

Pompeii: A Study of Roman Tombs and the Freedmen

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Sammendrag

Pompeii tilbyr arkeologer som er interessert i klassisk arkeologi noe helt spesielt. Ingen andre ruiner er like velbevart som denne byen og den gir derfor uvurderlige muligheter for å få innblikk i det romerske samfunn. Denne avhandlingen vil undersøke frigjorte slaver og deres gravkamre for deretter å sammenligne dem opp mot gravkamre tilhørende aristokratiet. I kontrast til de fleste studier som blir utført i forbindelse med Pompeii vil denne studien være analytisk til fordel for statistisk. Ved å benytte analyse vil denne avhandlingen forsøke å besvare hvorvidt frigitte slaver emulerer aristokratiets gravkamre og hvorfor de eventuelt emuleres. Avhandlingens hovedmål vil være å analysere hvordan frigjorte slaver både uttrykker og forsterker sin status gjennom monumentale gravkamre. Avhandlingens sekundære mål vil være å analysere hvordan gravkamrene til de frigjorte slavene kan relateres til gravkamrene tilhørende aristokratiet for deretter å diskutere hvorvidt de frigjorte slavene emulerte aristokratiske gravkamre, og om det er tilfellet, hvilke intensjoner som lå bak emuleringen.

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I dedicate this master dissertation to my brother's new born twin boys.

1. Introduction

Death is a topic that has always concerned man. No matter which social stratum one belongs to it has always been a looming presence. But death is not only the inevitable fate of man; it is also a celebration of life. The subject of my master dissertation will be Roman tombs and the Roman social structure. More specifically I will study freedmen/freedwoman and their tombs and then do a comparison with the tombs belonging to the aristocracy. By doing this I hope to contribute to the research into the subject of emulation. It is my opinion that the popular view is to argue against emulation. I have found that most research done regarding the tombs of Pompeii is focused around the epitaphs rather than the actual tombs. Instead of doing a statistical study I will attempt to analyse and compare the tombs in order to establish possible patterns, similarities and differences. By doing this I will be able to discern whether or not there are any valid grounds to defend emulation.

My main goal will therefore be to: (1) analyse how freedmen could both express and reinforce their status through tomb monuments.

My supplementary goal will be to: (2) analyse how the tombs of freedmen relate to the tombs of Aristocrats, discuss whether or not freedmen pursued emulation of aristocratic tombs, and if so, what their intentions and causes for this emulation were.

The way this dissertation will progress: first Pompeii will be presented as it is and as it was. Then the freedmen will be presented and explained. This process will continue in chapter 3. Theory and method will be presented. The selected necropolises, tombs and tomb types will then be presented and explained. Having presented freedmen and aristocrats, tombs and necropolises, these factors will be compared and analysed, ending in a concluding discussion. The results of this discussion will be emphasized during the final conclusion.

1.1 Pompeii, Campania

The area which this thesis will be focusing upon is the city of Pompeii. Limiting the dissertation to Pompeii effectively means that it gets a natural timeframe due to the volcanic eruption that occurred in 79 AD. Pompeii is located in Campania; a region of the Italian peninsula which enjoys a vast coastal line, rich natural resources, a well-adjusted climate and fertile volcanic soil. It became an important area due to its natural harbours. Campania also had important rivers that could be exploited to traverse the land. With such an abundance of natural resources it is no wonder that the area was highly sought after. Pompeii was surrounded by settlements and cities of different sizes such as Naples, or Neapolis, 22 kilometres northwest, Herculaneum, 10 kilometres

northwest, Nocera, which lay 11 kilometres east, Stabia, only 5 kilometres south (Grant, 1971: 15-21).

The topography of Pompeii is today a lush and fertile land. Within the ruins there are vineyards and gardens that help its visitors gain an understanding of what the city might have looked like before it fell victim to the eruption of Vesuvius. This is especially visible through the parts of the city that is in close proximity to Porta di Nocera and its surrounding walls.

1.2 The Past of Pompeii

Pompeii as a city has an interesting history. Originally an Oscan settlement, Pompeii has been dominated by Hellenic culture, invaded by the Samnites, and besieged by the Romans. It is estimated that the first Ionian settlements occupying Campania arose in the eighth century BC (Brion, 1960: 14). Due to the lack of archaeological evidence strictly belonging to Oscan culture, it is impossible to estimate the founding of Pompeii, but its strategic positioning makes it very plausible that it was an Oscan settlement that came to be occupied and shaped by the Hellenistic culture (Grant, 1971: 15). The section of the city that exemplifies the effect of the Hellenic influence is called the Triangular Forum. Having defeated the Greeks, the Samnites ushered in an era of Samnite domination in Campania. The Samnite domination has left its mark upon Campania. Samnite building material are permeated by the use of volcanic substances in the fourth and third century BC, were as the second century to 80 BC saw their preferences shifting towards the use of tufa. The Samnite *palaestra* in Pompeii serves as an example of Samnite architecture. The Samnites were defeated by Rome in the Samnite Wars, but culture wise this made little difference for Pompeii which remained under Samnite influence. The first century BC marks a new change in ownership of Pompeii as an effect of the Social War which broke out in 90 BC. Unlike other cities, like Stabia (which was razed to the ground), Pompeii and Herculaneum were spared the destructive methods utilized by Sulla. The Social War was a result of Rome denying its allied cities Roman citizenship and ended in 88 BC with Rome as the victor. But, somewhat ironically, Rome still granted the revolting cities and their inhabitants Roman citizenship at the expense of their autonomy. The end of the Social War and Sulla's deployment of veterans had the same effect upon Pompeii as the Greeks had several centuries earlier, causing an inevitable cultural shift. Except for the revolt led by the rebel leader and previous gladiator Spartacus, which lasted from 73 BC to 71 BC, Pompeii suffered little strife before being devastated by the eruption of Vesuvius.

The transition and hybridization of Pompeii happened gradually, but it is safe to assume that the arrival of the Romans changed the city. Pompeii experienced a change in culture, amongst these

changes where the commemorative culture and a shift in language from Oscan to Latin. None of the previously dominant cultures that inhabited Pompeii utilized stone funeral monuments. Examples of this are found near Herculaneum where there are two Samnite graves. Inhumation was the preferred practice of burial before the Romans changed Pompeian culture (Zanker, 1995: 77).

The summit of Vesuvius lies approximately 10 kilometres north of Pompeii and pierces the skyline. It is generally accepted that the earthquake that affected Campania in February 62 AD was a preliminary event which led to the eruption of Vesuvius seventeen years later. The earthquake brought about severe destruction in the cities surrounding the mountain. Nocera and Naples suffered damages and several buildings collapsed, whilst Herculaneum and Pompeii suffered almost complete ruin (Grant, 1971: 25-28). Both of the aforementioned cities were, however, quickly repaired and rebuilt probably due to their advantageous geographical position. But in August 79 AD Pompeii and Herculaneum suffered an assault of nature from which they would never recover. The eruption of Vesuvius caused Pompeii to be buried under a four meter layer of pumice stone and ash. This volcanic eruption has, however, left Pompeii in an incredibly well maintained condition which makes the city an exceptional source of knowledge for archaeologists who have an interest in classical archaeology.

Since it was illegal to be buried within the confines of the city this thesis will mostly be interested in the roads leading into Pompeii. Since excavations started in Pompeii in 1748 there have been discovered approximately 200 tombs and burials. One might say that Pompeii is surrounded by *necropoleis*. These *necropoleis* have in modern times been named after the city gate which they are located closest to. Remains of tombs have been found at five different locations; Porta di Nola, Porta del Vesuvio, Porta di Stabia, Porta di Ercolano and Porta di Nocera. Most of the tombs have, however, been found beyond the gates Porta di Ercolano and Porta di Nocera (Campbell, 2015: 16). What is fascinating about Porta di Ercolano and Porta di Nocera is how they differ. Whilst the former is an active part of the world of the living, reflected by the market stalls and *Villas* in close proximity, the latter is completely dedicated to the dead, seeing as how it only consists of funerary monuments. Porta di Ercolano and Porta di Nocera will be the only *necropoleis* utilized throughout this thesis due their favourable amount of tombs. The tombs of Pompeii have been found to have an array of variables. Tombs differ in size, form, material and function. The tomb types that will be given special attention are; Altar tombs, Aedicule tombs and Tholos tombs. The subject matter will consist of ten tombs categorized within the aforementioned typologies. This thesis will have a special focus on the tombs of Naevoleia Tyche, Gaius Calventius Quietus, Marcus Porcius and the tomb of the Alleii. All of these tombs are altar tombs and the subject of

emulation is mostly heated surrounding these tombs. This thesis will, however, attempt to study the degree of emulation visible with regards to tholos and aedicule tombs as well. Other tomb types such as schola, house enclosure and columellae will be mentioned, but not treated with the same amount of attention. Due to the lack of epitaphs relating to most of the tombs, Pompeii's cemeteries are open to interpretation with regards to who is buried in the unknown graves. This makes the city an interesting object of study.

1.3 Freedmen

I also want to investigate the matter of the freedmen and freedwomen (I will further refer to freedmen and freedwomen under the "class" freedmen). In order to study the graves of the freedmen I will have to gain an understanding of freedmen as a social class. I will also be shallowly engaging into the other classes such as: slaves, the free poor and the aristocracy. This is to form a basis for comparison. An interesting aspect of the freedmen is the claim that they did not possess a hereditary status and as such they were a class that was limited to one generation (Mouritsen, 2004: 288). This resulted in the children of freedmen obtaining the opportunity to elevate their status far beyond that of their parents. Since the children of freedmen enjoyed almost boundless opportunity with regards to how far they could elevate themselves, would it not therefore be natural for the father of said children (a man all too familiar with the cruelty of slavery) to do everything in his power to prevent his offspring from experiencing the same hardship he endured? What archaeological evidence can be gathered from tombs that would support such a claim? A lot of studies have been conducted with regards to the subject of tombs or freedmen. There are, however, very few studies that compare the social strata and burial customs, since most studies are quite narrow and therefore naturally focus upon either a specific social class or a specific type of tomb, without necessarily putting it into a broader context. The danger of attempting such an assignment lies in broadening ones horizon to the point where the study becomes so broad and general that it only provides a simplification of previous studies. This is something I must strive to avoid.

2. Theory, Method and Previously Conducted Research

My study will utilize a variety of methods and theory that complement one another. I will make use of Panofsky's iconography to look at tombs in a micro setting as well as using Giddens structuration to examine the social structure of the Roman society. Structuration is the better theory for a macro setting since it is applicable in a more general term. I will also be doing a structural analysis of the tombs.

2.1 Panofsky's Iconography

Erwin Panofsky's iconography is an old, but still celebrates method of conducting research. It has evolved since Panofsky's release of "*Iconography and Iconology: An introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art*" where Panofsky explains the difference between iconology and iconography stating that the former studies how art affects society and that the latter studies how society affects art.

Both of these aspects are relevant to this thesis, but the latter will enjoy the emphasis since this thesis seeks to delve into the assumption that the Roman social structure affected the tombs of the freedmen. The art will be represented by the tombs and society will be represented by the different classes that shape the Roman society. Panofsky has also researched tombs specifically and has also produced an article spanning over four lectures that specifically target tombs and iconography.

2.1.1 Primary Subject Matter

Panofsky explains that the relevant and essence of iconography lies in understanding the society behind it. Pre-iconographic images and art are understood intuitively since they are universal in nature. Iconographic art is on the other hand understood by being part of a society or a community, its meaning is often symbolic and not conceivable through intuition. An example of this can be a wooden cross. With pre-iconographic intuition it is understood that this is two sticks of wood forming the shape of a cross. For a Christian this would hold symbolic meaning which is not intuitive, but has been taught by being part of a community or society (Panofsky, 2006: 192). The Primary subject matter is the matter that a representation, representations can refer to an arm of a statue or the socket of a tomb, is made from e.g: stone, ivory, marble, clay and so forth. It is the very basis of what a tombs needs, but not what a tombs is.

2.1.2 Secondary or Conventional Subject Matter

The connotations we put upon art. The ability to put the arbitrary into context, which makes it form an image. Examples of this is a group of people gathered around a table with a certain arrangement and predestined positions which makes an observer think of the last supper. In the same way, a tomb is just a structure with arranged materials until connotations are put upon it by the person observing and interpreting, without this process it is just arranged material. It is the connotations that ultimately make it a tomb. The architecture and décor affects the observer and his interpretation. Secondary subject matter is how art and images impress themselves upon the viewer. This is the basis of iconography. Iconography is the description of how images affect the observer.

2.1.3 Intrinsic Meaning or Content.

This theory discusses the motives of the artist. It discusses subjects that affected the artist ranging from political affiliation to religious ideals. It is how the art, and thus the artist, is affected by time and space, by era and feelings and so forth. How is the artist inspired or affected by his era and how did it influence his art? Iconology is the science of how images affect the observer. Since iconography is the description and iconology is the science they both coincide and should therefore complement one another. This will help to define the meaning behind what is constructed and also why one distinctive feature was preferred over another.

2.2 Giddens Structuration Theory

Not unlike many recently conducted archaeological studies, I will use the Anthony Giddens structuration theory. The basis of Giddens structuration theory reminds us of the mutual relationship between an action, the actor and the structure and how all of these factors affect each other, not just in the present, but also in the past and in the future. Actions are not only limited by the structures, but also customized to fit into them, whilst actions still continue to affect the structures (Cohen, 1989).

The way in which this will affect my study is how things change in time and space. I have to relay the connection between how the freedmen and his/hers available resources affect a tombs, and also how the tomb could affect not only its builder, but ultimately affect society. Since society is an ever-changing mechanism it will always affect the individual, represented in my study as the freedmen. These changes in society will also always be affected by individual actions which

therefore may affect the tombs. Changes in style and the general architecture of tombs are examples of such changes that may occur over time as society is driven forwards. Despite all of this the tombs also has to follow certain rules. The ban against placing a tomb within the city walls exemplifies this. But just like society these rules change over time. Another example is the switch from inhumation to cremation. A large change, changes that cause society to change rapidly is in Giddes structuration described as episodic transitions (Cohen, 1989). An example of this is the slave revolt led by Spartacus or Emperor Augustus ushering in a new era in the Roman republic. It will be interesting to see if this theory will be a fruitful endeavour with regards to the study of Pompeiiian tombs. This theory will bind the ever-changing Roman society and the shifting role of freedmen together with how this effects the choices made when successful freedmen erected tombs.

2.3 Methods

This thesis will be utilizing a variety of different methods in order to accomplish its goals. It will be important to study and investigate the different tombs Pompeii has to offer and decide which tombs and tomb types are the most beneficial research targets.

2.3.1 *Comparative Method*

Comparative method allows for the investigation and analysis of the relation between parties or objects. In order to establish differences and similarities between the tombs of freedmen and aristocrats this study will utilize a comparative method. This method will help discover emulation, but also reveal the opposite. As this method will be very helpful with regards to the analytic nature of this thesis it will be regarded as one of the most important methods.

2.3.2 *Chronological Method*

Chronological method is used to arrange events and objects in order of occurrence. In many cases this study will be based around relative chronology, as opposed to absolute chronology, as the techniques utilized to erect the tombs can reveal the approximate period under which the tombs were erected. The limitation of this method is that it is challenging to establish how tombs precedes or succeeds one another when they belong to the same period.

2.3.3 Diachronic Method

Diachronic method is how objects evolve at separate periods. Diachronic method will be utilized to illustrate how different periods affect tombs. It will help explain differences appearing in the subject matter over time.

2.3.4 Synchronic Method

Synchronic method is how objects evolve during the same period. Synchronic method will be utilized to illustrate how the same period may affect tombs. It will help explain differences appearing in the subject matter during the same period.

2.3.5 Iconographic Analysis

Iconographic analysis is utilized to discover the meaning of a particular work of art at a particular time. This method will be utilized together with other methods in order to establish the meaning behind the visual effects the tombs display. This method will be strongly influenced by terminologies borrowed from the sciences of art and architecture. As this analytic method strongly correlates to Panofsky's iconography it will be of special important to this thesis.

2.3.6 Symbolic Method

Symbolic analysis is how art can display connotative meaning. It is closely linked with iconography and will be used to interpret art ornamenting the tombs.

2.3.7 Topographical and Spatial Analysis

Topography will be utilized and analysed in the circumstances where it is deemed practical and, most importantly, possible. Spatial analysis is utilized to understand the meaning behind space and placement. In this thesis it will especially relate to where the tombs are located and positioned and the possible meaning behind it. It affects how the tombs are perceived by its potential audience for better or worse, though mostly the former. It also deals with the exploitation of elevation, the choice regarding which necropolis to erect a tomb and also why this is important at all.

2.3.8 Active and Passive Observation

Active observation is to interact with than object whilst studying it. In order to understand the subject matter it is of great importance to experience it first hand, when pictures and descriptions carry limitations. This will be accomplished through personally traveling down to Pompei and experiencing the tombs and the ancient city of Pompeii. It will be essential to accompany my personal impressions of the tombs with the research of experts in the field of commemorative tombs and Pompeii.

2.4 Material Sources

2.4.1 Architecture

The architecture of Pompeii is rich in both quality and quantity making it essential. This is the source under which the tombs are represented and it will in many respects be the primary source of this thesis. The fatal flaw of the architecture, however, is the trouble with identifying its primary occupant in cases where the epitaph is lost. It will therefore be of utmost importance that the chosen tombs contain either a primary or secondary inscription.

