

Burials of Praetorians (G66-69)

The praetorian guard was the emperor's personal bodyguard. The names of various praetorians from different cohorts appear in graffiti at Pompeii, which suggests that praetorians were present in the town on a number of different occasions (H59). In addition, one of the wax tablets of Caecilius Iucundus (H79) documents a transaction with a member of the guard stationed at Nuceria. Four (probably) of the guard were buried together in a line just outside the Nolan Gate, possibly on public land (G66-68); this may have been an honour reserved for those who died in public service. Their monuments are stone markers with rounded tops, a type of funerary monument similar to ones found elsewhere in Italy, but they are the only ones of their type so far discovered at Pompeii. Perhaps the physical form of their monuments was intended to distinguish these burials at a glance as being those of outsiders. By contrast, the burial of a praetorian from Pompeii is marked by a herm, the funerary monument typical of the region (G69). It is also located away from the other praetorians, outside the Stabian Gate. G66 is inscribed on a marble slab with a rounded top, fixed in the ground, where a terracotta lidded jar containing the remains of the cremation is buried. Next to this were the remains of the funeral pyre, including fragments of decorative bone, perhaps from a funerary couch.

G66 De Caro (1979) no. 1

Lucius Beturius Niger, son of Quintus, of the Oufentian tribe, soldier in the 2nd praetorian cohort. Lived for 20 years, performed military service for 2 years.

G67 De Caro (1979) no. 3

Lucius Manius Saturninus, son of Quarrus, of the Romilian tribe, Ateste his hometown, bodyguard, performed military service for 5 years, lived for 24 years. His brother set this up.

G68 De Caro (1979) no. 4

Sextus Caesernius Montanus, son of Spurius, of the Velinan tribe, from Aquileia, bodyguard, performed military service for 11 years, is buried here.

G69 NSc (1897) 275

Gaius Caecilius Secundus, soldier of the 8th cohort. Lived for 28 years, served for 14.

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Pompeii: ~~A~~ A Sourcebook.
(London: Routledge, 2005)

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COMMERCIAL LIFE

Pompeii offers us a unique opportunity to appreciate the energy of the occupants of a small harbour town engaged in commercial activities. Pompeii was ideally situated to act as an intermediary for inland areas towards Nuceria (H2). It also hosted one of the region's weekly markets (H3-4). Some of the inhabitants expressed their enthusiasm for making money, as can be seen in floor mosaics displayed prominently in their houses (H20, H36-37), and there was no shortage of opportunities for doing so. Inscriptions of many kinds (electoral notices, tombstones and graffiti) reveal a wide range of occupations practised in the town (H51-63). Money-making took many forms, from trade to renting out property, from education to prostitution (H38-50). It is also possible to uncover the distribution pattern of foundations, bars and bakeries in much of the town, which (much like the distribution of electoral notices, F29) gives an impression of the relative levels of activity in different parts of the town (H83).

The region's natural fertility made an important contribution to its productivity and prosperity (H1). Innovative archaeological investigation by Jaschewski (1979, 1993) has transformed our picture of land use within the town's walls. When trees and plants died in the aftermath of the eruption, their roots decayed, so that gradually the cavities left behind became filled by volcanic debris. When excavating, the debris is removed for several metres until the ancient ground level is reached. Cavities filled with volcanic debris then become visible on the surface. These can be carefully cleared of debris and then filled with cement. When this hardens, the soil from around the cast is removed, and often the shape of the root can be identified as being that of a specific plant. Her work has uncovered commercial market gardens and vineyards (note to H10-11), as well as domestic gardens. Some of the locally produced wine was exported (see notes on H47-48), but much of it would have been consumed in the neighbourhood. Pottery transport containers (*amborrone*) found on the site show that large quantities of wine were also brought into the town, to cater for the market for wines of different taste, quality and price (H6-8).

Pompeii's fish sauce, however, was of world-class quality. According to Pliny the Elder, the town was famous for its production of fish sauce (*garum*) (H18). The sites where it was produced on a large scale are still unidentified, probably because they were on the coast or along the river. These areas are still not as yet fully excavated and remain disguised by changes inflicted upon the local landscape by the eruption. The area could certainly provide the necessary ingredients: fish from the sea, salt from the Salt District outside what is now known as the Herculaneum Gate (B5 and F24) and fresh water from the Sarno River. Fish sauce tended to be stored in *mazze*, clay vessels smaller than those used for wine. The containers of one particular producer, Umbricius Scaurus, far outnumber those of any other producer, and a detailed picture of his business can be built up from these containers and from other finds (H20-29).

Although *amphorae* were primarily transport containers for fluids, especially wine and olive oil, their inscriptions show a far greater variety of contents. They might contain a whole variety of goods for sale, from edibles such as fruit, nuts and pulses to lotions and medicines (H31-34). The prices of some of these goods are revealed by graffiti (H15-17).

The local authorities were in charge of regulating trade and commerce in the town. The standardization of public measures in the Forum was undertaken by the *dunnaviri* during the Augustan period, apparently adapting the pre-existing Oscan system by erasing the earlier measurements inscribed in Oscan and modifying the measuring holes within the table itself (H64). A series of paintings found in the estate of Julia Felix vividly illustrate other aspects of commercial life in the Forum (H66-68).

Finally, the wax tablets of the banker Lucius Caecilius Iucundus (H69-82) give an impression of the variety of business transactions conducted by individuals. Some also relate to his collection of local taxes on behalf of the town. The discovery of two other wax tablets in the Palaestra Barts (H38), which relate to a business deal between two women, shows that such tablets must have been in common use, and were not just the professional apparatus of the banker.

A regional perspective (H1-4)

The fertility of Campania (H1)

This description comes in Florus' summary of the Samnite War (see A7), part of his abridgement (epitome) of Roman history. Liber (Baeculus) and Ceres are associated with wine and cereal respectively. Compare A6. For a map of the Bay of Naples, see A4.

H1 Florus, *Epitome* 1.16

Of everything not just in Italy, but in the whole world, the region of Campania is the most beautiful. Nothing is more temperate than its climate:

indeed, its spring flowers blossom twice. Nothing is more fertile than its land: consequently there is said to be a competition between Liber and Ceres. Nothing is more welcoming than its sea: here are those famous harbours of Caieta, Misenum and Baiae with its warm springs, the Lucrine Lake and Avernus, some of the pleasures of the sea. Here are the mountains which befrend the vine - Gaurus, Falernus, Massicus and, most beautiful of them all, Vesuvius, imitator of Etna's fire. Here are the coastal cities of Formiae, Cumae, Puteoli, Naples, Herculaneum, Pompeii and that chief of cities, Capua, once reckoned among the three greatest.

Pompeii's port (H2)

The eruption changed the landscape so thoroughly that no clear sign remains of the original course of the River Sarno nor of Pompeii's port, although recent excavations are believed to have located part of the town's ancient harbour front, beyond the Marine Gate. Compare A5.

H2 Strabo, *Geography* 5.4.8

Nola, Nuceria and Acheruntiae have as their port Pompeii on the River Sarno, which transports goods in both directions.

