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THE PORTA STABIA NEIGHBORHOOD AT POMPEII

VOLUME I | Structure, Stratigraphy, and Space

STEVEN J. R. ELLIS
ALLISON L. C. EMMERSON
KEVIN D. DICUS

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STEVEN J. R. ELLIS,
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AND KEVIN D. DICUS

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Bringing archaeological excavations of any size and scale to publication is often an insuperable challenge. The types of data we create are not always suited to a clear description and an ordered narrative, irrespective of print or digital media. The data are normally incomplete, the information often unclear. Moreover, the time it takes to undertake the fieldwork, and then to commit that data and information to text can seem endless; indeed, the whole process can often outlast the various individuals and groups and teams responsible for bringing it all together. So in spite of the necessity to sufficiently publish archaeological excavations, the experience of doing so serves as a reminder as to why too few archaeological projects reach this milestone. That we have ourselves arrived at this point comes with another, overwhelming reminder: all of what follows is entirely due to the excellent and tireless efforts of many individuals and institutions that supported our fieldwork, the research, and the ultimate publication of our efforts.

The excavations were carried out under the auspices of the University of Cincinnati, with generous financial and institutional support from the Semple Fund of the Department of Classics at the University of Cincinnati. More than supporting the excavation of each field season since 2007, the financial support from Cincinnati allowed for ongoing field research throughout the off-seasons as well as, and crucially, the provision of multiple study seasons. Further financial and institutional support came through grants and fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Geographic Society, the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Academy in Rome, and the Archaeological Institute of America. We remain ever-grateful for the financial support of Ann and Harry Santen, John Yarmick, Charlotte and David Ackert, and an anonymous donor.

At the heart of our endeavors was the Parco Archeologico di Pompei, to which we remain ever grateful. Having begun in 2005, our project has experienced multiple generations of administrative support and on-site collaborations with staff. Among the many we take pride in thanking, we want first to thank Pier Giovanni Guzzo for his invitation to carry out the research and for his kindness and hospitality in those first years to help ensure that our team became established. A succession of superintendents followed, and we thank them all for their continued support: Mariarosaria Salvatore, Giuseppe Proietti, Jeannette Papadopoulos, Teresa Cinquantaquattro, Massimo Osanna, and not least Gabriel Zuchtriegel. Especial thanks is due to both Massimo Osanna and Gabriel Zuchtriegel for providing such critical support for our project once we had transitioned from excavation campaigns to the study of the materials. Their leadership and support extended throughout the Superintendency, and we are forever grateful to the following for their ongoing assistance and guidance of our fieldwork, and not least their friendship: Grete Stefani, Antonio Varone, Antonio D'Ambrosio, Ernesta Rizzo, Giuseppe Di Martino, Patrizia Tabone, Ulderico Franco, Enrico Busiello, Laura Desposito, Luana Toniolo, Stefania Giudice, Giuseppe Scarpati, and Raffaele Martinelli. At risk of singling out one individual from among the many, still something special must be said of Giuseppe Di Martino. To him we owe our highest gratitude, and echo the same from all of the many members of our team from over the years. Peppe took a keen interest in enabling not only our work on site but also our well-being on a daily basis in Pompei. His care and friendship continues to this day, now long after his retirement.

The project owes an enormous debt to the American Academy in Rome. As an affiliated archaeological project of the Academy, we enjoyed enormously generous infrastructural and intellectual support over the years. From the use of various spaces for the storage and study of the materials to the hosting of regular meetings and events that brought the three affiliated projects together (Morgantina, Gabii, and ourselves), the Academy provided the perfect Italian base for our efforts beyond Pompeii itself. Moreover, the three primary authors of the present volume each were awarded Rome Prizes, which helped the production of this volume enormously: Steven Ellis in 2012–13 (National Endowment for the Humanities / Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Post-Doctoral Rome Prize), Kevin Dicus in 2016–17 (Andrew Heiskell Post-Doctoral Rome Prize), and Allison Emmerson in 2018–19 (Emeline Hill Richardson Post-Doctoral Rome Prize). Thanks to a Frederick Burkhardt Residential Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies, Steven Ellis was able to return to the Academy for the academic year of 2015–16 to focus on the production of the present volume. Thus, the American Academy in Rome has played a very special role in the success of our field seasons as much as our ongoing publication program. Beyond the institutional support itself, we thank especially the individual efforts of Chris Celenza, Kim Bowes, John Ochsendorf, and Lynne Lancaster. And with much of our time at the Academy being spent in the library, we give warm thanks to Sebastian Hierl and Paolo Imperatore for their endless support along the way.

Critical to the success of reaching publication are the publishers themselves, Oxford University Press. We thank OUP for their trust, support, and willingness to take on projects of this type. And central to all of this was Charlotte Loveridge, who has been with us from the beginning. Charlotte's guidance through all the many steps of the process was always delivered with a kindness and patience that will forever be appreciated. Our thanks on this front goes also to Joanna Harris, Jamie Mortimer, Saraswathi Ethiraju, and Gillian Northcott Liles. We are also very grateful to Jennifer Sacher for her advice on so many matters of the publication process.

Of all the challenges of bringing an archaeological project to publication, one of the most pressing is that of conveying the gratitude we have to the many members of our team. Their critical role in publishing the excavation should at once be evident in their many contributions throughout this volume. But as for any successful archaeological project, their efforts have underpinned the project at every stage from setup through fieldwork and post-excavation seasons, and now the publication. And with so much time being taken by field seasons, we extend our appreciation to their families and loved ones for supporting their efforts and their time away from home. Gary Devore deserves our first expression of appreciation, given his essential role in the earliest years of our project. Aimee Scorziello and Ambra Spinelli were instrumental in helping to manage all the various moving pieces of the project. To the supervisors of each trench, we owe a special note of thanks: John Bennett, Christian Cloke, Flint Dibble, Alex Marko, Amanda Pavlick, Nick Ray, Taco Terpstra, Gina Tibbott, and Sam Wood. Eric Poehler brought together the study of the architecture, and was instrumental in helping us to think through the phasing as well as the final writing of the present volume. The total station survey was undertaken by Sydney Evans, its conversion to a model by Gregory Tucker. The studies of the bioarchaeological and artifactual materials, which will feature in successive volumes but of course underpin much of the present, were carried out by: Leigh Lieberman, Catherine Baker, Laure Marest, and Allison Sterrett-Krause on the artifacts; Archer Martin, Esperança Huguet Enguita, Sedef Kinacioglu, and Albert Ribera on the ceramics; Giacomo Pardini on the coins; and Mark Robinson, Andrew Fairbairn, Michael MacKinnon, and Jennifer Robinson on the bioarchaeological remains. Many of the illustrations for the present volume were prepared by Gina Tibbott, while it was Gareth Blayney who built the site reconstruction. Alison Whyte expertly led our conservation program. Chris Motz deserves much praise for managing, maintaining, and developing the database–first designed by John Wallrodt–on which so much of our project and this publication depends. And it was Jenny Kreiger who brought together all of the appendices and their authors in the present volume, which we believe are a real highlight of our work.

As much as we take pride in thanking everyone here, our one main hope is that the many students and other individuals who joined us each year will know the extent of our appreciation for the time they spent with us and the contributions they have each made to the field work, the research, and the publication. It is impossible to thank everyone adequately, but we are ourselves reminded of our appreciation on every page that follows.

Finally, we extend heartfelt thanks to our own families, who supported us through so many years of work at the Porta Stabia, and without whom this volume would not have been possible.

Steven Ellis
Allison Emmerson
Kevin Dicus

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Primary source abbreviations follow the Oxford Classical Dictionary; journal abbreviations follow the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

AP	Ante-Plinian
CAD	Computer-Aided Design
cm	centimeter
elev.	elevation
GIS	Geographic Information System
GPR	Ground-Penetrating Radar
m	meter
masl	meters above sea-level
pres.	preserved
SR	Stratigraphic Relationship
SU	Stratigraphic Unit
UUID	Universally Unique Identifier
WCU	Wall Construction Unit
WF	Wall Face
WS	Wall Segment

AAR	American Academy in Rome
APSS	Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton
BSR	British School at Rome
MANN	Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli
MoLAS	Museum of London Archaeology Service
PARP:PS	Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia
PQP	Pompeii Quadriporticus Project
SAP	Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei (now Parco Archeologico di Pompei)

AE	*L'Année Epigraphique*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CTP	Vander Poel, H.B. 1977–81. *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum, Vols. 1–5* (Roma)
GdS	*Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei*
GdS NS	Fiorelli, G. 1868. *Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei, Nuova Serie, Vol. 1* (Napoli)
GdS UP	*Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei* (unpublished)
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
Librette	*Librette pel rinvenimento degli oggetti antichi*
Notamenti	*Notamenti di spedizione degli oggetti trovati negli scavi di Pompei*
PAH	Fiorelli, G. 1860–1864. *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia* (Napoli)
PPM	Baldassarre, I. 1990. *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* (Roma)

PART I

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This volume, the first of four in a series, presents the results of the archaeological excavations undertaken by the Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia (PARP:PS), a project of the Department of Classics at the University of Cincinnati. Excavations began in 2005 following a conversation between then Superintendent, Pier Giovanni Guzzo, and the project's director, Steven Ellis, about the necessity of asking new questions of the city of Pompeii, and on the potential value of systematic investigations of under-studied neighborhoods. Although Pompeii had experienced a flurry of subsurface excavations during the 1990s, still we saw an opportunity for an international collaboration that could make a new contribution to the study of the city and to Roman urbanism more broadly, one that went beyond individual elite buildings, or even individual insulae, to examine the social and structural development of an entire, seemingly sub-elite, Pompeian neighborhood.[1]

The neighborhood under investigation encompassed more than 4,500 m^2, and by 79 CE comprised ten (structurally) independent properties across two insulae—VIII.7 and I.1—on either side of the southern length of the *via Stabiana* (Figs. 1.01 and 1.02). Even from cursory observation, it was clear that these properties had once functioned as shops, workshops, and modest residential and hospitality oriented spaces. While the non-elite, and non-monumental character of the remains has contributed to their general neglect in scholarship, it was precisely these qualities that drew us to this particular corner of the city where we could explore new questions about Pompeii's socio-economic life. Given that we sought the fullest possible understanding of the area, our work necessarily encompassed not only the properties themselves, but also the principal thoroughfare that divided the insulae (the *via Stabiana*), as well as the Porta Stabia and the necropolis beyond it.

Beyond simply investigating the urban landscape as it stood in 79 CE, we sought to unravel the full sequence of historic development in the area, from identifying the important layering of geological events, to charting the sequence of human activities predating the construction of the standing properties, to delineating the dynamic history of each building, each business and household, destroyed in 79 CE. By excavating multiple neighboring properties rather than individual structures, as well as by focusing on a neighborhood with a distinctly sub-elite character, we aimed: to uncover the livelihoods of the Pompeian sub-elite by reconstructing their socio-economic developments over generations, indeed centuries; to reveal the structural and social relationships over time between neighbors with variable economic portfolios; to determine the role that sub-elites played in shaping Roman urban networks; and to register their responses to city- and Mediterranean-wide historical, political, and economic developments.[2] In addition to targeting these social questions, we also looked to develop a new understanding of the connections between urban infrastructure (especially waste management) and the construction of cities.

One primary goal was thus to move beyond the more traditional, hyper-localized approaches that normally are limited to documenting the structural development of one property or another. This is not to unfairly criticize archaeological publications that take this aim as their focus; such outlines of course provide the essential foundations for any given research program. It is rather to demonstrate that we should expect more from certain sites, particularly those as "data-rich" as Pompeii. The city's complexity as an archaeological dataset can hardly be overestimated. More than a site that can boast over 1,000 exposed properties across an urban area of about 627,000 m^2, with artifact assemblages that number in the hundreds of thousands, Pompeii has attracted more intensive academic research across more languages and over a longer period than any other. We should expect more from a Pompeian excavation because the site simply has *more* of everything. Thus, our approach was to target three broad, interrelated questions relating to ancient urbanism:

- How could the results of our excavations contribute to an understanding of the *social* making of the city?
- How could the results of our excavations contribute to an understanding of the *structural* making of the city?
- How could the results of our excavations be more broadly *contextualized*, both within the macrohistory of the Roman Mediterranean as well as the microhistory of the creation of this particular archaeological site?

[1] In those earliest years the project was co-directed by Steven Ellis and Gary Devore.

[2] Kim Bowes took a relatively similar approach to the Roman *rural* poor, but we regret that her landmark volume appeared too recently for its results to be properly integrated with our own work—see Bowes 2020.

The Porta Stabia Neighborhood at Pompeii, Volume 1: Structure, Stratigraphy, and Space. Steven J. R. Ellis, Allison L. C. Emmerson, and Kevin D. Dicus, Oxford University Press.
 DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780192866943.003.0001

Fig. 1.01 Aerial view of the Porta Stabia neighborhood (Insulae VIII.7 and I.1).

Fig. 1.02 Map of Pompeii, indicating the location of Insulae VIII.7 and I.1.

From the commencement of the project, we framed our methodology around these questions, using them to unite the many disparate tasks and teams of a large-scale excavation and to guide each step of the work.

The social making of the Porta Stabia neighborhood

Our desire to make a new contribution to Roman urban studies lay behind the decision to examine a seemingly sub-elite neighborhood of Pompeii. Insulae VIII.7 and I.1, located just inside the Porta Stabia, are entirely populated by notably modest structures; here there are none of the atrium-style houses that are a typical signature of upper-scale living. This situation is unusual for Pompeii, where most city blocks feature at least one such house. The area thus presented an opportunity to move beyond the prevalent focus on elites in order to test hypotheses about Pompeian, Roman, and ancient urban social stratigraphy. Our approach thus recalled some of the tenets of the French Annales School, but with a concurrent recognition that focusing on the "masses" can obscure the extensive diversity within that group, as well as the social and economic hierarchies that structured it.[3] By studying an entire neighborhood, we aimed to illuminate the sub-elite with as much subtlety as possible, adopting questions, methods, and ways of thinking that could recognize heterogeneity.

Our interests in the social making of the city were thus both specific and broad, and our questions targeted overall patterns as well as the specific textures of social stratigraphy within the neighborhood. For example: could we recognize socio-economic distinctions between one property and its neighbor? Could our study of the neighborhood as a whole help us to learn more about the role of sub-elites in shaping urban space? Could we generate a more detailed understanding—even definition—of urban living conditions? And could we effectively monitor the response of sub-elites to broader socio-economic changes? While some of these questions could be approached more productively through the material remains than others, each was essential for framing the Project's intentions, methodologies, and ultimate results.

The structural making of the Porta Stabia neighborhood

Beyond these social questions, we also sought to illuminate the *structural* making of urban space. In this we had, essentially, two objectives: to examine the infrastructural components necessary for the construction of a city—from quarrying and terracing the landscape, to managing and storing water and other resources, to removing and recycling waste—and to understand how these events shaped the volumetric matrix of the site. Consequently, we prioritized the taphonomic formation of artifact assemblages that made up the series of excavated fills, floors, and features, seeking to discern the processes of their deposition, the locations from which they had originated, and why they took on their ultimate forms and locations in the soil deposits.

Archaeological scholarship, and not just of the Roman period or of the Mediterranean region, often seems to lack a consistent model for interpreting the complex taphonomic processes at multi-phased urban sites, which can lead to misinterpretation of recovered artifacts. Among the problematic results are artifact and archaeobotanical studies that assume that the presence of an artifact within a stratified archaeological context directly pertains to its use in that very space.[4] In reality, the vast majority of excavated contexts within a Roman urban site resulted from the reuse of refuse as building material within a sophisticated construction industry. For example, the spatial distribution of the more than 1,000 coins recovered in stratified contexts during our excavations reveals that 70 percent of them came from shopfronts. The first impression, therefore, is that we find them where they were used and dropped. Closer analysis, however, shows that only a handful of the coins were recovered on a floor or in some other association with the use of that space. The overwhelming bulk came from leveling fills, which consisted of debris imported to the site during phases of construction and reconstruction in order to raise the space in preparation for laying a new floor. The coins' find-spots, therefore, have no direct relationship with the use of the room; they appeared in shopfronts more often than in other spaces simply because these rooms were remodeled most often, requiring the greatest volume of infill.[5] In all stages of our work, we aimed to prioritize taphonomy, focusing not just on *what* we recovered, but on *why* it was found in one deposit or another.

Contextualizing the Porta Stabia neighborhood

Important as these social and structural questions were, the ultimate aim of the project was to situate our results, as

[3] For some useful introductions, see Storey 1999, 209–12; Knapp 1992; Bintliff 1991.

[4] In spite of the principles of archaeological and systemic context having been canonized some forty years ago by Michael Schiffer (Schiffer 1972), there are countless examples in archaeological scholarship that demonstrate a lack of awareness of those principles; some prominent examples include Binford 1981 (cf. Schiffer 1985) and Blackburn 1989; more recently, see Beliën 2009; Feugère and Py 2011; Kemmers and Myrberg 2011; Reece 2011; Hobbs 2013; and Murphy, Thompson, and Fuller 2013.

[5] Ellis 2017.

completely as the data might allow, within a broader cultural and historical framework. Of course, such contextualization should be an expectation for any archaeological project, but the scale of data that emerges from a site like Pompeii can challenge even the best of intentions. Certainly, the variety and enormity of available datasets, each of which can be tied into a wider framework of published studies, can feel overwhelming. The rewards of undertaking such an effort, however, are many. As just one example from our excavations, the wholesale changes that will define the fifth phase of site-wide development, dated to the Early Imperial period, were shaped by contemporary events and economic currents that ran across the (especially western) Mediterranean. Without an understanding of those broader developments, we would not have been able to connect the local dismantlement of fish-salting vats at that time to wider economic history. If we had not prioritized cultural/historical context from the start of the excavations, we might have described the vats—or any other uncovered feature, for example, bar counters, cisterns, doorstops, thresholds, waste features[6]—while overlooking how the physical remains related to the larger sweep of history, and how they might inform new understandings of Pompeii and its world.

Approaching our questions: insula excavations

Owing to the scale of our questions, answering them required equally extensive fieldwork. While much can, of course, be gained from a systematic study of a single Pompeian building, examining groups of properties facilitates a clearer understanding and more meaningful contextualization of each story. In short, our excavation of ten adjacent properties within two insulae provided an opportunity to detail the developmental histories of each building, as well as the activities of its inhabitants, across an entire urban neighborhood.[7] Excavations at this scale were certainly not new to Pompeian archaeology when we began the project. Though Pompeianists had long thought of the city in terms of its insulae, the first effort to target a whole town block in a detailed, systematic way normally is attributed to Roger Ling's architectural survey of the Insula of the Menander (I.10) in the 1980s.[8] Following Ling's work, a flurry of activity in the 1990s targeted the diachronic history of entire Pompeian insulae through both architectural survey and excavation of the subsurface deposits.[9] A recent count finds that some eighteen insulae have been studied with some approximate (albeit inconsistent) level of fullness.[10] First and foremost among these, to judge by publication record and overall contribution to scholarship, were the excavations of Insula I.9 by the University of Reading and the British School at Rome.[11] Other significant and near-contemporary efforts were made by the University of Bradford at Insula VI.1,[12] and not least by Filippo Coarelli and Fabrizio Pesando in Region VI; the latter group had an arguably different focus, with their individual excavations being many in number but smaller in size, and scattered across various parts of the region.[13] The Swedish Pompeii Project aimed their excavations at the development of Insula V.1,[14] while a team from the University of Helsinki focused on Insula IX.3.[15] More recently, a detailed study has been made of Insula IX.7.[16] Similar impulses guided these projects: to create detailed documentation of each property in the area of interest and to reveal their developmental histories. But valuable as the idea of conducting excavations over entire insulae has been, the ultimate challenge has been to match the ambition necessary for engaging with so much data with the ability to fully—or even adequately—publish the results.[17]

Using this volume

The present study represents the first part of a series of volumes and online material intended to provide the full publication of the Porta Stabia neighborhood. The primary aim of the present volume is to *tell the story*. That is, this book narrates the overall structure and shape of the site and of its history, as well as introduces the organization of the project itself. It is thus something of a bedrock for the remaining publications, particularly with regard to outlining the structural and chronological organization of the datasets. The three subsequent volumes will focus on different material aspects

6 For more on such features, see Chapter 19.

7 Valid doubts have been raised, since the 1960s and 1970s, about the danger of placing too much value on any series of targeted, "keyhole" excavations across a sizable urban area. See, for example, the concerns raised by Hurst 2013, 64–5; also Barker 1986, 77–85.

8 Ling 1978; 1997. See also Painter 2001; Allison 2004.

9 See Guzzo and Guidobaldi 2005; 2008; Dobbins and Foss 2007; Ellis 2011b; 2011c.

10 For the list, see Zanella 2019, 187, n. 461.

11 Fulford and Wallace-Hadrill 1999; Hay 2016.

12 One of the properties of the Insula VI.1 excavations has since been published (Anderson and Robinson 2018).

13 Coarelli and Pesando 2006b; 2011; Annibolettit et al. 2007; Giglio 2008; Verzár-Bass and Oriolo 2009; Pesando 2010; Zaccaria Ruggiu and Maratini 2017.

14 Boman and Nilsson 2008; Karivieri and Forsell 2008; Leander Touati 2008; Staub Gierow 2008; for potential updated bibliography, see http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/index.php.

15 Castren 2008; for potential updated bibliography, see http://blogs.helsinki.fi/pompeii-project/.

16 Pesando and Giglio 2017.

17 Many have published individual, preliminary reports of the fieldwork, others synthetic treatments, but few full publications. On dissatisfaction in the model of publishing urban excavations, see Hurst 2013, 64.

of the project, but all depend on the foundational material presented here. The three volumes to follow are:

- Vol. 2, The Artifactual Record
- Vol. 3, The Environmental Record
- Vol. 4, The Ceramic Record

Additional online material can be found at: https://classics.uc.edu/pompeii. At the time of publication, this online material includes the primary datasets such as the database; photographs, drawings, and spatial files (CAD, etc.); as well as searching aids to enable the retrieval of information. Some of the digital data necessarily mirrors that found in the present volume, but in many cases (say the attendant information for an SU) we are able to include more and more detailed information in the online version. And though much of this information is presently available, still we intend for the repository to include increasingly more datasets and information over time, during the "post-publication" phases, as additional findings are made available or updated and improved.