2.4.2 Art

The art of Pompeii can in many respects be viewed as more problematic than the architecture. Due to plundering, recklessness and general neglect much of it is lost. But there are still remains of paintings on white painted plaster, statues, reliefs, marble ornamentations etc. All of these forms of art will be important to analyse and identify.

2.4.3 Funerary Inscription

Funerary inscriptions are divided into two categories with regards to Pompeii; primary and secondary.

Primary epitaphs are usually placed in front of tombs, directly on the tomb or on an enclosure wall surrounding the tomb, and they usually always face the road. There is a certain amount of proof that some inscriptions were outlined with red paint to make it more visible and readable. The location of the inscriptions varies with the type of tombs and what sort of implements would give the most satisfactory visibility. It is important to remember that the key to the inscriptions was to make the passersby aware of the person associated with the tomb. Its legibility would therefore be its most important aspect and function.

Secondary inscriptions are thought of as such due to the limited information, but also because they are usually found within the burial ground of a grander tomb. Unlike primary inscriptions which very explicitly inform the passerby of whom is buried underneath and how great a Roman this person was, the function of the secondary inscription is often more practical or personal in nature. The *columella* stands as a somewhat more esoteric commemorative monument, in the sense that the people who would understand and honour the memory of the deceased were likely to be close relatives. The *cippi* functions as a boarder marker for burial plots.

Another secondary inscription found on tombs is graffiti. Most of the tombs that carry graffiti are located at the Nocera necropolis. This is often explained as a result of its proximity to the

amphitheatre and the fact that much of the graffiti mentions gladiator games. They might therefore be regarded as a form of advertisement. What is interesting to note is that the tombs are being reused, albeit, not to their primary purpose.

2.4.4 Ancient Literary Sources

Petronius' *Satyricon* will be utilized with emphasis on the fictional freedman Trimalchio. Previous research seems to have been tainted by the vulgar picture painted of the freedman through Trimalchio. But Trimalchio is perhaps better understood as how the aristocracy wanted to believe the freedmen behaved rather than how they actually behaved. Other ancient sources will be mentioned, but Petronius will be the main contributor. As has been mentioned above it will be important to view all ancient sources with criticism as they commonly reflect the interests of the writer.

2.4.5 Ancient Laws

Several ancient works of law will be presented to help explain limitations and restrictions regarding both freedmen as a class and tombs as a structure. The Julian laws, the Digest and the laws of the twelve tables will be utilized. The danger of utilizing these laws is whether or not they were in constant effect.

2.5 Excavations

Pompeii was discovered as a site in 1748 and the digs that were conducted under the directions of the Bourbon rulers can hardly be considered as being very scientific. It is important to remember that these excavations in no manner go completely against the principles of sound archaeology. The goals of these digs were usually more about prestige than science. One must not make the mistake of thinking that these digs are of no importance, however, for they helped pioneer practises of conservation and helped develop methods of excavation as well as archaeology as a scientific practice. The aristocrats that sought these artefacts probably had an interest in conserving and protecting them and even though this has resulted in a lot of material being removed from an *in situ* position it still holds value. It took several years of sporadic digging before it was established that the site was that of Pompeii. Even after this discovery the excavation strategies, or lack thereof, did not change. The first digs and explorations revealed the necropolis positioned beyond the Porta di Ercolano as well as parts of the theatres quarter and the temple of Isis. The first excavations of Pompeii were conducted in 1748 and were initiated by Karl Weber. Karl Weber was one of the first archaeologists that recognized the importance of context. In 1764

Francesco La Vega continued his work. La Vega's strategy was to focus on blocks of buildings and leave them visible afterwards. This is quite different from the previous strategies, where the goal had been to find artefacts and wall painting without necessarily exposing the whole of the position and context in which the artefact have been discovered. This resulted in the exposure of the street of tombs, the *Villa* of Cicero, the *Villa* of Diomede and the House of the Surgeon. It also insured the beginning of excavation efforts being conducted in the area of the Theatres, the Temple of Isis and the Triangular Forum (Soprintendenza Pompei, 2016: a, Soprintendenza Pompei, 2016: b).

1815-1820 saw the return of Ferdinand of Bourbon as king of Naples, and as a result excavation nearly halted due to his lack of interest towards the subject of archaeology. 1820-1832 became a new golden age for continues excavation of Pompeii. François I succeeded Ferdinand and he had not inherited his father's lack of interest towards Pompeii, quite the contrary he dedicated excavations towards the exposure of Porta di Ercolano, recovering the building near the Forum and the Theatre district (Soprintendenza Pompei, 2016: c).

The Italian unification of 1871 was a blessing for the excavation of Pompeii and the period between 1860-1905 a great part of the ruins were excavated. Fiorelli introduced stricter systematic discipline which led to improved excavation and restoration methods (Soprintendenza Pompei, 2016: d).

Maiuri is commonly celebrated as one of the most important director of work with regards to Pompeii and maintained the position for 37 years. Under this period he introduced concepts such as stratigraphy into the excavations. Under Maiuri's leadership Pompeii's boundary walls were mapped, the Nocera necropolis was excavated, the *Villa* of the Mysteries was unearthed and plenty of other building were found and excavated. Maiuri's time as director was perhaps the most efficient and successful period of excavating Pompeii. Maiuri was replaced as director in 1961 by Alfonso de Franciscis. After Maiuri's "golden age" the works that were being conducted in Pompeii were mostly concerned with maintenance and interpreting and understanding the structures that had been unearthed. Smaller excavations were, and are, of course being conducted still, but none can rival the work that has been conducted in the time before 1961 (Soprintendenza Pompei, 2016: e).

As has been previously mentioned, the fact that Pompeii has been an on-and-off active excavation site for 250 years has also resulted in a lot of illegal treasure hunting. This has further resulted in a lot of artefacts missing its original context. With regards to graves this is relevant because it has affected the number of remaining epitaphs explicitly explaining who is buried in a specific tomb.

2.6 Research Concerning Pompeii and Funerary Monuments

In modern studies of Roman tombs there are two different and well explored ways of pursuing the topic. Studies either focus upon structure and décor or the rituals associated with burial customs. This is probably due to the broadness of each topic. In my study I will be mostly interested in structure and décor. When conducting a study relating to tombs in the vicinity of Pompeii there are a lot of modern studies that need to be mentioned and considered.

The first of these is Toynbee's *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (1971). This study gives an insight into how the Romans viewed death and afterlife, as well as giving vivid examples and explanations about tomb architecture, tomb types and cemetery layouts. A problem with this book is, however, the broadness of the subject it approaches and the fact that many of the tombs mentioned in the book are found outside of Pompeii. It is also somewhat outdated and many of the tombs in Pompeii do not fall into its neatly described categories of tombs. Nonetheless, it has been important for the ever ongoing research that is being conducted in Pompeii. Toynbee is important as a researcher since she is celebrated for her descriptions and classification regarding Roman tombs. Henner von Hesberg's *Römische Grabbauten* (1994) has to some degree replaced the use of Toynbee's work, but the opinion of both researchers will be utilized when defining tomb types. Toynbee's classification are, however, firmly established in the typology because it is the same classification she established that are being used in, perhaps, the two most important and influential works that have been conducted with regards to the biggest necropolises of Pompeii; Kockel's *Die Grabbauten vor dem Herkulaner Tor in Pompeji* (1983) and D'Ambrosio and De Caro's *Un impegno per Pompei* (1987).

Kockel is considered one of the leading researchers with regards to Roman funeral customs. Every study that is conducted and every book written after 1983 about a funerary context referring to Porta di Ercolano uses this book as an invaluable source of information. Even though some would argue that Kockel's terminology regarding tomb types might be inadequate due to the use of the already established terms described by Toynbee, it still offers accurate measurements and insightful opinions. Being a very traditional scientist, Kockel's work is very accurate and safe and perhaps best suited as reference work. The same can be said about D'Ambrosio and De Caro and their work regarding the necropolis near Porta di Nocera. This work is primarily illustrations and their edition of the funerary inscriptions from this necropolis is preferred over *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

Hackworth Petersen conducted a study called *The Freedmen in Roman Art and Art History* (2006). The significance of this study when relating it to this thesis is how Hackworth Petersen also took an interest in studying tombs and freedmen, and many of her examples are taken from

the area of Pompeii. Her insightful opinions regarding art and architecture and how it is applied by freedmen will be of importance.

Maureen Carroll is responsible for one of the more recent releases regarding tombs and funerary rites. Carroll's book *Spirits of the Dead* (2006) seeks to focus on epigrams and inscriptions with the claim that they have yet to be satisfactorily studied. This topic tends to concentrate on archaeological remains relating to Rome, whilst Carroll broadens the material by engulfing the whole of the Western Empire. Directly correlating to my study her fourth chapter interprets emulation and conformity with regards to the Nocera and Ercolano necropolises. Being a relatively new study it has a detailed and full bibliography. What differs from my study is that Carroll's focus lies mostly with inscriptions. This dissertation will also implement architecture and art. Inscriptions are invaluable since they are the most secure means of establishing who the primary occupant of a tomb was. Carroll does, to some extent, perform a comparative study between the elite and the freedmen and her insight will be very valuable for my research.

I will also be taking advantage of Campbell's recently released *The Tombs of Pompeii: Organization, Space and Society* (2015). Not unlike my study Campbell takes an interest in establishing the link between society, social hierarchy and how this is reflected upon the tombs of Pompeii. Campbell also confronts a lot of the previous research that has been conducted at Pompeii and tries to separate theories that are based on assumptions and educated guesses from those theories that are strongly supported by the evidence that has been uncovered and is currently available. She claims that much of the previous research and researchers have had a lacklustre approach towards scrutinizing established research about Pompeii. This has caused stagnation in bringing the study of Pompeian tomb and funerary practices forward. Campbell offers my study a greatly detailed bibliography that is up-to-date, challenging views and insightful opinions. Her cataloguing regarding the tombs will be preferred over using Kockel's and D'ambrosio and De Caro's cataloguing due to its clarity.

2.7 Research Concerning Freedmen and Roman Society

The study of freedmen seems to be riddled with a certain double standard. The scholars that discussed the subject in the mid-19th and 20th century seem to, on the one hand, pity the slave, and yet still condemn the act of emancipation. Some scholars were so bold as to proclaim that the freedman caused the collapse of the Roman Empire (Duff, 1928). What Arnold Mackey Duff set out to accomplish with his work *Freedmen in the early Roman Empire* (1928) was to illuminate and discuss a subject that had previously been neglected or received little attention. He did

manage to establish that the freedman had played a crucial part in the day-to-day life of the Roman society. He was, however, influenced by his time and his views regarding the freedman might have been received as quite racist in the modern scholarly milieu. His views were, however, shared by most of the academic circles of continental Europe during its release. The first scholars that wrote about the subject seem to have a quite fixed view regarding the freedman. It is probably strongly influenced by the ancient written sources that were written by an elite group that perceived the freedman as a threat to the established hierarchy. With regards to the study of freedmen I will, among others, use Mouritsen's *The Freedmen in the Roman World* (2011). Professor Mouritsen is the head of the classics department at Kings College. He is a leading researcher in the field of freedmen and holds a PhD on Pompeii. His book is of an introductory nature as he claims that anything other would demand several volumes with regards to all of the documents relating to freedmen and manumission. Mouritsen's goal is to explain, and to some degree elaborate, the core concepts of the freedman existence, whilst also discussing what drove the freedmen. He takes a look at how they were perceived by society, the shift from master/slave to patron/client, the "stain of slavery", the hereditary factor affecting their offspring and several other aspects. Being critical of the views of previous scholars that have approached the subject, Mouritsen seeks to change the previous view of the freedman as a sort of corrupted and distraught being that caused the fall of the Roman Empire. Mouritsen attempts to nuance former prejudices and does to some extent succeed with this. Mouritsen will be the main contributing researcher utilized to position the freedman into the Roman society. His research is seldom challenged, but will of course be nuanced by utilizing other researchers. Considering that the goal is to position and not redefine the role of the freedman Mouritsen's depiction of the freedman will reflect that of my own.

3. The Structure of Roman Society

It will be of paramount importance to clarify what the aristocracy represents and how this class will be defined when appearing throughout this thesis. This is because the definition will affect which tombs are deemed fitting for analysis. In this dissertation an aristocrat will be defined as a Roman citizen who holds or has held a public office unattainable by freedmen.

A freedman will be defined as a man or woman of servile past that has been manumitted by his or her former master. This thesis will not differentiate between freedmen and freedwomen since gender division is a subject too broad to approach for the limited aims of this thesis. The term freedman will therefore refer to both men and women.

3.1 Roman Social Structure

Not unlike society today, the Roman society was extremely complex and difficult to understand. Since it is in a constant subject of change Giddens structuration theory will be an important way of approaching the subject. Most of what is known about Roman society is based upon the class systems which were utilized in Roman law. By law, the Roman society operated after a strict social hierarchy: “The system of acquisition and transmission of property was the basis of the Roman framework of social and economic inequality.” (Garnsey & Saller, 1987: 110). In effect this meant that in order to possess a specific position in the hierarchy certain requirements had to be fulfilled. Being an agrarian society wealth was essentially measured in land, and to some extent specialized slaves (Dixon, 1992: 2), which meant that wealth was for the most part acquired through inheritance. This does of course massively impact the status quo. Usually the rich would remain rich and their fortune would be passed down from parent to child. But what about cases where there were no natural affinities onto which one could bestow ones legacy? It was not uncommon to lose several children. In fact, children and young adults are overrepresented in the epigraphical evidence (Carroll, 2006: 169-73). Under these circumstances it was not uncommon for freedmen, and sometimes even slaves, to become the main benefactor of their master’s testament (Garnsey & Saller, 1987: 110, Carroll, 2006: 244). The class divisions did, however, remain relatively unchanged and it will be of utmost importance to elucidate and elaborate upon the structure of this very visible hierarchy. It will be important to display the orders and how they were redefined under Augustus and the Principate. “Orders are those social categories defined by the state through statutory or customary rules. Augustus restored the Republican system of orders (*ordo*, rank), but with sharper definition.” (Garnsey & Saller, 1987: 112). This is an example of

what Giddens would refer to as an episodic transition. The changes made by Augustus are reflected throughout society as a whole affecting freedmen and aristocrats alike.

3.1.1 The Senatorial Rank

The first order was the senatorial rank. Being the most prestigious rank, it required that the holder was worthy of the honour. Legacy, wealth and moral excellence were qualities that were scrutinized and controlled if a family sought to be mentioned amongst the ranks of this esoteric and exclusive order. There is also the case of changes that were implemented to the rank as a result of Augustus' rise to power. Seeking to "purify" and rebuild the senatorial rank, Augustus removed the members that he saw unfit and morally deviant. The means of which Augustus availed himself varied from extermination to revisions within the requirements regarding the rank. Among other revisions Augustus demanded that the census requirement for senators had to be substantially higher. This effectively brought the number of senators down from 1200 to 600. Admission into this revised senatorial rank was granted exclusively by the Emperor. It is important to underline that this rank was not hereditary and that prior to Augustus the senators voted over who was worthy of this rank. An example of this is how Marcus Tullius Cicero held the status of senator, whilst his brother, Quintus Tullius Cicero, belonged to the equestrian order (Garnsey & Saller, 1987: 112-13).

3.1.2 The Equestrian Rank

The second order in the Roman hierarchy was the rank of equestrian. Not unlike the senatorial order, the equestrian order enforced strict requirements. Wealth, family and pedigree were all clinically assessed, albeit, not to the same extent as with the aforementioned senators. Emperor Tiberius demanded two previous generations of free birth as a requirement to enter the equestrian order. This did of course help to reinforce the social difference between the socially privileged and those of more humble origins. The equestrian order was substantially larger than the senatorial order and consisted of several thousand members. Politically, the equestrian order enjoyed an expanse with regards to influential positions available to them during the Principate. Having previously been regarded as a more humble and less ambitious order than that of the senatorial, the constant expansion of the Roman borders required management and the equestrian order was deemed fit to fill this need. These new managerial positions were both of an administrative and military nature. This ensured that the most ambitious of equestrians gained political power that rivalled, and sometimes even exceeded, senatorial families. This shift within the equestrian order

is exemplified through epigraphical evidence that seeks to distinguish the greater equestrians from those of lesser note (Garnsey & Saller, 1987: 113-14).

3.1.3 The Decurion Rank

The third order is the rank of Decurion or councillor. They were spread out across the towns of the empire and the requirements for this position were not as strict as those of the aforementioned orders. This was an official position that was commonly held by sons of freedmen. It is not to say that the position did not demand respectability, excellence and wealth, it surely did, but the ancestral requirements were limited. Wealth was, however, immensely important if one sought to enter this order, and as a result there existed a certain leniency with regards to the individuals holding this office. Being an unpaid position, but also a position that required contribution to the public treasury upon entry into priesthood, office or council, wealth truly permeates it (Garnsey & Saller, 1987: 114-15).