Market days (H3-4)

Graffiti recording the pattern of markets in the region show that Pompeii was one of the towns to host a regular regional market. These graffiti also illustrate the difficulties of dealing with the Roman calendar.

Although the calendar in use today is essentially that created by Julius Caesar in terms of the lengths of months and leap years, the Romans used a different system for days of the month, looking forward to one of three named days in the month (Kalends = 1st, Nones = 5th or 7th, Ides = 13th or 15th). Thus our 30th December was called 'three days before the Kalends of January' (counting inclusively: 30th, 31st, 1st). Official calendars marked days in an eight-day cycle, but the Romans also imported from Egyptian astrologers the idea of a seven-day week with each day sacred to a particular planet. (Names of days of the week in English, French, Italian and Welsh preserve some or all of these names, e.g. *Satur(n)day*; *Mar(s)di* etc.) Some dates at Pompeii (e.g. H4) also include the number of days since the last new moon.

The writer of H3, found on the wall of a shop (III.iv.1), seems to have thought in terms of a seven-day week, and noted the venue of local markets. If the writer was intending the table to be of general use, rather than covering a particular week, the local markets must have operated on a regular seven-day cycle, not the eight-day cycle recorded as part of official Roman calendars. Above the table are various numbers and calculations. The table is not clearly aligned: the eight place-names are written slightly smaller and occupy the space of the first six days only. Three further columns to the right of the table list the dates between the day after the Ides of one month and the Ides of the next. However, whichever months are taken, the list is incorrect. Three more columns list the numbers between 1 and 30.

H4 also contains confusion over dates of market days: 6 February AD 60 was not a Sunday but a Wednesday. Neither day seems to agree with H3, which records markets at Cumae on Monday (Moon) and at Pompeii five days later.

H3 CIL IV 8863

Day	Markets
Saturn	Pompeii
	Nuceria
Sun	Arella Estumae
	Nola
Moon	Cumae
Mars	Putcoli
Mercury	Rome
Jove	Capua
Venus	

H4 CIL IV 4182, AD 60

In the consulship of Nero Caesar Augustus and Cossus Lenulus, son of Cossus, 8 days before the *Ides* of February (i.e., 6th February), Sunday, 16th (day of the new) moon, market at Cumae, 5 (days before the *Ides* of February), market at Pompeii.

Wine production and selling (H5-11)

Literary sources provide a little information about Pompeian wine production (H5), and pioneering excavations by Jaschinski since the 1960s have uncovered some commercial vineyards within the town. Most of our archaeological evidence, however, relates to the selling and consumption of wine. It is possible to deduce the origin of an *amboraz* from its shape, material and labels, and this information reveals how diverse the origins were of the wine drunk in the town. A case study of the *amboraz* found on the premises of a wine dealer adds more detail to this picture of diversity by tracing the geographical distribution of one wine-seller's suppliers. Graffiti and paintings cast further light upon aspects of the everyday consumption of wine and of the choice available to the drinker.

Types of wine (H5)

Columnella, *On Agriculture* 3.2.27, also mentions the Horconian and 'Pompeian' Murgentine wines. It is possible that 'Horconian' is a manuscript variant for 'Holconian', and that this type of wine may have been named after the Pompeian family of the Holconii (see D51, D53-55, F89).

H5 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 14.35

For around Vesuvius is the Murgentine vine, a very strong species from Sicily, which some call Pompeian, productive only in fertile soil, like the Horconian variety, which is grown only in Campania.

Information from pottery storage and transport vessels
(*amboraz*) (H6-8)

In literature, we hear of wine-jars labelled with the name of the wine and the consular year in which it was produced. In fact, only a few consular dates have been found (CIL IV 2552-61) and often labels simply say 'Red' or 'Vintage Red' (rarely white) (Compare A25 for Ocean practice.) Somewhat more frequently, the names of the wines are found. Not surprisingly, the majority of these are local, from Vesuvius, Sorrento (H6), Capua, Cumae, Telesia, Trifolium (near Naples) and Palermitan in Campania. The last two were well known in Rome, Falernian being a byword for good wine in literature and a *grafhio* in a bar (H12). Faustinum wine (H7) was a very good type of Palermitan according to the Elder Pliny. Also renowned was wine from Setia (40 miles south-east of Rome, but 100 miles from Pompeii), found at Pompeii. Perhaps more surprising are the *amboraz* labelled as containing wine from Tarentum (modern Tarantina) in East Sicily, which are as numerous as those from any named local vineyard. It is possible, however, that at least some local wines were moved around in skins or in barrels rather than in the pottery containers suitable for sea travel. Several *amboraz* from the Greek island of Cos have also been found (H8 seemingly imported to Rome first), and individual examples from Crete and from Chios (south-west Asia Minor/Turkey).

H6 CIL IV 5521 and 5522, *tablinum* of IX.viii.6, *amboraz*
Mau XII/Dressel 2-4

(Wine from the farm of) Fabius at Sorrento. When Vespasian was consul for the second time (i.e. AD 70).

H7 CIL IV 2553, *amboraz* Mau XII/Dressel 2-4

(Wine from) Faustinum in the fourth consulship of Claudius and the third of I. Vitellius (i.e. AD 47).

H8 CIL IV 2565, *amboraz*

Coan (wine from) ?Gratianus' (farm). Workshop at Rome of Aterius Felix.

Wine-selling: a case study (H9)

Lix.11-12 ('House of Amaranus') was used as a wine shop during the town's last years of existence. The owner's name appears in an electoral notice on the western facade of House 11 (F19). His name was also recently found on two *amboraz* in the garden (H9). Other *amboraz* found there vary in shape and size, and many bear inscriptions, several in Greek. Consequently their places of origin can be traced, revealing a surprising range of contacts for a relatively small-scale business.

Excavations during the 1990s and archive work investigating its first excavation in 1932-1933 have also revealed not just the findspots of the *amboraz*, but also how they were found, and what they were being used for. Three *amboraz* in the *atrium* (room 2) of Lix.12 were full of lime mortar, and were accompanied by a pile of blue pigment, and two *amboraz* in another part of the same room contained coccolpesto (a type of mortar). In the same room, used empty *amboraz* were cast aside in what looks like an *impluvium* (although curiously, it has no water cistern beneath), while full containers of wine were stacked upright in a corner. Also found was a group of broken *amboraz*, including over thirty Cretan wine *amboraz*. Other

amphora were carefully snatched upside down, probably in two tiers, in a corner of the garden in Ix:11. These were mostly local Campanian Dressel 2-4 *amphorae* for wine, with a few Cretan, two Aegean and one rare *amphora* from Gaza. This case study thus illustrates the limitations of the vast majority of *amphora* finds on the site, which have tended to end up in storerooms divorced from their contexts.

H9 Berry (1997) 122

Of Sexus Pompeius Amaranthus

The Inn of Euxinus (I.xi:10-11) (H10-11)

Outside this inn is a painted sign depicting a phoenix and two facing peacocks. A short text wishes good fortune to its customers (H11). The name of the innkeeper Euxinus appears in an electoral notice painted on its facade (F18), and three *amphorae* bear labels instructing their delivery to his address (H10). Excavation revealed that thirty-two vines were planted in the garden, in irregular rows. Their grapes could have been fermented on the premises in two large pottery vessels (*diolia*), found partially embedded in the ground. Each of these had a capacity of about 100 gallons. Presumably Euxinus made available to his customers a range of wines, both home produced and imported.