As is necessary for any series of publications centered around an archaeological excavation, we have sought to connect the information included in each volume and to tie it as well to the online content. To that end, cross-referencing has been included where we believe necessary and appropriate, but the reader should expect that for a project of this scale not all opportunities to cross-reference have been taken or even identified. In several instances, particularly with regards to assemblages of finds within certain contexts, we give relatively general descriptions here, since more detailed information on such assemblages—collectively or as single objects—can be found in the relevant volume or online dataset; these indirect cross-references are navigable by the Stratigraphic Unit (SU) number.

Turning our attention more directly to the book at hand, this first volume of the full publication of the Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia is divided into four parts. The first (Part I) provides some necessary background to the project and the site, and thus includes a series of chapters that outline our approach and methodology, the structure of our database, the history of excavations prior to our arrival in 2005, the geophysical and architectural surveys, and the topographic landscape of the site. Part II, outlined more fully below, can be described as the principal component of the volume. It comprises eight chapters that chronicle the history of the entire neighborhood, by phase, and concludes with a chapter that highlights the architectonic phases of each individual property. The third part of the volume (Part III) provides some broader context by including chapters on our work on the Porta Stabia gate itself and the adjacent extramural necropolis. A conclusion further contextualizes the results. There follows Part IV of the volume, which provides a series of appendices that provide concise statements and essays, with catalogs of the relevant data, on various structural fixtures that feature regularly throughout the phase narratives of Part II (cooking facilities, drains, thresholds, vats, etc.). A selection of the most important data to the volume is included in this fourth part, which includes a table of (abbreviated) data for each context, as well as the Harris Matrices for each trench as well as that for the phases across the whole site.

This volume—and indeed the series of publications that will follow—hinges on the phase narratives of Part II, which provide the overall history of the Porta Stabia neighborhood. These chapters present our results as a synthetic narrative rather than a detailed description of each and every deposit and their sequences, in this way tracing the diachronic occupational history of the site.[18] While our approach privileges synthesis and story, the data is essential to the narrative; consequently, relevant stratigraphic units, architectural features, and artifacts are listed throughout. They can be used with the Harris Matrices provided in Part IV of this volume as well as with the digital datasets; we hope that these resources allow the reader to engage with the narrative in as much detail as necessary for their own interests.

It is also worth noting that in most but not every instance we have preferred to include relatively more color photographs of the archaeological contexts—with coverage of their relationships in plan and in section—than two-dimensional line drawings of the same. While (essentially stylized) line drawings can simplify otherwise complicated archaeological relationships, color photographs, when accompanying the text, can offer a heightened clarity of the same information.

By structuring the text in this way, our chief aim has been to present the story of the site rather than simply to describe its components. There were several reasons for our approach. First, we wished to produce a volume that was both digestible and realistically publishable. Given the scale of the project, attempting to engage with each context and its multiple relationships to others, even at the most basic descriptive level, would have required a text that was both too long for a press to produce and too unwieldy and granular for a reader to navigate. We also felt that traditional publication can ask too much of the reader: careful description of the data creates a valuable record but demands that the reader undertake the task of understanding and analysis. Approaches that prioritize description over interpretation are a product of archaeology's general "archival anxiety," the desire to create records that will remain accessible for the researcher of the near and

[18] For a more conventional, trench-by-trench record, see our annual reports published in the Journal of Fasti Online and *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* (Devore and Ellis 2005; 2008; Ellis and Devore 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; Ellis et al. 2011; 2012; 2015). Where details and conclusions diverge, this full publication, of course, takes precedence over those interim reports.

distant future. While we share that desire and have structured our records to encourage future work, the fact remains that no matter how well presented and recorded archaeological data might be, few can understand it in as much detail and complexity as those involved in the original excavations. Of course, we do not imagine that we have exhaustively covered all possible interpretations of the site; readers will find and—we hope—fill the gaps in data and knowledge we have left behind, ignored, or overlooked. Nevertheless, we feel that it is our ethical duty as the archaeologists responsible for the excavations to present the first full interpretation of the site, rather than simply publishing its description, since we can engage with the material in a different capacity than will future researchers.

The narrative presented here is organized by what we call subphases and phases. In simplest terms, the subphases represent identifiable periods of development within the relative chronology of a particular trench. Because many of these developments connect—physically and analogically—to others within and beyond the trench, even the property, we collect groupings of subphases into phases (for more on this process, see Chapter 2). The phases therefore represent broader, contextualized sequences of activity that can be linked to historical periods of development at Pompeii and in the Roman world more generally. Thus, while the subphase records activity from one area of excavation—usually one room or parts of neighboring rooms—the phase collects the relevant subphases into an intelligible grouping so as to tell the story of the site as a whole, stretching the interpretation and the narrative across rooms, properties, insulae, and beyond. Within our seven phases of development (some of which we further divide into earlier and later parts, e.g., Phase 5 encompasses Phases 5a and 5b), we have situated 220 subphases, of which the site-wide Harris Matrix offers a synoptic view (Fig. 1.03).[19]

To expand on that Harris Matrix, the seven ancient phases of development in the neighborhood of the Porta Stabia can be summarized as:

Phase 1: The earliest phase of development is divided into three parts (Fig. 1.04). Phase 1a saw the introduction of the first structures, which can be dated to the sixth century BCE. The remains were minimal, consisting of two short lengths of foundations in the soft volcanic stone known as pappamonte, and no coherent plan can be drawn from them. They were located to either side of an early road made of hard-packed ash derived from the Mercato eruption of Vesuvius (see Chapter 7) and following generally the same alignment as the later *via Stabiana*. There followed a period—Phase 1b—of what can only be described as inactivity. Chronologically wedged between datable activity of the sixth and fourth centuries BCE, Phase 1b likely relates to the general period of fifth century BCE hiatus recognized by others at excavations across Pompeii.[20] In Phase 1c we see the resumption of activity, attributable to the later fourth and early third centuries BCE, with the arrival of some new buildings that used a combination of (likely reused) pappamonte and other stone types for their foundations. As in Phase 1a, their poor state of preservation precluded us from delineating the shape of any single building. The buildings were located to either side of a road surface of packed gray ash; the road appeared to have been in use over a long period and to have received regular patchings and resurfacings.

Phase 2: Evidence for standing architecture also was sparse in Phase 2, although activity in the form of a ceramics workshop was introduced at this time (Fig. 1.05). Belonging to the later third and second centuries BCE, this period was marked by small, simple, and scattered structures that likely utilized some architecture still standing from Phase 1c. Although the road appears to have underlay the final paving of the *via Stabiana*, making it inaccessible to excavation, we identified some mortar sidewalks that had been laid down to either side of it.

Phase 3: The insulae underwent their most dramatic structural changes in Phase 3, with the construction of four large buildings, three on the western side of the *via Stabiana* and one to the east (Fig. 1.06; Properties VIII.7.1–4, VIII.7.5–8, VIII.7.9–13, and I.1.1–2). This major event, which can be dated to the second half of the second century BCE, coincided with the "Golden Age" of Pompeii's development. It is here assigned to Phase 3a, while some minor alterations followed in Phase 3b. Also associated with Phase 3a was the cutting of a public well in the southwestern corner of Insula I.1, alongside the *via Stabiana* and just inside the Porta Stabia. Some ceramics production continued into this period, but otherwise there were few indications for the specific types of activities that took place in the neighborhood in this period.

Phase 4: From the early first century BCE, around the time of the foundation of the colony, a series of significant structural and functional developments characterized Phase 4 (Fig. 1.07). We divided this phase into Phases 4a, 4b, and 4c; the latter two phases mostly involved minor alterations from the first. The northern properties of each insula (VIII.7.14–15, I.1.3–5, and I.1.6–9) were added in Phase 4a, bringing to near completion the final shape of the area. The properties now appear to have centered their economic activities on production. Several fish-salting vats operated in street-front rooms on either side of the *via Stabiana*, while a tannery was installed in the rear of one property.

[19] Phase 8 represents modern interventions pre-dating our excavations. The 220 subphases do not include another 32 that were encountered in the natural, geological sequences, nor the 42 modern subphases.

[20] Coarelli and Pesando 2011, 47–8; Esposito et al. 2011, 131–3.

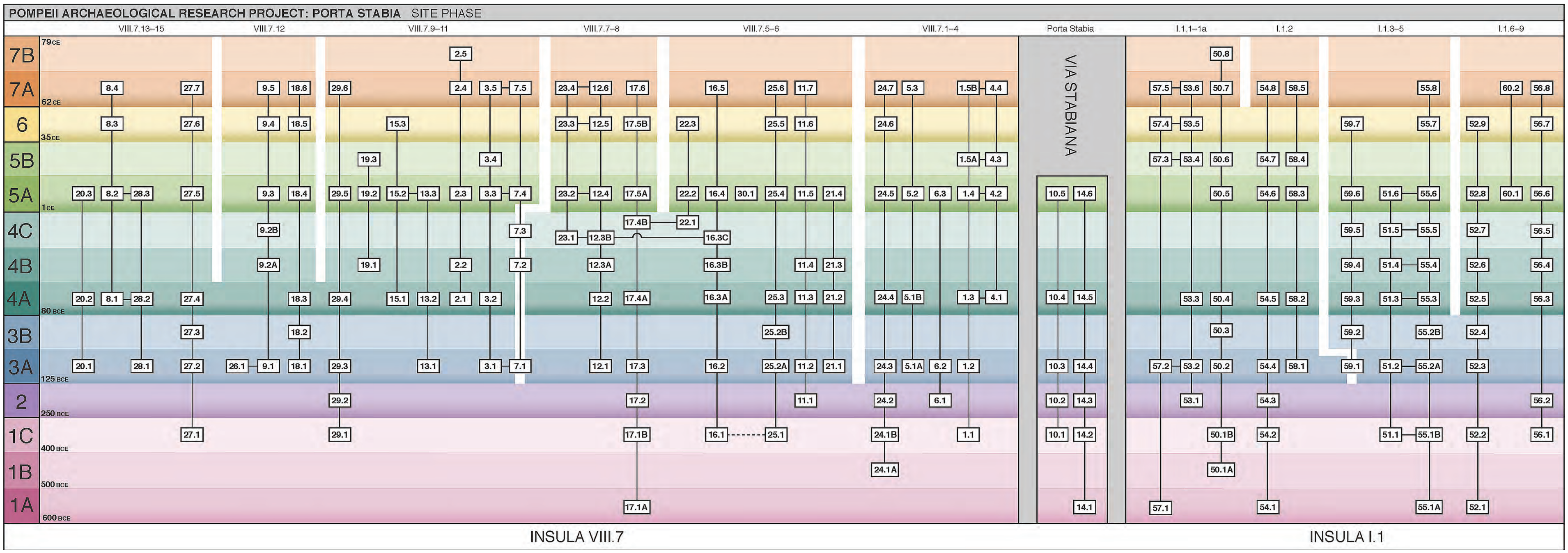

Fig. 1.03 The site-wide Harris Matrix for the excavations of Insulae VIII.7 and I.1; each unit represents the phase of a trench (the horizontal arrangement is according to the spatial relationships of and between each property).

FIG. 1.04 Plan of Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 during Phase 1.

Fig. 1.05 Plan of Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 during Phase 2.

FIG. 1.06 Plan of Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 during Phase 3a and 3b.

Fig. 1.06 *continued*

Fig. 1.07 Plan of Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 during Phase 4a, 4b, and 4c.

FIG. 1.07 *continued*

Fig. 1.07 *continued*

Phase 5: A significant development in the use of (especially street-front) space swept across all properties and both insulae during Phase 5, which dates to the Early Imperial period (generally being placed in the first thirty-five years of the first century CE; Fig. 1.08). At this time the production activities that had characterized the neighborhood in the previous phase came to an end, replaced for the most part by retail. This shift from workshops to shops, production to commerce, had a profound impact on the socio-economic life of the neighborhood, essentially recharacterizing the streetscape. With the introduction of spaces dedicated wholly to retail came a specialization in their forms. New shopfronts were designed to showcase the shop counter; their masonry forms signal a commitment to, and confidence in, the retail economy writ large. These massive changes affected not only the activities occurring in the neighborhood but also the volume of materials brought in to make the new spaces; one consequence is that we register more finds for this period than for any other. While most developments of this period are assigned to Phase 5a, a few related changes followed in Phase 5b, including the enclosure and privatization of the public well that had been in place since Phase 3a.

Phase 6: Given the scale of change that characterized the preceding period, Phase 6 is noted rather for minor, localized renovations to various buildings (Fig. 1.09). Thus for this period we can record some new surfaces and walls, but no major changes in terms of activity. The phase dates broadly to the mid-first century CE.

Phase 7: The final phase of ancient activity is well known to Pompeian scholarship, catalyzed as it was by the earthquake/s of the early 60s CE (Fig. 1.10). Whether one earthquake or more, the seismic impact was pervasive across both insulae; essentially every property was affected, with almost all walls showing signs of having been rebuilt. It is noteworthy that these efforts prioritized rebuilding the preexisting structures and spaces rather than exploring opportunities to design new and different buildings or to alter the types of activities happening inside. Also significant is the loss of most soil stratigraphy from this phase; excavations of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries had removed most of the latest deposits (see also Chapter 4).

These seven phases form the focus of the present volume and structure the chapters to follow. The phased narrative contextualizes the neighborhood as a whole, but we recognize that a phase-by-phase presentation disjoints the story of any individual property, severing its sequence from one phase to the next. Thus, at risk of redundancy, heavily abbreviated summaries of the development of each property are included in Chapter 15. These summaries should allow the reader, if interested in the development of one property or another, to follow that story more easily; more detailed treatments will remain, however, in the phase narrative chapters.

The third component of the volume, Part III, includes two chapters (Chapters 16 and 17; the first on the Porta Stabia gate itself, the second on the Porta Stabia necropolis just beyond) and a conclusion (Chapter 18) that attempt to draw the focused research on Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 into a broader context. Part IV then comprises a series of appendices on common features uncovered in our excavations (Chapter 19.1–14). These were written not only to collect complementary information into easily located and digestible essays, most of which are accompanied by a catalog, but also to reduce redundancy within the narratives. The appendices allow a reader interested in a specific type of fixture or feature—for example, cisterns, soak-aways, vats, cesspits, shrines, etc.—to more readily find all relevant examples from our excavation. At the same time, the appendices simplify our narrative; rather than (re)introducing and describing a particular drain, for example, each time we mention it in the text, we instead identify it by its appendix catalog number. We invite readers to consult these appendices as their needs and interests dictate. Moreover, the topics selected for them were, we believe, worthy of individual treatment; some compelling and significant stories not directly related to the phased development of the neighborhood—for example, the widespread use of small and hyper-localized quarry pits during phases of reconstruction—risked being lost in the larger narrative. By isolating each topic into its own appendix, we could explore it in more detail and elucidate its wider significance more clearly. We hope the appendices prove useful as a foundation for still larger studies, by students and scholars alike.

Conclusion

What follows is a volume that aims to document a large urban excavation at one level, while on another outlining the social and structural making of a city. To be clear, the analyses communicated in the present volume necessarily supersede those expressed in the earlier preliminary reports, and, to a lesser degree, our more synthetic readings.[21] Even so, the value of the periodic publications for developing our understanding of the site should not be diminished. Apart from providing the immediate results of each season, the creation of the reports required us to develop clear ideas during the ongoing process of field research, furnishing the seeds grown throughout the present publication. Our main hope now is that this volume, together with those that will follow, provide the necessary data and ideas for others to develop their own conclusions or to improve on our own (Fig. 1.11).

[21] For example, Emmerson 2010 (on the Porta Stabia necropolis); Ellis 2011d (on the fish-salting industry); Ellis 2017 (on coin-finds); Ellis 2018 (on the retailing of food and drink); Holt and Palazzo 2013 (on rodents); Dicus 2014 (on refuse and finds assemblages); and Van der Graaff and Ellis 2017 (on the Porta Stabia shrine).

Fig. 1.08 Plan of Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 during Phase 5a and 5b.

Fig. 1.08 *continued*

Fig. 1.09 Plan of Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 during Phase 6.

FIG. 1.10 Plan of Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 during Phase 7.

Fig. 1.11 Reconstructed view of the Porta Stabia neighborhood, looking north (digital reconstruction by Gareth Blayney on behalf of the project).

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

This chapter aims to outline the methods by which we conducted our fieldwork and generated the datasets that underpin our interpretations. Given the purview of the present volume, we will focus especially on excavation strategies here; the methodologies that we developed for processing ceramics, bioarchaeological material, and other artifacts will receive more detailed treatments in their relevant volumes. Though much of what follows is straightforward and accords with what we might define broadly as "best practices," still our methods and processes require some explanation; after all, while the broad outlines are grounded in common practice, the nature of the site and of the project—as any—required various deviations. Moreover, because not all archaeological projects follow the same methods, it is necessary to spell out our own approaches and the rationale behind them; we have in mind also the reader of the near and distant future, who will surely be governed by a different sense of basic standards. Even the briefest survey of current, university-led archaeological projects finds a considerable variety in method: for example, while some projects record data on digital tablets, others do so on paper; while some conduct and record their excavations with both trained and novice students, others employ experienced workmen assisted by student recorders; and while some screen all of their deposits for artifacts and employ flotation tanks to retrieve organic remains, others prefer to recover what they can in the trench through eyesight alone. Many other methodological differences shape contemporary archaeological fieldwork, regardless of region or period, and this reality has a significant impact on how we engage with datasets and publications. What follows is thus as necessary as it is necessarily brief. Certainly the discussion could be expanded to include fuller treatments of the developmental histories of various methods and approaches, as well as their current practice in the discipline, but our motivations are simply to outline our decisions and to explain how they have shaped our fieldwork and publication processes.

Apart from basic practicalities, the methodologies outlined below were shaped by a set of common goals, defined by the project's research questions targeting the social, structural, and contextual making of the Porta Stabia neighborhood (see Chapter 1). This meant that those studying (for example) metal artifacts had similar frameworks through which to analyze their materials as those working with gemstones or microfauna or courseware pottery, not to mention those undertaking the excavation of the trenches or analyzing the standing architecture. Some questions we outlined from the beginning of the project, while others surfaced in response to our ongoing results. For example, project-wide questions circled around the extent to which we could:

- detect variability in living conditions between neighbors and across the neighborhood, and/or over time;
- detect patterns in the presence of various imported products, and whether any such patterns had chronological dimensions;
- identify wear patterns in various artifact classes that might suggest common post-use life cycles;
- identify certain datasets that contributed to our developing awareness of the transition across the site from production activities to more retail-based ones in the early Imperial period.

Critical to this approach was clear communication across the project and its (potentially disparate) parts. At the most basic level, our principal areas of enquiry included, but were not limited to: archaeological excavation, architectural analysis, pottery studies, artifact studies, bioarchaeological and environmental material studies, geophysical and topographic landscape studies, and archival studies; our approach to each area was guided by a wide range of historical and theoretical enquiry. The first eight summer field seasons (2005–12) were dedicated to excavations and fieldwork. The first five of these (2005–9) were centered on trenches within Insula VIII.7 and the court of the Porta Stabia itself. The following three years (2010–12) targeted the properties of Insula I.1. The remaining seasons (2013–present) focused on publication: the so-called "study-seasons." Thanks to the generosity of the American Academy in Rome, all of our pottery was sent, in stages, to the Academy where it could be studied year-round by Archer Martin and his team. Other materials, particularly faunal remains, were sent first to Ann Arbor, then to Cincinnati, where they were studied by Emily Holt (when the material was in Michigan) and Michael MacKinnon and his team. All of the coins were sent to Rome to the Laboratorio di Restauro del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità della Sapienza Università di Roma where they were cleaned and

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conserved by Sara Carraro, then studied by Giacomo Pardini. Otherwise, all material remained in Pompeii and is at present stored in the magazzino of the San Paolino building.

Excavation strategy

The project followed the conventional "single-context" method, maintaining excavation and recording standards required by the Parco Archeologico di Pompei and the Ministero dei Beni Culturali. The principal components were thus the stratigraphic units (SUs), which as expressions of physical events (typically deposition or removal) constituted the physical and spatial units for the site. Our method was to delineate the stratigraphic sequence of events as they could be measured by single, identifiable activities known as contexts. In other words, we followed the customary system of excavation through single context recording that was codified through the 1980s and 1990s by the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS), expressing each uniquely numbered SU and its relative relationship to others in a Harris Matrix.[1] The Harris Matrix, familiar to almost all modern excavations, allowed us to record complex stratified sequences of events in an abstract yet intelligible way, organized by immediate relationships as well as related groups of activities. For example, the matrix can express the addition of a layer of wall-plaster over an earlier finish (an immediate stratigraphic relationship), but also can collect series of approximately contemporary events—the laying of a new floor along with construction of new architectures, for example—and group them together. Our Harris Matrices allowed us to express these immediate and aggregate relationships at the level of the trench, which is, of course, standard practice. Moreover, we were able to visualize each group of relatively dated activities within a trench, a unit we conceive as a "subphase," onto a site-wide Harris Matrix (see Fig. 1.03), that organized all excavated contexts into seven primary periods of ancient activity, conceived as "phases" and linked to an absolute chronology (as summarized in the preceding chapter and detailed in the chapters to follow). Some of these phases (Phase 1, 3, 4, 5, 7) contain minor groups of relatively dated developments within them, indicated by letters. Readers should note that any mention in the text of activity within such a phase refers more generally to all of these groups; references to "Phase 5," for example, encompass both Phase 5a and Phase 5b.

All excavated contexts (SUs) below the modern topsoil were hand troweled and dry sieved through a 1 cm mesh. More select contexts, such as the organic-rich fills within drains, cesspits, downpipes, soak-aways, and ritual deposits, were wet sieved in their entirety. Approximately 20 liters (the first two buckets) of many other contexts also were wet sieved so as to build a sense of the "background noise," that is, the normal distribution of organic material in deposits of various types. The consistency with which all contexts were screened ensured a high level of recovery in our process.