3.1.4 The Social Majority

But these three aristocratic orders only represent a fraction of the population of the Empire. Most of the population consisted of free Romans of humble means. Seeing as how the economy was primarily agricultural most of these free Romans were probably farmers. They did of course possess other occupations such as craftsmen, merchants, fishermen etc. Their most valuable possession was their freedom and their Roman citizenship, unlike the slaves. Legally, the slaves were classified as chattel and could be sold and punished in anyway their master saw fit. During the Principate, Augustus wanted to improve society by focusing on matters of household and family. This had a positive effect upon marriage, slavery and child bearing. Augustus put a restriction upon the amount of slaves a master was legally allowed to manumit. This it interpreted as a way of regulating manumission, but also a way of making sure that only the most deserving of slaves were given their freedom (Garnsey & Saller, 1987: 115, Bradley, 1994: 10). It is not farfetched to suggest that the freedmen, as a class, lies somewhere in-between the aforementioned classes, albeit, closer to the former than the latter. The freedmen enjoyed a form of limited citizenship. Limited, because they were barred from entering the elite orders, they could not serve in the legions and they could not legally marry a senator. They were also forever bound to their former master since manumission usually meant a shift in the relational paradigm. The relationship did, however, shifted from master/slave to patron/client and possibly from unquestionably obedience to friendship. They were given the opportunity to hold the rank of

Augustalis, a subject that will be elaborated upon later. The freedmen will be explained in greater detail in the following chapters. It is also important to note that the slaves were not the only class that could deservingly enjoy a social promotion. A case of individual change in the role one maintained in the Roman hierarchy is found within the ranks of the professional army. This is especially relevant with regard to Pompeii, since many of Sulla's veterans were giving land as remuneration upon retirement. This reward for loyal service affected the local communities of these rural towns, and caused a constant shift in the upper class seeing as how this payment of land established its own group of residents that were fairly well-off. These new members of the upper class might also have enjoyed a favourable position from an official point-of-view (Garnsey & Saller, 1987: 110).

3.2 Freedmen and Society

Judicially, the Roman society boils down to two terms, *liberti* and *servi*; the free and the slaves. In the case of the freedmen there is a second term that applies. By definition a freedman is free, so in order to determine the difference between an individual that had never experienced the bonds of servitude and those that were freed slaves, the categories of freeborn and freed were created. In the republic the freedmen enjoyed full Roman citizenship, but during the reign of Augustus the freedmen as a class encountered some changes. It is claimed that Augustus thought "excessive" manumission had destabilized society and his solution was the *lex Fufia Caninia*. The *lex Fufia Caninia* (2 BC) was a restriction regarding how many slaves one was allowed to manumit intestate. The goal was to hinder "indiscriminate" and "excessive" manumission and to reassure that only those slaves that were "deserving" of freedom would be manumitted. Carroll (2006: 236) suggests that manumitting all your slaves could be seen as a display of wealth and generosity. Having many freedmen show up at your funeral could further be viewed as a grand display of power and wealth. Trimalchio is mentioned as the prime example of someone planning to release all his slaves upon death. Lex Fufia might thus have been enforced to stomp the aristocracy's, and successful freedmen, from releasing all of their slaves upon death. Another side to manumitting freedmen is the political possibilities. A patron could benefit from having supporters during elections as this could help him, or his friends, reach office (Winterling, 2009: 37). Freedmen would feel obligated to do their patrons bidding. Therefore, Augustus might have wanted to end this advantage rather than the possibility of manumitting all owned slaves upon death. In addition to *lex Fufia Caninia*, Augustus also introduced the *lex Aelia Sentia* in AD 4. This restricted slaves under 30 from being manumitted. It also restricted individuals under the age of 20, as well as the

insane, from manumitting slaves. Any slave that was manumitted before the age of 30 was informally manumitted. Mouritsen argues that the effect of the Augustan laws probably did not have a profound effect on manumission seeing as how they could be easily circumvented. A slave owner could, for instance, free all of his slaves at his death bed (Mouritsen, 2012: 83). Another interesting reform initiated by Augustus was the possibility of informally releasing slaves. This had previously not been recognized by Roman law. Inventing the new status of *Latinus Iunianus*, Augustus created an informal manumission that even involved the possibility of releasing slaves under the age of 30. The *lex Iunia* gave the *Latinus Iunianus* the opportunity to live as free, but they would die as slaves. This would restrict the amount of freedmen who enjoyed full Roman Citizenship, whilst still hindering population stagnation.

Being freed came with certain limitations and being a freedman meant to have a limited Roman citizenship. Their Roman citizenship was limited because they retained a certain “stain of slavery” which restricted them from a number of social and legal advantages. Among other things that carried restrictions, were the possibilities of entering most of the political offices. In fact, Tiberius enforced the *lex Visellia* in AD 24 which excluded all freedmen from all municipal magistrates and decurionates. The law did, however, state that freedmen could hold the position on Decurion if authorized by the emperor. Mouritsen suggests the *lex Visellia* might have been a largely symbolic gesture that confirmed an already established policy and he underlines his point with there being no evidence of freed local magistrates during the republic (Mouritsen, 2012: 73-4). Studies into the field of social mobility have shown that before the imperial period the highest offices were under the control of the aristocracy (Patterson: 1993: 105). Freedmen were not eligible for juries because they might have the power to judge a freeborn citizen. Even though there was no formal law against freedmen holding office until AD 24, the fact that they could not pass judgement over freeborn made it almost impossible for them to be a magistrate or priest, and they could never enter the senatorial rank. But even when the slave was given freedom he was not entirely free of the shackles of servitude.

3.2.1 Patron/Client relationship

When a slave was given his freedom it was usually accompanied by a relational shift between the freedman and the former master. Even though the individual was no longer a slave, he still lacked experience regarding how to function in society. As such, the freedman was legally free, but morally dependent. Since it was the former master that had equipped the slave with a personality befitting manumission, the former master would, ideally, take it upon himself to further educate

the newly reformed individual. This shift in relationship is often referred to as a patron/client relationship. Upon manumission the slave would take the title of *libertus* or *liberta*, whilst the former master would earn the title of *patronus*. It is speculated that the term *patronus* is derived from *pater* and that the former master would act as a makeshift parent for the *libertus/liberta*. Ideally the freedman would adopt the role of the child making the *patronus* his *pater familias*. The fact that the freedman was given the family name of the *patronus* only lends strength to this hypothesis. Since the slave had been given the most precious of gifts, his freedom, he was naturally indebted to his former master. It was not uncommon that the freedmen acquired accommodations either within close proximity or under the same roof as the *patronus*. Carroll (2006: 39) states that freedmen would frequently name their former owner in the epitaphs on their grave/tomb and this might occur due to a lack of familial bonds or the fondness of their former master. She goes on to claim that freedmen and freedwomen primarily focus on their offspring on epitaphs, even when commemorating themselves. If one adopts Mouritsen's expression of the slave's condition as being "socially dead", manumission can be seen as a "birth", thereby strengthening the opinion that the emancipator becomes a fatherly figure (Mouritsen, 2012, 36-38). Hence:

"Manumission and the emancipation of sons can be seen as direct parallels since in both instances the *dominus/pater familias* surrendered his formal control but not his entire authority." Mouritsen, 2012: 57

Freedmen were expected to act with the patron's knowledge and consent, and their actions should always be beneficiary to the *familia*. This put the freedmen in a position where they had to be confided in and they had to know their patron's intentions and goals. There could therefore be little or no secrecy between patrons and clients. Mouritsen argues that the stigma felt by the slave was only relevant to the outside-world and did not affect his status within the *familia*, seeing as how it was the former master that stood responsible for any physical and psychological scars the former slave might carry (Mouritsen, 2012: 47).

The freedman seems to have held a unique role as mediator for the aristocracy. Freedmen are mentioned in several letters written by Cicero for instance. There are also letter written by the same man that hold freedmen in high regard; e.g. letters expressing concern for the wellbeing of his freedman Tiro, but also letters praising the abilities of freedmen functioning as mediator. The patron/client bond enabled the elite to create an enormous network that could be held together by trusted freedmen acting in their patrons place. The freedman would not be greeted as a former

slave, but rather as an extension of their patron's will. In fact, several letters were kept short since the freedman carrying it could elaborate upon the subjects raised in the letters. With the expansion of the Roman Empire, manumission gradually became a practical tool to broaden ones *familia* with freedmen acting under the guidance and influence of the patron, and acting on the behalf of their patron as negotiators, messengers and mediators.

Ideally the patron/client relationship would function as the freedman becoming an extended part of the family, but in reality it was probably a lot more problematic. Not all freedmen were manumitted by the elite and several were even granted their freedom by freedmen that had acquired their own slaves. In the latter case it would, on the one hand, be difficult to further educate the freedman, due to the lack of *iuventus*. On the other hand, these freedmen had themselves experienced the confusion of manumission (similar to how individuals who have been released from serving long prison sentences are put in contact with individual that have experienced the same situation in society today) and might therefore be perfect for this task. There is also the case of testamentary manumission where the patron acting as a *pater familias* is eliminated completely. Mouritsen claims that the patron did not hold any formal authority over their freedmen, but he underlines that: "More generally the patron was entitled to *obsequium*, dutiful respect from his freedman. In practical terms it involved treating the patron and his family with consideration, and abstaining from any action which might harm them." (Mouritsen, 2012: 53)

The freedmen were dependent upon the patron since they could grant them capital, a site to set up shop and various other forms of support (Winterling, 2009: 35-36, Mouritsen, 2001, Liu, 2013: 2761). And even if the patron did not hold any formal authority he could label his freedman a *liberti ingratti*. This was a dishonourery title given to freedmen that did not show their patron proper respect. In some instances the *liberti ingratti* was harshly punished, but nearly never with the ultimate punishment: re-entry in to society as a slave.

Some scholars explain the freedmen absence from the political scene mostly on the basis of their servile past. Ray Laurence (2007: 168-181) attributes this "stain of slavery" to a lack of *iuventus* residing within the freedmen. *Iuventus* is the transformation from young man into adult citizen. The transition is marked by receiving the *toga virilis* and was a ritual mostly reserved for the elite. This lack of *iuventus* meant that the freedman was without understanding of urbanism and the inner workings of the cities, thereby making them unfit for office. The freedmen were also deemed ineligible to serve the legion (Rich, 1993: 1). Whilst the freeborn had been tutored to

understand the system from within, the slave had been limited to the domestic realm and had to understand and perceive it upon manumission. With regards to tomb commemoration it is interesting to note that freedmen did not merit an honourable mention from the forum and could not enter upon the *cursus honorum*. Even those that were *Augustalis* or held priesthoods were excluded (Laurence, 2007: 179). This can be interpreted as a major influence when the freedman commemorated himself through a tomb. Being one of the few political positions available, the aforementioned position of *Augustalis* was probably highly sought after by wealthy freedmen.

3.2.2 *Augustalis, Vicomagistri*

Strictly regarding status, the *Augustalis* found themselves between the ordinary residents and the influential magistrates. Though the exact nature of their role is debated, it is generally accepted that the *Augustalis* was responsible for performing some duties with respect to the cult of the Roman emperor (Husser, 2013: 952, Cooley & Cooley, 2004: 149). This position effectively demonstrated the success of a freedman without upsetting the established elite. In some cases the *Augustalis* might have functioned as an alternative *ordo*, resulting in a much desired social distinction. It is important to note that not all who possessed the position of *Augustalis* were freedmen. It is estimated, however, that 85-95% of the *Augustalis* were ex-slaves (Hackworth-Petersen, 2006: 58-59). In order to hold office the *Augustalis* would have to pay a fee and would also be expected to make municipal contributions through repairs or construction of public works, as well as the funding of banquets and games.

Freedmen could also hold the position of *vicomagistri*. The *vicomagistri* functioned as an officer that represented a neighbourhood, and they functioned as mediators between the *aedile* and the people to ensure the well-being of their respected neighbourhood. They also participated in civic religions (Hackworth-Petersen, 2006: 57).

As previously mentioned the freeborn stood free to dabble in politics. This brings about the interesting case of the children of the well-to-do freedmen. Seeing as how they were freeborn they were not burdened by the restrictions put upon their father and were free to pursue a political career. Being freeborn, they had the opportunity to experience *iuventus* which left them with few restrictions in society.

3.2.3 *Classes*

It is important to stress that the different ranks can further belong to different classes within the Roman social structure. This is because the Roman society was very hierarchical and several of the hierarchies are parallel. There were economic classes, status classes, title classes, judicial

classes and political classes to mention a few. An example of a rank belonging to several classes is found in the equestrian rank. Since the rank contains a monetary demand and is defined by law after Augustus it is both within the confines of the economic and judicial class.

4. Freedmen and Aristocratic Tombs of Pompeii

4.1 Why erect a tomb?

There are potentially plenty of reasons for constructing a tomb, but one can with some safety assume that most tombs were built with an underlying motive. This motive will, of course, rely on the agenda of the individual choosing to erect a tomb. The reason for building a tomb was usually to commemorate oneself, a friend or a loved one, sometimes all of the aforementioned categories. It could also be utilized to reflect political ambitions. There are examples of freedmen constructing tombs to honour their patron, husbands honouring their wife, and vice versa, parents commemorating their children, siblings commemorating each other etc.

Like any other building the tomb is a representation of a person's prestige, power and wealth (Campbell, 2015: 15, Zanker, 1995: 76-7). This is especially evident in cases where a tomb is erected in the memory of someone other than the individual ordering the tomb. Assuming that the custom, as is evident from the archaeological evidence via epitaphs (PE14, PNc55), was to implement the name of the erector on the epitaph of a tomb this might have been perceived as a generous way of honouring the dead, whilst having the added effect of glorifying the erector's own name and wealth. A great example of this would be freedmen erecting grand tombs in honour of their patron, which seems to have been a custom practiced by the well-to-do freedmen. The patron is thus honoured in a befitting manner, and the freedman is perhaps viewed as grateful for his patron's decision to manumit him. It also allows the freedman to display his success and generosity. In some instances it also allowed the freedman to front his own name by recollecting the merits of his patron (Carroll, 2006: 130). Seeing as how they carried the same last name and how the freedman would in the best case scenario be an extension of the patrons family it might be a sound strategy to underline the importance of the freedman's surname. This phenomenon occurs in both the Ercolano and Nocera necropolises. A *triclinium* was erected to commemorate Gnaeus Vibrius Saturninus at the Ercolano necropolis and it was erected by the freedman Callistus (Campbell, 2015: 175). Menomachus built an aedicule for the Ceii family on the north side of via dei Sepolcri leading out of Porta di Ercolano. Verania Clara built a tomb for her patron, Gaius Veranius Rufus, outside the Porta di Nocera (Carroll, 2006: 61). Marcus Stronnius Meinius built an altar tomb for his patron, Gaius Stronnius, his patron's son, Gaius Stronnius, and himself outside Porta di Nocera.

4.2 Space and Placement

Space and placement are both relevant subjects with regards to the erecting of tombs. These subjects usually raise important questions with respect to why a particular necropolis was chosen instead of another, why a tomb is as big or small as it is and so forth. It will become evident that there are several key differences between the tombs that are located in the necropolises that will be investigated in this thesis. Space and placement deals with subjects such as manipulation of topography to gain visionary benefits, the steps taken to gain advantages through height, the size of the tomb, the use of plaster and paint to make the tomb unique and much more. The goal is ultimately to make the tomb as visible and outstanding as possible and the aforementioned methods are the main component of that process.

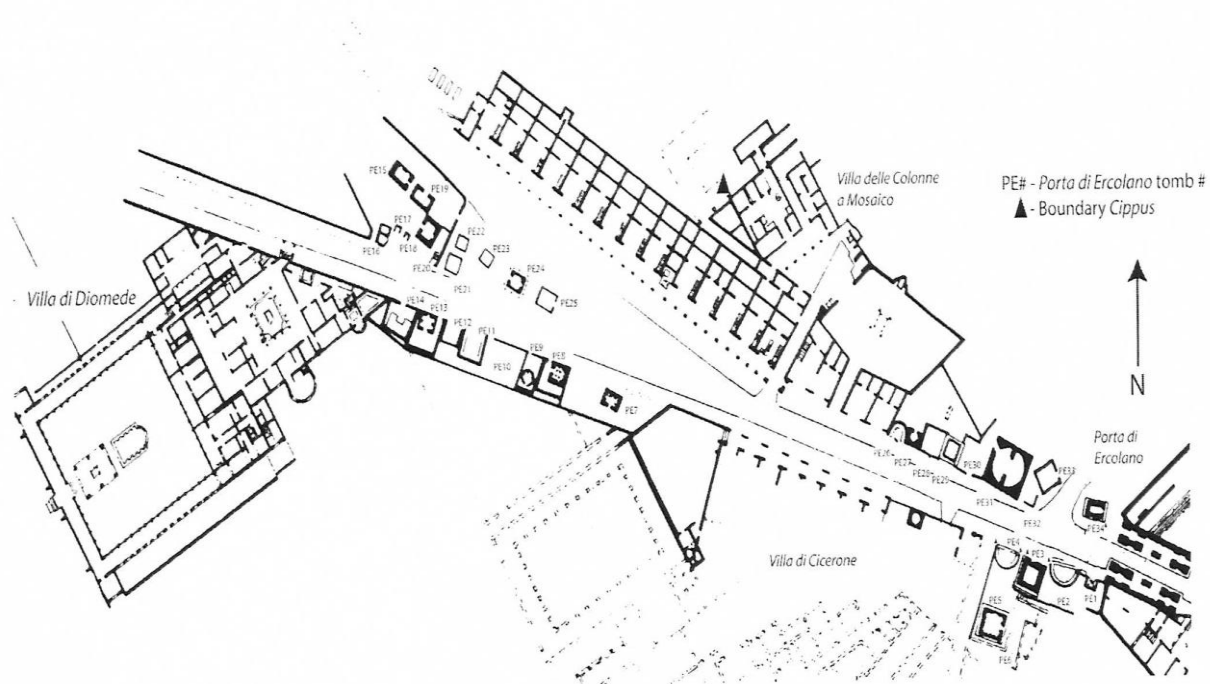


Figure 1. Map of the Ercolano necropolis (Found in: Campbell, 2015: 151).