H10 AE (1967) 86d

At Pompeii, near the Amphitheatre, to the innkeeper Euxinus.

H11 CIL IV 9850, with Solin (1968) 123-4

The phoenix is lucky; may you be too.

Consumption: food and drink (H12-17)

H12 was written in the bar to the left of the entrance to house VII.ii:45. Two paintings from another bar (VI.x:19.1) include what amount to speech bubbles spoken by characters in the pictures. They depict everyday scenes: the first picture (H13) shows a soldier being served wine by a slave; the second (H14), a man in a toga holding out his cup for a refill.

H12 CIL IV 1679

Hedone says, 'You can drink here for one *as*, if you give two, you will drink better; if you give four, you will drink Falernian.'

H13 CIL IV 1291

Give a drop of cold.

H14 CIL IV 1292

Another cup of Setinan (wine).

Lists of food (H15-17)

H15, a long list of products, was found in the *atrium* of IX.vii:24-5, which was connected by a doorway to a bar with a serving counter. The list (written in three unequal columns), which is divided up into individual days, records food either sold or bought. The numbers are probably prices in *ares*, except where the symbol for *denarius* (= 16 *ares*) occurs. Several other lists have been found: H16-17 clearly record expenditure from an individual. H16, from VII.ii:30, is one of two adjacent graffiti (with CIL IV 4889) in a bedroom, listing expenses.

H15 CIL IV 5380

7 days before the <i>Ides</i> , cheese 1	For Servatus	On the <i>Ides</i>
bread 8	[unknown item]	plain bread 2
oil 3	oil 1 <i>denarius</i> , 8	oil 5
wine 3	bread 4, cheese 4	porridge 3
6 days before the <i>Ides</i>		whitebair 2
bread 8		
olive 5	leek 1, for a small place 1	
onion 5	[two unknown items]	
cooling pot 1	2 days before the <i>Ides</i> , bread 2	
bread for slaves 2	bread for slaves 2	
wine 2		
5 days before the <i>Ides</i> , bread 8	1 day before the <i>Ides</i> , bread for slaves 2	
bread for slaves 4	plain bread 2	
porridge 3	leek 1	
4 days before the <i>Ides</i> , wine (unknown type) 1 <i>denarius</i>		
bread 8, wine 2, cheese 2		
3 days before the <i>Ides</i>		
(unintelligible)		
bread 2		
female? 8		
wheat 1 <i>denarius</i>		
beef? 1, dates 1		
incense 1, cheese 2		
small sausage 1		
soft cheese 4		
oil 7		

H16 CIL IV 4888

firewood	
steward/land-agent?	4
bread	6
cabbage	2
beetroot	1
mustard	1
mint	1
salt	1

H17 CIL IV 8561 (Large Palaestra, II.vii)

Pompeii	
[...]	3 1/2 <i>asses</i>
(pound?) of lard	3 <i>asses</i>
wine	1 <i>as</i>
cheese	1 <i>as</i>
oil	1 <i>as</i>
bread	2 1/2 <i>asses</i>
pork	4 <i>asses</i>

Fish sauce (*garum* and *halles*) (H18-30)

Pompeii's fame (H18-19)

See also E70 for kosher fish sauce.

H18 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 31.93-94

Furthermore, there is another type of choice fluid, called *garum*, produced from the guts of fish and anything else which would have been discarded, steeped in salt — in other words, it is the fermentation of decaying matter. . . . These days, the most popular *garum* is made from the mackerel in the fisheries of New Carthage (it is called *garum* of the allies), and around twelve pints costs 1,000 sesterces. Almost no fluid except for perfume begins to fetch a greater price, bringing fame to the countries of origin. . . . Clazomenae too is praised for its *garum*, as are Pompeii and Lepcis. . . . The waste product of *garum*, its dregs, neither processed nor strained, is called *halles*. It has begun to be produced separately from a tiny fish of no other use. . . . Then it became a luxury and has increased into countless types, just as *garum* can be diluted to the colour of old honeyed wine and to such a pleasant taste that it can be drunk.

H19 GC no. 227, painted on an *amphora*

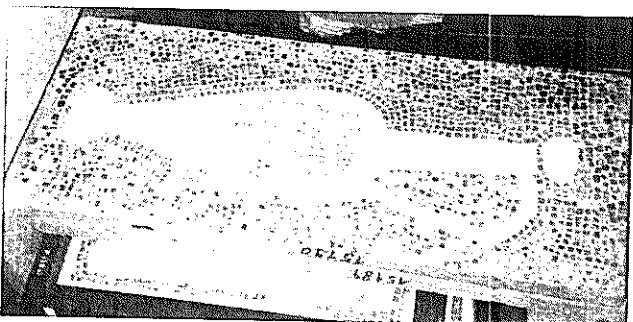
First-rate mackerel sauce of Marcus Accelius Telemachus

Umbricius Scaurus' fish sauce (H20-29)

A local producer, Aulus Umbricius Scaurus, dominated the market for fish sauce (*garum*) at Pompeii from Neronian times until the eruption. Inscriptions painted upon small one-handed pottery vessels (*uvula*) containing the sauce reveal that he ran a number of workshops. These were managed by members of his household: legible names include freedmen Umbricius Absconatus and Umbricius Agathopus, freedwoman Umbricia Fortunata, and a slave Euryche (H21, H23, H26-27, H29). Over fifty of these containers have been found in Pompeii itself and its environs (e.g. the villas at Boscoreale and Boscorease). A unique choice of decorative scheme in his *atrium* also allows us to identify his house, a luxurious property (with a private bath-suite) to the west of the town overlooking the sea (VII, Ins. Occ. *Insula Occidentalis*) 12-15). Around his *impluvium* were found four larger-than-life black and white mosaic depictions of fish sauce vessels bearing promotional inscriptions (H20). Although others also included similar painted inscriptions on their vessels (H19), Scaurus took a bold step in representing them through art in one of the main reception areas of his house. His repeated claims for his sauce's excellence seem almost a modern style of advertising, which appears to have paid dividends: Around 30 per cent of inscriptions on fish sauce containers in Campania relate to his workshops. One fish sauce container inscribed with his name has even been found at Fos-sur-mer in southern France. Despite his commercial success, he suffered a blow in the early death of his son (of the same name), honoured by the town council (F91).