We excavated a total of forty-one trenches across the site (Fig. 2.01), two of which (4000 and 30000) essentially were marked-off areas for careful cleaning rather than subsoil excavation. As an urban excavation, the presence of standing architecture meant that there were some rather obvious spatial restrictions on the size and shape of each trench. One important outcome of this circumstance was that our trenches rarely were regularly sized squares or rectangles, an observation that has some bearing on how numbers, densities, and volumes can be compared between one trench and the next. Furthermore, trench depth varied depending upon the elevations of the earliest human activities and geological strata, while in some cases depth was conditioned by the complexity of the stratigraphic deposits and the human resources required in a space.

The locations of all trenches were selected according to ongoing interpretations and developing lines of enquiry. In this way the trenches were targeted rather than randomly located. For example, we quickly realized that street-front spaces revealed more signs of development—and so more useful information in both quality and quantity—than rooms at the rear of any given property. Moreover, we prioritized spaces along identifiable property boundaries with the hope of revealing information about the architectural development not only of individual rooms but also of the properties themselves. Because large trenches yield more useful and clearer information than "keyhole" investigations, we excavated as much of a given room as was practical.[2] The utility of visualizing as much of the site as possible can hardly be overemphasized; the trenches were large enough to answer broad questions of architectural development, as well as to extract sizable assemblages from the contexts related to the making and use of those spaces. Their average size was about 18m^2, the largest being Trench 12000 at 54.5m^2.

While the number of excavated trenches was significant, still more areas of the site were investigated through the non-invasive methods of architectural and geophysical analysis. This difference between excavated and unexcavated areas reflected a balance between accessing as much information as possible to develop our narrative, but not excavating so much that our datasets became too unwieldy to analyze and publish in a reasonable amount of time. We also considered our responsibility to future scholarship at the site, not wishing to

[1] For the MoLAS guide, see Westman 1994. Also Harris 1975; 1989.

[2] See Hurst 2013, 64–5 on problems of keyhole excavations. Also Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle 1969, 211–13.

FIG. 2.01 The location of excavated trenches across Insulae VIII.7, I.1, and the Porta Stabia.

jeopardize any future projects that might wish to conduct new excavations in the area. Our decision to stop excavating and refocus on the more important matter of publication came once we felt we had developed a clear understanding of the structural and social development of the two insulae.

Finds recovery and processing

Given the complex nature of the site, as well as the extent of our excavations over so large an area, both the pottery and finds records represent an enormous range of materials that reflect urban life over several centuries. Accessioned artifacts numbered close to 10,000, and pottery sherds over 150,000. While fuller accounts of the sampling and processing of the artifactual and ceramic records are reserved for their relevant volumes, for the present it is necessary to offer the following abbreviated account. Following the screening process (discussed in "Excavation strategy" above), pottery was washed, dried, and preliminarily sorted by class. Artifacts also were sorted at this stage into classes, which were determined by a combination of type and material (loom weights, iron, glass, coins, etc.). They were then quantified, preliminarily qualified, and photographed for reference. Secondary, more detailed, analyses of both ceramics and other finds were undertaken during post-excavation seasons. At this stage, the non-pottery artifacts were qualified in more detail, typologies were created, and artifacts were reorganized by function (weaving, structural, personal adornment, etc.). The pottery was similarly studied in closer detail, by class of material, to develop an understanding of the range of forms, as well as their manufacture, use, and ultimate distribution over time and space.

Architecture and spatial studies

Our study of the architecture and of the overall spatial arrangement of the neighborhood proved something of a hallmark of our method, as will be more properly detailed in Chapter 6. For present purposes, our method can be summarized as having combined a total station survey of every standing wall and feature (along with exposed architectures and structural fixtures from the trenches), a manual field survey to record wall construction styles and stratigraphic information within and between each architecture, a geophysical survey of the subterranean structures (on which, see Chapter 5), and an aerial photography campaign.

One additional point on the architecture deserves a brief mention here, concerning our division of properties. Throughout the text, we refer to ten properties present in Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 in 79 CE; these developed gradually from four properties in Phase 3, to seven in Phase 4a, to eight in Phase 4b, to nine in Phase 5, and finally to ten in Phase 7 (see Figs. 1.04–1.10). Through all phases, our categorization is based on the largest possible areas covered by a series of united architectures without evident connections between them (e.g., shared drains and / or open doorways). Nevertheless, we recognize that this system does not necessarily represent the reality of how spaces were owned or used. In Phase 3, for example, each of the three discernable "properties" of Insula VIII.7 were subdivided with interior walls that gave them similar tripartite structures. Therefore these might represent nine "row houses" of the type uncovered elsewhere in subsurface excavations at Pompeii.[3] We lacked the evidence, however, to confirm or deny that suspicion, and so defined the properties by their broadest constituent parts. In later phases, on the other hand, various pieces of circumstantial evidence indicated that certain properties might have shared management or ownership. For instance, the similar structures of Properties I.1.3–5 and I.1.6–9 suggested a connection between them, a supposition made stronger by the fact that walls in Property I.1.3–5 appeared to have been built with materials quarried from below Property I.1.6–9 (see Chapter 19.8). Nevertheless, the spaces did not feature any clear intercommunication through doorways, drains, or other fixtures, and so our model separates them.[4]

Bioarchaeological and environmental material studies

While a fuller explanation of our methodologies for collecting and studying the bioarchaeological data is reserved for Volume III, some outline is given here for the benefit of the present volume and its readers. Macrofauna, including larger animal bones, seashells, and land snail shells, were collected and preliminarily sorted trench-side during troweling and dry sieving. Smaller organic remains, including microfauna, were recovered during wet sieving. A team of environmental archaeologists, led by Mark Robinson, Michael MacKinnon, Emily Holt, and Andrew Fairbairn processed the bioarchaeological material (from c. 2000 liters of wet sieved samples) to target questions about the natural environment in the area, diet, and the economy of food production and consumption.

Archival studies

A team of archivists focused their attention on locating, accessing, and retrieving all relevant archival information on the history of exploration in this corner of the ancient city. Beyond developing a timeline of past investigations and

[3] See Nappo 1997.

[4] See also Property VIII.7.13–15, which might have consisted, at least originally, of two separate properties (VIII.7.13–14 and VIII.7.15), as well as Properties VIII.7.5–6 and VIII.7.9–11, which shared a small doorway between their rear gardens.

identifying prior interpretations of the neighborhood, they charted the full extent of (lost) knowledge, tracking the locations of missing architectures, structural fixtures, and decoration, as well as findspots for "stray" finds recovered (or at least recorded) from each property. The archival survey thus revealed crucial information about long-forgotten objects and ideas. A more detailed explanation of this work is reserved for Chapter 4.

Recording the site

The range of documentation across the various areas of the project included standardized context forms for the basic datasets (soil stratigraphy and standing architecture),[5] diary-style entries for daily expression of ideas and interpretations, as well as digital photography, technical and sketch illustration, topographic (total station) survey, and 3D laser scanning. Field recording initially was conducted with paper forms and notebooks, the information from which was transcribed into the Project's central database while the original copies were scanned for the digital archive. The standardized paper forms provided a consistent framework for recording data, while journal entries in notebooks organized by trench allowed for fuller treatments of various descriptions and ideas. The journals also provided a running account of daily activities and processes. With the arrival of tablet computers in 2010—specifically Apple's iPad—all data became "born digital."[6] Nevertheless, the broader framework of data collection remained unchanged, with essential data entered directly into digital forms within the central database, while narrative journals for each trench were maintained digitally on iPads. In addition to the written descriptions entered into the database, which included spatial, stratigraphic, and morphological information, digital photographs and illustrations were made for each SU. The illustrations were hand drawn in plan and/or section, initially on mylar at a scale of 1:20 (for plans) and 1:10 (for sections); with the arrival of the iPad for trench-side recording, all drawings (still hand drawn, using a stylus) were made digitally at a scale of 1:1. Levels of targeted contexts were taken with an EDM theodolite (Total Station); relative levels from these points were taken with the dumpy level.

Given the variety of finds recovered from the excavations—from ceramics to coins to charcoal—and that these classes of materials were studied by various specialists who each had their own, often idiosyncratic and time-honored systems of recording, there is no single explanation for how we recorded objects. In general, the process was much the same as for the stratified contexts in that some datasets were recorded directly into the central database with an iPad, while others were recorded in paper notebooks that were later digitally scanned and/or had their data entered into the database.

A full set of records was lodged each year with the Parco Archeologico di Pompei in digital format. The documentation was otherwise housed in the Department of Classics at the University of Cincinnati. Here all of the hard-copy data has been stored and maintained in a climate-controlled, secure location within the storage facility of the Department of Classics' archaeology laboratory. All of the digital data—whether born digital or as digital copies of the paper forms—is stored, curated, and routinely backed up on multiple servers. Apart from the online companion to these volumes, finding aids for both digital and hard-copy data are available to interested parties.[7]

Phasing and dating the site

Given the scale of the site, and owing to the various lenses through which we can follow the story of its development (from the trench/room, to the property, to the site at large), some explanation is required of the phasing and dating conventions used throughout this and the other volumes. Even if what follows is to be expected, still there is some value in defining our terms. As discussed in brief above, we have created two levels of phasing: subphases and phases. The subphases are the grouped sequences of approximately contemporary SUs—typically representing construction events—that were identified and sorted into a relative chronology within a single trench. So, for example, when a room was remodeled, we combined all relevant SUs, representing both the deposits that formed the space and those that survived from its subsequent habitation (with the latter, "use-phase" deposits being much rarer, in spite of the greater period of time they represented), into a subphase. Essentially, the subphase represents a significant and identifiable development to the shape and/or use of an individual space.[8] In all of this we acknowledge that a good many urban developments, even important ones, left no physical mark on the archaeological record. Thus a shop could have transitioned from trading in one good or service to another, or might have changed ownership, without leaving any identifiable evidence for either phase of development. In other scenarios, there might have been periods of relative stasis that, while being important to the overall story of development, are otherwise phases of (in)activity that are difficult to recognize or understand through the archaeological remains.

[5] The standardized forms included all of the information required from the Italian Catalogue Office of the Ministero dei Beni Culturali. For a fuller outline of our recording procedures and data structures, see Chapter 3.

[6] Wallrodt et al. 2015; Ellis 2016; Wallrodt 2016.

[7] See: https://classics.uc.edu/pompeii.

[8] The subphases might also be identified as "trench phases."

While the subphases are essential for understanding the development of an individual space, they remain, over forty-one trenches, "micro-histories." When viewed in sum, the 220 subphases across 10 separate properties revealed certain patterns, both functional and chronological, that could be connected and organized into the broader developmental framework of phases.[9] In fact, it was rare that any subphase was truly isolated from another. The renovation of one room often shared a relationship with construction events elsewhere, crossing properties, insulae, or even the site as a whole. We recognized many such relationships through direct stratigraphic connections; for example, the same construction trench might appear in separate trenches excavated to either side of a wall, or the same drain might run through multiple rooms, coming to light in a number of trenches. Clear physical connections of this type allowed us to tie subphases together into the same phase, providing a skeleton for the site as a whole. Other relationships were determined by more analogical forms of reasoning, relying on shared features such as similar floor elevations or similarity of activities to associate subphases (e.g., separate rooms of a property receive new surfaces of the same type). In these cases, the suggested dates provided by pottery and other finds were especially helpful for clarifying and supporting our interpretations (see further below).

Apart from helping us to better contextualize the developments within each trench, assigning subphases to phases necessarily reduced the complexity of the site by collapsing 220 subphases into 7 primary phases of development. This method of connecting each SU to a subphase and each subphase to a phase enabled us to readily adjust our focus as necessary for interpreting the site, whether "zooming in" to a particular SU or taking a broad view of an entire phase of activity. To facilitate that reading, we developed a site-wide Harris Matrix to express the relationships of subphases to phases (see Fig. 1.03). Thus, apart from the more standard Harris Matrices that indicate the relationships of SUs to subphases within each trench (see those collected in Chapter 21), the site-wide Harris Matrix illustrates all of the subphases and their grouping within the seven phases of development (see Fig. 1.03; also Chapter 21). Creating these levels of interconnected matrices allowed us to fully contextualize all of the identified soil SUs (some 5072 in number) and to understand the relationships that each shared not only with other SUs in the same trench but also with every other SU excavated in all trenches across both insulae.

As abstractions of the site's development, the Harris Matrices organize the SUs, subphases, and phases into a relative chronological order. Assigning absolute dates—or at least approximate date ranges—is a related goal, and indeed a necessary one for developing a more meaningful narrative. Of course the finds were the essential element here, helping us both to collect subphases and to identify date ranges for the resulting phases. We followed normal principles, assigning each context a terminus post quem based on its latest diagnostic materials. Still we want to be clear that, in reality, the absolute dating of a multi-phased urban site like Pompeii is in no way straightforward. Of course, complexity is common to every archaeological site, but the absolute dating of this excavation relied on the sequencing of thousands of stratified contexts covering hundreds of subphases for ten neighboring properties over many centuries of development. The pace and concentration of ancient construction, particularly following the second century BCE, posed particular challenges. Essentially, the site underwent many and sometimes substantial urban redevelopments within a relatively brief time-span of less than two centuries, during which time all of the construction events were compressed within a shallow sequence of deposits (typically confined to a depth of no more than two meters below ground level). The outcome was that later construction episodes damaged or even obliterated the sequences of earlier ones. Few deposits were truly "sealed," and so we had to remain aware of the possibility that contexts might contain intrusive material, regardless of the care with which they had been excavated.[10] Further potential for contamination came from more recent interventions: these included the historic excavations in the area, Allied bombing during World War II, and the introduction of infrastructure necessary for operating Pompeii as a major tourist attraction (at the Porta Stabia, modern subsurface infrastructure included drains, power lines, and septic tanks).

In order to develop our absolute chronology, therefore, we had to accept some tolerance for the realities of a complex urban excavation, rather than adhere strictly to the watertight expectations of textbook archaeology. We determined date ranges by considering each potentially datable object's diagnostic characteristics, such as style and type, along with the object's overall condition. This meant not only noting whether fractures were present but also paying careful attention to other details of the object's condition; heavily worn surfaces and edges can speak to use over time as well as to ongoing disturbance of the object after having been broken. Furthermore, many objects—including pottery, coins, animal bones, and other artifacts—had surfaces or edges covered with mortar, denoting a cycle of (potentially repeated) discard and reuse. That is, after the conclusion of the object's primary uselife, it had been discarded, only to be later incorporated

[9] The 220 subphases do not include another 32 that were encountered in the natural, geological sequences, nor the 42 modern subphases. Note that the relatively dated groups of activities within phases (e.g., Phases 5a and 5b, which together encompass Phase 5) should not be considered "subphases" within our system.

[10] On issues of residuality in the dating of contexts, see the collected papers in Guidobaldi et al. 1998. See also Giannichedda 2007; Evans and Millett 1992.

into the matrix of a mortared wall, floor, or structural fixture. That secondary life ended when the structure into which the object was incorporated was itself destroyed and its components—including the object now partly covered with mortar—were once more discarded. Its afterlife continued, however, with another (tertiary, or beyond) phase of use when it became part of the context from which it was excavated, most often a construction fill.[11] How many times the cycle might have repeated itself is difficult to discern in most cases, but it is clear that this process significantly devalues any chronological association of the original object.

Our dating is thus based on the most recent objects—normally diagnostic ceramics and coins—found within the deposit, but with an eye towards the potential effects of residual and intrusive anomalies. In most cases, the presence of the latest individual diagnostics was considered in relation to the sum of all of the other objects contained within a phase; here, consideration was given to the quantification of diagnostic artifacts to ensure that single "outliers" were flagged for attention, to be considered against the bulk of the datable material. Because each phase contained many individual stratigraphic units and because we remained aware of the possibility of intrusive and residual materials, the dating—or rather, date range—of a phase normally relied less on the date of the single latest object, and instead considered all of the evidence in aggregate.

Contextualizing the site

Essential to our understanding of the site has been a focused and critical engagement with context, both macro and micro. By macro context, we mean the broader, contextual milieu—whether cultural, social, historic, economic, urban, religious, or any number of other categories—in which Pompeii, as a city and as a people, participated; we have already introduced our thoughts on the macro contextualization of Pompeii in the first chapter. Here we want to make plain the role of micro context to our interpretation of the site and its development over time. By micro context, we mean the physical taphonomy of a deposit: how it came to be; its immediate relationship to others above, below, or around it; and how all of this information relates to the processes by which the volumetric matrix of the site was formed.

As obvious as much of this stratigraphic analysis should seem, particularly given a disciplinary focus on site formation processes since the mid-twentieth century, certain recent trends in archaeological fieldwork demonstrate some loss of awareness about how sites develop and why we should find certain objects within certain spaces. New technologies now allow us to plot our finds ever more precisely, certainly a positive development in the recording of archaeological sites. Nevertheless, interpretive issues can arise when the space itself, and the space alone, is used to explain artifact distribution, without regard to morphological context. Of course there can be meaning in whether an artifact is recovered from a shop or a house, a room or a garden, but before attempting a spatial analysis we must first determine whether the object derives from the construction of that space or from the use of it.

In order to engage more effectively with the volumetric matrix of the site, as well as to understand the actual context of thousands of deposits, along with the hundreds of thousands of objects found within them, we grouped all of the stratified units according to an urban site's most constituent parts. Because Pompeian archaeology does not normally deal with the abandonment contexts that are typical at most sites, almost all of our deposits could be placed into one of two principal categories: contexts associated with the making of space (the construction contexts) and those associated with the use of space (the occupation contexts).[12] The structuring of these categories can be outlined as a graph (Fig. 2.02). Thus a terracing fill or floor surface, for example, was contextualized as part of the construction of space, and we would understand that any artifacts recovered from

[11] Peña 2007; Dicus 2014; 2022; Ellis 2017; Emmerson 2020, 108–24.

[12] Beyond construction and use contexts, we assigned a smaller number of deposits to additional categories: natural (in a geological sense), collapse, 79 CE eruption, and cuts (these last were normally treated separately to the construction and use contexts because they were non-volumetric and so could not contain artifacts or material).

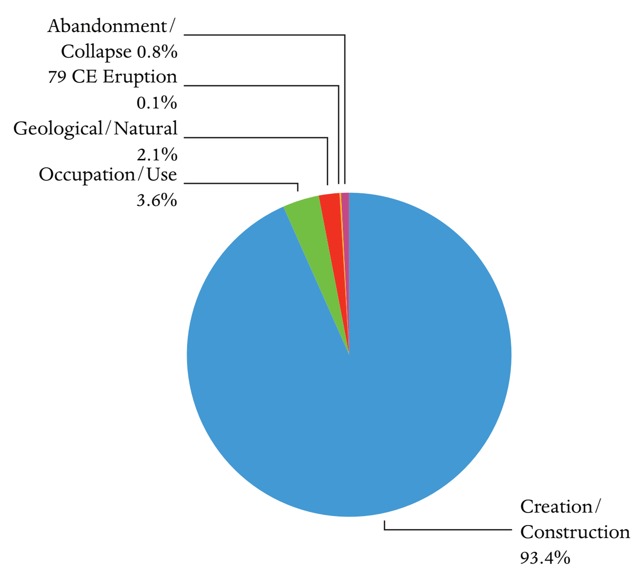

FIG. 2.02 The principal categories of contexts excavated by PARP:PS.

within those contexts were less useful for interpreting how the space itself was used. The contents of a ritual pit or drain, however, could be read differently, being deposited as a result of occupation or use-activity. Of the two primary categories, the former vastly outnumbered the latter, with 93.4 percent of all SUs belonging to construction contexts, and only 3.6 percent to occupation contexts. The vast majority of our finds, therefore, were not, of necessity, reflective of the use of the spaces in which we find them but were imported as construction material—as hardcore—for the making of those spaces. This most basic premise had a significant impact on how we interpreted the site and its finds assemblages.

Conclusion

To very briefly conclude, our methods were essentially based on accepted best practices in archaeological excavation, recording, and publication, but necessarily applied in ways designed not only to derive as much information as possible from our particular research site but also to facilitate a clearer and more contextualized understanding of the many pieces of information that survive the development of a complex and rapidly changing city. The focus of all of these methodologies was to move beyond the creation and collection of information to demonstrate how it might be read and interpreted in both conventional and new (or renewed) ways.

CHAPTER 3

The Database

Christopher F. Motz and John Wallrodt

From the first year of excavation in 2005 until the final edits of the present volume, the PARP:PS database provided a centralized, organizational structure for the creation, storage, and analysis of the project's many and varied datasets. Given the central role of the database in the project's overall operation and productivity, what follows is a brief description and discussion of its essential structure and organization. In the first section, we begin by discussing the use of the database as a tool for gathering and storing archaeological data during fieldwork. We then turn to its role during post-excavation analysis, focusing on how the publication team used the database to organize information and to answer research questions. The section concludes with a note about the future of the database. In the second section, we outline the database's organization and interface. Our intended audience for this chapter is not the experienced database developer, although we have tried to offer enough detail to satisfy a technologically proficient reader. Instead, the chapter primarily serves those interested in engaging with examples of effective database use, as well as those seeking a general understanding of how the database informed the conclusions reached elsewhere in the present volume.

The database and the project

The database in the field

The database was the repository for nearly all non-spatial data gathered during fieldwork, as described in the previous chapter. The information entered into it included detailed descriptions of stratigraphic units and architectural elements; descriptions, measurements, and identifications of small finds, ceramics, faunal remains, and botanical materials; as well as photographs, drawings, and digitized trench notebooks and Harris Matrices. In addition to these sets of primary data, the database also housed synthetic documents such as the phasing reports and trench summaries that were produced after every season. In effect, it was home to all textual, numeric, and image data produced by the project that was not contained in the CAD model or in other specialized software.