4.2.1 The Necropolis of Porta di Ercolano

The necropolis of Porta di Ercolano is located north-west of the city of Pompeii. The tombs are placed on either side of the Via dei Sepolcri which is the street leading out of Porta di Ercolano. The necropolis of Porta di Ercolano has several tombs located within the pomerium. It has been suggested that having a tomb near the Porta di Ercolano was especially prestigious. This is based on the fact that it would have been the natural route when going to Rome, but also that important

guests coming from the North would most likely be arriving following the road that leads to Herculaneum. It was probably important for Pompeii as a city that the tombs positioned along via dei Sepolcri were of a grand nature. Having a tomb along this road could therefore inform important visitors what families were the most prominent (Zanker, 1995: 76).

4.2.2 *The Tombs of Porta di Ercolano*

The most striking difference one notices when walking past the tombs in the Ercolano necropolis, as opposed to Nocera, is how the gleam of the sun hits the grand marble tombs and how open and uncluttered this graveyard feels. Most of the tombs of Ercolano are clad in marble or travertine which is considered quite expensive materials. It is perhaps a little bold to state that the tombs positioned here *had* to be made of expensive material, but the archaeological material does to some extent agree with this claim. The sizes of the tombs in Ercolano vary, but most of them are allotted about the same amount of space. The Istacidii tomb is a strange exception in many cases with regards to the rest of the tombs. It is located within the *pomerium*, but it is perhaps the biggest tomb of Ercolano and there have been no attempts to build a socket to elevate its visionary level. Instead it is built in floors and is explained as a tholos type tomb. Its proximity to the Mamia tomb (positioned behind the Mamia schola tomb) would make it a natural place to discover whilst approaching the couch-like tomb of Mamia. Another discussion is a tombs proximity to the Ercolano gate. This discussion typically takes into account that close proximity to the Ercolano gate does not necessarily give an indication towards when it was erected. It would be natural to assume that close proximity to the gate would translate into the tomb having been built before the tombs that follow. It is also the matter of tombs superseding other tombs. This would include discontinuation of a tomb, demolition of a tomb due to lack of maintenance or natural disasters. This is, however, usually impossible to trace through the archaeological evidence available and will therefore only be mentioned, but not dealt with. Close proximity to the city gate is often interpreted as a sign of prestige and then especially tombs that are place within the *pomerium* since it required a special permit which is, without exception, mentioned on the epitaph belonging to the tomb. The epitaph would be inscribed with the words *ex d d* (Aulus Veius' schola tomb)/*ex dec decret* (Marcus Porcius' altar tomb) both meaning *ex decurionum decreto* which is translated to mean "by decree of the decuriones". Carroll argues that *ex decurionum decreto* should be view as a special honour granted an exclusive few and that the individuals possessing a commemorative structure inscribed with these words have been carefully selected and honoured by the city council. She claims that the burial plot was donated by courtesy of the town council

(Carroll, 2006: 139). Campbell's view of *ex decurionum decreto* is, however, quite different. She claims that this is merely a formula inscribed to hinder legal debates and the risk of others demolishing the constructed memorial. She argues that this is a permission to erect a tomb, rather than a donation decreed by the decurions. She does admit that in some cases it is explicitly inscribed that the city of Pompeii granted public funds for the commemoration of certain individuals and that these individuals received a special honour from the council. She is sceptical to all of the remaining tombs that lack an inscription on the epitaph that mention a grant having been earmarked to pay for the commemoration of the individual mentioned on the epitaph. With regards to emulation along the necropolis of Porta di Ercolano it will be especially important to analyse the altar tomb found within the pomerium and those that are found outside it. This is a discussion that has been heated for quite some time and has produced several fruitful theories both arguing for and against the probability of emulation taking place. Whether there is a correlation between these tombs is up for debate, with makes it an interesting subject in of itself. It is usually accepted that the altar tomb found within the pomerium (PE 3) commemorates an aristocrat by the name Marcus Porcius. Marcus Porcius was one of two magistrates from the early colonial stages of Pompeii which gives the tomb a relative date of between 70-50 BC. He was involved in the construction of the Temple to Apollo, the amphitheatre and the small theatre (Campbell, 2015: 157).

It is a popular opinion that the aristocrats of Pompeii felt a need to promote themselves during this period, possibly to assert themselves as the ruling class (Zanker, 1995: 77-78). What is interesting to note is that Marcus Porcius altar tomb is the first monumental tomb that was erected near Porta di Ercolano (Kockel, 1983: 55). Sadly, the tomb was discovered in quite poor condition and the name of its occupant is known through the border-markers (cippi), found in situ, instead of through an epitaph. It is suggested that the tomb collapsed as early as AD 79 as a result of the Vesuvius eruption. Despite of its collapse it is easily identified as an altar tomb due to the debris found when it was excavated as well as the socket of the tomb still being present. What is blurry, however, is the height of the tomb, but based on the archaeological evidence found in close proximity to the altar tomb it is estimated to have been somewhere between 1,27-2,38 meters (Campbell, 2015: 155). Its fragmentary décor makes it difficult to establish to what degree it was being emulated in the final years of Pompeii. Carroll rests upon the notion that the altar tomb carried a certain status and that by emulating this type of tomb one could seemingly receive the same honour by association rather than merit (Carroll, 2006: 95). The tombs that are comparable to that of Porcius on the south side of via dei Sepolcri belong to Aulus Umbricius Scaurus (PE7), Gaius Calventius Quintus (PE11) and Naevoleia Tyche (PE13). Tyche and Calventius are

established as freedmen, whilst Scaurus belongs to the aristocracy. The Tyche tomb is, perhaps, the most discussed tomb regarding Pompeiian funerary commemoration. The fact that Tyche and her husband, Gaius Munatius Faustus, share a tomb on the other side of Pompeii, Porta di Nocera, makes this tomb even more interesting. Since it is usually accepted that their tomb near porta di Nocera is older than PE13 it has been assumed that Faustus built the tomb together with his fellow Augustal, Aulus Veius Atticus. On the tomb from Nocera Faustus is mentioned first, whilst the tomb near Ercolano mentions Tyche first. This has been interpreted to mean that Tyche erected the tomb after the death of her husband. The archaeological evidence from Nocera confirms a *columellae* dedicated to Faustus in the burial area of his tomb. Tyche's ashes are, however, missing from both of the tombs. This might suggest that Tyche was still alive when Vesuvius erupted and was thus never buried near Pompeii.

Erculano (South)

	Altar	Niche	Aedicule	Schola	Triclinium	Tholos	Enclosure	Podium	Vaulted	
									Niche	Unfinished
Freedmen	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Non-freedmen	2	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	0	0
Unknown	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	5	0	0	2	1	2	2	0	1	0

Erculano (North)

Freedmen	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Non-freedmen	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Unknown	3	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	2
Total	4	2	5	0	0	1	4	1	1	2

Erculano (Full)

Freedmen	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Non-freedmen	3	1	2	2	1	2	3	0	0	0
Unknown	4	1	1	0	0	1	3	0	1	2
Total	9	2	5	2	1	3	6	1	2	2

Table 1. Complete statistical list of tombs and social standing of primary occupant at the Ercolano necropolis (Author, 2016).

4.2.3 *The Necropolis of Porta di Nocera*

The necropolis of Porta di Nocera is located in the south-east section of Pompeii. The fact that the Nocera *necropolei* is located 30 meters from the city walls exemplifies the nuances created between human constructs and those of nature. The necropolis of Porta di Nocera is the only necropolis that upholds the law of the twelve tables stating that none shall be buried within the pomerium (Scott, 1932: 74). As opposed to Porta di Ercolano where the tombs are positioned on either side of Via dei Sepolcri, Porta di Nocera's tombs run parallel the city walls (Ling, :79-80). Campbell claims that Nocera grew to be one of the largest *necropoleis* due to its close proximity to the amphitheatre of Pompeii. Its proximity to the aforementioned monument can be interpreted to mean that Porta di Nocera was one of the most commonly used gates with regards to viewing of arena spectacles. If this is true it would make the surrounding area an attractive place to position one's final resting place. The reason the pomerium is not cluttered with tombs at the Nocera necropolis is often explained through the exploits of Suedius Clemens. Suedius Clemens' inscription (CIL X 1018) on a stone slab on the boarder of the pomerium grants him the right, by order of Vespasian, to clean up the pomerium outside of Porta di Nocera. This is further seen as a possible reason for the fact that there are very few tombs at the Nocera necropolis erected during the late Republican era, as these may have been demolished. While the other *necropoleis* are associated with commerce, farming and general traffic, Porta di Nocera might have been somewhat less travelled, but associated with grand spectacles and games. This should be seen as a plausible cause of its popularity. The exploits of Clemens can also be seen as a device to limit loitering and other unwanted behaviour close to the amphitheatre and the city centre. Martial, Petronius and Appian all mention the shady business that occurred within and around the necropolises. Beggars, prostitutes and thieves are some of the characters that are mentioned as frequenting tombs and graveyards (Carroll, 2006: 82-83, Campbell, 2015: 36).

Campbell lays forth the notion of an orbital road around half of the city of Pompeii, stretching from Porta di Ercolano, passing through Porta di Stabia and ending at Porta di Nocera. This is seen as one of the possible solutions and answers for the 30 meter distance between the tombs of Nocera and the city walls, meaning that a road could have separated the two. The streets of Pompeii are to some extent narrow and it might have taken an unnecessary amount of time to navigate if one did not have any current business inside the walls. Seeing as Pompeii is thought of as a commercial hub it is of course not farfetched to suggest an orbital road stretching around the city walls (Campbell, 2015: 37-38). This is, however, worth mentioning, but not something that will be further explored.

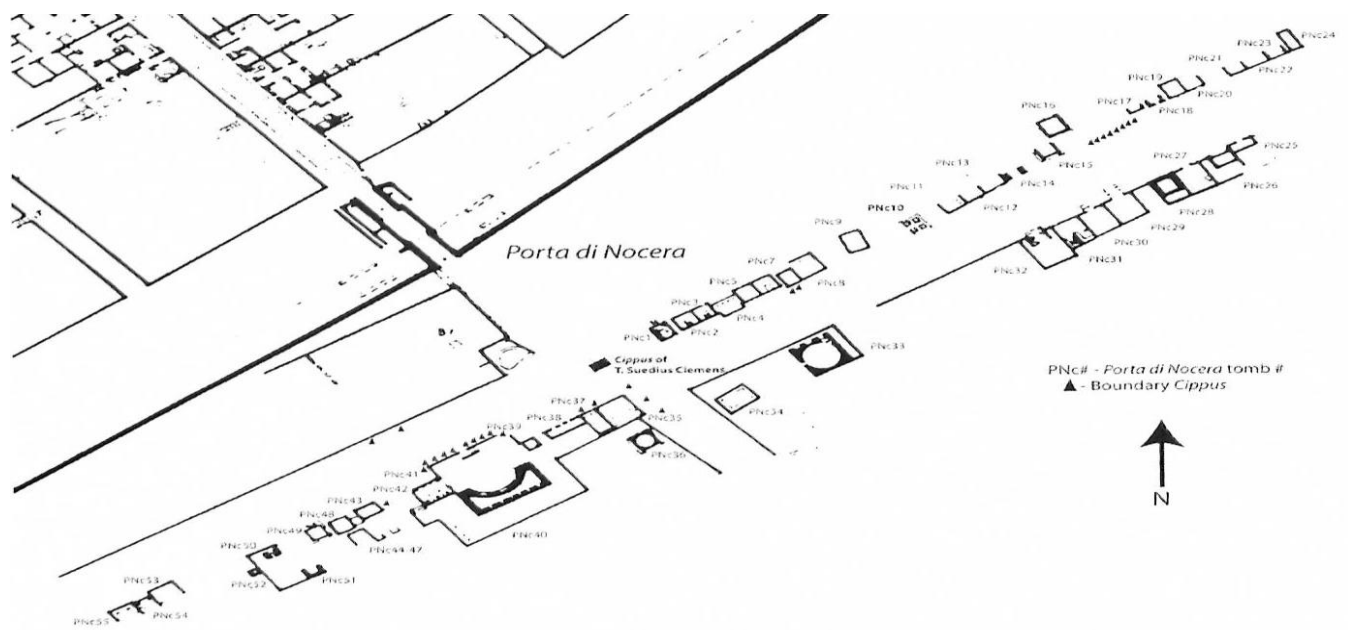


Figure 2. Map of the Nocera Necropolis (Found in: Campbell, 2016: 211).

4.2.4 The Tombs of Porta di Nocera

Porta di Nocera is very different from Porta di Ercolano in many aspects. Nocera feels a lot more peaceful and undisturbed than Ercolano. Unlike Ercolano, Nocera was a necropolis through-and-through and a place fully dedicated to the commemoration of the dead. The sizes of the tombs vary to a much larger degree in Nocera and some of the tombs are borderline monstrous. The biggest tomb is the one belonging to Eumachia. The monument is made out of lava, nocera tufa and bricks all of which are quite cheap materials. The monument is of itself 6,7 m high, 13,55 m long and 5,65 m wide and any other tomb at Pompeii is dwarfed in comparison (Campbell, 2015: 257). Its unusually shape and size has made it one of the tombs that will be further discussed at a later time in the thesis. Eumachia's epitaph does not include her merits and status. Her impact on Pompeii is known from her public buildings in the forum. Campbell suggests that Eumachia did not feel a need to flaunt her accomplishments and status in her epitaph. Her philanthropic displays, visible through the public buildings she had helped construct in the forum, achieved this goal to a, perhaps, even greater extent than an epitaph could (Campbell, 2015: 114). The most represented tomb type at Porta di Nocera is enclosure. In total Nocera has twenty one enclosure tombs with two different varieties, house enclosure and enclosure. The latter is the most popular. Of the two necropolises, Nocera is thought to be the less exclusive one.

Nocera

	House										
	Altar	Niche	Aedicule	Arch	Tholos	Enclosure	Enclosure	Podium	Tumulus	Dado	Exedra
Freedmen	0	1	2	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
Non-Freedmen	2	1	2	0	3	4	4	0	1	1	1
Unknown	2	2	7	0	1	9	1	4	0	0	0
Total	4	4	11	1	5	14	7	4	1	1	1

Table 2. Complete statistical list of tombs and social standing of primary occupant at the Nocera necropolis (Author, 2016).

4.3 Tombs and the Law

The tombs were heavily protected by the law as the area was viewed as sacred. The punishments for vandalism, violence against or neglect of tombs were severe (Digest 47.12, Digest 11.7.2.5). The importance regarding these laws lies with the understanding that they were sacred monuments and that they would therefore be taken care of. Freedmen might have served a function regarding maintenance of their patron's tomb.

Since tombs were so heavily protected it would have been of even more significant meaning for freedmen hoping to elevate their status as their monument would be protected by law.

4.4 The Tombs of the Freedman and the Aristocrats

In this part of the thesis it will be imperative to mention the tombs that will be analysed and compared. A total of seven tombs will be presented that has been erected by freeman for themselves and their kin. Three of these are found near Porta di Ercolano and four are found near Porta di Nocera. The tomb types that will be utilized are; Altar, Aedicule, House enclosure and Tholos.

In order to create a basis of comparison it will be important to present some of the tombs erected by the aristocracy. Some of the tombs that will be presented are tombs that are unique to the pinnacle of the hierarchy, whilst other are presented as counterparts to the tombs erected by freedmen; e.g. aristocratic altar, aedicule, schola and tholos tombs. A total of five aristocratic tombs will be presented and will act as counterparts to those belonging to freedmen. The schola tomb of Mammia will be presented as a tomb type that, seemingly, was unavailable for freedmen.

4.5 Altar tombs

This type of tomb has its origins in the Greek East and is found in places such as Rhodes and Halicarnassus in the second century BC. It later became a popular tomb type in Italy. The altar tomb was originally a large and freestanding altar. An applicable example would be the tomb of Porcius. Altar tombs become somewhat different during the Augustan period. The altar tombs

where now usually placed within an enclosure, had a base and were less lumpy in construction (von Hesberg, 1992: 171-175, Campbell, 2015: 45). The lastly mentioned definition is descriptive of Tyche's and Calventius' tombs. The Alleii tomb, however, seems to be a sort of hybrid. It is less lumpy, has a base, but it has no enclosure. Toynbee describes the altar tomb as the most homogeneous type of tomb found at Pompeii, claiming that the type consist of an altar atop a base surrounded by an enclosure (Toynbee, 1971: 123). Campbell (2015: 45) suggests that Toynbee was referring strictly to the tombs found outside Porta di Ercolano when proposing this typology. It is important to note that the tomb types are not fixed, but shifts in shape and form throughout the lifetime of Pompeii.

4.5.1 Altar Tombs of the Freedmen

Porta di Ercolano contains the two most cited tombs in Pompeiian funerary research. These tombs belong to Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Calventius Quietus. In addition to presenting these two tombs it will also be important to present the house enclosure of G.M. Faustus.

4.5.2 The Tyche and Faustus tombs

The aforementioned tombs of Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Munatius Faustus play a pivotal role in this thesis because they both represent part of the freedman community. The fact that they erected two separate tombs and built them on opposite sides of Pompeii makes their tombs all the more interesting. It will therefore be important to present the specifications of both tombs to make them applicable for comparison with the tombs of the aristocracy as well as each other. Coincidentally, or perhaps not, both erectors chose the most represented tomb from their respective necropolis.