Mosaic fish sauce vessels (H20)

Plate 8.1 H20a Mosaic fish sauce vessel from Scaurus' house



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H20b AE (1992) 278a-d

Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce from Scaurus' workshop
 Finest fish purée
 Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce
 Best fish purée from Scaurus' workshop

Inscriptions painted on fish sauce containers (H21-29)

H21 CIL IV 5671 = ILS 8599d

Finest fish sauce by Umbrius Abascantus

H22 CIL IV 5682

Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce

H23 CIL IV 5689 = ILS 8599a

Best finest mackerel sauce from the workshop of Aulus Umbrius Abascantus

H24 CIL IV 5694 = ILS 8599b

Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce from Scaurus' workshop

H25 CIL IV 5711

Best fish purée of Aulus Umbrius Scaurus

H26 CIL IV 2576

Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce by Scaurus' Euryche

H27 CIL IV 5712, found in kitchen of IX.vii.16

Best essence, to Aulus Virnius Modestus from Agathopus

H28 CIL IV 9406 (found in an inn)

Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce from Scaurus' workshop by Marcial, imperial freedman

H29 CIL IV 5675

Finest fish sauce from Umbrius Fortunata, belonging to Veturinus Iulianus

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H30 CIL IV 5717-18 = ILS 8598

Finest *halles*.

Other products (H31-35)

H31 Table showing labelled contents of pottery vessels

Product	Pot size	Location	CIL IV	Notes
Barley	Large	various houses	5745-60	Baked and salted
Bay	Large	?	6048	
Chick peas	Large	?	5778-9	
Dried leas of wine	Medium	VI.xv.8	5750	Used as condiment or medicine
Fennel	Small	?	5731	
Figs	Small	?	2568	
Honey	Small	I.ii.23	10288	'Coriscan 2 pounds'
Lentils	Large	VII.v-vi.15	6580	Label in Greek
Lupins	Large	I.vii.7 (under-stairs)	9420	Used as fodder and in medicine
Nuts	Small	VIII.v.9	5761	
Olives	Large	VIII.ii.16	5598b	'In water'; found under <i>kanthion</i>
Pepper	Small	II.iv.4	10292	
Pickling brine	Small	VIII.v.9 IX.viii.6 and V.iii.4 (garden)	5763 5721-2	

Lotions and potions (H32-34)

Various pots carry labels showing they contained some sort of medicine. Gavia Severa perhaps specialized in this trade: as well as H33-34 three other vessels have been found with her name, but no other description of contents. Utica was a town on the North African coast.

H32 CIL IV 5738 = ILS 8596, *urceus* in peristyle of VIII.ii.14

Best lotion from donkey's milk from Utica

H33 CIL IV 5737, *urceus*

Lotion of Gavia Severa

H34 CIL IV 5741, *ambhora* fragment in peristyle of VII.vii.5

Honey of Gavia Severa from bees fed on thyme

Price of mills at Pompeii (H35)

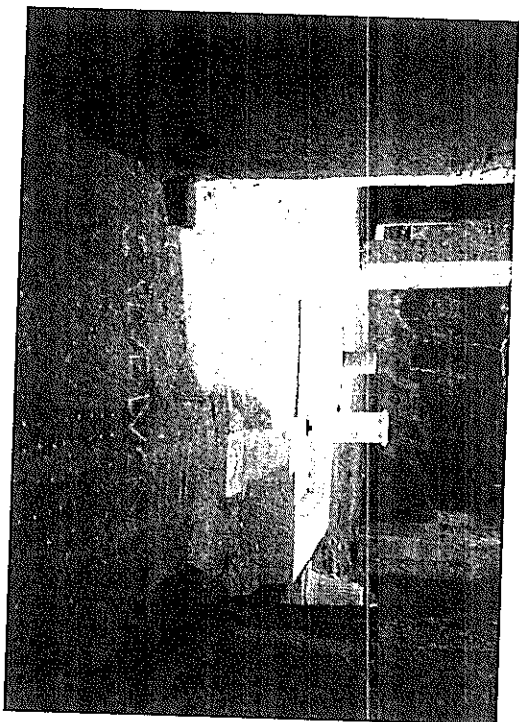
Marcus Porcius Cato Censorinus, 234–149 BC, was the leading politician and writer of his age. His only surviving work, *On Agriculture*, is intended as practical advice to the owner of a medium-sized estate. In H35, Cato discusses the expenses involved in buying an olive mill at Pompeii, later adding (135.2) that Pompeii is the best place to buy such an item.

H35 The Elder Cato, *On Agriculture* 22.3

An olive mill is bought at Pompeii with its equipment for 384 sesterces; transporting it costs 280 sesterces; it is better for it to be prepared for use and assembled at home, which costs 60 sesterces: total cost is 724 sesterces.

Money-making (H36–50)

H36 is a paving inscription, prominently displayed in the entranceway to a house (VII.i.46). It is a frank acknowledgement of the desirability of making money. A similar expression appears in the *atrium* of a house in VI.xiv (H37).

Plate 8.2 H36a *Salve lucrum* (Hail, profit)**H36b CIL X 874**

Hail, profit.

H37 CIL X 875

Profit, joy.

Money-lending and usury (H38–41)**Tablets of Poppaea Note (H38)**

Two wax tablets (CIL IV 3340.154–5) wrapped up in cloth were found, together with some silver vessels weighing about 3 kg in all, in the furnace-area of the Palaestra Baths (VIII.ii.23–4). They relate to a business deal between two women dating to AD 61. A freed-woman, Poppaea Note, has borrowed money from Dicitia Margaritis. As security, she has temporarily transferred ownership of two slaves to her creditor, on condition that if she defaults on paying back the loan by a certain date, then Dicitia Margaritis can sell the slaves at auction. The second tablet (H38) relates to the temporary transfer of the slaves. The careful preservation of the tablets implies that Poppaea Note did default on payment, and that Dicitia Margaritis kept the record of the original transaction to prove that she had acted legally in selling the slaves.

H38 CIL IV 3340.155

Poppaea Note, freedwoman of Priscus, has sworn that the slaves Simplex and Pectinus (or whatever their names are) are hers and that she owns them, and that these slaves are not pledged to anyone else, nor does she share them with anyone else; Dicitia Margaritis has bought these slaves, each priced individually, for [1,450] sesterces and has received formal ownership of them from Poppa[re]a [Note, freedwoman] of Priscus, through the agency of her guardian Decimus Caprasius Amplianus. . . .

[. . . Dicitia Margaritis made an agreement with] Poppaea [Note, freed-woman] of Priscus, as follows: these slaves [. . . which Poppaea Note, freedwoman of Priscus,] has sold [to me, are to be returned to her, on condition that the money] loaned against the two [slaves in question is paid beforehand] in full to myself or to my heir, [or that she return it to me] in the course of events. If this [whole] sum [is not paid to me or to my heir] on 1st November next, [it is permitted to me or to my heir to sell] these slaves [in question] on the 13th December next [. . .] at Pompeii in the Forum publicly in the daytime; and [neither] myself nor my heir [is to be held liable] to you because of that, and [neither] myself nor my heir [is to be held liable] to you because of that, inasmuch as it is then thought that this sale has been conducted with fraudulent intent.

If these slaves in question are sold for a lesser sum, [the balance, once the price has been deducted from the initial sum,] will be owed to myself or to my heir.

[But if] these slaves in question are sold [for a higher sum, the excess will be returned to you or to your] heir [. . .]

It is agreed between us that these slaves [are to be kept from henceforth] at your expense, cost, and risk [. . . Dicitia] Margaritis, Poppaea Note, freed-woman of Priscus, [through the agency of] guardian [Decimus Caprasius Amplianus].