The database's role as an information repository has remained constant since the project's inception, but revolutions in mobile computing allowed us to push its use in new ways. During the first five seasons of excavation (2005–9), all stratigraphic and finds data were recorded on paper in the field. The forms, notebooks, and drawings were subsequently transcribed manually into the database and scanned at the end of each season. In 2010 the project became "paperless" and implemented an innovative iPad-based recording system that was employed throughout the final three years of excavation.[1] Paper forms were replaced with direct entry into the database. Excavators produced digital vector drawings at the side of the trench using the *TouchDraw* app and supervisors wrote their notebooks in Apple's *Pages*. The database was now present, both physically and conceptually, at every stage of the fieldwork process.

The database as an analytical tool

After completing fieldwork, the team was confronted with the daunting task of turning a mountain of archaeological data into an accurate and cohesive narrative account of the history of the Porta Stabia neighborhood. Hundreds of thousands of digital records resided in the database, with each record containing up to a few dozen pieces of information. The magnitude (number of records), breadth (variety of records), and detail (volume of information in each record) of our data set presented the opportunity—indeed, the obligation—to search for meaning in *all* of those data, not just in the more charismatic objects like carved gems, exotic animal bones, kilns, or masonry triclinia. As a project whose subject was the neglected corners of Pompeii, we sought to tackle our body of evidence in its entirety. To do this required finding ways to combine and organize all the records carefully so that the otherwise incomprehensible mound of data could be purposefully structured and queried.

The nearly 6,000 stratigraphic units recorded during excavation provide a good example of how we drew on our

[1] For more on the paperless system, see Wallrodt et al. 2015; Ellis 2016; Wallrodt 2016.

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database as an analytical tool. We came to question, for example, what these entities (i.e., the SUs) actually represented with regard to the making of the site: so, beyond how these SUs might reflect chronological development over time, how could these SUs be better categorized to reflect the essential, constituent parts of those urban processes? This led us to the construction and organization of context categories (construction, occupation, etc.), as already described in Chapter 2.

We built further interconnections and interpretive categories to explore an even larger data set of 9,500 non-ceramic small finds. With the typology of SUs established, the relational structure of the database allowed us to move beyond the web of individual relationships between the thousands of objects and the SUs in which they were found, to explore the connections between *categories* of objects and *categories* of SUs in aggregate across the entire excavation. In taking this approach we placed depositional *micro* context, rather than spatial find spot, at the heart of our analyses. The results have profound implications for how we interpret objects recovered at Roman urban sites. In one case study for the analytical power of this aggregation, Ellis has demonstrated that although our coins were found most frequently in shopfronts, they do not directly reflect coin loss during retail activities in those very places.[2] Instead, their deposition was unrelated, a result of their presence in hardcore fills that were imported from outside city walls to fill depressions and raise the level of floors during construction. Although this correction to the traditional numismatic narrative would have been possible using analog methods or even non-relational digital approaches, with the database we could quickly prepare and, more importantly, easily *explore* multiple lines of questioning simultaneously. The ease and speed with which we could collate information simplified the task of recognizing patterns and drawing connections, allowing a question such as, "What percentage of coins came from use contexts?" to prompt follow-up questions like, "What types of contexts produced material related to craft and industrial production?" and, "Are materials from textile and metal manufacture found in the same types of contexts, and how did they get there?" These principles could be applied to any categories of material or context.

In the end, our database has allowed us to make broad, evidence-driven statements about how the residents of Pompeii used and built their city by using most if not all of the data, supplementing the impact of finds with more intrinsic interpretive value. Even the humble leveling fill containing only a few objects can prove informative when considered alongside all other leveling fills or, at a still larger level, other high-volume construction contexts. The database helped us to answer questions and solve problems by presenting a massive amount of information in manageable and comprehensible ways.

[2] Ellis 2017; see also Chapter 2 and Chapter 18.

The database after publication

The database described below is the version that the PARP:PS team employed during the final phases of publication, but it will not mark the end of the story. The next phase is to curate the data, the data structure, and the user interface to produce a data set suitable for online dissemination so that future generations of scholars can continue to ask new questions of our materials. The outcome of this work will be available via the project's website at: https://classics.uc.edu/pompeii.

Database structure

Data model

The PARP:PS database is a digital representation of many of the material, spatial, temporal, and conceptual entities that have been defined in the project's ontologies. As such, it was guided by and codifies these abstract categories and relationships. In this section, we offer a short explanation of the project's data model. This is intended to define some terminology that may be employed throughout the final volumes, and to lay out the ways in which the physical and conceptual components of the project were represented and recorded in the digital database.

Each ontological category of entities, such as insulae, trenches, chronological phases, and non-ceramic artifacts, is represented in the database by a *table* (Fig. 3.01). Tables are made up of *records*, which represent individual entities; for example, SU 50002 is one record in the *Stratigraphic Units* table. The main tables can be grouped into six categories: stratigraphic, spatial, chronological,[3] material, material attributes, and universal (Fig. 3.02).[4] These are supplemented by tables that describe schemata for classifying and describing SUs, features, and artifacts, as well as tables with administrative or technical functions.

All of these entities are connected to each other by *relationships*, which define the criteria (based on paired *fields*; see below) for linking a record in one table with a record in another (see Fig. 3.01).[5] The core of the project's relational data model (Fig. 3.03) is the *Stratigraphic Unit*, or *SU*, which was the

[3] Three tables represented the relative chronological groupings of entities from excavation and architectural analysis. Absolute dates derived from excavated finds were stored in the *Dates* material attribute table. A more complete discussion of the project's phasing and dating system is offered in Chapter 2. Chapter 6 explains the phasing of architectural elements.

[4] The three "universal" tables stored information that could be related to many other tables.

[5] Note that these relationships between database entities are different from the stratigraphic relationships (e.g., above/below or later/earlier) between individual SUs, which are not stored in the database. They are recorded in digital, graphical Harris Matrices that are stored on the project file server. The stratigraphic relationships between individual Wall Segments, however, *are* stored in the database by means of an intermediate table.

Tables

Trenches

Trench Number	Supervisor	Description
50000	Kevin Dicus	South front room of Property I.1.1-2 from the south of the bar in Room 1, to the well in Room 2.
51000	Allison Emmerson	Center front room of Property I.1.3-5, Room 18. Trench outline moves around a square built feature of indeterminate date.
52000	Amanda Pavlick	South front room of Property I.1.6-9. Most of Room 22 at doorway 6.
53000	Kevin Dicus	South middle room of Property I.1.1-2. All of Room 3 and a small part of Room 1.

Records

Fields

Identifier (Human-readable)

Trench Number ↔ Trench Number

Relationship

Stratigraphic Units

SU Number	Trench Number	Description	Subphase
50001	50000	Modern topsoil over Trench 50000	50.9
50002	50000	*Opus signinum* floor surface	50.6
50003	50000	*Opus signinum* floor surface	50.6
50004	50000	*Opus signinum* floor surface	50.6
50005	50000	Modern fill under topsoil	50.9
51001	51000	Modern fill over Trench 51000	51.7
51002	51000	Modern fill	51.7
51003	51000	Repagulum	51.6
51004	51000	Threshold stone in entrance I.1.4	51.6

Identifier (Human-readable)

Fig. 3.01 Illustration of the technical components of the PARP:PS data model.

Category	Table	Description	Identifier(s)	Fields	Records*
Stratigraphic	**Stratigraphic Units**	These records are the primary stratigraphic (thus, spatial and chronological) elements identified during excavation or architectural analysis. Each SU represents an action or set of actions that can be identified archaeologically.	"54060" *Serial number (within trench, beginning with trench number + 1)*	132	6,049
Spatial - Universal	**Insulae**	Each of the two *Insulae* investigated by the project was represented by its own record.	"VIII.7", "I.1"	11	2
	Properties	Each *Properties* record represented one property at the time of the eruption in 79 CE.	"Property 1" *Serial number (universal)*	11	13
Spatial - Excavation	**Trenches**	A *Trench* is a unit of archaeological excavation. Each trench was assigned to the property that contained most of its area in the final phase of the city.	"54000" *Serial number (universal; in thousands)*	67	46
	Features	This table groups SUs that are part of a single feature like a drain or soak-away. For example, during excavation the capping, walls, and base of a drain might be assigned different SUs, sometimes with multiple SUs per element (e.g., a long drain excavated in multiple trenches).	"Cooking Facility 1", "Drain 1" *Feature type + serial number (within type)*	21	203
Spatial - Architecture	***Wall Construction Units***	A *Wall Construction Unit* is a group of related construction activities. Several Wall Segments can be grouped into one Wall Construction Unit.	"WCU1085" *"WCU" + serial number (universal)*	12	307
	Wall Segments	A *Wall Segment* represents a three-dimensional portion of a wall or other architectural element.	"WS1096" *"WS" + serial number (universal)*	15	453
Chronological	**Phases**	A *Phase* is a site-wide chronological period. It groups multiple Subphases and Architectural Subphases; each Phase contains no more than one Subphase from each trench.	"Phase 5A" *Serial number [+ serial letter, if necessary, within serial number]*	54	17
	Subphases	*Subphases* gather SUs from a single trench into discrete groups based on relative chronological data. Subphases are unique to each trench and are numbered accordingly.	"54.4" *Trench prefix + serial number (within trench)*	21	343
	Architectural Subphases	*Architectural Subphases* group Wall Construction Units based on relative chronological data.	"SP015" *"SP" + serial number (universal)*	19	33
	Ceramics	The *Ceramics* table contains the final classification, description, and quantification of the project's ceramics. Each record represents a group of analytically identical ceramic sherds from the same SU.	"54060-K1", "54060-C2" *SU number + dash + functional group code + serial number (within SU)*	82	17,909

FIG. 3.02 The main data tables in the PARP:PS database.

Category	Table	Description	Identifier(s)	Fields	Records*
Material - Excavation	**Finds**	This table contains all non-ceramic artifacts. Most records (95%) represent the extant remains of one identifiable ancient object; thus, one record may include multiple fragments. The remaining 5% of records represent items or groups of items that cannot be identified as part of a distinct ancient object, such as unidentifiable pieces of metal or fragments of plaster.	"FE50-24a", "FE50-24b" *Material code + trench prefix + dash + serial number (within trench) [+ serial letter, if necessary, within serial number]*	67	7,116
	Soil Samples	One *Soil Samples* record represents a single sample of sediment, with a summary description of its contents. Some of the contents were also entered as artifacts or ecofacts.	"18099 upper", "18099 lower" *SU number + description or serial letter (within SU)*	33	309
	Macrofauna (NISP)	A *Macrofauna (NISP)* record represents a single, hand-collected faunal ecofact with an identifiable taxonomy.	UUID	53	6,597
	Macrofauna (UNID)	A *Macrofauna (UNID)* record represents a group of hand-collected faunal remains with an uncertain taxonomy.	UUID	83	950
	Microfauna	A record represents a group of faunal remains gathered from a soil sample.	UUID	71	2,231
	Botanical	A *Botanical* record represents a group of botanical ecofacts.	UUID	68	1,120
Material - Archival	***Archival Finds***	These records represent artifacts recovered during previous excavations in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. These artifacts often can only be linked to a property, although some have more precise locations.	"FND17" *"FND" + serial number (universal)*	50	434
Material Attributes - Excavation	**Finds Attributes**	A *Finds Attributes* record represents an additional attribute of a single artifact (a Finds record). The list of attributes varies depending on the type of artifact.	UUID	17	6,879
	Measurements	Each record represents a dimension or weight of an artifact (a Finds record). The list of measurements varies depending on the type of artifact.	UUID	22	26,085
	Dates	This table contains all absolute dates derived from individual finds, ceramics, and SU spot dating. This centralized table allows project members to view all the dates for any SU, phase, or other entity, regardless of what type of object provided the information.	UUID	26	1,982
Universal	**Edit Trail**	This table preserves the history of edits throughout the database. Each record captures the changes made to the data in one field, in one record, between when a user clicks or taps into a field and when they leave the field.	UUID	19	487,635
	Bibliography	The *Bibliography* table stores references to published and archival materials that can be linked to multiple records in different tables.	"Mau 1875" *Short reference, usually author + year*	10	154
	Media	The *Media* table contains the photographs and drawings produced by the project.	Several file naming formats: "ps12016.jpg", "24DR27.jpg"	59	30,801

* Some database tables contain more records than appear in the text or catalogs of the final publication volumes. These additional records served organizational or administrative purposes. For example, Phase 8 does not appear in the matrices or phase narratives; it was used to gather SUs that had been assigned to the modern period.

Fig. 3.02 *continued*

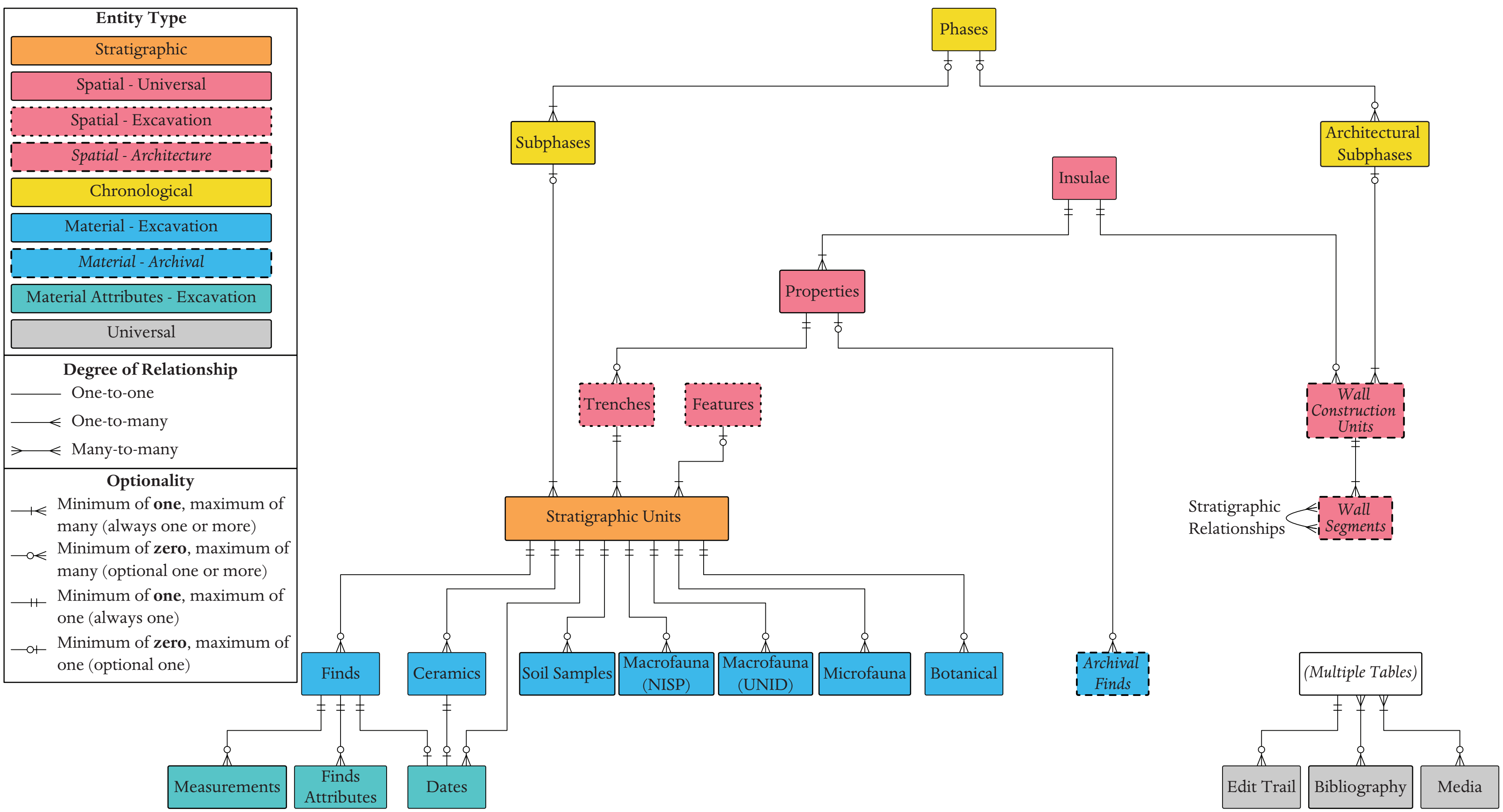

FIG. 3.03 Screenshot of the Structural diagram of the PARP:PS data model.

primary stratigraphic element identified during excavation or architectural analysis. The project followed the "single context" recording methods developed by the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS), which define a context or SU as "[a]ny single action, whether it leaves a positive or negative record within the sequence."[6] Thus, the SU acts as the primary spatial and chronological entity, as well.

The properties or characteristics of any entity are called, generically, *attributes*. In the database, most attributes are stored in *fields* on the record that represents that entity (see Fig. 3.01); for example, the *Subphase* field in the *Stratigraphic Units* table captures the chronological phase to which each SU was assigned. Some attributes of artifacts and ecofacts are stored in separate tables. Most attributes contained in the database are not spatial; plan and section drawings are stored alongside photographs as images in the database, but the three-dimensional shapes and locations of stratigraphic and spatial entities are stored in the project's CAD and GIS models. The coordinates of individual artifacts and ecofacts were not recorded, in keeping with our focus on the taphonomic *micro* context of SUs (see Chapter 2).

Most entities were assigned a human-readable identifier, such as stratigraphic units "50002" and "15051," or coin "C56-14," that was used throughout the documents produced by the project, such as labels, field notebooks, and publications. In the database, these identifiers are stored in fields that differentiate the records of individual entities; these identifiers often are used to establish relationships between records in different tables (see Fig. 3.01). A computer algorithm also assigned every record a "universally unique identifier," or "UUID." This string of thirty-six semi-random, alphanumeric characters (such as "9FE1A6DB-A962-4DA6-B5EB-B64254084DD5" for SU 15051) is permanent and is guaranteed to be unique. The *UUID* field allows digital records to be identified and differentiated even if their human-readable identifier was deleted, was entered incorrectly, or was identical to that of another record, or if a set of entities has no such identifiers.

User interface

It is impossible to both accurately and succinctly describe the entire user interface of the PARP:PS database, so what follows is a brief outline of its primary elements, illustrated by representative examples. Most types of entities represented in the database have a primary page; these are organized in the tabbed ribbon at the top of the interface. The "Context" tab, for example, contains chronological, spatial, and stratigraphic entities (Fig. 3.04) and the "Finds" tab provides access to artifact lists (Fig. 3.05).

Below this ribbon, each page contains identifying and descriptive data about the selected entity; sometimes, this information is organized into additional sets of tabs. Most of the descriptive data displayed on these pages is stored in fields in the entity's main table, but some of it is drawn from related records situated *above* the current one in the data model (see Fig. 3.03). On the SU page (see Fig. 3.04), for example, the series of relationships stretching from *Stratigraphic Units* to *Phases* allows one to easily view the identifier and chronological range of the phase that encapsulates the SU's subphase, even though these data are stored in the *Phases* table. Likewise, on the Finds list page one can see the phase of the SU that contained each artifact (see Fig. 3.05). Many pages also contain a set of "portals" into related entities that are positioned *below* the current entity. For example, the SU page features a list of all non-ceramic artifacts that were recovered from the SU, along with summaries of their most important attributes (Fig. 3.06). A portal on the Phases page displays related records from the *Dates* table, which demonstrates the power of the cumulative, relational structure—the database collates information provided by the ceramics and small finds teams to automatically generate absolute date ranges for SUs, Subphases, and Phases, flagging potential residual or intrusive materials for further attention (Fig. 3.07); this tool has helped us to develop the phasing of the site.

The records shown in these portals can also be accessed from pages that are dedicated to those entities, like the sortable and searchable Finds list (see Fig. 3.05). This page contains every record from the *Finds* table, not just those from a single SU. Clicking on a record in this list brings the user to a second page where the entry can be viewed in greater detail (Fig. 3.08). Note that one can seamlessly view not only the attributes that are stored in fields in the *Finds* table but also the attributes that are stored as individual records in the *Measurements*, *Finds Attributes*, and *Dates* tables.

Finally, there are numerous auxiliary pages that display charts and offer specialized re-presentations and amalgamations of information, such as the prominence of structural fragments among the artifacts recovered from different contextual categories of SUs (Fig. 3.09). Along with the portals described above, these auxiliary pages display the system's full capabilities. It is here where the database's rigorous underlying structure is deployed to harness our massive and complex data set. The relationships encoded in it provide extraordinary power by flowing through each other—linking one record to the many that match it and, in turn, to the many that match them—helping us to interpret an immense body of information.

[6] Westman 1994, §1.2; see also Chapter 2.