4.5.3 Tomb of Naevoleia Tyche(PE13)

This tomb is located near Porta di Ercolano and is situated between the tombs of Numerius Istacidius Helenus(PE12) and Gnaeus Vibrius Saturnius(PE14).

It is an altar tomb which is made of tufa, marble, limestone, basalt and brick.

The structure consists of an enclosure, pedestal and an altar.

The enclosure wall dimensions are; north: 6,95m, south: 7,10m, west: 8,00m, east: 7,95m in length and stands at 3,10m in height.

The pedestal dimensions are; north and south: 4,10m, east and west: 3,95m in length and stands at 2,66m in height.

The altar dimensions are; north and south: 2,27m, east and west: 1,84m in length and stands at 2,42m in height.

The northern wall, the façade, of the enclosure is constructed with inset tufa blocks. The “door” into the enclosure is placed to the left on the northern wall. The southern, eastern and western walls are constructed using the technic of *opus incertum* where the concrete is complemented by basalt, limestone and tufa. There are remnants of white painted plaster along the lower half of the walls. Each corner of the enclosure has a squared elevated rectangle capped with a pyramid. The south-east corner of the enclosure has a bench covered in white plaster. The altar is built on top of two steps of marble revetment and is itself clad in marble. The entrance to the chamber of the monument is found in the rear. The chamber consists of an earthen floor, concrete ceiling and three benches. Under the benches are three vaulted niches designed for preserving funerary urns (*loculi*). There are other *loculi* in the walls of the chamber as well as one large central rectangular *loculus*. The vault and walls are covered in white painted plaster. Two columellae have been found in the enclosure.

The tomb is recognizable by its three reliefs that cover the northern, eastern and western sides of the altar. All of these sides are framed with acanthus scrolls. The southern side is blank. The northern relief depicts a small framed bust of what is assumed to be Naevoleia Tyche. The bust breaks the acanthus scroll decoration and is found above the inscription. Beneath the inscription is a depiction of a distribution of a grain dole. On the eastern side of the altar there is a depiction of a *bisellium*. The western side depicts a nautical vessel. A cornice with dentil, acanthus leaves and egg and dart stretches around the altar. On the top of the altar are inverted volutes.

The epitaph reads:

NAEVOLEIA L(uci) LIB(erta) TYCHE SIBI ET
C(aio) MUNATIO FAUSTO AUG(utalis) ET PAGANO
CUI DECURIONES CONSENSU POPULI
BISELLIUM OB MERITA EIUS DECREVERUNT
HOC MONIMENTUM NAEVOLEIA TYCHE LIBERTIS SUIS
LIBERTABUSQ(ue) ET C(ai) MUNATI FAUSTI VIVA FECIT



Figure 3. Tomb of Naevoleia Tyche (Author, 2016).

[Naevoleia Tyche, Freedwoman of Lucius, for herself and Gaius Munatius Faustus, Augustalis and Paganus, who was decreed the bisellium for merits by the decuriones and the consent of the

people. This monument was built by Naevoleia Tyche for her freedmen and freedwoman, and those of Gaius Munatius Faustus, whilst alive]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 173)

(CIL X 1030 p 120, Mau, 1908: 421-424, Toynbee, 1971: 125, Kockel, 1983: 100-9, von Hesberg, 1994: 176, Cooley & Cooley, 2004: 150-51, Hackworth Petersen, 2006: 66-75, Scott, 2013: 91-3, Campbell, 2015: 172-74)

4.5.4 Tomb of Gaius Munatius Faustus (PNc30)

The tomb is located near Porta di Nocera and is interconnected with the tomb of Aulus Veius Atticus (PNc29). The tombs are interconnected because they seem to share a common enclosure wall. This gives the impression that the tombs were planned as a whole. Aulus Veius Atticus and Gaius Munatius Faustus are both *Augustalis*. The primary occupants of the neighbouring tombs (PNc28 and PNc31) are unknown.

Both tombs are house enclosures and are made from lava pumice stone utilizing the *opus incertum* technic.

The structure consists of an enclosure.

The enclosure wall dimensions are; north and south: 4,60m, east and west: 6.08m in length and stand at 3.08 meters in height.

The enclosure consists of four walls, all made from lava *opus incertum* and covered in white plaster. The façade wall is reminiscent of a house, hence the definition house enclosure. The entrance into the enclosure is placed centrally on the façade wall. The inscription is embedded in the middle of a triangular tympanum.

The tympanum is framed by stucco cornice consisting of scrollwork and egg and dart. There are also green and red bands painted round the inscription.

Eight columellae were found during excavation, none of which mention Naevoleia Tyche, but one which is thought as belonging to Faustus.

The epitaph reads:

C(aius) MUNATIUS FAUSTUS

AUGISTAL(is) ET PAGAN(us) D(ecurionum) D(ecreto) SIBI ET

NAEVOLEIAE TYCHE CONIUGI



Figure 4. Tomb of Gaius Munatius Faustus (Author, 2016).

[Gaius Munatius Faustus, Augustalis and Paganus by decree of the decuriones, for himself and Naevoleia Tyche, his wife]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 245)

(Cooley & Cooley, 2004: 150-52, Hackworth Petersen, 2006: 66-75, Scott, 2013: 91-93, Campbell, 2015: 244-45)

These tombs, albeit erected by the same couple, are very different, as is evident from the presented specifications. The tomb erected by Faustus is rather plain and simple, is constructed from material regarded as relatively cheap and is located in a necropolis thought to be quite inclusive. The tomb erected by Tyche utilizes expensive material, is greatly detailed and rather complex and is located in a necropolis thought to be quite exclusive. Tyche attempts to underline the merits of her husband and the mention of Faustus obtaining the *bisellium* is exclusively mentioned on the inscription adorning her tomb. Both of the erectors make it a point to mention themselves first in their respective inscriptions.

4.5.5 The tomb of Gaius Calventius Quietus (PE11)

There are two altar tombs belonging to freedman along the south side of via dei Sepolcri. One belongs to the aforementioned Naevoleia Tyche, the second belongs to Gaius Calventius Quietus.

4.5.6 Tomb of Gaius Calventius Quietus

This tomb is located near Porta di Ercolano and is situated between a tomb with an unknown occupant(PE10) and the tomb of Numerius Istacidius Helenus(PE11).

It is an altar tomb which is made of tufa, marble, basalt and brick.

The structure consists of an enclosure, pedestal and an altar.

The enclosure wall dimensions are; north: 6,10m, south: 6,11m, west and east: 6,46m in length and stands at; north: 1,02m, south: 3,58m, east: 2,14m, west: 2,05m in height.

The pedestal dimensions are; north and south: 3,83m, east and west: 3,53m in length and stands at 1,49m in height.

The altar dimensions are; north and south: 1,73m, east and west: 1,41m in length and stands at 2,25m in height.

The northern wall, the façade, is lowered for visibility and has no entrance. The enclosure walls are constructed from basalt *opus incertum*, tufa *opus listratum* and brick. All of the walls are covered in white painted plaster. The western and eastern enclosure walls has three squared elevated rectangles capped with a pyramid, one in the middle and one in each corner. The southern wall has a tympanum with an uninscribed marble plaque embedded into it. The monument is not entirely centred in the middle of the enclosure. The pedestal is constructed from tufa and brick and is followed by three steps of marble revetment topped by a marble altar. The tomb has no chamber.

The altar enjoys rich decoration. It consists of an ornamented base and profile and has reliefs on the northern, eastern and western side. The eastern and western side has identical motifs of the *corona civica*; oak wreaths that are tied with two ribbons. The *corona civica* gives the illusion that they are hanging on the eastern and western side. The western and eastern reliefs are framed with vine scrolls. The northern side carries an inscription. Underneath the inscription is a relief depicting a bisellium. The bisellium is complemented with a blanket and footstool. The northern side is framed with acanthus scrolls. On top of the altar are inverted volutes in the shape of ram's heads. Some remains of cornice with egg and dart décor.

A candidate of the same name who stood as duumvir during the Nero/Flavian period may be his son.

The epitaph reads:

C(aio) CALVENTIO QUIETO
 AUGUSTALI(s)
 HUIC OB MUNIFICENT(iam) DECURIONUM
 DECRETO ET POPULI CONSE(n)SU BISELLII
 HONOR DATUS EST



Figure 5. Tomb of Gaius Calventius Quietus (Author, 2016).

[To Gaius Calventio Quietus, Augustalis. For his munificence he was given the honour of the bisellium by the decree of the decuriones and (with) the consent of the people]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 170)

(CIL X 1026 p 119, Toynbee, 1971: 124-25, Kockel, 1983: 90-97, Laidlaw, 1985: 323, von Hesberg, 1994: 177, Cooley & Cooley, 2004: 149-50, Carroll, 2006: 93-95, Hackworth Petersen, 2006: 62-63, Campbell, 2015: 169-70)

4.5.7 Altar Tombs of the Aristocrats

For the sake of comparison two altar tombs have been selected as counterparts to the two aforementioned altar tombs. Some might argue that Aulus Umbricius Scaurus' altar tomb is better suited for comparison than the altar tomb of Porcius, due to the condition of the latter mentioned tomb. Porcius' tomb was, however, preferred due to its strong symbolism and the fact that it was the first monumental tombs erected outside Porta di Ercolano, making its significant unrivalled.

4.5.8 Tomb of Marcus Porcius(PE3)

This tomb is located near Porta di Ercolano and is situated between the tomb of Aulus Veius(PE2) and the tomb of the Mammia(PE4).

It is an altar tomb made out of tufa, basalt and travertine.

Enclosure measurements are not available.

The tomb dimensions are; north 5,95m, west: 5.96m in length and was somewhere between 1,27-2,38m in height.

The tomb has a square hollow foundation made from lava *opus caementicum* and *opus incertum*. On the northern and western side there are basalt block trailing the foundation. On the northeast corner there are *in situ* remains of the travertine profile. Since the foundation is hollow the tomb might have contained a tomb chamber, but no urn was ever found. *In situ cippi* informs of the occupant of the tomb and the boarder of the tomb. The inscription state 25 square feet. The ground level of the tomb might have been raised in antiquity, but the inscription may have been partially hidden even then. The poor condition of the tomb has left researchers unable to clarify the original placement of the primary inscription as well as the extant height of the monument. The fragmentary remains of its decoration does, however, allow for partial reconstruction of the tomb. Some of these decorations are displayed in front of the tomb.

The décor of the tomb is variable and there are fragments of volutes and pulvini(leaf-like) scrolls and Doric frieze. The décor is exclusively made from travertine. There are remains of ornamented metopes. The motopes contain, rosette, paterae and boucrania décor. All together there are four-and-a-half metopes of freize found. The metopes are separated by three vertical bands.

Porcius is known for having contributed to the *Theatrum Minus* and the amphitheatre at Pompeii. He is also known as one of two early magistrates during the colonial period of Pompeii.

The *cippi* reads:

M(arci) PORCI

M(arci) F(ili) EX DEC(urionum)

DECRET(o) IN

FRONTEM

PED(es) XXV

IN.AGRUM

PED(es) XXV



Figure 6. (In front) Tomb of Marcus Porcius. (In back) Tomb of The Istacidii (Author, 2016).

[Marcus Porcius, son of Marcus, by decree of the decuriones, twenty-five feet in front, twenty-five feet in depth]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 157)

(CIL X 997 p 117, Toynbee, 1971: 122-23, Kockel, 1983: 53-7, Richardson, 1982: 184, Carroll, 2006: 95, Campbell, 2015: 55-57)

4.5.9 The tomb of the Alleii(PE21)

This tomb is located near Porta di Ercolano and is situated between the tomb of Marcus Popidius (PE20) and a tomb with an unknown occupant(PE22).

It is an altar tomb made entirely out of travertine.

Enclosure measurements are not available.

The tomb dimensions are; north and south 3,42m, east: 3,44m, west: 3,40m in length and stands at 4,84m in height.

The tomb consists of two stages of travertine, with decorative element on top of the superstructure. The substructure and superstructure is constructed in its entirety of large travertine blocks. The substructure is constructed from two levels of travertine blocks and is wider than the superstructure. An architrave divides the sub- and superstructure. The superstructure consists of four levels of travertine blocks. The inscriptions are embedded into the top travertine block on the northern and western side of the monuments. The fact that the tomb possesses two identical inscriptions is notable. A cornice separates the superstructure from the top of the altar. The top of the altar is decorated by volutes. The tomb has no chamber.

The décor of the altar tomb is rather simple. The only part of the tomb that is decorated is the volutes on top. The broadside of the volutes contains pulvini and the ends are decorated with rosettes. The southern side contains graffiti.

The epitaph(s(both northern and western)) reads:

M(arco) ALLEIO LUCCIO LIBALLAE PATRI
AEDILI ILVIR(o) PRAEFECTO QUINQ(uennali) ET
M(arco) ALLEIO LIBELLAE F(ilio) DECURIONI VEXIT
ANNIS XVII LOCUS MONUMENTI
PUBLICÉ DATUS EST ALLEIA M(arci) F(ilia)
DECIMILLA SACERDOS PUBLICA
CERERIS FACIUNDUM CURAVIT VIRO
ET FILIO



Figure 7. Tomb of The Alleii (Author, 2016).

[To Marcus Alleius Luccius Libella senior, aedile, duovir, prefect, quinquennial, and to Marcus Alleius Libella junior, decurion. He lived 17 years. The place for the monument was given publically. Alleia Decimilla, daughter of Ceres, oversaw the building on behalf of her husband and son]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 173)

(CIL X 1036 p 120, Kockel, 1983: 163-68, Campbell, 2015: 183-84)

4.6 Tholos tombs

A tholos tomb consists of a square substructure and a round superstructure. The tholos rests atop a podium and is often described as a pavilion with a conical roof held up by columns (Toynbee, 1971: 194-95). The inside of the pavilion would display statues of the primary occupants. Von Hesberg suggests the tholos tomb as one of many varieties of the aedicule (von Hesberg, 1994: 123), but for the sake of separation tholos will in this thesis be viewed as separate from the aedicule. The tholos type is Hellenistic in origin.

4.6.1 Tholos tombs of Freedmen

The tholos tombs that have been chosen to represent the freedmen were chosen much due to their differences, but also because they are the only tholos tombs which are established as belonging to freedmen. Since both of them are found outside Porta di Nocera it felt natural that the aristocratic tomb should belong to the same area.

4.6.2 Tomb of Lucius Ceius Serapio(PNc36)

This tomb is located near Porta di Nocera and is situated behind, but overlooking a tomb with an unknown occupant(PNc35) and the tomb of the Clodii(PNc37).

It is a tholos tomb made out of lava, limestone and brick.

Enclosure measurements are not available.

The tomb dimensions are; north and south: 3,78m, east and west: 3,78m in length and stands at 3,75m in height.

The tomb has a perfectly square substructure constructed of tufa *opus incertum*. The corners of the substructure are supported by large limestones acting as quoins. The substructure show traces of stucco cornice on the northern, eastern and western sides. The superstructure then supersedes the substructure. The superstructure is divided into two circles; the upper circle smaller than the bottom. Both circles are made out of tufa *opus incertum*. The circles are separated by a layer of bricks. There are limited traces of four columns found on the top circle. These four columns form a semi-circle. The two outer columns are thought to have been connected to a wall creating a niche that might have held statues. The tomb does not have a chamber, but does have two arched *loculi* made for displaying columellae.

Most of décor has withered away. Trace amounts of Corinthian capitals on base.

The epitaph reads:

L(ucius) CEIUS L(uci) L(ibertus) SERAPIO

ARGENTARIUS

HELVIA M(arci) F(ilia) UXOR SACR(averunt)



Figure 8. Tomb of Lucius Ceius Serapio (Author, 2016).

[Lucius Ceius Serapio, freedman of Lucius, moneylender, and Helvia, daughter of Marcus, his wife, dedicated this]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 253)

(Scott, 2013: 91-2, Campbell, 2015: 252-53)

4.6.3 Tomb of Gaius Cuspius Cyrus(PNc26)

This tomb is located near Porta di Nocera and is situated between a tomb with an unknown occupant(PNc25) and the tomb of Lucius Barbidius Communis(PNc27).

It is a tholos tomb made out of tufa, limestone and brick.

Enclosure measurements are not available.

The tomb dimensions are; north and south: 3,08m, east and west: 3,92m in length and stands at 4,40m in height.

The tomb mostly consists of bricks. The façade is elaborately decorated and consists of a column in each corner, an arch and an entrance framed by carved limestone blocks. The columns are made of brick and the base and capital are made from tufa. The inscription is found above the entrance and inside arch. A cornice of brick stretches around the substructure. Superstructure consists of a single circle and is made of brick. The chamber is vaulted and the eastern and western walls have two *loculi*(see PE13). The southern wall has two *loculi* on either side of a bigger *loculus* in the center of the wall. Above the *loculus* is a shaft for natural lighting. There are traces of plaster on the interior walls.

The decorations on the outside consist of the richly decorated Corinthian capitols. Tomb was probably covered in white painted plaster, as there are remnants of this in the left corner of the façade. This would explain the attention to detail regarding the brickwork. The chamber exhibits traces of red painted plaster.

The epitaph reads:

C(aio) CUSPIO C(ai) L(iberto) CYRO

MAG(istro) PAG(i) AUG(uisti) FEL(icis) SUBURB(ani)

VESVIAE IUCUNDAE UXOR(i)

C(aio) CUSPIO C(ai) L(iberto) SALVIO

MAG(istro) PAG(i) AUG(uisti) FEL(icis) SUBURB(ani)



Figure 9. Tomb of Gaius Cuspius Cyrus (Author, 2016).