In addition to these things, they agreed between them [the things which have been agreed upon] separately between themselves. Transacted at Pompeii, l. . j in the consulship of Lucius Iunius Caesennius [Pacrus] and Publius Calvisius Ruso [i.e. AD 61].

Usury (H39-41)

Usury is the practice of lending money at interest. Three records survive relating to a money-lender called Faustilla, which give us a picture of how the practice worked. The first records the usury (interest) to be paid on two modest sums. The second and third add the details that items of some value had to be deposited with the money-lender, who could sell them if the borrower defaulted. One *denarius* was worth 16 *aes*. The rate of interest in the first transaction was 3.75 per cent in the third, 3.125 per cent. These figures are probably monthly rates of interest. The graffiti were perhaps intended to remind the debtor of what had been pawned, when, and how much interest was being charged.

H39 CIL IV 4528 (Ann, VI.xiv.28)

8 February. Verria, 20 *denarii*: usury 12 *aes*. 5 February from Faustilla, 15 *denarii*: usury 8 *aes*.

H40 CIL IV 8204 (in south-east corner of bedroom, I.viii.13)

4 July. Hooded cloak and small cloak [deposited with Faustilla. Per 50 l. . j usury l. . j 1 1/2 l. . j 8 *aes*].

H41 CIL IV 8203 (to the right of H40)

15 July. Earrings deposited with Faustilla. Per two *denarii* she took as usury one copper *as*. From a total? 30.

Theft (H42-43)

H42 is a graffiti of Republican date. *Cave canem* (H43) appears on a black and white mosaic next to an image of a fierce-looking dog, on the threshold at the main entrance to the House of the Tragic Poet (VI.viii.3). Mosaic dogs guard the entrances to other houses, too, such as the House of Caecilius Iucundus (VI.1.26), and a plaster-carved dog has captured the struggles of a chained-up dog trying to escape during the eruption.

H42 CIL IV 64

A bronze urn has disappeared from the shop. If anyone returns it, he shall be given 65 *aes*. If he brings the thief [. . . the rest illegible]

H43 CIL X 877

Beware of the dog.

Property rental (H44)

The large town-block (*insula*) near the Amphitheatre (II.iv.2), which is now occupied by the 'Estate of Julia Felix', was originally taken up by two *insulae* roughly equal in size. During the last years before the eruption, the area was completely reshaped, and it was at this time that the bath complex advertised in H44 was built. For other private baths, see D109. Along with H50, this rental notice shows how income could be derived from urban property. The final phrase is highly abbreviated (with only the initial letters of each word), and its meaning not certain, but likely from the context.

H44 CIL IV 1136 = ILS 5723 (II.iv.2)

To let, in the estate of Julia Felix, daughter of Spurius: elegant baths for respectable people, shops with upper rooms, and apartments. From the 13th August next to the 13th August of the sixth year, for five continuous years. The lease will expire at the end of the five years.

Schooling (H45-46)

The following were found on one of the columns of the Large Palaestra (II.vii, column 18). They imply that this was the location of a school, H45 being the earliest known set of school Aims and Objectives and H46 a list of boys who had paid their fees. Horace (*Satires* 1.6.75) suggests that schoolboys would pay 8 *aes* each month.

H45 CIL IV 8562

Whoever has paid me the fee for teaching, let him have what he seeks from the gods.

H46 CIL IV 8565

Artius 1 *as*
 Artius 1 *as*
 Artius 1 *as*
 Albanus 1 *as*
 Albanus 1 *as*
 Albanus 1 *as*
 Albanus 2 *aes*
 Agathemerus 2 *aes*
 Acathemerus 1 *as*
 Acanthus

Prominent individuals (H47-50)

In a few cases, we can trace some of the sources of wealth of prominent members of the elite, whose names loom large on the town's monumental inscriptions. It is unlikely that any of them relied solely upon a single source of income, but they all probably owned significant tracts of land beyond the town walls, which could raise revenue both through exploiting natural resources and through agricultural cultivation and processing.

Eumachia (H47-48)

Some of Eumachia's wealth, in virtue of which she was able to act as such a generous benefactor of the town (E41-47), was derived from the business activities of her father, Lucius Eumachius. His name has been found stamped upon several bricks and roof-tiles found in the town and surrounding area (CIL X 8042.47). H47 was found on roof-tiles (dating from c. 30-35 BC) used in a villa at modern Scafati just to the south-east of Pompeii. In addition, some roof-tiles bear a name that may belong to a freedman of the family (H448). The former's business interests apparently extended well beyond Pompeii: his name also appears on wine *amphorae* (Dressel 2-4) found in the Fos Gulf (south of France), Carthage (north Africa), Ampurias (Spain) and Alesia (France). These inscriptions probably relate to the manufacturing of the *amphorae* themselves rather than to wine production. The theory that Eumachia's family was heavily engaged in sheep-farming and wool production relies chiefly upon the fact that she was patron of the fullers (E43, which does not actually state that she is their patron) and upon the conjecture that her building on the Forum was a wool market (E41-45).

H47 AE (1995) 302a (roof-tile)

Of Lucius Eumachius

H48 CIL X 8042.48 (roof-tile)

Of Lucius Eumachius Eros.

Holconii (H49)

It seems likely that the Holconii (D51, D53-55, F99, F96) were connected with viticulture, and that the Horconian vine was named after them (H5). In addition, the name of a Holconia appears stamped upon a roof-tile (H49).

H49 CIL X 8042.57 (roof-tile)

Of Holconia, daughter of Marcus.

Alleius Nigidius Mianus (H50)

This painted notice shows clearly that one of the most prominent individuals in Pompeii was involved in making money out of property rental, shortly before the eruption. His use of his slave as an agent is typical (see also H69, H71-72, H75). Compare the role of freedmen and freedwomen in commerce on behalf of their patrons (D109, H21, H29, H48).

H50 CIL IV 138 = ILS 6035 (VI.vi.1)

To let from the 1st July next in the *Insula Arriana Palliana*, now owned by Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Mianus: shops with upper rooms, quality apartments and houses. Lessees contract Pinnus, slave of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Mianus.

Trades and occupations (H51-63)

The table (H51) shows trades mentioned in written sources found at Pompeii. Over half the examples occur on electoral notices: sometimes an individual has added his trade (e.g., Eulhodie, the bath attendant begs you to make L. Ceius Secundus dumvir); in other cases the recommendation apparently comes from a group of tradesmen (e.g., Barbers support Trebius for aedile); in a few cases (marked in the table by 'U') the recommenders ask for Cuspius Pansa). This term, found in connection with carpenters, goldsmiths, fruiterers, fullers and mule-drivers, has led to the suggestion that this indicated the official backing of a particular trade association.

In some cases, the indication of a trade seems to serve to help identify an individual, perhaps as a sort of nickname (*agronymi*), rather like the origin of many British surnames. For example one graffiti refers to 'Marcus Faustus who is called the herdsman', while D90 insults 'Successus the Weaver' presumably to make the target clear.

Relatively few trades are known from written shop signs, though an outfitter and tanner both seem to have advertised their workshops with written signs (H55 and H61).