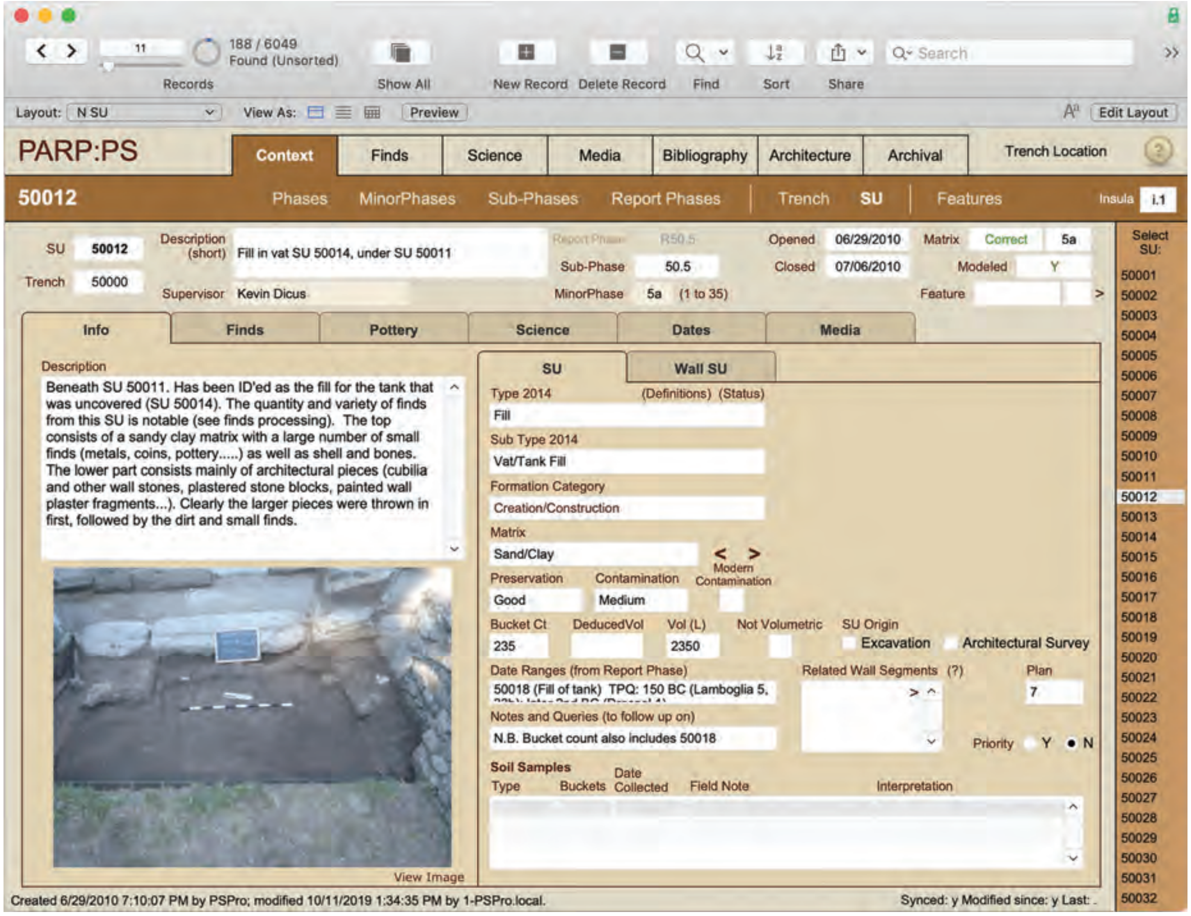

FIG. 3.04 Screenshot of the Context tab including the main SU page.

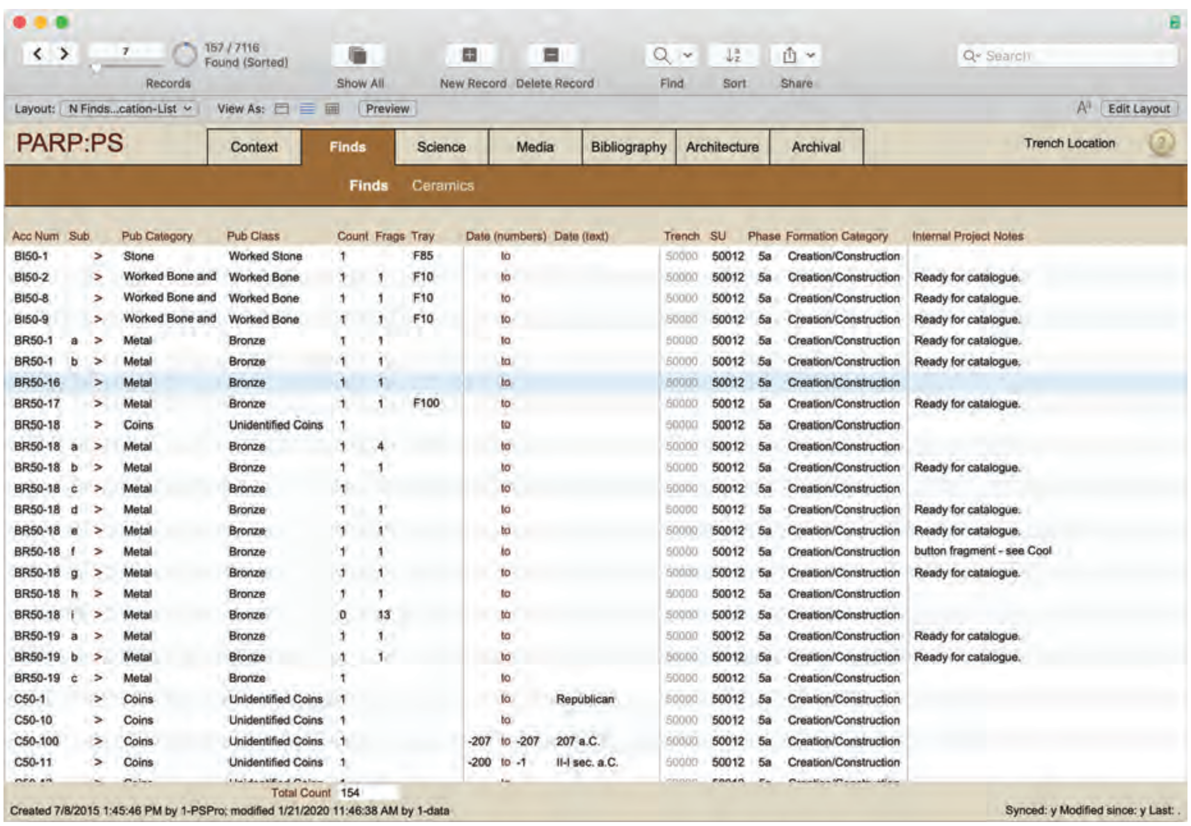

FIG. 3.05 Screenshot of the Finds tab including the main small finds list page.

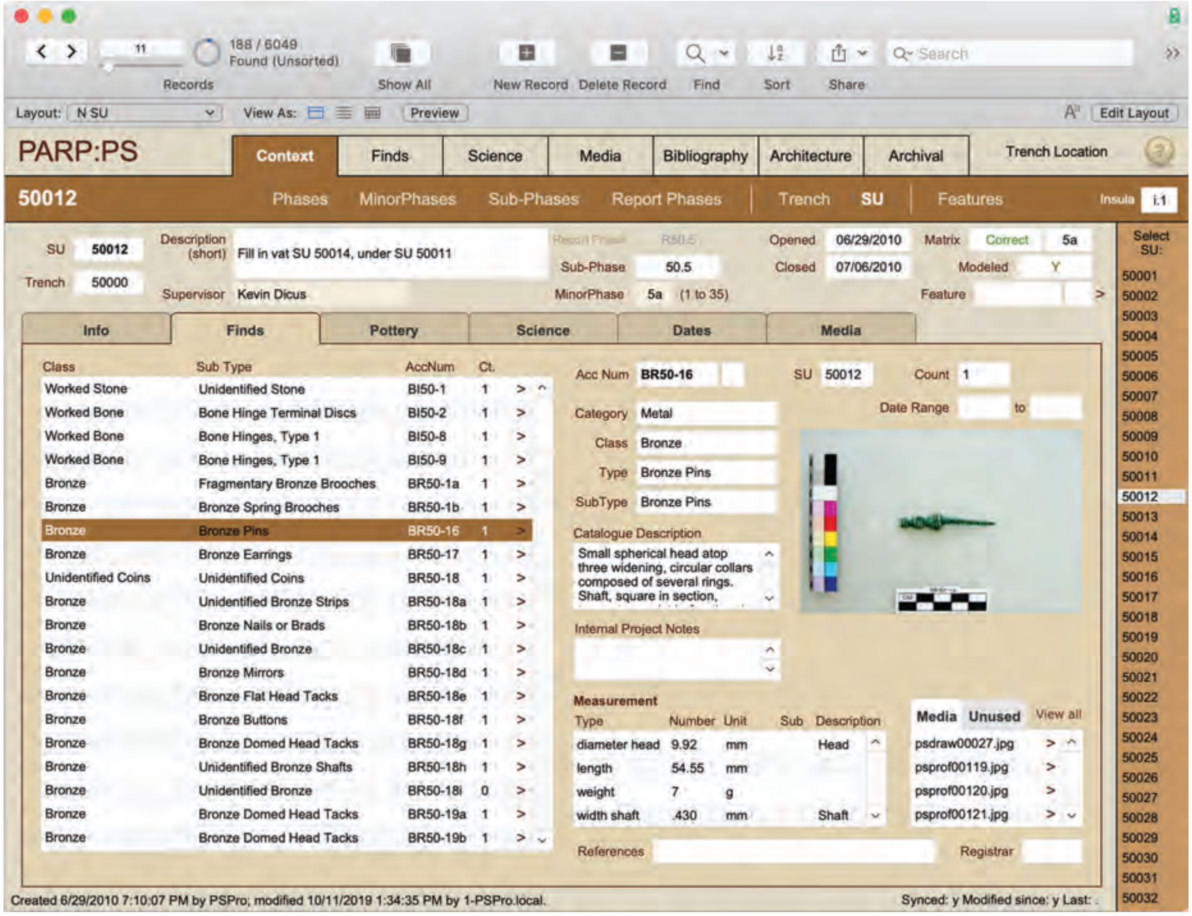

FIG. 3.06 Screenshot of the list of small finds recovered from selected SU.

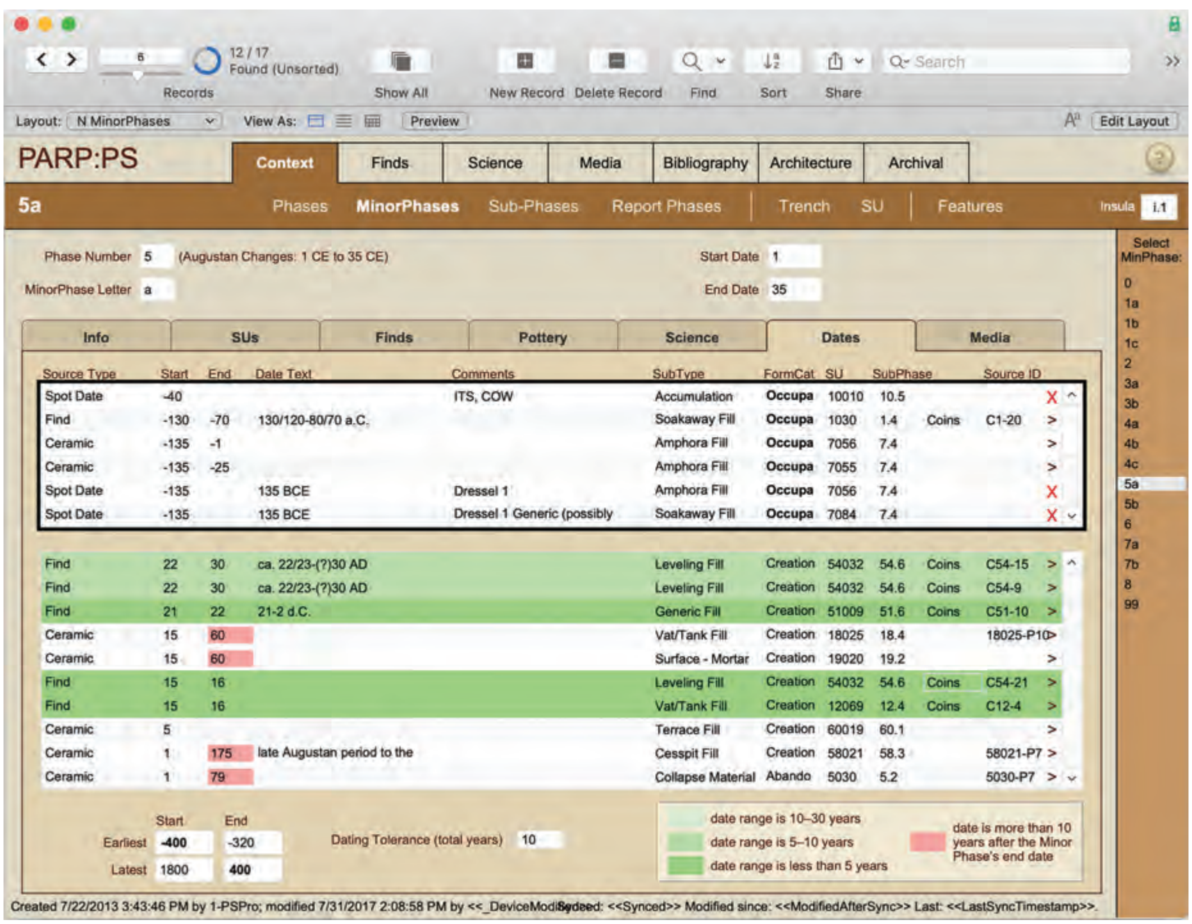

FIG. 3.07 Screenshot of the list of absolute dates for artifacts from SUs in selected phase.

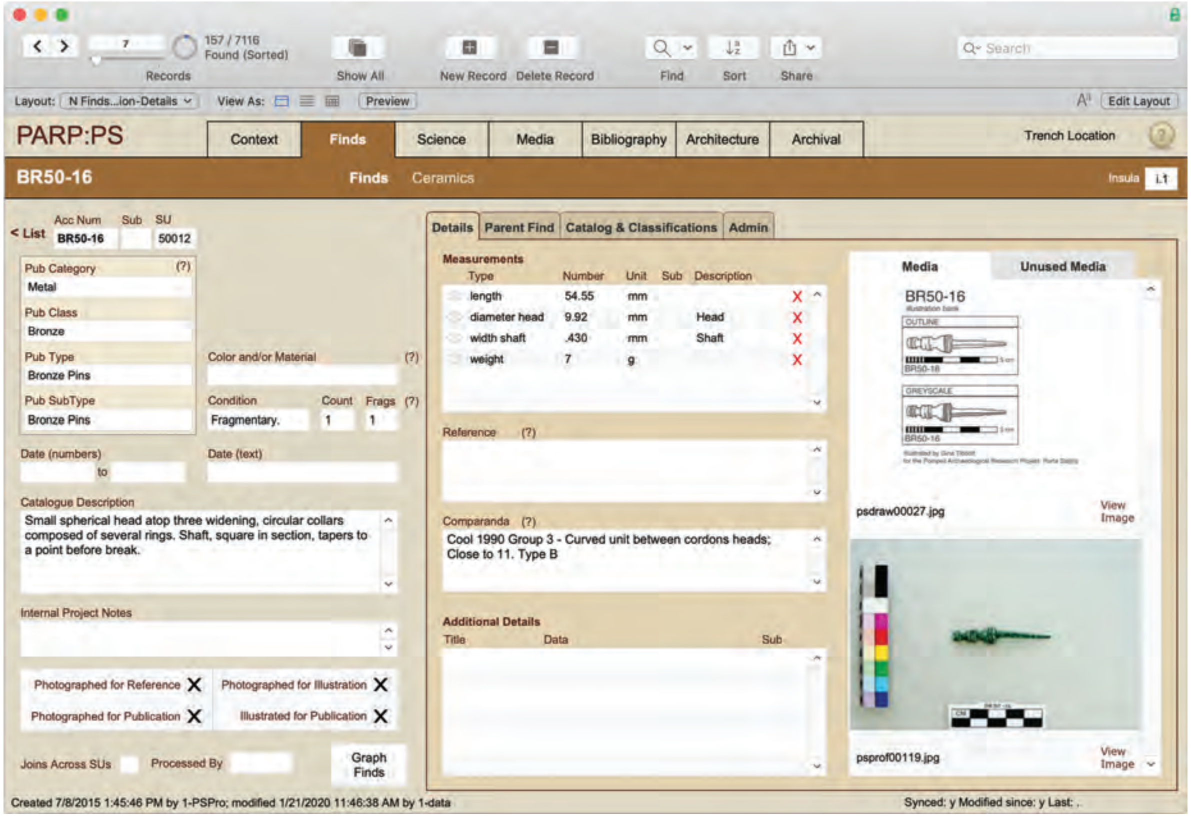

Fig. 3.08 Screenshot of the detailed information about the selected small find (cf. Figs. 3.05 and 3.06).

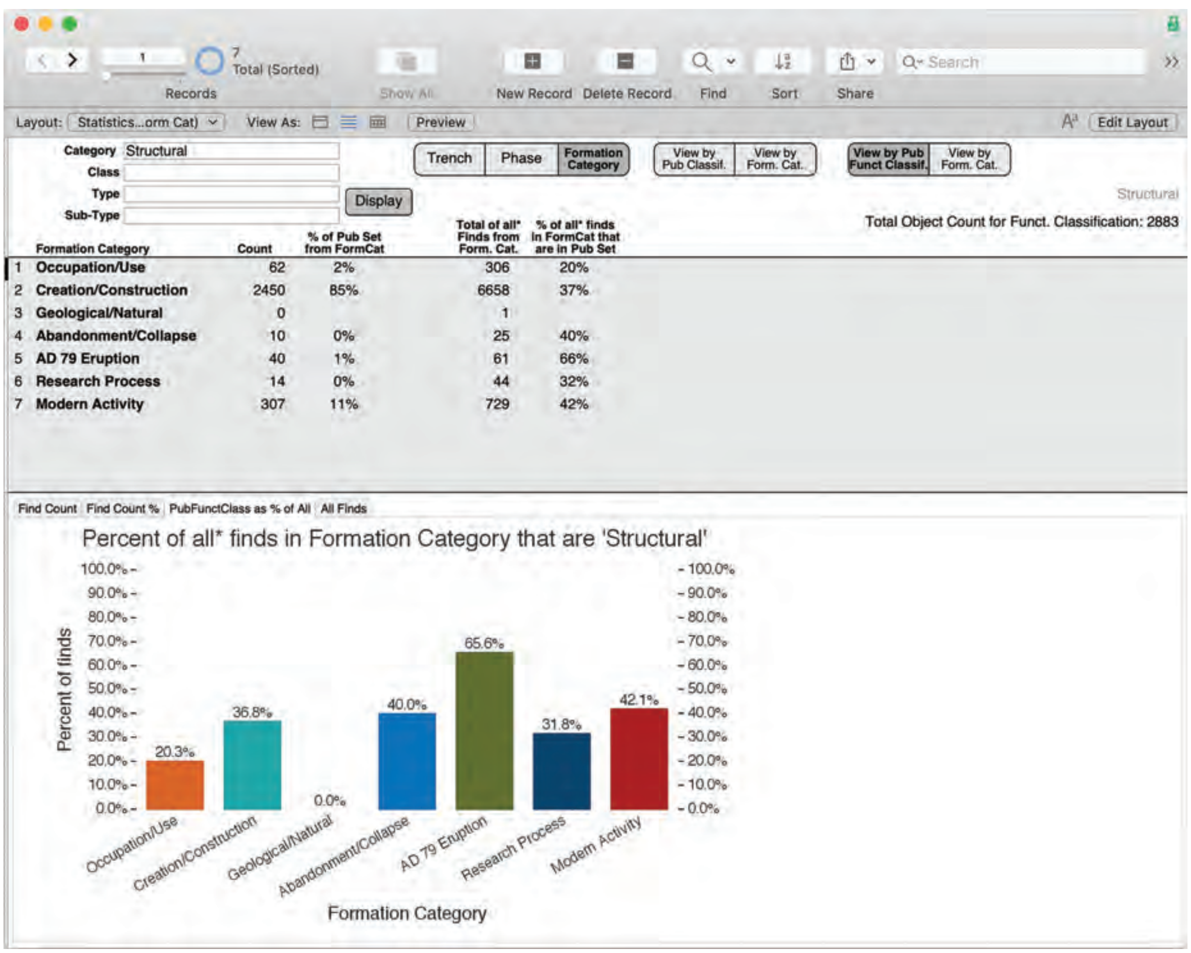

Fig. 3.09 Screenshot of the page for analyzing spatial, chronological, and contextual distributions of artifact classes. The number of structural fragments is shown here as a percentage of all small finds recovered from different contextual categories of SUs.

Conclusion

Like all databases, ours is, on a basic level, simply a centralized system that allows users to record and access detailed information on all aspects of the project. Yet it also became a powerful analytical tool. Some of the most significant interpretive and methodological contributions of this project, such as the chronological phasing of the site, the new classification systems and ontological frameworks, and the micro-contextual analysis of artifactual remains, were developed dialectically with the structure and interface of the database itself. We hope this system can serve as a model for how the creation and use of digital tools can aid in both asking and answering archaeological and historical questions.

CHAPTER 4

The History of Excavation and Research Activity in Insulae VIII.7 and I.1

Ambra Spinelli and Aimée Scorziello

The history of the first excavations in Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 spans over one hundred years—from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century—and so corresponds with some of the earliest investigations in Pompeii.[1] This chapter outlines our attempt to learn about these activities by searching for, and then analyzing, the archival and published records that survive from the first excavations and studies in and around this corner of the ancient city.[2] While the first systematic study is attributed to Giuseppe Fiorelli,[3] from 1872 to 1874, the longer history of excavations and interest in Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 has resulted in a rich but complicated archival dataset. This chapter represents the first attempt to reconcile the architectural, art-historical, and artifactual data that is found in the archives, and to connect that information with the standing remains as well as the information from our own excavations and research.

What follows is: 1. an overview of the chronological sequence of the various explorations carried out across the Porta Stabia neighborhood prior to the initiation of our project in 2005; 2. an outline of the methodology by which we were able to locate, access, and study the various archival records;[4] and 3. a record for the visual and material culture discovered—or at least recorded—from the first excavations, one that is plotted to the various locations and find-spots to provide some spatial context. A combined analysis of the architectural, decorative, epigraphic, and artifactual evidence is undertaken in Phase 7 (see Chapter 14), and allows for a better understanding of the social, cultural, and economic aspects of these insulae during the last years of the city.

History of excavation activity

The first excavations at Pompeii began in 1748 under the Bourbon King of Naples, Charles III.[5] The ancient town, however, was subjected only to sporadic investigations during the first decade following its discovery, as the Bourbon efforts then were particularly concentrated on unearthing the finds in the nearby cities of Herculaneum and Stabiae.[6] By 1764, under the new director of the excavations, Francesco La Vega,[7] Pompeii received renewed attention with the excavation of the two theaters and the Quadriporticus (referred to then as the "Quartiere" and still known today, if misleadingly,

[1] For a general overview of the history of the excavations and documentation at Pompeii, see Zevi 1981, 11–21; De Caro 2015; Moormann 2015, 7–94; Osanna 2015; Zanella 2017a. A list of the main bibliographical sources for Pompeii (including excavation reports, periodicals, and volumes from the Bourbon period to the 1960s) can be found in Laidlaw 1985, 2–13; also 2007.