[To Gaius Cuspius Cyrus, freedman of Gaius, magistrate of the pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus, to Vesuvia Iucunda, his wife, to Gaius Cuspius Salvius, freedman of Gaius, magistrate of the pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 238)

(Campbell, 2015: 238)

4.6.4 *Tholos tombs of the Aristocrats*

The tholos tomb of Lucius Cellius was selected to represent the aristocrats because it is in better shape than the tholos tomb belonging to Lucius Sepunius Sandilianus, the other aristocratic tholos tomb of Porta di Nocera. Due to availability, but also in order to establish patterns, Nocera was chosen as the necropolis for all of the tholos tombs.

4.6.5 *Tomb of Lucius Cellius(PNc2)*

This tomb is located near Porta di Nocera and is situated between two tomb with unknown occupant(PNc1,PNc3).

It is a tholos tomb made from brick and lava.

Enclosure measurements are not available.

The tomb dimensions are; north and south 3,62m, east and west: 3,62m in length and stands at 4,32m in height.

The tomb is built on a podium to elevate it to street level. The podium is only visible from the rear of the tomb and is constructed from lava *opus incertum* with brick corners. The substructure is above the podium and is made brick. The substructure is almost entirely covered with white painted plaster. There are pilasters on all four corners. The cornice is decorated with floral stuccowork. Little remains of the superstructure, except for a circle made from lava *opus incertum*; the base for a tholos. Finds of fragmentary columns and a statue between this tomb and PNc3 reinforces the assumption that this is a tholos tomb. Small arch in lower portion of the façade wall might have been a chamber.

The pilasters on the tomb utilize Corinthian capitols. Some evidence for the white painted plaster made to resemble ashlar. The stucco is much eroded, but east side may contain a seated figure.

The epitaph reads:

L(ucio) Cellio L(uci) F(ilio)

MEN(enia) DUO VIR(o) I(ure) D(icundo) TR(ibunus)

MIL(itum) A POPULO

EX TESTAM(ento)



Figure 10. Tomb of Lucius Cellius (Author, 2016).

[To Lucius Cellius, son of Lucius, member of the Menenian tribe, duovir with judicial powers, military tribune of the people, according to his will]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 213)

(Laidlaw, 1985: 325, Campbell, 2015: 212-13)

4.7 Aedicule tombs

Aedicule tombs consist of an aedicule placed atop a substructure. Aedicule translates to “little house”. Like the aforementioned tholos, the niche created by the aedicule would display statues of the primary occupants. The tomb is thought to be Hellenistic in origins. The motive of the aedicule crowned upon a socket is one of the most commonly known monuments occurring in Roman funerary architecture. Von Hesberg argues that aedicule came in an array of varieties and suggests that this type could have either a square or circular plinth, be multi-storeyed, have a tholos or be gabled or even have pyramidal superstructure (von Hesberg: 1994: 122-23). For the sake of separation this thesis will operate with the aedicule as a tomb with a square substructure and a gabled superstructure, possibly with supporting columns.

4.7.1 Aedicule of the Freedmen

Since both necropolises have aedicule belonging to freedmen they will both be included. One aedicule found near Porta di Ercolano will be presented as well as one found near Porta di Nocera. Publius Vesonius Phileros' tomb was chosen because of its condition and because of its interesting inscriptions and décor. Marcus Arrius Diomedes was chosen due to its location and its position. Diomedes' tomb was chosen over the tomb of Publius Sittius Diophantus (PE15) due to better condition and better preserved décor.

4.7.2 The tomb of Marcus Arrius Diomedes (PE16)

This tomb is located near Porta di Ercolano and is situated between the tomb of Publius Sittius Diophantus(PE15) and the tomb of Numerius Velasius Gratus(PE17). The tomb sits atop of an elevated platform overlooking via dei Sepolcri from the northern side of the road. The platform is supported by a wall made out of basalt and limestone which gives the effect of a few meters elevation from street view.

It is an aedicule made out of basalt, concrete and brick.

The tomb shares enclosure with several other graves so no measurements are available.

The tomb dimensions are; north: 2,45m, south: 2,50m, east and west: 1,55m in length and stands at 2,70m in height.

The pedestal is made out of concrete of basalt which is supported by bricks. The tomb was once covered in white plaster most of which has withered away. Above the pediment the tomb is constructed with upright stones (orthostats) along with three levels of ashlar. The tombs inscription is found embedded into the top two layers of blocks. The tomb is built without a chamber.

The tomb is decorated with pilasters. The corners have pilasters, giving the appearance of columns supporting the tomb. The pilasters appear to be inspired by Corinthian columns since it has Corinthian capitals. Today only the east side of the tomb contains *in situ* pilasters. Below the inscription was a pair of elongated *fascēs*, a bundle of rods bound together underneath an axe head. Three *columellae* are associated with this tomb.

The epitaph reads:

M(arcus) ARRIUS (mulieris) L(ibertus) DIOMEDES
SIBI ET SUIS MEMORIAE
MAGISTER PAG(i) AUG(usti) FELIC(is) SUBURB(ani)



Figure 11. Tomb of Marcus Arrius Diomedes (Author, 2016).

[Marcus Arrius Diomedes, freedman of a woman, for himself and his, in memory. Magister of the Pagus Augustus Felix suburbanus]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 177)

(CIL X 1042 p 121, Kockel, 1983: 168-73, Laidlaw, 1985: 324, Campbell, 2015: 176-78)

4.7.3 The Tomb of Publius Vesonius Phileros(PNc50)

This tomb is located near Porta di Nocera and is situated between the tomb of Stallia Haphe(PNc49) and a tomb with an unknown occupant(PNc51).

It is an aedicule made out of tufa and brick.

Enclosure measurements are not available.

The tomb dimensions are; north and south: 2,72m, east and west: 1,64m in length and stands at 6,50m in height.

The pedestal consists of a core of lava *opus incertum* with corners made with bricks. On top of the pedestal stands the *aedicule* made from brick with an *opus incertum* core. The *aedicule* has no columns, but has a shallow niche with a pediment. Inside the niche are three headless statues. Two male and one female; the female in the middle flanked by the men. The chamber can be entered through a small arch in the rear of the tomb. The tomb carries two inscriptions which are found below the *aedicule*. One inscription is embedded, the other was added at a later time.

Coincidentally, the latter inscription carries a rather unusually message which will be discussed at a later time.

What remains of the décor of the tomb is limited. There are some remains of stuccowork. The three statues depict two men wearing togas and a woman dressed in a chiton and mantle. The woman appears to be holding a torch.

The epitaph is split into three different parts, each part positioned under the statue of the person the inscription is commemorating.

Due to the positioning of the word AUGUSTALIS Vesonius might have acquired this title after erection.

The Epitaph reads:

P(ublius) VESONIUS (mulieris) L(ibertus)

PHILEROS AUGUSTALIS

VIVOS MOMENT(um)

FECIT SIBI ET SUIS

VESONIAE P(ubli) F(iliae)

PATRONAE ET

M(arco) OFELLIO M(arci) L(iberto)

FAUSTO AMICO



Figure 12. Tomb of Publius Vesonius Phileros (Author, 2016).

[Publius Vesonius Phileros freedman of a woman, Augustalis, built this monument whilst living for himself and his, to Vesonia daughter of Publius, patrona, and to Marcus Ofellius Faustus, son of Marcus, friend]

The second (added) inscription reads:

HOSPES PAULLISPER MORARE
SI NON EST MOLESTUM ET QUID EVITES
COGNOSCE AMICUM HUNC QUEM
SPERAVERAM MI ESSE AB EO MIHI ACCUSATO
RES SUBIECTI ET IUDICIA INSTAURATA DEIS
GRATIAS AGO ET MEAE INNOCENTIAE OMNI
MOLESTIA LIBERTATUS SUM QUI NOSTRUM MENTITUR
EUM NEC DI PENATES NEC INFERI RECIPIANT

[Stranger, stop if it is no bother and know what to avoid. A man I hoped would be a friend to me, he brought accusers upon me and instigated legal proceedings. I thank the gods and my innocence, I am relieved of all distress. Who misrepresents our case, he neither the Penates nor the gods of the underworld shall receive.]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 268-69)

(Cooley & Cooley, 2004: 152-53, Hackworth Petersen, 2006: 78-79, Beard, 2009: 312, Campbell, 2015: 268-70)

4.7.4 Aedicule tombs of the Aristocrats

The aristocrats will be represented by the tomb of Annedia & Lucius Caesius. This tomb was preferred over the better preserved tomb of Marcus Octavius(PNc41) due to his lack of honorary titles and prestige.

4.7.5 Tomb of Annedia & Lucius Caesius(PNc54)

This tomb is located near Porta di Nocera and is situated between the tomb of Aulus Campius Antiochus(PNc53) and the tomb belonging to the Stronnii(PNc55).

It is an aedicule tomb made from brick and lava.

Enclosure measurements are not available.

The tomb dimensions are; north and south 3,68m, east and west: 3,32m in length and stands at 5,90m in height.

The pedestal of the tomb has a lava *opus incertum* core with brickwork in all of its corners. There are traces of white painted plaster on all four sides of the structure. The inscription is found just above the middle of the northern wall of and is in the form of a marble disc. A cornice separates the pedestal from the aedicule, decorative elements of cornice eroded. The aedicule was single niched and remnants of four columns exist. The two front columns are round and the two columns in the back are squared. All columns are made from brick. The back columns are connected to a rear wall that creates a niche. The rear wall is made from lava *opus incertum*. The tomb has no chamber.

The inscription was once flanked by *fasces*, a trait that is no longer visible. The columns have Ionian bases and capitols. The niche displays two Ionian capitals.

The epitaph reads:

ANNEDIA Q(uintia) F(ilia)

EX TESTAMENTO

SUO DE SUA PEQUNIA

HEREDES SUOS IUSIT

FIERI MONUMENTUM

SIBI ET L(ucio) CAESIO C(ai) F(ilio)

D(uo) V(iro) I(ure) D(icundo) VIRO SUO



Figure 13. Tomb of Annedia & Lucius Caesius (Author, 2016).

[Annedia, daughter of Quintus, ordered her heirs by testament to build with her own money a monument for herself and Lucius Caesius, son of Gaius, duovir with judicial powers, her husband]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 274)

(Laidlaw, 1985: 328-29, Campbell, 2015: 273-74)

4.8 Commemorative tombs strictly reserved for aristocrats

Schola are exclusively Pompeian and there exists 8 of them spread out on four gates. There are examples of benches added to tombs, but Pompeian *schola* are unique because the bench is the funerary monument rather than an addition to one. The schola seems to have a social function attached to it since it is a bench and not a solitary chair. It would have been quite practical with

regards to funerary meals and could stir the mind of its sifter to think of the deeds of the person onto which the monument was dedicated. Most of the *schola* are financed by the coffers of the city and dedicated to a specific person. Since there is no evidence for a schola tomb belonging to a freedman it is rather safe to assume that this tomb was reserved only for the most prestigious benefactors of the city. Mammia's schola tomb is chosen instead of Aulus Veius (PE2) as it serves as the better example of the uniqueness of this type.

4.8.1 Tomb of Mammia(PE4)

This tomb is located near Porta di Ercolano and is situated next to the tomb of Marcus Porcius(PE3) and in front of the tomb of the Istacidii(PE5)

It is a schola tomb made from tufa and basalt.

Enclosure measurements are not available.

The tomb dimensions are; 6,60m wide and 4.00m deep and stands at 0,84m in height.

This tomb is of the schola type which means that it is shaped in the form of a semi-circular bench. The tomb has been elevated from the street level and the bench part of the tomb sits atop a foundation of *opus caementicium* raised 0,40-46m. In the centre of the foundation are two steps made out of tufa. The bench is also made from tufa. The inscription is found along the backrest. The inscription is carved in large Augustan-style letters which were originally filled with red paint.

The tomb is decorated with lions' paws on both ends of the semi-circle. One is facing towards the city, the other is face opposite the city.

The inscription reads:

M[AM]MIAE P(ubli) F(iliae) SACERDOTI PUBLICAE LOCUS SEPULTUR(ae) DATUS
DECURIONUM DECRETO

[To Mammia, daughter of Publius, public priestess, the place of the tomb given by decree of the decurions]

(Translation and supplementary Latin courtesy of Campbell, 2015: 158)

(CIL X 998 p 117, Toynbee, 1971: 122, Kockel, 1983: 57-9, Campbell, 2015: 157-58)

4.8.2 Columellae

A columellae is literally a headstone, meaning that it is a grave monument shaped to resemble a head and shoulders. Columellae literal translation is “little column”. Sometimes the hair is so well detailed that one can tell the sex of the remaining ashes that are usually placed in an urn underneath the columellae. Columellae tombs are strictly found in Campania and their popularity could be due to the fact that they are easy to manufacture. Nearly half of the many hundred columellae found near Pompeii are inscribed in some way making them a valuable resource of information. It is believed that most columellae were painted upon being placed, but that the paint has eroded and vanished by the hands of time. Columellae are also a great source for discovering names of people buried within the boundaries of a tomb that are not named on the inscription carried by the specific tomb (Campbell, 2015: 46-48). Columellae come in a variety of material, ranging from tufa to marble, but are usually made of tufa or local lavastone, giving the impression that they were usually utilized by the poor or those of modest financial means (Grant, 1979: 25). They also seem to be popular amongst aristocrats when honouring the memory of slaves. Columellae were usually reserved for children, slaves and freedmen and are regarded as a secondary inscription due to the simple nature of its inscription and how it is commonly limited to mentioning the name of the deceased. In some circumstances it also gives the death date of the deceased. Unlike the grand tombs which very explicitly inform the passer-by of whom is buried underneath and how great a Roman this person was, the columellae stands as a somewhat more esoteric commemorative monument, in the sense that the people who would understand and honour the memory of the deceased were likely to be close relatives.

5. Comparing the Tombs of freedmen and the Elite

This part of the thesis will compare the tombs listed in chapter 5 in an effort to identify patterns, similarities and differences. This study aims to look at some of the best preserved tombs and the selection of tombs is anything but fortuitous. A challenge is the criteria that the selected tombs need to fill. In order to serve any form of relevance the selected tombs need an epitaph or inscription. As will become evident, a tomb without an inscription does not reveal whether the occupant was a freedman or not. The altar tombs will be analysed first, followed by the tholos tombs and lastly the aedicule tombs. At the end of each subchapter there will be a discussion relating to the result of the analysis conducted. The altar subchapter will be the most extensive as the selected tombs are some of the most frequently discussed and studied at Pompeii. Information regarding these tombs is therefore abundant and diverse; ideal for creating an interesting discussion. The two other subchapters will in no manner be neglected, but the décor, with emphasis on the reliefs on Tyche's and Calventius' tombs, is so comprehensive that it merits special attention.

5.1 Altar tombs

Porta di Ercolano will be the natural necropolis to utilize due to the fact that Porta di Nocera does not contain a single case of an altar tomb dedicated to a freedman. The altar tomb is the highest represented tomb type along via dei Sepolcri. Outside porta di Ercolano there are nine altar tombs in total. The total amount of identified tombs in the area is thirty two. Four of these altar tombs have unknown occupants, but the remaining five are divided as follows: three belonging to non-freedman and two belonging to freedmen. The oldest monumental tomb found near Porta di Ercolano is an altar tomb belonging to Marcus Porcius (Kockel, 1983: 55). The necropolis near Porta di Nocera contains a total of four altar tombs out of fifty three identified tombs. It contains an altar tomb erected by a freedman to his patron, but since the freedman is not the primary occupant of the tomb it only merits a mention.

5.1.1 The tombs of M.Porcius, the Alleii, G.Calventius Quietus and N.Tyche.

The features that these tombs share is their location close to Porta di Ercolano and their type: altar tomb. Beyond that they are quite different. But do these differences mean anything? It is these differences that will be analysed in order to gain a greater understanding of their significance. It

will be important to compare the four tombs as a group, but also to compare them separately where circumstances and criteria would allow it.

Porcius' tomb is dated to between 70-50 BC, the tomb of the Alleii is dated to between AD 30-40. The two freedmen tombs are the youngest Tyche's tomb dated to between AD 50-60 and Calventius' tomb dated to AD 50-70 (Campbell, 2015: 157,170, 173,184).