H51 does not take into account trades or occupations known from archaeological evidence alone. Good examples include the House of the Surgeon (VI.1.10) where 40 surgical instruments in metal cases were found. A sample of Region I, *insula* 6-12 suggests good evidence for a fuller's, ironmonger's, porter's, dyer's shop with kiln and plant for making pigments, textile workshop, workshop for *garnum* production, as well as several bars and unidentified shops, but also one workshop variously stated to be a surveyor's or bronzesmith on meagre evidence.

In the table (H51), gladiators and actors are not included (see notes on D45-50, D63-70) nor those involved in writing electoral notices (see F74-81).

H51 Trades mentioned in written sources

Occupation	Source	Ref. (CIL IV unless stated)	Elect	Comment
Architect	D52	X 841	X	Freeman
Baker	D81	4755		Slave?
Banker	H52	See H52	X	Freeman
	H69	3340.1		Freeman?
	H70-82	3540.2-151		Wax tablets of Caecilius
Barber				Incundus
Bath-attendant		743		See introductory note above
Builder	H53	840		See introductory note above
		X 868	X	See introductory note above
Carpenter		960		See introductory note above
Carriage driver	F86	X 1064		See introductory note above
Chicken-keeper	F62	241	X	
Clapper-beater	G24	AE (1994) 398	X	
Clonk-seller		753		
Cobbler		1995		
Cushion-seller	G24	AE (1994) 398	X	Rest of graffiti makes no sense
Doorman		1894		Love poem appealing to the doorman
Dyer		864		
Engraver	H54	8505		
Farmer		490		
Felt-worker		7809		
Fisherman		826		
Fruiterer		202		
Fuller	D71	9131		
	F43b	X 813		
	F20	7164		
Furnace-stoker		1150		
Gen-cutter	H54	8505		
Goldsmith		710		
Grape-picker		6672		
Guard		3081		
Herdsman		4379		Soldier records patrol duty in Basilica
Innkeeper	H10	1048		See introductory note above
		AE (1967) 86d		
Lupin-seller		3423/3483		
Miller	F60	7273		
Money-lender	H39-41	4528		
Male-driver		97		
Ointment seller		2184		
Ouchter	H55	3130		
Painter	H57	7535		
Pasry-cook		1768-9		
Pig-breeder		D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1985)	X	Freedoman; 'public' pig-breeder
		505		

Porter		274 and 497		
Priest's attendant		2612	X	
Prostitute	D98-99	1751	X	Most frequent by far; many different terms used
Rag-and-bone man		8356		
Score		7643		
Scribe		1147		
		3376	X	4 named scribes 'were here' (in inn) Word alone
Soothsayer		5182		
Surveyor	H60	See H60	X	
Tanner		5405		
Theatre official	H61	4014		
Waggoner	F111	768		
Waver		485		
Wine-seller	D90	8259		
Wool-worker?		1819	X	
		1190	X	
			?	Femate Wool-worker, wake up

Banker (H52)

This tomb may date from the late Republic.

H52 D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), Tomb 30S

Lucius Ceius Serapio, freedman of Lucius, a banker and his wife, Helvia, daughter of Marcus, dedicated (this).

Builder (H53)

This name appears on a plaque located on an external wall near the corner of *insula VII.nv.*, depicting a mason's tools.

H53 CIL X 868

Diogenes, builder.

Engraver and gem-cutter (H54)

H54 CIL IV 8505 (II.vii.6)

Priscus the engraver wishes good fortune to Campanus the gem-cutter.

Outfitter (H55-56)

The graffiti recording the outfitter (H55) appears on the wall of a house (VII.ii.16). His workshop is thought to be in a nearby *hinda*. The workshop is decorated with pictures of the process of making cloth through rubbing and pressing animal skins or wool. It also has a furnace thought to be used for making a coagulant. H56 appears to the right of the entrance of a felt workshop (IX.vii.5-7). Linen was a luxury product. One of the wax tablets of Caecilius Incundus (H80) records the import of linen from Alexandria (Egypt).

H55 CIL IV 3130

Marcus Vecilius Verecundus, outfitter

H56 CIL IV 9083-5

Golden linen tunic

Painter (H57)

This painter's signature (the only one known from Pompeii, although the name of Dioscourides of Samos appears on two mosaics in the so-called Villa of Cicero) appears next to wall paintings of Narcissus and Pyramus and Thisbe. These are at the end of a water channel between masonry dining couches, which forms a feature for an outdoor summer dining-room.

H57 CIL IV 7535 (I.v.2)

Lucius painted (this).

Sailor (retired) (H58)

The following two military men (H58-59) are not included in the table (H51), since they were probably not permanent inhabitants of Pompeii.

A retired sailor (H58)

From the mid-first century AD, auxiliaries in the Roman army could be granted full Roman citizenship on their retirement after years of loyal service. This award was inscribed on a bronze tablet displayed on the Capitoline Hill in Rome, and each individual beneficiary was given an official copy of the document for his personal use, on a small portable bronze tablet. One of these (dating to AD 71) was found in a bedroom in a small shop, in VIII.v. It belonged to a veteran of the fleet stationed at nearby Misenum, on the Bay of Naples, who came from a town in Syria. The same text is repeated on the outside of the tablet too.

*H58 CIL X 867 = CIL XVII 15 = ILS 1990**Inside*

Imperator Caesar Vespasian Augustus, chief priest, in his second year of tribunician power, hailed victorious general six times, father of his country, consul three times, designated consul for a fourth time,

to the veterans, who served in the fleet at Misenum under Sexrus Lucilius Bassus, who had served for twenty-six years or more and have been settled at Paestum, whose names are written below; to themselves, their children, and their descendants, gave citizenship and the right of marriage with the wives whom they had already at that time, when citizenship was given to them, or, if any were unmarried, with those women whom they later married, provided that each man marry only a single wife.

On 5 April, in the consulship of Caesar Domitian, son of Augustus and Gnaeus Pedius Cascus; to the rank-and-file soldier Marcus Surus Garasenus, son of Dama.

Transcribed and authenticated from the bronze tablet which is affixed at Rome on the Capitol, on the podium of the altar of the Julian family, on its exterior part.

Apptius Didius Praxites, from Laodicea, Roman equestrian

Gaius Julius Agathocles from Laodicea

Gnaeus Cassius son of Gnaeus, of the Collatina tribe, Cestus from Antioch

Lucius Cornelius Simon from Caesarea Straton

Tiberius Claudius Epaphroditus from Antioch

Gaius Julius Theopompus from Antioch

Tiberius Claudius Demosthenes from Laodicea

Soldier from the Praetorian Guard (H59)

In addition to burials of some members of the guard (the emperor's personal bodyguard) (G66-69), some graffiti have also been found mentioning members of different units. (See also CIL IV 1711, 1994, 2145, 4311.)