[2] The first version of this work was presented in poster form at the 113th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA, Seattle, 2013), where it received the "Best Poster Award." We thank, therefore, the AIA audience for their generous feedback and, in particular, Gina Tibbott for designing the graphical layout of the poster. The authors express their gratitude to the entire staff of the Library and Archivio Storico in the Naples Archaeological Museum (hereafter MANN), and in particular to Maria Rosaria Esposito, Andrea Milanese, Angela Luppino, Michela Staiano, Olga Capretto, and Caterina Cozzolino, for assisting in the archival research. A special thanks also goes to Paolo Giulierini, Luisa Melillo, Valeria Sampaolo, and Alessandra Villone for helping the authors in gaining access to the various depositories and archives of the MANN. While working in Pompeii, we remain grateful to Massimo Osanna, Grete Stefani, Antonio Varone, Ernesta Rizzo, Michele Borgongino, Elena La Rosa, and Giuseppe Di Martino, as well as the various "consegnatari" in the Casa di Bacco (Domenico Busiello, Luisa Pagano, and Ulderico Franco) for facilitating the authors' research through several summers of work.

[3] Giuseppe Fiorelli was appointed Chief Inspector of the excavations at Pompeii in 1860 and became Superintendent in 1863: Grifoni 1987, 431; García y García 1998, 1136. On Fiorelli's system of excavation, reforms, and contributions, see Scatozza Höricht 1987; Barbanera 1998, 19–34; García y García 2015; and recently Moormann 2015, 74–83, esp. n. 303 (with further bibliography). For a list of the various Superintendents and Directors of Pompeii from 1738 to 2012, see: <http://www.arborsapientiae.com/notizia/53/soprintendenti-agli-scavi-di-pompei-dal-1738-al-2012.html>.

[4] On the value of studying the types of evidence found in archival sources, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 7; Allison 1997, 2001; 2004; Berry 1997; Laidlaw 2007; Monteix 2016b; Coralini 2018; and recently Berg and Kuivalainen 2020.

[5] See above note 1.

[6] For a discussion on the earliest Bourbon explorations and documentation: Parslow 1998; Moormann 2015, 17–48 (with further bibliography).

[7] Zevi, 1981, 11. Francesco La Vega was director of the excavations at Pompeii from 1764 until his death in 1804. For La Vega's contributions: Pagano 1997; García y García 1998, 701–3.

The Porta Stabia Neighborhood at Pompeii, Volume 1: Structure, Stratigraphy, and Space. Steven J. R. Ellis, Allison L. C. Emmerson, and Kevin D. Dicus, Oxford University Press.
 DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780192866943.003.0004

as the "Caserma dei Gladiatori").[8] These buildings, however, were not fully investigated until the 1790s, at which time it appears that the northernmost properties of Insula VIII.7 (at least entrances 11–15) also were exposed.[9]

To judge from La Vega's excavation reports, which were not available to Fiorelli and consequently were not included in the *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia* (*PAH*),[10] there followed until 1798 sporadic excavations in VIII.7.11–15. This early work is confirmed by an examination of several cartographic sources, in particular Francesco and Pietro La Vega's map completed in 1809, which incorporates excavations from the late eighteenth century and shows the properties at VIII.7.11–15 as partially uncovered (Fig. 4.01).[11] Equally noteworthy is the

[8] July 25, 1764: Discovery of the Theater, in *PAH* I.1 (1748–80), 158; October 25 and 31, 1766: Discovery of the Quadriporticus, in *PAH* I.1 (1748–80), 195–6; March 25, 1769: Discovery of the Theatrum Tectum ("roofed theater"), in *PAH* I.1 (1748–80), 227. On the first excavations in this area of the town, see Laidlaw and Stella 2014, 21, n. 19 with excavation dates. For the eighteenth-century methodologies of excavation and restoration, see Parslow 2001.

[9] *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum* (*CTP*) V, 115. A passage from the *PAH* (I.2 [1781–1807], 58) notes that on: "5 Marzo [1795] – Si continua lo scavo per fare strada da introdurre alli tre consaputi edificj, cioè Quartiere, Odeo, e Teatro. Si è evacuato un comprensivo di abitazione, che attacca con l'ingresso del Quartiere."

[10] Pagano 1997, with information on various daily reports that were not included in the *PAH* (a collection of official excavation reports from the period 1748 to 1859 that was compiled by Fiorelli).

[11] For issues regarding the dating of this map, see García y García 1998, 703, n. 7800.

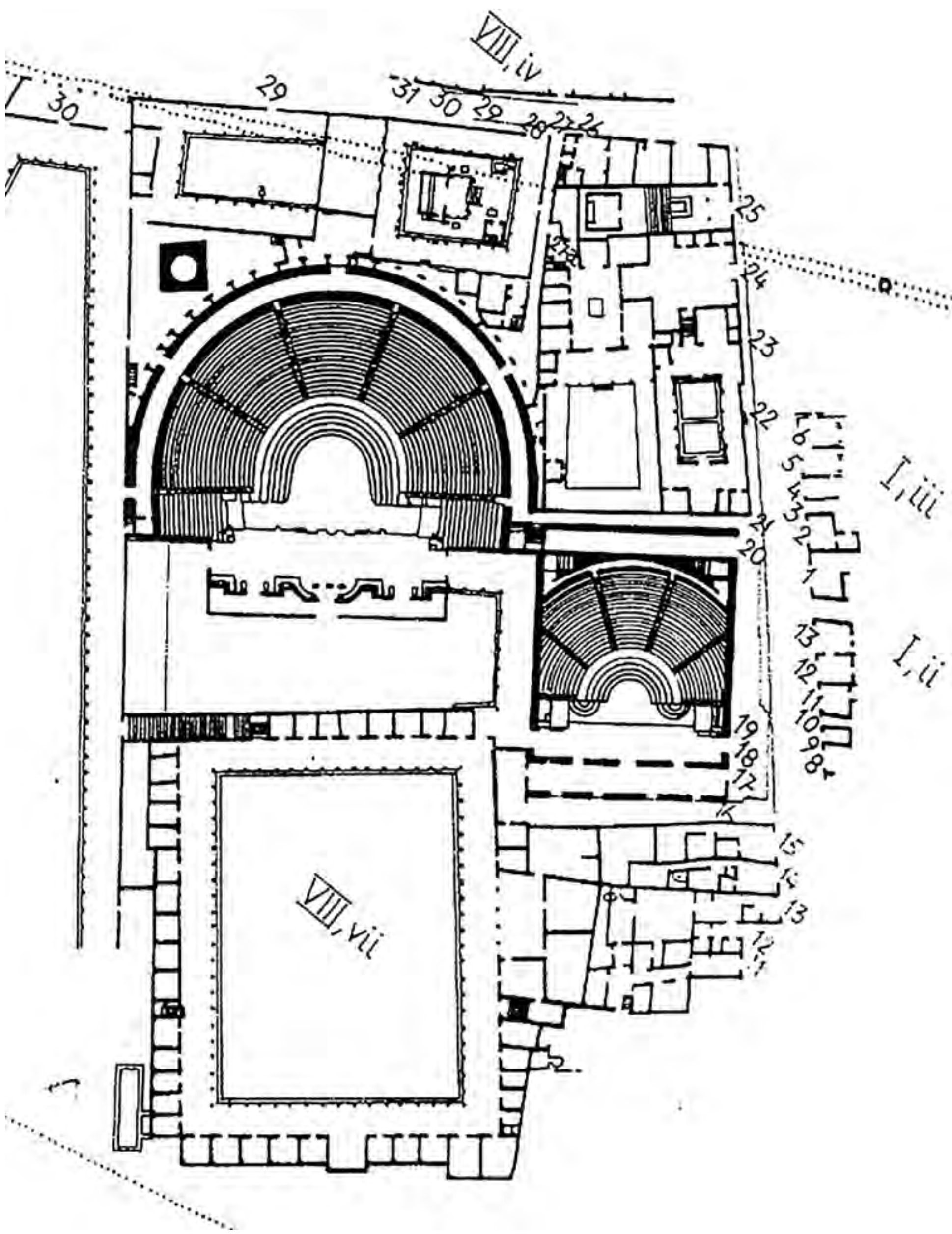

Fig. 4.01 La Vega's 1809 map of what would become the Porta Stabia neighborhood, indicating the partial exposure of the northern limits of Insula VIII.7.

fact that once Fiorelli came to excavate in this neighborhood some seventy or so years later, his team recorded a strikingly small number of artifacts in this area in comparison to the number of finds recovered in the rest of Insula VIII.7.[12] This imbalance in finds further supports the idea that this area had already been explored. The cartographic sources reveal inconsistencies in the information, showing these properties as both buried and exposed over time.[13] Though we cannot be certain, it is possible that there may have been some reburial of those properties in order to facilitate access to the excavations in the theaters and Quadriporticus.[14]

Fiorelli's excavations from 1872 to 1874 represent the first insula-wide investigation of I.1. and VIII.7. The attention of Fiorelli and his "Soprastanti" to both the architectural and visual evidence, as well as to the material culture, provides the main corpus of archaeological data about this neighborhood for the period preceding our excavation project.[15] Luigi Viola and August Mau later compiled—and expanded upon—these efforts in the insulae. Mau provided greater details about the architectural and decorative evidence, while Viola was responsible for compiling a brief description of the properties excavated between 1863 and 1878, including a map by Giacomo Tascone that shows the areas uncovered during those years (Fig. 4.02).[16]

A few additional targeted excavations were later undertaken by Giuseppe Spano, who extended the excavations of Insula VIII.7 westward toward the eastern limits of the Quadriporticus, unearthing the two summer triclinia in VIII.7.5–6 and VIII.7.9–11.[17] Hitherto, the excavations into the rear portions of these properties had exposed only their uppermost limits; the excavations had essentially stopped at the floor level of the adjacent Quadriporticus, leaving the ground level of at least the southern properties in VIII.7, which are 2–3 m lower, to remain buried. That earlier situation is illustrated in Hackert's oil painting of the neighborhood from 1799 (Fig. 4.03). Further evidence for this difference in ground level and the extent of the earliest excavations may also be found on WF 178 where the vertical face of a Bourbon lime pit—to aid in early (re)construction efforts—survives high against the southwesternmost wall of Insula VIII.7, precisely at the upper ground level of the Quadriporticus; the pit, or at least an awning to cover it, may even have been included in Hackert's illustration (Figs. 4.04 and 4.05). Lastly, Matteo Della Corte conducted a small excavation in 1912. Though just a single trench in the back of I.1.1/10, documented only by a sketch in the archives, it still has some value in that it is the first and only sub-79 CE excavation prior to our own efforts.[18]

The history of the excavations can be thus summarized according to street entrances rather than specific, known properties:

March 5, 1795–December 20, 1798: VIII.7.9–11; VIII.7.12; VIII.7.13–15 roughly (possible periodic excavations).[19]

May 20, 1851–March 13, 1852: Porta Stabia and along *via Stabiana* (periodic excavations).[20]

May 1872: I.1.1–2; VIII.7.3–5.[21]

[12] See Fig. 4.07 for the map showing the assemblage of artifacts in their context of discovery. Any attempt to retrieve information about finds recovered during these early excavations is problematic due to the incomplete nature of the records. Although La Vega's reports list a selection of finds, it is impossible to place them with any accuracy in the northernmost properties of VIII.7. On La Vega's diaries of excavation and the list of finds possibly recovered from VIII.7.11–15, see Pagano 1997, 128–53. In general, for the archaeological records and finds uncovered during the Bourbon period, see Pagano and Prisciandaro 2006. For a discussion on the limitations of documentation pre-dating Fiorelli, see Allison 1992; 2004, 30–4.

[13] For a selection of maps showing VIII.7.11–15 partially excavated see: La Vega and La Vega 1809 (in *CTP* V, 116, pl. 4); Mazois 1824, I, pl. 2; De Jorio and Russo 1825; Breton 1855. In the following maps the area appears instead to be untouched (and thus, covered): Gell and Gandy 1817, II, pl. 64; Wilkins 1819, pl. 2; Cockburn and Donaldson 1827, I, 40; Fumagalli 1833, pl. 3; Zahn 1842, II, pl. 100; D'Aloë 1858; Fiorelli 1868, pl. 1. Images of these and other maps are also collected in the Halsted B. Vander Poel Campanian Collection Archive in the Getty Research Institute (GRI) in Los Angeles, boxes 506–7: see infra n. 39. For further bibliography on each of the authors listed above, see García y García 1998.

[14] Mau (1875, 169) describes the properties at VIII.7.13–14 as not fully excavated. The notion of a pre-eruption abandonment has been taken as possible explanation for the recovery of a few finds in the case of a number of private residences at Pompeii: Allison 2004, 20, 192–8. In our case, however, such relatively small quantity of finds is better explained by the earlier Bourbon explorations. For an overview of the scholarly debate on the abandonment or growth of Pompeii after the 62 CE earthquake, see Lazer 2009, 70–8.

[15] On the role of the "Soprastanti": Castiglione Morelli del Franco 1993; De Caro 2015, 16–17.

[16] García y García 1998, 783–94 (for Mau's work); 1208–9 (for Viola's contribution). Fiorelli gave Tascone the task of preparing a comprehensive map of Pompeii: see García y García 1998, 1164.

[17] Spano 1910a, 263–68. Mau (1875, 168) notes the presence of a possible triclinium in the garden of VIII.7.9–11. The summer triclinium, however, was not fully excavated until the efforts of Spano. On these triclinia, see infra further discussion in the text as well as Chapter 12.

[18] Seven bronze coins were found during Della Corte's excavations, including four from Greece and one from Egypt dating to the first half of the second century BCE: Della Corte 1912, 333. On Della Corte's work at Pompeii: García y García 1998, 385–408.

[19] *PAH* I.2 (1781–1807), 58–72. Cf., Fiorelli (1875, 347), who names the area VIII.8 and has as dates: from July 25, 1764 to June 17, 1769; from December 10, 1791 to December 20, 1798 (which includes the work carried out in the theaters and in the Quadriporticus), as well as *CTP* V, 116, in which the excavations in VIII.7.11–15 are dated from 1792 to 1795. An examination of Fiorelli's *PAH* and La Vega's reports (see Pagano 1997, 128–53), instead, narrowed down the possible dates for when the northernmost properties of VIII.7 could first have been exposed: see further discussion in the text.

[20] *PAH* III.6 (1851–60), 502–18.

[21] The first certain mention of an excavation in a shop in I.1 is on May 25 in the *Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei Nuova Serie* (*GdS* NS, that is the published version of the *Giornali*) 1873, 422. Cf. Fiorelli (1875, 32), with excavation dates for I.1: from March 4 to June 29, 1872; from July 15 toDecember 24, 1873. The broad range of dates listed by Fiorelli for the "Isola Prima," therefore, seems to also include excavations along the *via Stabiana* and in the area of the Porta Stabia.

Fig. 4.02 Tascone's 1879 map of Insulae VIII.7 and I.1.

FIG. 4.03 Jacob Hackert's 1799 oil painting of Pompeii, with the highest parts of Insula VIII.7 exposed and those of Insula I.1 not yet excavated. Attingham Park, The Berwick Collection, National Trust; inventory no. 608992.

FIG. 4.04 Close-up of Jacob Hackert's 1799 rendering of the rear (westernmost) area of Insula VIII.7; the awning against the Quadriporticus may have covered the lime pit. Attingham Park, The Berwick Collection, National Trust; inventory no. 608992.

June 1872: I.1.2; I.1.3–5; I.1.8, VIII.7.1, VIII.7.5–6.
September 1873: I.1.7–8; VIII.7.9.[22]
May–October 1874: VIII.7 (all properties).[23]
January 1905: VIII.7.5.[24]
July–October 1906: VIII.7.6, VIII.7.9–11, VIII.7.14 (targeted excavations in the back half of properties VIII.7.6, VIII.7.9–11, and VIII.7.14 near the western wall that is shared with the Quadriporticus).
September 12, 1912: brief excavation in a single trench in I.1.1.

[22] Cf. Fiorelli (1875, 32), who dates the end of the excavations to December 24, 1873. After September 1873, however, work continued in the area, with some excavations carried out in I.5.

[23] Cf. Fiorelli (1875, 347), with excavation dates: September 7 to October 31, 1874. Excavations in properties VIII.7.1–15 ended on October 15, 1874 and were resumed in 1906. The dates from October 15 onwards apply for the rest of the insula. Excavations in VIII.7.9–11, and VIII.7.13–15 were never specifically mentioned in the published or unpublished *GdS*, but the properties were described both by Fiorelli (1875, 347–50) and Viola (1879, 16–18), and appear as excavated in Tascone's map (cf. Fig. 4.02).

[24] Stratigraphic excavation in the garden of VIII.7.5 was undertaken by Innocenzo Dall'Osso, who uncovered prehistoric remains. See further information in Avagliano 2016, esp. 241.

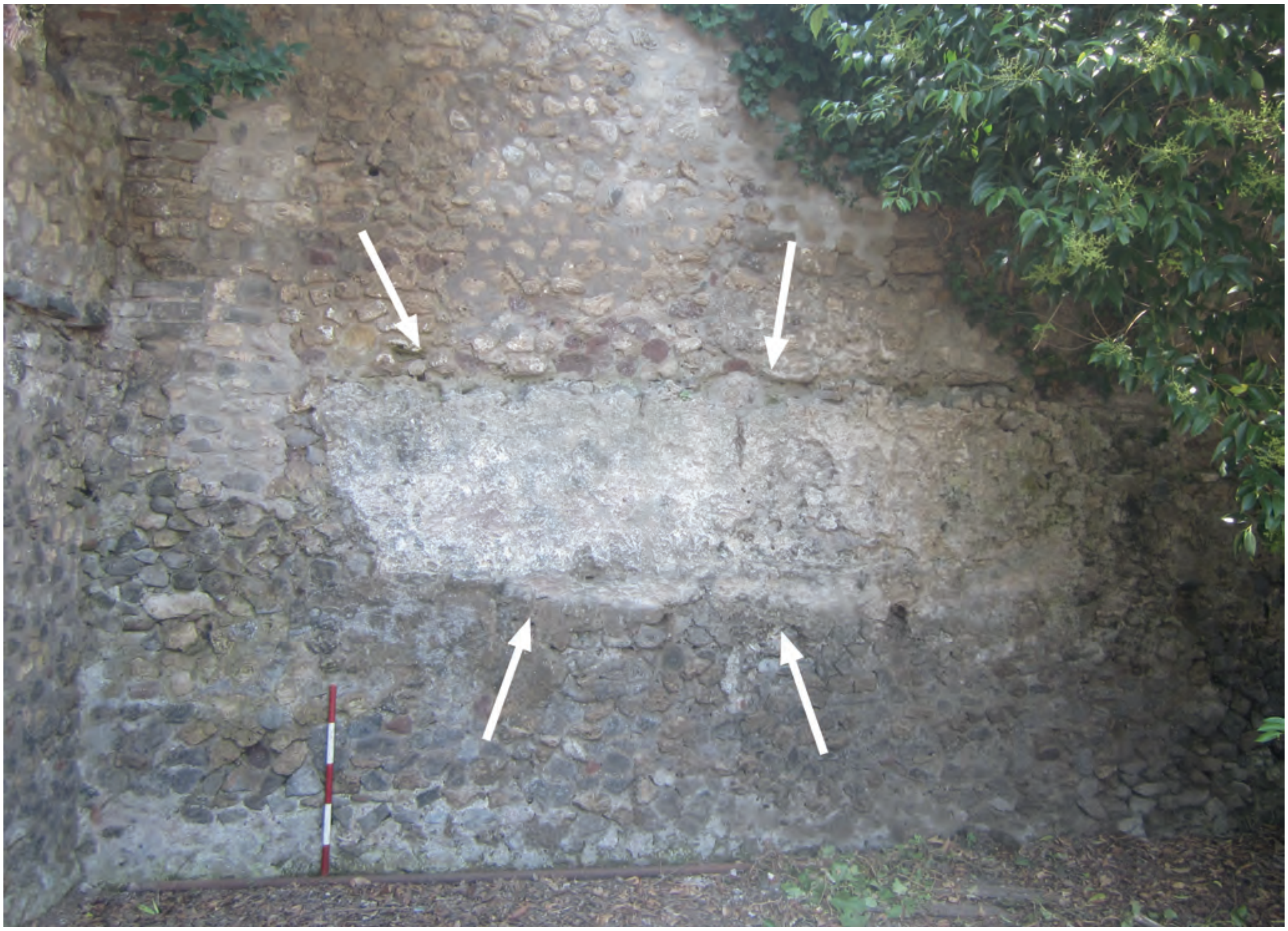

Fig. 4.05 The outline of the lime pit survives against the outside of the Quadriporticus (WF 178).

It is also worthwhile to note that the excavations carried out between the 1790s and 1870s were done under various nomenclature systems;[25] until each system is identified and essentially compared to the present one, the differing addresses can play havoc on the archival research.[26] Equally, the result of those earliest excavations is that each of the properties became identified with a functional type, and in some cases associated with a named individual.[27] Spaces within the various properties, in particular, were labeled according to ancient terminology found in primary literary sources, sometimes also adding a translation and interpretation of the ancient terms in contemporary Italian.[28]

Insula I.1

Property I.1.1/10: *Taberna/caupona/*"bottega"[29] [I.1.10: exit door]

Property I.1.2: *Taberna*

Property I.1.3–5: *Hospitium*/"albergo" with stables [I.1.4 and I.1.5: *tabernae*]

Property I.1.6–9: *Hospitium Hermetis* with stable [I.1.6: "bottega"; I.1.7: Staircase; I.1.9: *thermopolium*]

25 *CTP* V.1981, 104–5; 505–10; Laidlaw 1985, 2. Earlier attempts to introduce a numbering system at Pompeii were prompted by Bonucci and Spinelli: see Borriello 2008.

