulic pumps
- contained the largest papyrus gallery ever found
- numerous bronze and marble statues
- many villas located on farms and were not purely for leisure but for agricultural production – called *villa rusticae*
- these villas luxurious and ornate and architectural decoration appears **“to penetrate the walls and open up impossible prospects of buildings, balconies, and terraces, pergolas and fountains among trellises and garlands of flowers”**

- Main area of shops located on the road that ran from the forum past the amphitheatre to the Sarnian Gate.
- Shops can be recognized by wide opening onto the street and grooves where wooden shutters would have been opened each morning and closed in the afternoon
- Many were attached to residences
- Street also prime location for political propaganda
- 200 public eating and drinking places found
- fast food snack bars etc
- Many private shops and businesses attached to living quarters – advertised with paintings
- About 200 public eating and drinking places identified
- Fast food snack bars – food taken away or eaten standing up
- Wine bars and taverns in both towns – Pompeii more densely clustered around entrance gates and amphitheatres
- Wine mostly drunk diluted with water and other ingredients such as honey
- Sweetened sour wine
- Hot wine popular
- Asellina (women) owned a bar and hired foreign waitresses believed to be prostitutes
- Customers debts scribbled on inside of walls political slogans on outside
- Hotels also used in both cities
- Hotel of muses believed to be a hotel for wealthy traders
- Some hotels offered prostitutes

Influence of Greek and Egyptian cultures: Art, Architecture and Religion

- Many gods adapted from Greeks to suit the situation
- Worshiped a wide range of deities
- Close relationship with Egypt and Greece meant high influence
- Relationship represented in mosaics, frescoes and art
- Temple of Apollo integral part of Pompeian society as seen by its quick repair following the earthquake
- Series of columns near the statue of Apollo show Greek influence
- Oldest building
- Following roman conquer of Pompeii – inscription in altar shows it was replaced by four highest roman officials showing importance to roman religion
- Temple of Isis (Egyptian god) – placement outside traditional walls implies cult was young

- Only building to be fully repaired by the earthquake
- Temple surrounded by Egyptian imagery
- Town was first established by Greek traders
- Greek influence was eternal as the layout of town ruins matched that developed by the Greek architect Hippodamus

Religion: temples, household gods, foreign cults and tombs

- **“The most essential part of the roman religion was its essentially political orientation”**
- political duties to carry out worship of gods
- not temples found at Herculaneum however evidence in taverns, houses, streets etc show importance of religion

- Numerous temples in roman forum
- Temple of capitolium – dedic. To Jupiter – located in the north of forum – where divine emperors were worshiped – symbolized religious and political union – Jupiter – guardian of Rome brought peace and prosperity
 - Modeled on capitolium in Rome
 - Symbol of Rome’s power in Pompeii
 - Held the towns public treasures
- Temple of Apollo – sacred ground from as early as 6th century BC when Greek cult of Apollo reached Pompeii – Apollo and sister Diana worshiped here
- Temple of the Lares – *lararium* – patron gods of the town, believed to protect the town – constructed, possibly reconstructed after the earthquake.
- Temple of vespasian – worship of emperor vespasian
- **Marble altar shows priest performing sacrifice**
- **source page 153**
- Venus represented as a god in most houses
- households worshiped:
 - lares (protectors of the household)
 - *penates* (protectors of the stores)
 - *genius* of the paterfamilias (generating force)
 - as well as other gods such as Vesta
- souls of the dead believed to go to another world of malevolent and benevolent forces
- ancestors as honored as protectors of lineage
- family ceremonies associated with all rites of passage
 - birth of a newborn – incense and cake

- 8 days later – *lustrato* – “**when any pollution associated with the birth was cleansed away**”
 - marriage – torchlight procession – fertility
 - Death ceremony – *conclamatio* – body treated and preserved by women with coin under tongue to pay for the ferry of the soul to the afterlife. Body held in atrium
- amulets – most common the erect phallus – symbol of virility and fertility
 - “*Augustales*” group of 21 predominantly freedmen who governed the imperial cult
 - excavation revealed collegium augustalium headquarters
 - lares were the deities of the household and were linked to Augustus with a statue of Augustus alongside ten young dancers representing the lares
 - *flamens* specialized priests to particular gods
 - sacrifices of animals occurred according to strict ritual
 - significant Hellenistic influence through original conquer and through foreign slaves and trade
 - two main foreign cults were cult of Isis and Dionysus/Bacchus
 - Isis – Egyptian influence
 - Egypt imperial province under Augustus
 - Louise Zarmati suggests influence came through foreign women
 - **Nearly one third of the worshipers mentioned in the inscriptions were female**
 - Offered consolation from suffering, salvation and happiness
 - Two daily services – temple open all day
 - 2 yearly festivals
 - highly significant cult shown by ornate decorations and the fact it was the only building to be completely recovered from the earthquake
 - cult of Dionysus/Bacchus – Greek god of fertility and wine
 - swept through Greece as Dionysus in 6th century BC and then 300 years later in Italy as cult of Bacchus
 - **an escape from worldly reality into mystic communion with the god and the promise of a life after death**
 - originally small and only attended by women, according to Livy – “**spread like a disease**”
 - cult eventually banned by senatorial decree as senate believed the excessive nature was a “**threat to public order**” however individual worship was allowed
 - identified in paintings with vine leaves through his hair and carrying a staff tipped with a pinecone
 - most had no clear concept of death or afterlife
 - Guests at banquets warned of death through motifs of skulls, reminding them to enjoy life while they could – illustrated in graffiti – according to Petronius, in a banquet, a



host, trimalchio states **“Man’s life, alas, is but a span. So let us live while we can. We’ll be like this when dead”**.

- Burial yards situated on streets to cities
- Paterfamilias ensured deceased person, no matter slave, freedman or freeborn received same rites
 - It was believed those who didn’t lived on as malevolent entities
- A type of life insurance existed, those without families belonged to a funeral club where they paid a small fee while alive and this would be spent on their funeral, they would be buried in a mausoleum with the rest of the club
- Most were cremated
- No cremation or burial was allowed within the city or within 30k from the walls
- Professional mourners took part in procession
- Family wore wax mask of ancestors
- Ashes put in urns and left in tombs which were not usually made for one individual but a family
- **“Tombs reminded passers by of the achievements and social status of the deceased”**
- varied in decorations and sophistication