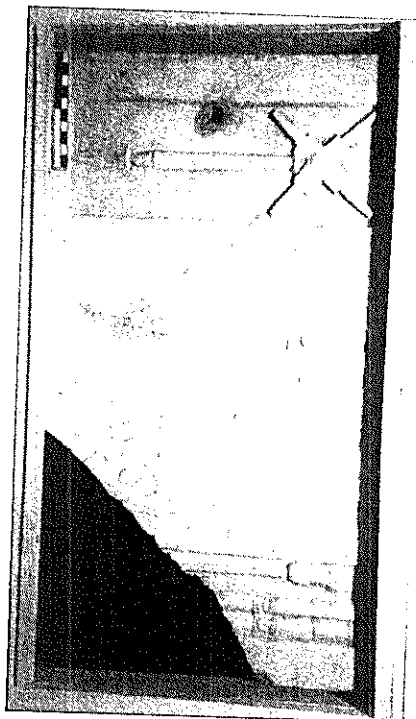
H59 CIL IV 8405 (I.x.11, to the right of door to bedroom)

Gaius Annaeus Capito, cavalryman of the 10th praetorian cohort, Grarus' unit.

Surveyor (H60)

This tombstone was found reused in a later tomb. The epigraph itself makes no allusion to the deceased's profession, but on either side of it are sculpted in relief the tools of a surveyor: *groma* (instrument for taking bearings), stakes, measuring rod and cope.

Plate 8.3 H60a Tomb of the surveyor Popidius Nicostratus



H60b D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), Tomb 17a/b OS
 Nicostratus Popidius (erected this monument) for himself and his concubine
 Popidia Edochoe and his family.

Tanner (H61)

This is an inscription in carbon on the wall of shop I.v.2, leading to a tannery.

H61 *CIL* IV 4014

Tannery of Xulmus

Textile worker (H62-3)

In shop IX. xii. 1-2) two graffiti were found relating to textile production and trade.

H62 *CIL* IV 9109

I have written down that the weaving was begun on 26 December.

H63 *CIL* IV 9108

6 July. Tunic 15 seserces.

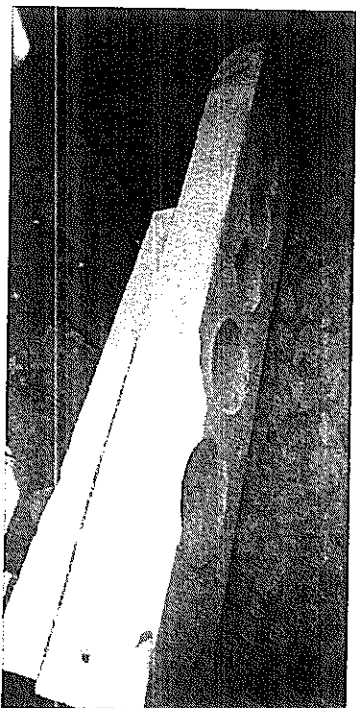
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The organization of trade (H64-68)

Measuring table in the Forum (H64)

The official set of standard measures (*mensura ponderaria*) was displayed in a niche on the west side of the Forum. This public measuring table was radically modified c.20 BC. New measuring holes were cut into it: in addition to the already existing five central basins, which were enlarged, four smaller ones were also added at the corners, and the Oscan inscriptions (Vetter no. 22; Poccetti 1979: no. 109; Antonini 1978: 871) labelling the basins in use up to that time were erased. The local magistrates in charge of the operation to standardize the measures in accordance with those at Rome recorded their action in a Latin inscription across the front of the table. Compare the standardized weights found at Herculaneum (*CIL* X 8067.1-2), which the local aediles had approved.

Plate 8.4 H64a Measuring table in the Forum



H64b *CIL* X 793 = *ILS* 5602

Aulus Clodius Flaccus, son of Aulus, and Numerius Arcaeus Arellianus Caledus, son of Numerius, duumvirs with judicial power, saw to the standardization of the measures in accordance with a decree of the town councillors.

Market stalls by Amphitheatre (H65)

The aediles were in charge of regulating trading matters. Painted inscriptions from the outside of the Amphitheatre appear to have marked off trading booths within the arched openings (H65). For fragments of similar notices, see *CIL* IV 1090a-97b, 2485. See the fire painting (D37) for evidence of temporary stalls in the piazza around the Amphitheatre.

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H65 CIL IV 1096

By permission of the aediles, Gnaeus Annius Fortunanus occupies (this space).

Trade in the Forum (H66-68)

Sixteen fragments of wall painting from a single room in the estate of Julia Felix (ILLiv.2) portray different aspects of life in the Forum. The best preserved scenes are the following.

Plate 8.5 H66a Market stalls in the Forum



H66b NM inv. 9069 (painting)

In the far background, a garlanded portico. In the foreground, two market-stalls – a cobbler and an ironmonger – with their customers.

H67 NM inv. 9068 (painting)

In the background, a double-storied portico hung with garlands, with three equestrian statues in front. In the foreground, four figures (three adult men, one child) are reading public notices displayed on a long whiteboard.

H68 NM inv. 9063 (painting)

In the background, columns. In the foreground, traders and their customers, including two men selling cloth and a man selling kitchen pots and pans.

The wax tablets of the banker Caecilius Iucundus (H69-82)

A total of 153 partially legible documents relating to the business affairs of the banker (*caactor argentarius*) Lucius Caecilius Iucundus have been deciphered from writing-tablets found in V.i.26 in 1875. Generally, the wax has perished from the tablets, but traces of their writing remain visible where the metal pen has penetrated into the wooden surface below. They had been stored in a wooden chest on the first floor, above the north side of the peristyle. This also contained some unused tablets and a large placard. The earliest tablet (H69) dates from AD 15, and relates to the business of the banker Caecilius Felix. He is generally supposed to be Iucundus' father and precursor in the same job. His identification as a freedman depends upon his *cognomen*, common among freedmen, or upon the assumption that he is identical with the freedman Lucius Caecilius Felix mentioned in another inscription (CIL X 891, AD 1). A freedman called Felix also dedicated a portrait bust of 'our Lucius' in the house (B55). It is also possible, however, that both ex-slave and master bore the same names, and that the banker was not a freedman. The latest tablet (H82) dates from January AD 62, only a month before the town was severely damaged by an earthquake, commemorated on the *lastrinum* relief in Iucundus' house (C3). We can only speculate whether this collection of tablets is an accident of chance or whether it represents an archive of important documents. It certainly does not preserve a complete record of Iucundus' business transactions.

A collection of 137 documents relate to auction sales. Iucundus acted as a go-between for seller and buyer, paying a sum to the seller for the goods sold at auction a few days later, and extending short-term credit to the buyer. Almost all (tablet 100 may be an exception) probably relate to occasional activity on the part of the seller (such as following on from an inheritance, H71) rather than to regular commercial transactions. Most of these documents are 'receipts' from the seller, acknowledging that Iucundus has paid the amount raised by auction and promised by contract. These documents are not 'receipts' in a modern sense but are formally witnessed verbal statements that payment promised by contract (*stipulatio*) has been received. They thus formally release the banker from his obligation to pay.