26 The former enumerations for VIII.7 were: II.7; VIII.5; VIII.6–5; VIII.7–8; and VIII.8: see *CTP* II 1983, 307. For I.1, in Viola (1879, 8), we read that having uncovered part of I.1 first, the investigators then divided the insula into two separate city blocks (I.1 and I.5) once they moved farther west and discovered the small street (or alleyway) that divided them.

27 The descriptions of the properties in both insulae come from Fiorelli 1875. While Mau (1875), and to a lesser extent, Viola (1879), also write about these properties, their identifications of space do not differ materially from Fiorelli's interpretations.

28 The application of such nomenclature comes attached to expectations of assigned functions and sets of activities that would have taken place in each area. Recent scholarship, however, has demonstrated that ancient texts do not provide useful information on the physical location of rooms nor the spatial distribution of activities: Allison 1993, 2001, 2004 (11–12); Leach 1997. For a brief overview of the ancient terminology used for the hospitality business, see Monteix 2007; Ellis 2018, 29–35.

29 Fiorelli 1875, 32: "La prima *taberna* di questa isola . . . fu una *caupona*." Later on, Fiorelli describes this property with the general Italian translation "bottega."

Insula VIII.7

Property VIII.7.1–4: *Hospitium* with stable [VIII.7.2: staircase; VIII.7.3–4: "botteghe"]

Property VIII.7. 5–6: "Bottega" with house

Property VIII.7.7–8: *Taberna M. Suri* with house [VIII.7.7: staircase]

Property VIII.7.9–11: "Botteghe" with living spaces ("dormitorii e triclinii") in the back [VIII.7.9: staircase]

Property VIII.7.12: *Taberna* with house

Property VIII.7.13–15: "Botteghe"

Documentary sources and the mapping of visual and material evidence

A substantial body of documentary evidence on the earlier excavations was collected and examined (Table 4.01).[30] In particular, for the study and interpretation of the assemblage of artifacts recorded by earlier excavations, two sources were crucial for tracking and accessing a number of objects that were shipped to the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN) between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the *Librette pel rinvenimento degli oggetti antichi* and the *Notamenti di spedizione degli oggetti trovati negli scavi di Pompei*. The *Librette*,[31] which are kept in the archives of the Parco Archeologico di Pompei, contain the list of artifacts recovered, their shipment date to the MANN or, sometimes, to the "Museo Pompeiano" (built next to the Porta Marina and later destroyed during the 1943 Allied bombing of the city),[32] as well as their preliminary progressive numbers. These preliminary progressive numbers were essential to locating the objects received and recorded by the MANN. This information was then transferred to the *Notamenti* (kept at the MANN), where each find received a final inventory number.[33] Both the *Librette* and the *Notamenti*, therefore, were indispensable for retrieving the current inventory numbers of our artifacts stored in the MANN. Nevertheless, some artifacts like coins were impossible to locate in the MANN's storerooms because they were shipped in groups several years after their discovery.[34] Furthermore, despite the identification of many finds in the inventory, it has not been possible to locate the full body of objects in the MANN's database and, consequently, in its storerooms. Those objects that we were able to access and examine allowed us to get a sense of the type of materials associated with these insulae, stripped of the often-confusing labels given to the finds in the excavation diaries.[35]

Also consulted was the classic corpus of bibliographic sources necessary to build a picture of the excavations at Pompeii in VIII.7 and I.1 over the past centuries. This includes: Fiorelli's *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia* (*PAH*), the unpublished and published versions of the *Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei* (hereafter *GdS* UP and *GdS* NS, respectively),[36] Fiorelli's *Descrizione di Pompei*, Viola's "Gli Scavi di Pompei dal 1873 al 1878" (in *Pompei e la Regione Sotterrata dal Vesuvio nell'Anno LXXIX*), the *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (*NSc*), the *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (*BdI*), and Francesco and Pietro La Vega's map of Pompeii, "Pianta di parte della città ed adiacenze di Pompei" (see Fig. 4.01).[37] Other sources include photos in the Archivio Fotografico of the Parco Archeologico di Pompei, currently accessible only on site,[38] and in the Photo Archive of the American Academy in Rome. Also consulted was the Halsted B. Vander Poel Campanian Collection Archive at the Getty Research Institute (GRI) in Los Angeles, which in addition to extensive notes and bibliography on the insulae, provides photographs and copies of many of the early maps of Pompeii.[39]

Carrying out a study of Pompeian finds assemblages associated with the 79 CE layers and their archival records is by no means unproblematic. First, the various data (e.g., excavation journals, photographs, lists of inventories, ancient artifacts, etc.) are not collected and accessible in a single location. For instance, a published version of the *GdS* detailing the main

[30] See Table 4.01 for a detailed list of documentary sources related to each property. The full list of finds uncovered and recorded by excavators includes more than one thousand portable items (i.e., 287 finds of various types; 1366 coins; 258 corals for necklace; as well as various—unknown—fragments of broken vessels, burned textiles, etc.).

[31] The *Librette* are currently being digitally scanned by the SAP and may be more accessible at a future date.

[32] García y García 2006, esp. 173–205 for the history of the "Museo Pompeiano."

[33] For an overview of the several "historical" inventories of the MANN, see Morisco 2012.

[34] Not all objects mentioned in the daily journal of excavations were later recorded in the *Librette*, thus making it impossible to locate them at the MANN. On the *Librette*, see also Coralini 2018, 186.

[35] In defining the various artifacts, we followed in large part the glossary of terms developed by Allison in her study of material culture from the atria houses at Pompeii: see <http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/glossary.html>.

[36] The *GdS* NS often present a shorter description of the data that is fully recorded in the unpublished journals (e.g., lacking many of the measurements of the objects), thus both the unpublished and published accounts were consulted to provide the most complete picture of the artifact assemblage. For discussion regarding the discrepancies of recording in the *GdS* UP and in other original sources (e.g., *NSc—Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*), see Berry 1997, 186–7; Allison 2004, 30–3.

[37] For a general overview of the main Pompeian literary sources: Laidlaw 1985, 2–13; 2007, 620–36; Zanella 2017a.

[38] As with the *Librette*, the photographic collection at Pompeii is currently in the process of being scanned. While there are a limited number of photographs of objects from VIII.7.1–15, what is available provides valuable information about finds that are no longer extant. The authors would like to thank in particular Michele Borgongino and Elena La Rosa for helping in researching and accessing the original images in the Archivio Fotografico at Pompeii.

[39] The Halsted B. Vander Poel Campanian Collection Archive at the Getty Research Institute comprises records that Vander Poel and his team collected from about forty years of investigation at Pompeii, and as well as—to a lesser extent—at nearby sites in the Bay of Naples, such as Herculaneum and Stabiae. For more information on this collection, see Bonfitto 2017.

TABLE 4.01 The archive of finds from the first excavations of Insulae VIII.7 and I.1

PROPERTY BIBLIOGRAPHY
I.1.1/10
Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 75; *GdS* UP 1872 (May); *GdS* UP 1912 (September); *GdS* NS 1873, Vol. 2, 422; *Librette* 13, 24; Fiorelli 1873, 76; *Notamenti* 1861–6; Fiorelli 1875, 32–3, 35; Mau 1875, 25; Sogliano 1879, 9, no. 6; Viola 1879, 7–9; Della Corte 1912, 333; Warscher 1937, no. 11; Schefold, 1957, 8; Della Corte 1965, 265–6; Kleberg 1957, 39; *CTP* V, 1981, 137, 146, 200; *CTP* 1983, II, 225; *CTP* 1986, IIIA, 2–3; *PPP* 1981, I, 1; *PPM* 1990, I, 1–3; Fröhlich 1991, 64; Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 13; *CIL* IV.1015; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, box 194; Inserra 2008, 19–20, no. A 01; Ellis 2011d, 59–71, figs. 2, 7–8; Ellis 2018, 21–3, 154–61, (type A.4); Ellis et al. 2011, 1–6, 16.
I.1.2
Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 75; *GdS* UP 1872 (May–June); *GdS* NS 1873, Vol. 2, 423; *Libretta* 13; *Notamenti* 1861–6, 1887–9, 1889–96; Fiorelli 1873, 76, 106, no. 25; Fiorelli 1875, 33; Mau 1875, 25–7; Sogliano 1879, 11, no. 19, 27, no. 103, 38–9, no. 16, 101, no. 549; Viola 1879, 8; Boyce 1937, 21, no. 1; Warscher 1937, nos. 11a–c; Schefold, 1957, 8; *CTP* V, 1981, 137, 146, 200; Fröhlich 1991, 249 (L1); Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 13; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, box 194; *PPM* 1999, XI, 857, 859, no. 28; Ellis et al. 2011, 1, 16; Ellis 2018, 21–3, 159–63, (type A.3).
I.1.3–5
Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 75; *GdS* UP 1872 (May–June); *GdS* NS 1873, Vol. 2, 424–5; *Libretta* 13; *Notamenti* 1861–86, 1887–9, 1889–96; Fiorelli 1873, 76; Fiorelli 1875, 33; Mau 1875, 27–30; Viola 1879, 8–9; Warscher 1937, nos. 12–13; Kleberg 1957, 33; *CTP* V, 1981, 137, 146, 200; *CTP* 1983, II, 225; Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 13; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, box 194; Ellis et al. 2011, 1, 7–10, 16; Ellis 2018, 21–3, 159, (type B.2).
I.1.6–9
Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 75; *GdS* UP 1872 (June); *GdS* UP 1873 (September); *GdS* NS 1873, Vol. 2, 425–6; *GdS* NS 1874, Vol. 3, 63–4; *Librette* 13, 14; *Notamenti* 1861–86, 1887–9, 1889–96; Fiorelli 1873, 76, 107, no. 31; Fiorelli 1875, 33–5; Mau 1875, 30–2; Sogliano 1879, 12, no. 27; Viola 1879, 9; Boyce 1937, 21, no. 2; Warscher 1937, nos. 14–15; Di Capua 1950, 72; Kleberg 1957, 34–5; Schefold 1957, 8; Ruddell 1964, 70; Della Corte 1965, 265; De Franciscis 1975, 219 n. 35; Packer 1978, 6–9, figs.1–2; 45–6; *CTP* V, 1981, 137, 146, 201; Mau 1882, 401–2, fig. 232; *CTP* 1983, II, 225; *CTP* 1986, IIIA, 2–3; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, box 194; *PPM* 1990, I, 4–7; *PPM* 1991, XI, 860–1, no. 29; Fröhlich 1991, 64, 169, 175, 177, 249–50 (L2); Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 14; *CIL* IV.3355; DeFelice 2007, 77; Ellis et al. 2011, 1, 10–16; Ellis 2018, 21–3, 162–3, (type A.2).
VIII.7.1–2
La Vega 1809 (map); Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 68; *GdS* UP 1872 (June); *GdS* NS 1873, Vol. 2, 423–4; *GdS* NS 1875, Vol. 3, 136, 139; *Librette* 13, 15; *Notamenti* 1861–86; Fiorelli 1875, 348; Mau 1875, 126–8, 163; Viola 1879, 16, pl. 1; Kleberg 1957, 35–6; Schefold 1957, 230; Jashemski 1964, 344; 1993, 220, no. 451, fig. 253; *CTP* V 1981, 396; *CTP* II 1983, 307; Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 388; *CIL* IV.3603; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, boxes 153, 196; Mouritsen 1988, 148; Camodeca 2002, 70–1, n. 20; Devore and Ellis 2005, 1, 6–7; Ellis and Devore 2006, 1–6; Ellis and Devore 2007, 119–21, figs. 1–2; 3604; Ellis and Devore 2008; Ciarallo 2012, 631–2, no. 452; Ellis 2018, 21–3.
VIII.7.3–4
Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 68; *GdS* UP 1874 (May, July, September); *GdS* NS 1875, Vol. 3, 135, 137, 139; *Libretta* 14; *Notamenti* 1861–86; Fiorelli 1875, 348; Mau 1875, 126–7; Viola 1879, 16, pl. 1; *CTP* V 1981, 396; Fröhlich 1991, 50; Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 388; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, box 196; Ellis and Devore 2008; Ellis and Devore 2009, 1–5; Ellis 2018, 1–4, 21–3, 233.
VIII.7.5
Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 68; *GdS* UP 1872 (June); *GdS* NS 1873, Vol. 2, 426; *GdS* NS 1875, Vol. 3, 139; *Libretta* 13; Fiorelli 1875, 348–9; Mau 1875, 126, 164; Viola 1879, 16, pl. 1; *CTP* V 1981, 396; Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 389; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, box 196; Ellis and Devore 2008; Devore and Ellis 2008, 1–4; Ellis and Devore 2010, 1, 5–8, 18–20; Ellis 2018, 21–3.

(*continued*)

Table 4.01 *continued*

PROPERTY BIBLIOGRAPHY
VIII.7.6
Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 68; *GdS* UP 1874 (July–September); Sogliano 1874, *GdS* NS 1874, Vol. 3, 54–5; *GdS* NS 1875, Vol 3, 137–9; *Libretta* 14; *Notamenti* 1861–86; Fiorelli 1875, 348; Mau 1875, 164–5; Viola 1879, 16–17, pl. 1; Spano 1910a, 263–5, fig. 5; Boyce 1937, 78, no. 376; Soprano 1950, 301–2, no. 17; Schefold 1957, 230; Jashemski 1964, 187; 1993, 220, no. 452, fig. 254; *CTP* V 1981, 396; Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 389; *CIL* IV.5528; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, box 196; Ellis and Devore 2008; Devore and Ellis 2008, 1–4; Ellis and Devore 2009, 1–5, 17–18; Ellis and Devore 2010, 1, 5–8, 18–20; Ciarallo 2012, 632–3, no. 453; Ellis 2018, 21–3.
VIII.7–8
Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 68; *GdS* UP 1874 (July–August); *GdS* NS, Vol. 3, 52–3; *GdS* NS 1875, 137–8; *Libretta 15*; *Notamenti* 1861–86; Fiorelli 1875, 349; Klein 1875, 55–6; Mau 1875, 165–6; Viola 1879, 17, pl. 1; *CIL* X.867; Della Corte 1965, 263, no. 518; *CTP* V 1981, 396; *CTP* II 1983, 307; Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 389; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, boxes 153, 196; Cooley and Cooley 2004, 177; Ellis and Devore 2008; Devore and Ellis 2008, 1, 4-8; Ellis and Devore 2009, 1, 5-9; Ellis 2011d, 59, 61–6, 77, 83, figs. 1–2, 5, 9, 14; 2018, 21–3.
VIII.7.9–10
Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 68; Fiorelli 1875, 349; Mau 1875, 166–8; Viola 1879, 17 pl. 1; *GdS* UP 1906 (August); Spano 1910a, 265; Boyce 1937, 78, no. 377 (with old insula address as VIII.8.10); Soprano 1950, 302, no. 18; Schefold 1957, 230; Jashemski 1964, 187; *CTP* V 1981, 396; Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 389; Jashemski 1993, 221, no. 453; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, boxes 153, 196; Devore and Ellis 2005, 1–5; Ellis and Devore 2006, 1, 6–8; Ellis and Devore 2007, 119, 121–2, figs. 1, 3; Ellis and Devore 2008; Ellis 2011d, 59, 61–6, 75–7, 83, figs. 1–4, 9, 11–12, 14–15; 2018, 21–3, 153, 233; Ciarallo 2012, 633, no. 454.
VIII.7.11
La Vega 1809 (in *CTP* V, 116-17, pl. 4); Mazois 1824, I, pl. 2; De Jorio and Russo 1825; Breton 1855; *PAH* I.2, 1860, 58, 63; Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 68; *GdS* UP 1906 (July); Fiorelli 1875, 349; Mau 1875, 166–9; Viola 1879, 17, pl. 1; Spano 1910a, 265–6, 268, figs. 5–6; *CTP* V 1981, 397; Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 390; Jashemski 1993, 222, no. 454; Ellis and Devore 2007, 119, 121–2, figs. 1, 3; Devore and Ellis 2008, 1, 8–11; Ellis and Devore 2008; Ellis and Devore 2009, 1, 13–15; Ellis and Devore 2010, 1, 15–18; Ellis 2011d, 59, 61–6, 75–7, 83, figs. 1–4, 9, 11–12, 14–15; 2018, 21–3, 153, 233; Ciarallo 2012, 633–4, no. 455.
VIII.7.12
La Vega 1809 (in *CTP* V, 116–17, pl. 4); Mazois 1824, I, pl. 2; De Jorio and Russo 1825; Breton 1855; *PAH* I.2, 1860, 58, 63; Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 68; *GdS* UP 1874 (May); *GdS* NS 1875, Vol. 3, 135; Fiorelli 1875, 349–50; Mau 1875, 169; Viola 1879, 17 pl. 1; *CTP* V 1981, 397; Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 390; Ellis and Devore 2006, 1, 10–12; Ellis and Devore 2007, 119, 123, figs. 1, 4; Ellis and Devore 2008; Ellis and Devore 2009, 1, 9–13; Ellis and Devore 2010, 1, 8–9; Ellis 2011d, 59, 61–6, 77, 83, figs. 1–2, 6, 9; 2018, 21–3; Ciarallo 2012, 634, no. 456.
VIII.7.13–15
La Vega 1809 (in *CTP* V, 116–17, pl. 4); Mazois 1824, I, pl. 2; De Jorio and Russo 1825; Breton 1855; *PAH* I.2, 1860, 58, 63; Niccolini and Niccolini 1862, II, 68; *GdS* UP 1906 (July); Fiorelli 1875, 350; Mau 1875, 169; Viola 1879, 17, pl. 1; Spano 1910a, 268; *CTP* V 1981, 397; Eschebach and Müller-Trollius 1993, 390; Ellis and Devore 2006, 1, 8–10; Ellis and Devore 2007, 119, 123–4, figs. 1, 5; Ellis and Devore 2008; Ellis and Devore 2010, 1, 9–15; Ellis 2018, 21–3.

excavations in our area (from 1872 to 1874) is available online. From 1876 onwards, excavation activities were published in the *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (*NSc*), which are less detailed than the *GdS* since they include excavations conducted throughout Italy.[40] Consequently, the handwritten diaries of excavations (*GdS* UP) remained the more detailed account and had to be consulted for the activities that occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century.[41] Even so, not all of the

[40] See Laidlaw 1985, 2–4, with further documentary sources on other periodicals including occasional excavation reports.

[41] These unpublished reports are kept in the Archivio Storico of the MANN and in the archives of the Parco Archeologico di Pompei. A copy can also be found in the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome. The *Librette* and *Notamenti* may also be accessed at separate locations: the *Librette* in Pompeii, the *Notamenti* in the MANN.

features or finds are recorded in the *GdS* UP. This is the case, for instance, of the garden painting on the rear wall of Room 6 in VIII.7.1–4, the summer triclinia and the "serving table" in Room 46 of VIII.7.9–11, and the few painted inscriptions and graffiti which unfortunately are no longer extant (Fig. 4.06 for the distribution of wall paintings and inscriptions).[42] Information about this archaeological evidence has been supplied by other volumes and periodicals, such as the *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (*BdI*), Fiorelli's *Descrizione*, and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*).

Reading the records

The primary goal of this study was to document the artifactual, decorative, and architectural evidence once recovered or recorded from each property. As valuable as this information might prove to be, particularly for leading our team toward a richer reading of the site in 79 CE, still we recognized that there were some significant limitations to the process. For example, a conventional approach to interpreting the use of space based on the spatial distribution of any one class of material or another could not be strictly followed. There are simply too many problems of missing, misleading, and erroneous datasets to allow for any confidence in such a task; these issues have fueled debates about the "Pompeii Premise" and the notion that the total assemblage of Pompeii's 79 CE stray finds reflect the location of their use.[43] Several factors make the premise difficult to apply to the site, among them the evidence for activity in the city before and during the excavation and recording process, as well as the common fabrication of the records (even from recent generations) themselves.[44] As early as the 1870s, for example, Fiorelli had found that earlier, unrecorded activities in the northernmost properties of VIII.7 had destroyed the latest layers,[45] while our own efforts found that the latest layers were mostly missing from the central properties of each insula.

If developing firm ideas on the function of one space or property or another—based on the distribution of artifacts—is problematic, still there is some value in spatially plotting those finds, even if only as an organizational tool for the archive. To that end we recorded the finds listed in the *GdS* NS and UP, along with the features and fixtures documented in other publications, to "re-integrate" the information on a map of the properties and insulae.[46] Certain materials were plotted in specific locations when their relative find-spots were stated or inferred in the excavation records. Because early excavators usually indicated finds by property rather than specific room, it has been particularly difficult to locate definitive find-spots for the majority of the artifacts.[47] These artifacts have been defined as "loose finds"[48] and distributed more broadly throughout each property to give a visual idea of the breadth and variety of the objects recovered.[49] In certain cases, furthermore, it has only been possible to locate the insula, not the property, in which the find was discovered.[50]

With rare exceptions, the artifacts found across both insulae span the same, broad range of materials, such as lamps, cooking and serving wares, food storage containers, tools of various kinds, objects for personal hygiene and adornment, bells,[51] horse tack equipment, and coins.[52] What emerges is an assemblage of mixed materials, with items that would be suitable for both domestic and commercial contexts.[53] Taken in sum, the entire recorded assemblage for VIII.7.1–15 includes: 472 portable items[54] (258 of which are recorded as corals for a

[42] See, for instance, the electoral *programma* of "Epagatus" painted on the facade of I.1.1 (*CIL* IV.1015). For more information on the graffiti and painted inscriptions, see Chapter 19.14.

[43] Binford 1981; Schiffer 1985.

[44] Allison (1992, 50) points out how the complexities of dealing with Pompeian materials is in part due to the disturbances of the "treasure hunting" activities of the pre-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, "traceable only by the disturbed stratigraphy noted in the day books of the later excavators and possibly by the large holes cut into house walls, for access."

[45] Fiorelli (1875, 350) records the back rooms of VIII.7.15 as having "completely disappeared."

[46] See Table 4.01 for the complete list for each property, including date of discovery, as well as find-spots and MANN inventory number whenever possible.