Looking at the specifications it is evident that only the monuments dedicated to the two freedmen exhibits enclosures and rather big enclosures at that. Tyche's enclosure is the larger of the two, albeit, the two enclosure serve different purposes. Whereas Tyche's enclosure walls are approximately 3,10m of height in all cardinal directions, Calventius' walls are scaled differently in order to gain a visibility advantage. The northern enclosure wall is the shortest making the altar tomb of Calventius very visible along via dei Sepolcri. It is also the matter of Calventius' southern enclosure wall which is adorned with a tympanum. This tympanum is hardly visible from the street when heading towards the city, but it is revealed to the observer when leaving the city. Calventius' tomb is the only altar tomb at Pompeii that has an enclosure with a tympanum. The narrow clearance between the commemorative structure and the enclosure walls would make the unobstructed area of the burial ground quite unpractical to reach, an additional complication being the lack of an entrance. These are characteristics typical of a cenotaph. In the middle of the tympanum there is a blank marble plaque. It might therefore be conceivable that Calventius' tomb was not original intended to be an altar tomb. It might have been intended as an enclosure, but as circumstances in Calventius' life changed he must have felt that these changes should be reflected through his tomb. The marble plaque embedded in the southern wall, thus no longer served any purpose. Alas, there exists no record beyond Calventius' tomb to help give perspective to who he was or to confirm this assumption. The tomb of the Alleii is erected next to the elevated platform that M.A. Diomedes sits atop. Tyche's and Calvetius' tombs are visible from across via dei Sepolcri. Its close proximity to via dei Sepolcri might suggest that the Alleii's commemorative structure never had an enclosure. From the selected altar tombs Porcius' tomb has the closest proximity to Porta di Ercolano. It rests between two schola tombs (PE2, PE4) and in front of PE5. Its position between two schola tombs makes it very unlikely that the tomb ever had an enclosure. From what remains of M.Porcus' monument it is evident that the dimension of his commemorative monument is the largest of the four. Any reconstruction of Porcius' tomb is highly speculative, but it is estimated to have been somewhere between 1,27-2,38 meters tall. The tomb of the Alleii separates itself in shape and form in comparison to the tombs of Tyche and Calventius. All three tombs have differently constructed substructures. The Alleii tombs

substructure is made with two levels of travertine slabs, Tyche's substructure contains three levels of stacked tufa slabs, and Calventius' substructure is mostly brickworks and mortar with a thick layer of white painted plaster. The superstructures of the two freedmen display several similarities. Both tombs utilize marble slabs stacked as a makeshift staircase. Calventius' tomb has three steps, whereas Tyche's has two. On top of the staircase the reliefs are displayed. The Alleii tomb's superstructure consists of four levels of stacked travertine slabs. Apart from a slight dimension difference the substructure and superstructure of the tomb are quite similar. As has been explained the Alleii tomb exhibits a different and less complex shape and form than that of the Tyche and Calventius. Only Tyche's tomb has a chamber and is the only monument with which the inscription explicitly allows the burial ground to be utilized by the primary occupant's freedmen. Tyche's tomb is possible the only monument that is not a cenotaph. Is it therefore prudent to deem Tyche's tomb the more benevolent monument of the four?



Figure 14-16. Relief with nautical vessel.



Relief with Tyche bust and gathering of two crowds.



Relief with bisellium (Author,2016).

Considering the aforementioned reliefs surrounding Tyche's tomb it seems that benevolence is the message she is attempting to convey. It will be of relevance to analyse all three reliefs around Tyche's monument. There are two primary schools of thought regarding the relief of a nautical vessel which is displayed on the western side of this monument (see Figure 14). The vessel has been ascribed to either be a merchant vessel or Charon's vessel. Kockel (1983:106-7) views the notion of this relief as a metaphor for the journey across the river Styx as nonsense, whilst Mau (1908:43) is adamant that this is the only plausible opinion. Hackworth Petersen would argue that the reliefs on Tyche's tomb display a story, the very same story being literally told in the epitaph. This would help reach as big an audience as possible, which is compatible with the argument that freedmen felt a need to aggrandize themselves. Campbell, obviously inspired by Hackworth Petersen, argues that the nautical vessel is a merchant ship on the grounds of its size and shape resembling the type of ship used to cross the open sea. The fact that the ship has a mast and sails is also underlined when making the comparison with Charon's vessel which is commonly depicted

as a rowboat or skiff. Her view is further complemented with the theory that the reliefs are coherent. She argues that the reliefs explain the course in which Faustus obtained his *bisellium*. The northern side of the tomb displays what is commonly accepted to be a distribution of a grain dole or alms of the needy (see Figure 15). This relief shows seven figures holding baskets, whilst on the right there are several men holding volutes. These men are probably Faustus' fellow *augustales* overseeing the process of distribution. Hackworth Petersen suggests that the dole may have been given as a gift by the entirety of the *augustales* and not by Faustus alone. This would explain why Faustus is not the only *augustal* depicted. The middle of the relief displays two smaller figures, possibly children. Could these children be related to Tyche and Faustus? If so, Tyche might have erected the second tomb to elevate their position in society. A bust of Tyche is visible centred in the top of the northern side. The eastern side depicts a *bisellium*; an honorific chair of double width specially reserved for magistrates at public shows (Carroll, 2006:93, see Figure 16). According to Campbell the "correct" way to view the reliefs would thus be from west to east. Briefly explained the ship represents the means of which Tyche and Faustus came upon their riches. The distribution of grain displays their benevolence, which ultimately results in Faustus receiving the honour of the *bisellium* (Hackworth-Petersen, 2006: 76-79, Campbell, 2015:123-26). What is interesting to note is the willingness, if believing Campbell and Kockel, to display physical labour on the tomb.

The tomb of Calventius Quietus is also quite ornamented, albeit, its reliefs are not as richly adorned as those belonging to Tyche's tomb. What is fascinating about these two tombs is that the *bisellium* occurs on both monuments. But where Tyche's façade relief makes it a point to, supposedly, display Faustus' merits, Calventius is honoured for his munificence without offering any hint or explanation about the circumstances surrounding the chosen word. The *bisellium* is proudly presented on the façade of the tomb, making it the centrepiece of the tomb. Could this mean that Calventius' munificence was so well established that he felt no need to display it? This phenomenon does occur on Eumachia's tomb. With regard to this, one could suggest that Calventius was more proud of obtaining the honour of a *bisellium*, whilst Tyche was more proud of the means of which her husband's *bisellium* had been obtained. The matter of Tyche's bust might also be a factor. It might be conceived as peculiar if her bust was to be represented on the same side as the *bisellium*. Calventius' *bisellium* is also depicted in far greater detail than Tyche's, deeming it plausible that Calventius seeks to amplify its significance, whilst Tyche wants the focus to be on the act of grain distribution. In any case the positioning of the *bisellium* should not be viewed as simply fortuitous. Calventius' tomb also features identical motifs of the *corona civica* flanking the façade.



Figure 17. Relief of corona civica (Author, 2016).



Figure 18. Relief of Bisellium (Author, 2016).

Hackworth Petersen offers three possible explanations for the aforementioned motif: (1) They are *corona civica*'s meant to solidify Calventius' standing with the augustales, (2) it is a reward for his beneficence regarding Pompeian civil society or (3) it functions as a permanent marking of the funerary rites that had been performed in honour of Calventius. She underlines that the meaning of the motif is not what is of most importance, but that the emphasis should be focused on the created effect of the motif. She suggests that the epitaph and the reliefs work together; literally and figuratively giving the impression that G. Calventius Quietus was an honoured benefactor of the city (Hackworth Petersen, 2006: 65). This would, to some extent, correspond with the impression Tyche seeks to imprint on the observer. Both Calventius' and Tyche's tombs display a blank southern side. This side is just a blank marble canvas. The importance here lies with the choice of the erector. The public would most likely not experience the rear of the tomb, which made ornamentation superfluous and an unnecessary expense. In the case of Calventius, with the tomb exhibiting no chamber, it is, perhaps, the more obvious choice as opposed to the case of Tyche, her tomb having a chamber. The lack of *columellae*, chamber or and form of commemorative urns does make it clear that Calventius' commemorative monument is a cenotaph. This makes it quite different from Tyche's tomb, since her tomb contains a chamber with *loculi*; vaulted niches designed for holding funerary urns. Where Carroll (2006: 95) claims that Faustus' tomb near Porta di Nocera holds the ashes of both him and Naevoleia Tyche, Campbell (2015: 128-29) claims that this is incorrect and that the ashes of Tyche were actually never found. The lack of evidence regarding the earthly remains of N.Tyche can be explained with her being alive during the eruption of Vesuvius and that she thus never was buried near either of the tombs. When viewing the simplicity of G.M. Faustus' tomb it is a common conception that Tyche thought this tomb unfitting as her final resting place. Tyche is often compared to the "nouveau riche" fictional character, Trimalchio, derived from Petronius' *Satyricon*. Andrew

Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 40) cannot resist the temptation of making this comparison with regards to both Tyche and Calventius. Whether Trimalchio should be regarded as applicable when treating Naevoleia Tyche or not is beside the point, what is of more importance is Trimalchio's ambition and his exploitation of social mobility.

*“This text creates the image of an *augustalis* with a public role in his city attempting to demonstrate that role through the language of public architecture within his own house. What is clear here, elsewhere in literature and within the archaeological evidence from Pompeii is that freedmen consciously utilised the same language as the elite serving on the *ordo of decurions* from which all freedmen were excluded.”* (Laurence, 2007: 142).

Although Laurence is referring to housing, this assessment can easily be transferred into describing funerary monuments. The important part is that this action is interpreted as a showing of aspiration and how they perceived society, as well as how society perceived them. Through architectural exploits and emulation, aggrandizement was conceivable. What is puzzling is the lavish décor being displayed on the tombs of these freedmen.

The two tombs selected to represent the aristocracy do not carry reliefs. Regarding Porcius' tomb this is speculative due to the state of the tomb and its fragmentary remnants considering its décor. But from what remains, there is no discernible evidence for it having contained reliefs. The material utilized on the décor is exclusively travertine. This separates it from the tombs built by the freedmen, as their décor primarily utilizes a more expensive material: marble. This could be an attempt to one-up the tombs that they are supposedly emulating. It might also be circumstantial seeing as Tyche's and Calventius' tombs are constructed after the discovery of Italian marble around 40 BC at Luna, known as Carrara today. Before this discovery marble had to be imported from the Aegean region and would therefore probably have been an expensive endeavour (Humphrey et. al., 2009: 185). This does not, however, excuse the Alleii's and the choice to steer clear of utilizing marble. This could mean that the Alleii wanted to uphold the luxury laws set in motion by Augustus. As has been put forth previously, the tomb of the Alleii exhibits rather simple décor. But contrary to the three other tombs, it is made exclusively from one material: travertine. The Alleii tomb does not display any form of elaborate or complex ornamentation. What does strike as odd, however, is the positioning of the only ornamented part of the monument; its volutes. The adorned ends of the volutes face *via dei Sepolcri* on both Tyche's and Calventius' tomb. The volutes on the Alleii's tomb face towards the city. This is peculiar because it gives the impression that the façade of the tomb is not the side of the tomb that faces *via dei Sepolcri*. This unordinary trait might be one explanation as to why the erector chose to embed two

identical epitaphs. The epitaphs might also be considered a substitute for reliefs. With regards to the information shared on these epitaphs it is, perhaps, not farfetched to suggest that the inscription makes the primary occupants position in society clear enough. Marcus Alleius Libella senior possesses no less than four highly sought after titles; aedile, duovir, prefect and quinquennial. Additionally, the ground on which his tomb has been erected was a gift from the public. Was it therefore of little interest to M.A. Libella to portrait his munificence figuratively on his tomb? The archaeological evidence surrounding this tomb would suggest that it is a cenotaph. Porcius' tomb is also thought to have been a cenotaph since there is no record of any kind of urn or human remains in what could have been its chamber. Frischer (1982: 78-83) presented a theory surrounding the phenomenon of these cenotaphs. Frischer suggested that the aristocrats would commemorate themselves with monumental tombs close to the city walls, but that their remains would be buried elsewhere. Most commonly their remains would be buried on the family estate on the outskirts of the city.

With this in mind is it possible that the tomb erected outside the city walls was used as advertisement to exemplify the grandeur of the family through the epitaph and the location, making décor redundant? Do the tombs erected by freedmen exhibit a need for overcompensation due to the lack of titles and honours? It might be plausible that the freedmen are attempting to advertise themselves to a broader audience. Whilst the aristocracy is concerned with competing and surpassing other members of the aristocracy, the freedmen could feel a need to illustrate to the society as a whole that they had overcome the burden of servitude. As both Laurence (2007: 142), and Wallace-Hadrill (1994: 60) before him, suggests; architecture can be interpreted as a form of social language that expresses aspirations and ideology better than reality. This social language could be utilized by freedmen in order to express their aspirations and how they perceived reality. By adopting the endeavours of the aristocrats the freedmen might have hoped to be perceived as aristocrats themselves. Regarding the previous statement it might be interesting to analyse how the freedmen utilize their epitaphs. I find it interesting how Calventius, at Porta di Ercolano, and Faustus, at Porta di Nocera, manage to have the words *decurionum decreto* appear after one another. The relevance here lies with the fact that the tombs closest to the wall, being inside the pomerium, carry the same inscription, albeit, with a different meaning. I think that this is anything but coincidental and that it is an attempt to emulate the honour of having your tomb inside the pomerium. To the untrained eye this inscription might give the impression of just this. This does to some extent also appear on the epitaph of Tyche, but her inscription only mentions the *decuriones*. This possible exploitation does not exist on the epitaphs of other Augustalis buried at Ercolano or Nocera, the exception being the epitaph of Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus(PE1), but

seeing as he is actually buried within the confines of the pomerium he would not require a clever rearrangement. Since Porcius tomb was within the pomerium it must have carried a similar inscription on its epitaph.

It is essential to remember that Porcius' tomb possesses an ability that no amount of money can buy; its age. This might mean that it merited a lot of respect from aristocrats and freedmen alike, which further made it an attractive target for emulation. It is important to note that the tomb of Porcius was built at a time when the social stratum was shifting. The tombs of Tyche and Calventius was perhaps also built in a time when the social strata was shifting, but this might be the freedmen trying to make an impact on the status quo rather than the social elite imprinting their "rightful" place upon the newly occupied city of Pompeii. The fact that some of the last monumental tombs of Pompeii chose to emulate the altar tomb should be viewed as significant. Campbell suggests that it is merely coincidental and that the evidence for emulation is unsubstantial. She presents the tombs of the Veii family (Campbell, 2015: 51-52) as evidence for the individuality that existed and claims that the preference of the individual is to some extent being ignored by previous research (Campbell, 2015: 145). The Veii example illustrates that there is little or no restriction with regards to how freedmen and regular citizens could commemorate themselves. The Veii example show 6 different tombs with 5 different styles belonging to (what is interpreted as) both freedmen and Roman citizens. This can further be interpreted to mean that there was little or no difference between how the aristocrats commemorated themselves and how freedmen commemorated themselves. It is also important to note that most of the members of the family chose to commemorate themselves differently from their predecessors. Is this a sign of individuality and a need for distancing oneself from ones ancestors? Financial means seem to govern the outcome of the burial landscape. But here it is important to note that some types of tombs are not available to the freedmen. There is not a single case of a freedman occupying a schola tomb for instance. It is generally accepted that the freedmen as a class was afflicted with a need to imprint their success upon society, an affliction that arose as a result of their humble origins. Carroll (2006: 95) argues that: "By choosing an altar, like those who really had been honoured in this way, these freedmen elevated their own position in society by emulating the memorials of the city's elite on this (via dei Sepolcri) suburban road". Carroll is describing the altar tombs of Tyche and Calventius, both of which are recognized as freedmen. If the freedmen in reality had such a strong need to explicitly verify their position I find it hard not to support Carroll. I will, however, claim that the freedmen are emulating the aristocracy to some extent rather than completely. With regards to the aristocracy's distain towards physical labour (Bradley, 1994: 80) it is puzzling that a freedman would willingly display this as their road to success if the

goal was to completely emulate the upper layer of the social stratum. I am inclined to believe that Tyche displays physical labour with pride due to her humble origins. Surviving and being freed from servitude is a merit in of itself and reaching such success as to afford an altar tomb outside of Porta di Ercolano is possibly something Tyche wanted to advertise.

5.2 Tholos Tombs

As opposed to the altar tombs, where Porta di Ercolano is the obvious necropolis to analyse, the tholos tombs can best be analysed by studying Porta di Nocera. Not unlike the case of the altar tombs there are no clear evidence for a tholos tomb commemorating a freedman at Porta di Ercolano. Thus, all three of the tholos tombs that will be analysed in this subchapter are found near Porta di Nocera. Porta di Nocera has a total of five tholos tombs with the ownership divided as follows: two belong to freedmen, two belong to aristocrats and the last one has an unknown occupant. Neither of the chosen tombs features enclosures. All of the tombs mainly consist of a cheap material which has been covered in white painted plaster, possibly to resemble marble or travertine.

5.2.1 Tombs of G.C.Cyrus, L.C. Serapio and L. Cellius

Serapio's tomb is believed to be the oldest and is dated between 50-1 BC, Cellius' tomb is dated as belonging to the Augustan era, whilst Cyrus' tomb exhibit a Neronian style in character (Campbell, 2015: 213, 239, 253).

None of the tombs contain a measured or outlined enclosure. The tholos erected in honour of Serapio does appear to have an enclosure, but no dimensions are currently available. The tombs association with two *columellae* makes it very plausible that it once had a clearly defined enclosure. The tomb rests upon an elevated platform held together by a tufa *opus incertum* wall. This affects the visibility of the tomb making it highly visible when exiting through Porta di Nocera. The elevation enables the monument to catch the eye of the observer, regardless of the surrounding monuments. The tomb of Cellius also takes advantage of elevation. But here the monument is elevated in order to reach street levels. Cellius' tomb is part of a series of four tombs that all belong to the Augustan era (27 BC – AD 14). All of these tombs are elevated with podiums that are approximately identical. The three other tombs are *aedicule* type tombs, but the similarities in craftsmanship give the impression that they follow each other with a very short time succession, perhaps one inspiring the next. Cylus' tomb is almost box in between its neighbouring tombs. Both of the neighbouring tombs are house enclosures. Cylus' tomb and PNC25 is separated

by only a few inches. On the opposite side Cylus' tomb is separated from PNc27 by a short wall springing out from Cylus' tomb and finally merging with the taller wall of PNc27. This separation does not help discern the boundaries of Cylus' enclosure or if it even contained one.