[47] To illustrate this, the entry for the excavations in VIII.7.6 on July 15, 1874 notes: "Nella Regio VIII. Is. 5, sesta bottega a sinistra di chi viene dalla porta Stabiana si è raccolto: *Bronzo*. Una lucerna a due lumi, una moneta di modulo medio, ed un piccolissimo uccello mal conservato …" (*GdS* NS 1875, Vol. 3, 137). Additionally, the way modern archaeologists named and numbered the various properties also contributes to the confusion. In the *GdS* NS 1873, Vol. 2, 423, for example, several items are noted from "la prima bottega a sinistra salendo dalla Porta [Stabiana]," among which is listed a marble table with a relief of a small Faun on its supporting leg. Yet in Fiorelli (1875, 348) and Mau (1875, 126), the same table is said to have been in the second shop. These discrepancies, particularly in the case of VIII.7.1, lead us to assign materials from it to the property as a whole, rather than to specific rooms within it (e.g., VIII.7.3 or VIII.7.4).

[48] In this respect, we have followed Allison's approach (2004, 51). For a comparative study of the artifacts and possible activities undertaken in some commercial outlets at Herculaneum: Monteix 2006; at Pompeii: Gallo 2001.

[49] e.g., 401 bronze coins located generally in I.1.6–9 on account of having been described as being found (on September 1, 1873) in "Insula 1, Regio 1, nella parte superiore della località sul lato occidentale, verso l'angolo nord-ovest" (*GdS* NS. 1874, Vol. 3, 63).

[50] See, for instance, a marble herm of Bacchus said to be found generally on the upper levels ("fra le terre superiori") of I.1, without further details. For image and further discussion on this herm, see Inserra 2008, 19–20, no. A 01.

[51] Small bronze bells were found in several properties (I.1.8; VIII.7.4, 5, 6, and 8), but their specific contexts were not given in the excavation diaries. On the apotropaic properties of bells as items to cast away the malevolent spirits, see Deiss 1989, 119. For a general discussion on the apotropaic powers of bronze and other metals, see Wünsch, 1961, 461–5.

[52] Coins were found in several properties, and in particular in I.1.8.

[53] See also Allison 2004, 112–13, 174. Similar limits in identifying spatial activity according to the finds alone can be also seen in the Greek world, on which see Lynch 2016.

[54] This list does not include the following items whose number was not specified by earlier excavators such as fragments of textile (in VIII.7.1) and some buttons in glass paste (in VIII.7.5).

Fig. 4.06 The distribution of paintings and inscriptions across Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 (courtesy of G. Tibbott).

necklace) and 43 coins; and in I.1.1–10: 73 portable items[55] and 915 coins (437 of which were found all together in Room 126 of I.1.6–9, and 401 more that were unearthed during the upper level excavations of the same property).[56] The majority of the finds were made of bronze and iron. Very few items in ceramic (such as plates and lamps) were found, or at least recorded. Such an apparent dearth of ceramic items is probably attributed to the early archaeological disruption (in the case of VIII.7), as well as to the recording methods of contemporary excavators. At this time, indeed, excavators seem to have been less interested in fragmentary objects (especially pottery and glass), which have thus gone unrecorded.[57] The portable finds, sorted by classes of material, as well as the coins have here been plotted to the properties in which they were found (Figs. 4.07 and 4.08).[58]

Wall paintings and their spatial contexts

In reading the various accounts and excavation diaries, we have been able to trace some information about the spatial distribution not only of artifacts but also of wall paintings, which today are no longer visible. Through the analysis of the archaeologists' descriptions and drawings,[59] as well as of the "Plastico di Pompei," the large-scale model of Pompeii completed in 1879 and on display in the MANN,[60] it has been possible to get a better idea of the kind of decoration that once faced the walls of the various properties.

Images of *Lares* (the household tutelary deities) represent the subject matter most frequently recorded.[61] Many of the painted *lararia*, such as those found in I.1.2, Room 106 (**Ritual Context 6**; see Fig. 4.06) and in I.1.6–9, Room 123 (**Ritual Context 7**; see Fig. 4.06; Fig. 4.09), were once visible from the street and located in areas where goods were prepared, served or sold, as is typical in other Pompeian food and drink outlets.[62] With regard to Insula VIII.7, a painted niche *lararium* was discovered in VIII.7.5–6, Room 21 (**Ritual Context 4**; see Fig. 4.06), where it was associated with two areas of food consumption possibly as early as Phase 5a: the outdoor triclinium in Room 30, and the indoor triclinium in Room 22.[63] Another painted niche *lararium* was found in Room 44 of VIII.7.9–11 (**Ritual Context 5**; see Fig. 4.06) adjacent to the hearth near the outdoor triclinium in Room 46.[64]

Property I.1.2 also contained examples of mythological painting. A Bacchus appears on a painted pillar visible from the street and at the entrance to Room 107, which was likely associated with the consumption of food and drink (see Fig. 4.06).[65] Excavators also recorded two Fourth Style mythological frescoes representing Apollo with a lyre[66] and Phrixus and Helle[67] (both in I.1.2, Room 107; see Fig. 4.06). Both motifs are well represented throughout Pompeii.[68]

[55] Fragments of burned canvas, vessels in fragments, corals, and stones for buttons (all found in I.1.4).

[56] The total number of coins that can be attributed to the *Hospitium Hermetis* is 888. Specifically: I.1.8: 4 bronze coins (June 22, 1872); I.1.8, Room 126: 5 silver coins and 437 bronze coins (September 11, 1873); 13 bronze coins and 1 silver coin (September 16, 1873); I.1.8, Room 130: 27 bronze coins (September 12, 1873); I.1.6–9 (from the upper level excavations): 401 bronze coins.

[57] For the issue of "unrecorded" finds, especially fragmentary pottery and glass, prior to 1930s excavations, see Allison 2004, 31–3. For the same problems in other buildings excavated at Pompeii between Fiorelli's time and the 1920s: Berry 1997, 118; Coralini 2018, 167. At Herculaneum, still during Maiuri's twentieth-century excavations: Monteix 2016b, 426.

[58] We extend our gratitude to Gina Tibbott, who designed and illustrated the various maps in this chapter.

[59] In the case of I.1, only three frescoes were drawn by Geremia Discanno: a *lararium* painting in I.1.2 (Room 106; MANN inv. ADS 1): *PPM* XI, 857, 859, no. 28 (bottom drawing); a male figure partially naked (whose upper part of the body is missing) interpreted by archaeologists as Bacchus leaning against a pilaster and with a panther nearby, found in I.1.2 (Room 106; MANN inv. ADS 1): *PPM* XI, 857, 859, no. 28 (upper right corner drawing); and another *lararium* painting with the inscription "HERMES" in I.1.8 (Room 123. MANN inv. ADS 2): *PPM* I, 7, no. 4; XI, 860–1, no. 29. For a more detailed discussion of the Hermes inscription, see Chapter 19.14. In the case of VIII.7, none of the frescoes found by the archaeologists were reproduced in drawings. The diaries of excavation also inform us about other types of decorative elements found in the properties, such as on shop counters and masonry tables that were either painted or embellished with colored marbles: see, for instance, the counter dressed in colored marble from I.1.2, Room 106 or the masonry tables in VIII.7.6, Room 30, and VIII.7.10, Room 46.

[60] For the "Plastico di Pompei," which was made between 1861 and 1879 and provides a scaled model (1:100) of the city as excavated in 1879, see Sampaolo 1993. Although not drawn, some of the painted walls from both insulae were represented in the Plastico. See, for instance, the elaborate garden wall painting with birds, fountains, and a gate in VIII.7.1 (Room 6), which was also recorded in detail by Mau (1875, 127–8). This fresco may have provided the illusion of a garden in place of a real one in the property.

[61] For more detailed discussion of the *lararia* in both insulae, see Chapter 19.9.

[62] On the painted *lararium* in I.1.2, see in particular Fiorelli 1873, 106, no. 25; Fiorelli 1875, 33; Mau 1875, 25–6; Sogliano 1879, 11, no. 19; Boyce 1937, 21, no. 1; *PPM* XI, 857, 859, no. 28. For the one in I.1.8 see note 59 above, as well as *GdS* NS 1873, Vol. 2, 425; Fiorelli 1873, 76, 107, no. 31; *GdS* NS 1874, Vol. 3, 49; Fiorelli 1875, 34; Mau 1875, 31; Sogliano 1879, 12, no. 27; Boyce 1937, 21, no. 2; *PPM* I, 4–7, no. 4; *PPM* XI, 860–61, no. 29; and Chapter 19.14 with discussion of the Hermes graffito. For a fuller list of bibliographic information on both *lararia*, see Table 4.01.

[63] Mau 1875, 165.

[64] On the relationship between *lararia*, food production, and consumption, see Foss 1994, 158–64; 1997. Another painted *lararium* was mistakenly assigned to VIII.7.3 by later sources according to an entry by Mau (1884, 136): see Boyce 1937, 78, no. 373; Anderson 1982, 252. The present-day enumeration of the Insula VIII.7, indeed, was VIII.8 at the time of Mau, thus leading modern scholars to misplace the location of this fresco.

[65] See Table 4.01 (with bibliography).

[66] To the left of Apollo must have stood another figure, which was already missing at the time of the discovery: Mau 1875, 26; Sogliano 1879, 27, no. 103; Schefold 1957, 8. Not drawn and lost today.

[67] Mau 1875, 26. On this fresco, which was not drawn and today is lost, see also: *GdS* 1874, Vol. 3, 49; Fiorelli 1875, 33; Sogliano 1879, 101, no. 549 (who notes how the painting was already gone); Schefold 1957, 8; *LIMC* VII 1994, 402, no. 36, s.v. "Phrixos et Helle" (L. Kahil).

[68] For more examples of wall paintings of Bacchus in commercial properties at Pompeii, see I.8.8, V.6.1, and VII.6.34–5, as well as Boyce 1937, Appendix II.

Fig. 4.07 The quantity of portable finds sorted by material class across Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 (courtesy of Gina Tibbott).

FIG. 4.08 The distribution of stray coins found in the 79 CE contexts for Insulae VIII.7 and I.1 (courtesy of Gina Tibbott).

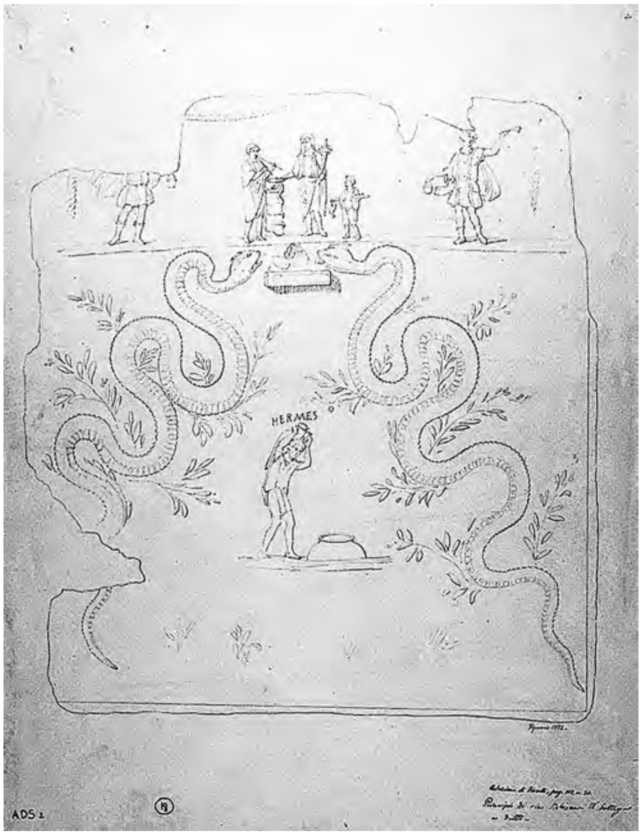

Fig. 4.09 Drawing by Discanno of the painted *lararium* (*Hospitium Hermetis*) in Room 23 of I.1.6–9, WF 1220 (after *PPM* I, 7, no. 4).

Fixtures and finds: some case studies

Among the archeological evidence recorded by earlier excavators, some fixtures and finds deserve particular attention. The triclinium in VIII.7.9–11 (Room 46), for instance, was recorded with several items that are no longer extant today, such as an unusual piece of furniture that the excavators described as a "masonry-serving table" ("mensa in muratura:" h. 0.87 m × l. 1.11 m × d. 0.73 m), which was painted and decorated with colored marbles (see Phase 5a).[69] Two terracotta vessels (a single-handled vase and a two-handled cup) were found in the eastern compartment of the table. A few photographs show a number of objects found around this masonry table, including two marble statuettes (one of a child, h. 0.38 m., and the other of a crouching dog), a small marble capital, a marble base for a missing statue (and another one that once held the feet of the child statuette), as well as several vessels, whole and broken (Figs. 4.10 and 4.11).[70] The triclinium itself was painted with scenes of cupids (with one depicted as warding off a peasant who tries to steal the grapes he is holding), a motif that echoes the decorative theme of the marble statuette of the child holding grapes in his left hand and an unidentified animal (described as possibly a rabbit) nibbling the grapes in his right hand (for the condition of the triclinium in 2005, see Fig. 12.11).[71] Such repetition of a similar motif in different media would have created a sort of thematic harmony.[72]

Among the various artifacts discovered in VIII.7, the military diploma of M. Surus Garasenus (found in Room 33 of VIII.7.7–8, also known as *taberna M. Suri*; see Fig. 2.01 for the location) deserves particular attention since it represents, thus far, the only example of this type of document found at Pompeii (Fig. 4.12).[73] It consists of two thin sheets of rectangular bronze with incised text on both sides of the sheets (l. 16.5 cm; w. 13.5 cm) that records the military service of Marcus Surus Garasenus, a Syrian veteran of the fleet at Cape Miseno who retired during the reign of Vespasian. The military diploma documents M. Surus Garasenus' right to full Roman citizenship, granted to him on April 5, 71 CE.[74] Together with

On the portrayal of Bacchus in Pompeii, Kuivalainen 2021. For further discussion of Bacchus' role as a propitious deity in commercial contexts, see Clarke 2007, 115–19 (esp. 118). Frescoes with representations of Phrixus and Helle have been found, for instance, in the *cubiculum* (6A) of the Casa del Poeta Tragico (VI.8.3,5), in the *cubiculum* (7) of the Casa di Marcus Lucretius (IX.3.5,24; MANN inv. 8896), in the *ala* (d) of the Casa dell'Ercole Ebbro (IX.5.6,17), and in the triclinium (14) of the Casa dei Postumii (VIII.4.4,49). For further representations of this myth in Roman material and visual culture: *LIMC* VII 1994, 398–405, pls. 333–8, s.v. "Phrixos et Helle" (L. Kahil); Hodske 2007, 218–19. For an overview of mythological paintings at Pompeii, see Hodske 2007.

[69] This masonry table, rectangular in shape, faced the northern side of the triclinium and had a small water feature behind it (still visible today; see discussion in Chapter 12). The upper surface of the table was dressed in thin slabs of colored marble and the body painted a light red with bands of color underlined by an "egg and dart motif" framing the opening of its six compartments (c. 0.25 m square each—two on the north and south sides, one each on the east and west sides): Spano 1910a, 265, fig. 5; Jashemski 1993, 221–2; Ciarallo 2012, 633, no. 454.

[70] For descriptions and images of the summer triclinium and the masonry-serving table: *GdS* UP, August 6, 1906; Spano 1910a, 263–6, fig. 6; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, box 153. These photographs, which most probably show the finds staged around the masonry table, are kept in the archives of the Parco Archeologico di Pompei, Negativo Pompei "C 86." For further information on these artifacts, see Table 4.01.

[71] For description of the triclinium's decoration, see Spano 1910a, 265. Spano is equivocal in his description of the animal, while in the *GdS* UP 1906 a rabbit is mentioned. Unfortunately, the photographs available do not allow us to identify this figure definitively, nor to better examine the decoration of the triclinium.

[72] For the use of visual mnemonic devices recalling rhetorical parallels, see Bergmann 1994; Bartman 1988.

[73] MANN inv. 110043. The military diploma was found on July 16, 1874 and sent to Naples a few days after, on July 19: see, *GdS* UP 1874; *GdS* NS 1874, Vol. 3, 52–4; *GdS* NS 1875, Vol. 3, 137; *Libretta* 15. For the full inscription, see *CIL* X.867 = *CIL* XVI.15 = ILS 1990. For further information on the diploma: Fiorelli 1875, 349; Mau 1875, 166; Klein 1875, 55–6, 220; Viola 1879, 17, 38–40, no. 10; Della Corte 1965, 263, no. 518; Roxan 1981, 284, table 4.11, no. 15; Vander Poel Campanian Collection, box 196, f. 4; Cooley and Cooley 2004, 271, no. H89, with wrong provenience (i.e., found in a *cubiculum* of VIII.v at Pompeii). The diploma has not been published in any of the five volumes of *Roman Military Diplomas* (by Margaret Roxan and / or Paul Holder).

[74] The right of citizenship was traditionally conferred upon veterans who had served for a minimum of twenty-five years (for normal auxiliary) or twenty-six years (for the fleets) in the Roman army: Maxfield 1987; Valvo 2000.

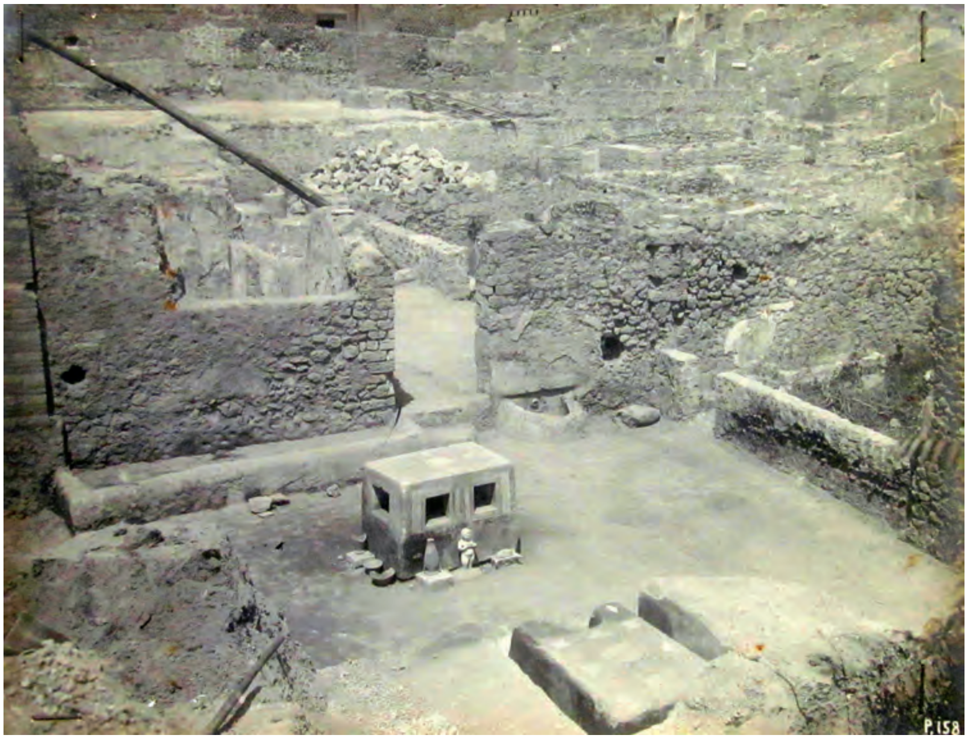

FIG. 4.10 The triclinium and masonry table in Room 46 of VIII.7.6–9, viewed from the south.

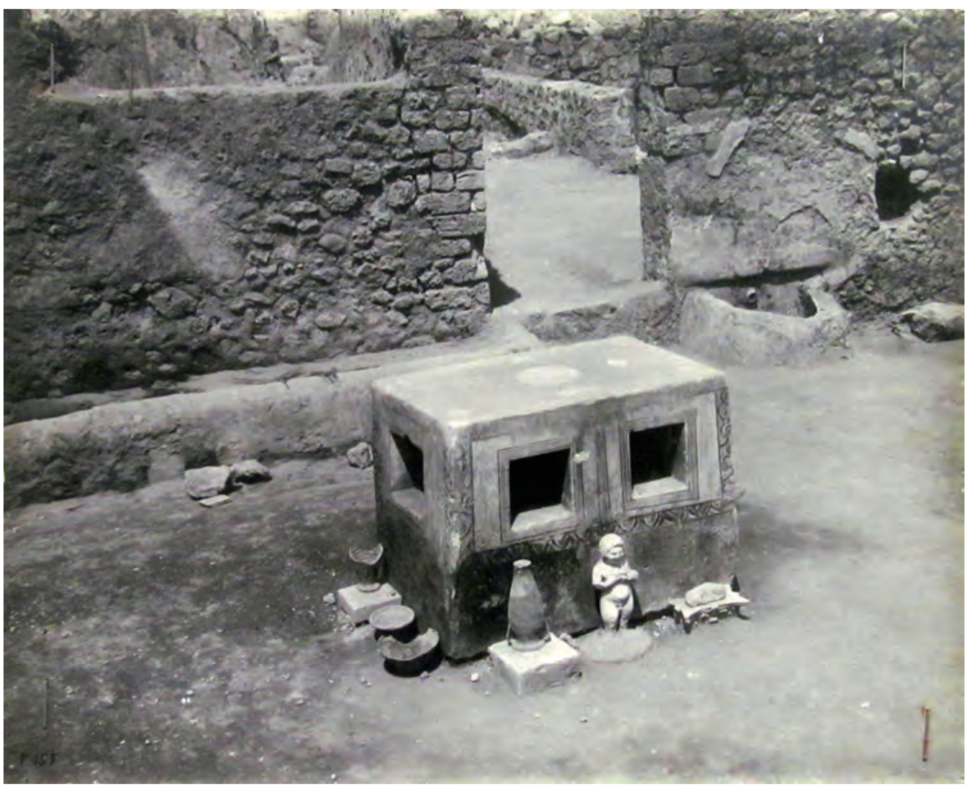

FIG. 4.11 Close-up of masonry table in Room 46 of VIII.7.6–9, with a staging of the various objects found nearby.