Regarding form and shape it is fascinating to note that both Serapio's and Cellius' tombs consist of perfectly square substructures. Serapio's is marginally bigger than Cellius'. Cyrus' tomb discards the use of a perfectly square substructure and instead utilizes a rectangular form, the eastern and western sides being 0,84m longer than the northern and southern side. Whether this was chosen at random or not is impossible to say, but it might be a strategy utilized to make Cyrus' tomb stand out from other tholos tombs. Cellius' and Cyrus' tombs both have chambers, although some might argue that calling the niche appearing on the façade of Cellius' tomb a chamber is a liberal use of the term. Regarding how the epitaph on Cellius' tomb only makes a mention of L.Cellius he might have wanted his tomb to exclusively represent him. By having a niche as a chamber, instead of a more elaborate chamber with *loculi*, he made sure that he would be the primary and only occupant, omitting anyone else. Cyrus' chamber is quite different as it contains a room with eight *loculi* and one *loculus*. His inscription also makes a mention of two other occupants that have been granted permission to rest within the tombs confines.

What might be regarded as odd is the very apparent difference in appearance that these tombs exhibit. Whilst the tholos of Cellius is decorated with the more classical pilasters on every corner, as part of the white painted plaster décor, the tholos of Cylus is outfitted with actual columns, adorned with richly decorated Corinthian bases and capitals. The withered state of Serapio's tholos and its décor makes it problematic to derive abundant amounts of information from it. What is certain, however, is that the form and shape of Serapio's and Cellius' tholos' are based upon the same basic architecture, whilst Cyrus' tholos is more complex. This might, therefore, be another case of a freedman attempting to one-up previously erected tombs. But what is interesting to note here is that the tholos presumed to be the oldest and erected by a freedman exhibits the same shape and form as that built by the aristocrat.

Judging from the appearance of the tholos tombs there are some discernible commonalities between the differences found regarding the altar tombs. The chosen décor presented on the youngest tomb belonging to a freedman is, again, far more elaborate and complex and even though all the tombs utilize the same basic material, the tomb belonging to Cyrus appears, to my eyes, as the more impressive monument, architecturally and aesthetically. What is interesting to note, however, is that the tomb belonging to Serapio, a freedman, is not more elaborately decorated than that of Cellius' tomb. It does, to some extent, make up for its apparent lack of

adornment by elevating itself above its surrounding tombs. Scott (2013: 91) argues that this tomb was the “richest” in comparison to the other tombs erected during the same period. If this is true then this could serve as further evidence for the congenital need the freedmen had to surpass the ruling class. Cyrus’ and Tyche’s epitaphs are both inclusive to some extent, whilst the remaining epitaphs only include nuclear familial affiliations. With regard to Cellius’ tomb and especially the phenomenon with its elevating podium it could be argued that it represents a certain hint of conformity, whereas Cyrus’ tomb attempts to go in the opposite direction; to stand out.

5.3 Aedicule Tombs

Three aedicule tombs have been chosen for analysis. Since there is archaeological evidence for aedicule tombs at both the selected necropolises both will be represented. Diomedes tomb will represent the necropolis outside Porta di Ercolano. Porta di Ercolano consists of three tholos tomb, excluding the Istacidii tomb (PE5) due to uncertainty regarding its type. Two belonging to freedmen and one has an unknown occupant. The other tombs, P.V. Phileros’ and Annedia & Caesius’, are found outside Porta di Nocera. Porta di Nocera consists of ten aedicule tombs. Two belong to freedmen, two belong to aristocrats and six have unknown occupants. Similar to the tholos tombs the aedicule tombs are also clad in white painted plaster.

5.3.1 Tombs of P.V. Phileros, M.A. Diomedes and Annedia & L. Caesius

Annedia & Caesius’ tomb is thought to be the oldest and is dated to between 70-30 BC, Phileros’ aedicule is dated between AD 25-50, and finally Diomedes’ tomb is dated to between AD 40-60.

None of the tombs contain a recognizable enclosure, much due to the close proximity of the tombs found in the vicinity of the chosen tombs. Diomedes’ tomb is found amongst a cluster of tombs that all share the same elevated enclosure. This elevated enclosure makes the tomb very visible from via dei Sepolcri. Considering this tombs association with three *columellae* found in close vicinity, it is not unthinkable that it once contained an outlined enclosure. The tomb overlooks the aforementioned tombs of Tyche and Calvenius. Phileros’ tomb is found in an area that is currently undergoing maintenance (personal observation, September 2015). The tomb seems to have had an enclosure, but there exists no accurately recorded measurements of this enclosure. Part of the enclosure walls seem to be missing, thus, any complete measurement would be highly speculative at best. Annedia & Caesius’ tomb is found betwixt two other tombs and there is little space between the three tombs, giving the impression that this tomb never had an enclosure. The fact that it is built without a chamber makes it plausible that this is a cenotaph.

All of the aedicules follow the same basic form and shape regarding the substructure. The building technique utilized seems to be the same for all of the tombs; concrete core with supporting brickwork. One discernible difference is that the youngest tomb utilizes basalt concrete instead of lava. Of all the tombs the oldest tomb possesses the grandest dimensions and is also the only one which displays a cornice to separate the substructure from the superstructure. Little remains of the superstructure of Diomedes' tomb. Phileros' tomb is the best preserved and is almost intact. Phileros' *aedicule* separates itself from that of Annedia's since it does not utilize any form of columns. Instead of columns, Phileros' superstructure has three walls, the western and eastern made from brick and the rear made from lava *opus incertum*. The three walls, together with a pedestal, create a shallow niche. Annedia's tomb, on the other hand, utilizes two round columns in front of two square columns connecting to the rear wall. The two round columns probably helped support a pediment that is no longer present.

All the tombs exhibit traces of white painted plaster and both Annedia's and Diomedes' tombs display *fascies* as part of their décor. Annedia's tomb might therefore have been a source of inspiration when Diomedes' tomb was constructed. The use of *fascies*, outside of Rome, is often interpreted as a sign of holding some sort of office, and Diomedes is the only magister of a *paganus* that displays this feature (Campbell, 2015: 178). Diomedes' choice of décor might therefore very well be inspired by the décor appearing on Annedia's tomb, despite the fact that these two tombs are found on opposite sides of the city.

5.4 Concluding Discussion

From what has been presented throughout this chapter it would seem that there are some discernible evidence for at least a certain form of emulation. What is further evident is the nature of "one-upmanship" existing amongst the freedmen, especially those that built their tombs the last 30 years before the eruption of Vesuvius. This does probably have to do with technology and techniques available during every period, but even the oldest tomb erected by a freedman (PNc36) exhibits an explicit need to be noticed and to appear grander than its aristocratic counterparts. Regarding the tomb of Serapio (PNc36) it is especially interesting since it was erected during a period when it can be said with some certainty that it is a freedman competing against established aristocrats; "old money". This is not necessarily the case with the tombs erected in the last phase of Pompeii. The freedmen erecting tombs might very well have been competing against recently established aristocrats, sons and daughters of freedmen, be it 1st or 2nd generation freedmen.

Wallace-Hadrill opposes the notion of emulation to some extent and questions whether the chosen type of tomb represents something other than emulation. He rhetorically questions if the type of tomb was chosen to reflect an aspect of the occupant's life. For instance, if you erected an altar tomb, does this mean you want to illustrate your pious nature? If you built a house enclosure do you want to be thought of as prioritizing the domestic realm? He further brushes these categories aside and labels them as indifferent and underlines that the focus should lie upon the inscription (Wallace-Hadrill, 2008:61-64). This might mean that the tomb and its shape is merely a means to an end and that the goal is to have someone read the epitaph. The most popular opinion is to argue against emulation. I agree with Wallace-Hadrill that having someone read your epitaph would have been very important, but I find it hard to believe that the type of tomb was chosen indifferently. As has been put forth previously by Campbell and her Veii example, and its lack of an apparent pattern, there does exist evidence for families that apparently commemorate themselves with individuality and personal preferences as the deciding factor when choosing a monument. This does, however, also appear between Naevoleia and Faustus. The Veii example could just as easily mean that it's family members were inspired by other tomb types, but to label the choosing indifferent because it does not involve emulation every time is not fruitful. From the selected subject matter there is one tomb that separates itself to a greater extent from its counterparts than the rest. The tomb of Cyrus does perhaps carry the strongest link towards an individualistic character. In this case I would grant Campbell's assumption of individually as opposed to emulation as the dominating factor. I do, however, think it is too convenient to brush differences aside or label it a pure cause of technological advancements. As has been discussed previously with regards to the Alleii tomb and its lack of marble, availability does not necessarily translate to utilization.

Even though individuality probably occurs quite often it does not have to be the case with regards to the tombs of Tyche, Calventius and Diomedes. Individuality will of course always be present, but not to the extent where the erectors are not inspired by the past. These three examples show tombs that are all positioned at Porta di Ercolano and that all attempt to emulate and surpass tombs built by previous aristocrats. Tyche's tomb can be written off as personal preference in the same way as the Veii tombs are written off since her husband built an enclosure. But the very fact that the same couple built two monuments is unique and should thus be viewed as significant.

Commissions regarding the erection of a tomb vary between being testimonial request and construction beginning whilst still being alive. This should not be overlooked, seeing as how the freedmen might want to elevate the name of their offspring more than anything. For the aristocracy it might have been a different tale. The fact that Tyche's inscription underlines that the

tomb was erected whilst she still lived should therefore be stressed. Monumental tombs have throughout this thesis been established as a status symbol for securing and strengthening the position of oneself and one's family even upon death. Erecting a tomb whilst still alive might also serve this very purpose. If the smaller figures on the northern relief displays the children of Tyche and Faustus it would be of paramount importance for Tyche to make her family seem as prosperous and important as possible, in hopes of this having a positive effect on her children and their future. In what better way can this message be conveyed then through emulating the oldest aristocratic tomb available at Porta di Nocera?

I am inclined to accept Hackworth-Petersen's and Campbell's notion of the symbolic display taking part on the Tyche tomb. Unlike Toynbee (1971: 125) and Mau (1908: 43), who believe this to be a symbol of passing from one plane to another, I believe Campbell's well researched opinion suggesting it as a trade ship to be accurate and correct. I further believe that this symbolic display was emphasized with pride and displays the victory over the incredible odds against reaching any form of success on the basis of having a servile past. Tyche might have been prouder regarding this accomplishment though, seeing as Faustus' possible status as freedman is not revealed on either of their tombs. This might also help explain why Tyche built an additional monument. It might have been based around ambition. The freedmen might therefore have emulated, but overcompensated due to a lack of titles and status, as is suggested with Trimalchio.

As has been brought forth during the analysis of Cellius' tomb this tomb was found to consist of almost the exact same architecture as three other tombs (PNc3, PNc 5, PNc6) in close proximity and built during the same period. This might reflect a stronger tendency towards conformity amongst the aristocracy then amongst their freedman counterparts. This claim is stated with some caution as the tombs mentioned lack epitaphs. It does, however, merit a mention.

It is interesting to note that of all the presented tombs that has an aristocratic primary occupant only one tomb consists of a possible chamber. And Cellius' "chamber" might not necessarily have served this function. This might help strengthen Frischer's (1982: 78-83) suggestion that some aristocrats would bury their dead at the family estate and erect a commemorative cenotaph outside the city walls. It can further be interpreted to mean that the presented aristocrats were mostly erecting tombs to strengthen their position in society, seeing as a cenotaph serves no direct practical function, but has a strong symbolic application. Zanker suggests that if the decurions did not vote for the erection of an honorary statue in the forum, an aedicule with a statue could serve as a substitute (Zanker, 1995: 76).

It might therefore be the aspiration of freedmen to gain the “best of both worlds” by erecting an even grander tomb than a cenotaph, whilst yet appearing humble and generous by including and granting their extended family an eternal resting place. Calventius’ tomb is the only tomb belonging to a freedman that one with almost certainty can categorize as a cenotaph. The rest of the tombs either have chamber or exhibit columellae inside their enclosure. The décor on the tomb of Calventius also differs quite a lot from that of Tyche. Calventius might thus have had different motives when erecting his tomb. As far as emulation goes this might suggest that Calventius is closer to achieving this as his tomb is a cenotaph and therefore only symbolic, which strongly reflects the tendencies amongst the aristocrats.

Most scholars seem to agree that power is important, but that money usually trumps power. Money was more likely to be the dominating factor with regards to size, material and décor amongst the tombs (Campbell, 2015: 45). Status might have influenced, but monetary power is usually what it all boiled down to. The exception would be the cases where “*ex decurionum decreto*” is inscribed to mean that the monument, the land it stands on and the commemorative activities surrounding the tomb were sponsored by the decuriones. This is evident through epigraphical evidence and occurs on several occasions in Pompeii (Campbell, 2015: 45). Eumachia’s tomb is, perhaps, the greatest example of what could be erected by financial means. Even though she was a celebrated aristocrat her tomb is unrivalled at Pompeii. But it is also essential to mention the schola tomb. These tombs seem to have been exclusively erected under the direction of the decuriones. If this assumption is true, which the archaeological evidence supports, money would not matter to the same degree. Money would, however, matter when considering plot size and location. As previously mentioned, Porta di Ercolano was probably the more exclusive location to get buried, which is probably why Naevoleia Tyche (PE 13) and Gaius Calventius Quietus (PE 11) chose this location over the remaining necropolises available at Pompeii.

6. Conclusion and Results

After having selected, analysed and compared the tombs of the aristocracy and the freedmen it will now be imperative to see what conclusions can be drawn out of the gathered information. Due to the analytic nature of the thesis it might to some extent challenge the results of previous works based heavily on statistics. I want to stress that every conclusion of this thesis is carefully selected and I have done my best to avoid any form of over interpretation.

The first part of this dissertation was dedicated to establishing the position of the freedmen in the Roman society. The results have shown that the freedmen as a class was given limited possibilities to pursue political carriers, during the republic by the aristocracy and during the imperial period by law. This has in many cases been emphasised as one of many reasons for the excessive displays shown with regards to the tombs of the freedmen. The freedmen have been established as a class with a need to overcompensate with lavish tombs due to their lack of legacy, status and titles. The relationship between master/slave and patron/client has been explained and social mobility due to high mortality rate has been exemplified as one of several reasons for social mobility. It has been suggested that freedmen are more inclined to perform actions benefiting their children due to the few restrictions put upon the offspring of freedmen.

Tombs seem to have been a possible way to affect social status and also underline it. Cenotaphs have been suggested as a purely symbolic structure erected to illuminate power and prestige. The freedmen have been suggested as emulators of this tradition, even though most of their tombs serve a practical purpose as well. This statement is founded around the evidence presented throughout this thesis. The freedmen have further been suggested as emulators of aristocratic décor, as presented through Diomedes (PE16) and the *fascēs*, they utilized the same tomb types as the oldest republican tombs, as is evident through Tyche (PE13) and Calventius (PE11), they even try to emulate honours they have not rightfully deserved, as seen through clever use of inscriptions and epitaphs with regards to Faustus (PNc30) and Calventius (PE11) and *decorionum decreto*. Space and placement of tombs have also been suggested as major contributor and signs of ambition. The tomb of Serapio (PNc36) is built on elevated ground to tower over the rest of the tombs. As has been put forth the tombs near Porta di Ercolano utilize far more expensive material regardless of the period under which they were erected. The fact that the most lavishly decorated tombs are found along Via dei Sepolcri seems to signalize the importance and should be view as anything but fortuitous. The tombs of Tyche and Calventius exemplify this.

The analytic part of this thesis has shown that there exist several differences and similarities between the tombs of freedmen and aristocrats. These similarities exist due to freedmen having a need to express their victory over their humble beginnings, but also to strengthen their newfound social position. The well-to-do freedmen are therefore suggested as displaying their status and monetary power through funerary monuments in hopes of being compared with the aristocracy, whilst also being recognized as part of the social hierarchy. The differences are in almost every case presented in the form of “one-upmanship” possibly to not only imitate, but even exceed the tombs of the aristocracy. I have concluded with the notion that there existed a tradition of “one-upmanship” and emulation and that this is visible through the archaeological evidence. It has also been suggested that the aristocrats made certain measure to ensure that they could not be entirely emulated. This is evident through the schola tomb type and that only one Augustalis is found within the pomerium. The installation of luxury laws also affected how efficiently the freedmen could emulate the aristocrats.

It is generally accepted that the periphery around the city of Rome tended to emulate the city’s actions. If this was happening on a macro scale I find it hard to believe that it does not occur in a micro scale internally in the city of Pompeii. By utilizing Giddens structuration it has become evident that the Roman society entered an episodic transition during the imperial era under the direction of Augustus and Tiberius. By viewing it in a macro context it is clear that the decisions of Rome affected freedmen as a class, with stricter definitions, but also tombs by enforcing luxury limitations. These limitations have been made visible through the utilization of Panofsky’s iconography. The tombs selected that are closest to this period, Cellius’ and the Alleii tomb, display less ornamentation than the tombs belonging to the periods both after and before. Considering how iconography sees art as a reflection of society it might suggest that the luxury laws were more lenient after a while. It might further suggest, as the ornamentation of the youngest freedmen tombs displays, that the freedmen as a class were prominent and up-and-coming in the final stages of Pompeii. All though emulation might not always have been the goal or the intention, or even evident, it does occur in so many cases that disregarding it seems unjustifiable.

It is my sincerest hopes that my research will inspire some much needed emphasis to the subject of freedmen and their emulation of the aristocracy, also in subjects beyond tombs.

6. List of Illustrations

Figure 1. Map of the Ercolano necropolis, Found in: Campbell,2015: 151

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