The amounts paid out by the banker range from 342 to 38,079 sesterces. The median, calculated from the 44 exact and approximate sums known, comes to c.4,500. Only three sales are worth more than 30,000 sesterces. See Appendix 3 for relative monetary values. Their contents include the names of the seller and of Iucundus or a slave acting as his representative, the date, a list of witnesses (all male, with a single exception – Umbrius Antiochis affixes her seal as witness on H76) and the sum paid out. Some receipts are written by the banker or his representative, stating that the seller has received his money before witnesses. Others are written directly by the

recipient (the seller at auction) or his/her representative; in these cases, fewer witnesses are needed. It seems that the order in which the names of witnesses were listed reflected their relative status in society. Tablets 81 and 89 show that the ordering of names was a matter for concern, since the same names are erased and then rewritten in a different order. Sometimes they record the amount of commission charged by the banker. Only a few specify what has been sold – it may be that this was included for clarification only when a seller sold more than one item at auction.

In most cases, three tablets are bound together: pages 1 and 6 are often blank, but sometimes contain a summary of the document in ink; pages 2–3 contain the document in full, on wax, which is sealed; page 4 contains witnesses' names and seals; page 5 reproduces the text in full or in summary. The typical pattern of such documents can be seen in H72 and H74. Each document consists of three parts: a statement of the payment made by Caecilius Incundus in person, a list of witnesses with their seals, and finally a statement, written on behalf of the seller confirming that the banker has settled his account with him or her.

The tablets present us with a picture of variable literacy among the inhabitants of Pompeii. In Tablet 32, a Latin text is written in Greek letters. In other tablets, their writers do not always display complete competence in Latin. H79 in particular betrays some confusion as to how to designate Roman numerals and adopts idiosyncratic spelling. The fact that women never write for themselves is not, however, a sign of their illiteracy, but reflects their legal status (specifically the requirement that a legal guardian, or *tutor* , authorize a woman's participation in a business deal of this kind; compare H38). Consequently, there would be no point in a woman writing in the first person that she is releasing the banker from his promised contract with her for payment of the proceeds of an auction, since she did not herself possess the legal right to do so. By contrast, one of the so-called *Murecine Tablets* (TP 46 + 44) or Archive of the Sulpicii (found just outside Pompeii but relating to business affairs in Puteoli) documents a slave writing on his master's orders 'because he says he is illiterate'.

Sixteen tablets record business between Incundus and the town (e.g. H81–82). These contain receipts written by a public slave acknowledging that Incundus has paid sums due to the town. Since they are signed by the public slave in receipt of the money, they are witnessed by only three or four individuals, including at least one *duumvir*. Payments relate to tax on a fullery for five years, AD 56–61 (H81: tablets 141–4), to the leasing from the town of a farm, the *fundus Andrianus* (tablets 138–40), and to the collection of tax on pasturage, AD 56–61 (tablets 145–7) and on the market (H82), perhaps paid for setting up a stall. Incundus may have been leasing the fullery and farm from the town for his own benefit or may have been collecting rental payments from a third party.

*Receipt for sale of a mule, auctioned by Caecilius Felix,
May AD 15 (H69)*

This is the earliest document preserved, recording a business transaction by Caecilius Felix. It consists of two tablets: pages 1 and 4 are smoothed over, but blank; pages 2–3 are hollowed out for wax, but this has perished. The text is faintly legible on the wood beneath, where the metal pen (*stilus*) has scratched through the wax.

H69 CIL IV 3340.1

[Pages 2–3]

520 sesterces for a mule sold to [Marcus] Pomponius Nico, freedman of Marcus, the sum of money which Marcus Cerrinius Euphrates is said to have received in accordance with the contract made with [Lucius] Caecilius Felix. Marcus Cerrinius Euphrates, freedman of Marcus, declared that he had received payment in full of the aforementioned sum of money, in cash from Philadelphus, slave of Caecilius Felix. {Seal}

Transacted at Pompeii, 28 May, in the consulship of Drusus Caesar and Gaius Norbanus Flaccus.

Receipt for sale of boxwood at auction, May AD 54 (H70)

H70 CIL IV 3340.5

[Page 4, left column, written in ink on wood, vertically across the page] Gaius Iulius Onesimus declared that he has received from Marcus Fabius Agathinus, acting for Lucius Caecilius Incundus, 1,985 sesterces, less commission, the sum of money which is due for payment, as contracted with Lucius Caecilius Incundus, by 15 July next, for the boxwood sale of Gaius Iulius Onesimus.

Transacted at Pompeii, 10 May, in the consulship of Aclius Aviola, Asinius Marcellus.

[Page 4, right column, contains a partially legible list of witnesses. Incundus is here making a payment in advance of the agreed date (15 July).]

*Receipt for auction of goods from the estate of Nasennius Nigidius
Vaccula, May AD 54 (H71)*

It seems that this is the last in a series of payments, and that Salvius has been receiving the money in instalments, whenever it has been required.

H71 CIL IV 3340.6

[Page 2, on the edge, in ink] Handwritten document – of Salvius(?)

(Pages 2-3)

In the consulship of Manius Atilius Aviola and Marcus Asinius, on 29 May, I, Salvius, slave of the heirs of Numerius Nasennius Nigidius Vacula, have written that I have received from Lucius Caecilius Lucundus on account of my auction the sum, raised in accordance with his contract, of 3,059 sesterces, which I have received in instalments on request up to today.
Transacted at Pompeii.

{Page 4, right column, in ink}

{Seal of} Salvius (slave) of the heirs of Vacula

Lucius Aelius Turbo

Publius Vedius Primus

Salvius (slave) of the heirs of Vacula

An almost completely preserved receipt for sale of slave at auction,

May-June AD 54 (H72)

H72 CIL IV 3340.7

{In ink, on the margin of the second tablet}

Acknowledgement of Nymphius - slave of [Lucius] Iunius Aquila.

(Pages 2-3)

1,567(?) sesterces - the sum of money which is due for payment, as contracted with Lucius Caecilius Lucundus, by 13 August next, for the auction of Ni(m)[ph]ius, slave of Lucius Iunius Aquila, less commission - Lucius Iunius Aquila [declared that he has] (received this sum), in cash, from Lucius Caecilius Lucundus.

Transacted at Pompeii on 29 May [or 28 June], in the consulship of Manius Atilius and Marcus Asinius.

{Page 4, right column (in ink), next to seals, now missing}

Of Sexrus Nummius Lucundus

Of Lucius Nerius Hy[lg]inus?

Of [Quinnus] Caecilius Atralus

Of Marcus Badius Hermes

Of [Publius] Paccius Cerinthus

Of Aulus Verrus Donatus

Of Publius Aefulanus Crysant[us]

Of Gaius Nummidius Sy[ln.]

Of Lucius Iunius

(Page 5)

I, Nymphius, wrote by instruction [and request] of Lucius Iunius Aquila that he received from Lucius Caecilius Lucundus 1,567(?) sesterces for the auction of Nymphius, slave of Iunius Aquila.

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Receipt for highest sum known from auction sale,

January AD 55 (H73)

H73 CIL IV 3340.10

(Pages 2-3)

38,079 sesterces - the sum which is due for payment, as contracted with Lucius Caecilius Lucundus, for the auction of Marcus Lucretius Lentus, less 2 per cent commission - Marcus Lucretius Lentus declared that he has (received this sum), in cash, from Lucius Caecilius Lucundus.

Transacted at Pompeii on 22 January in the consulship of Nero Caesar and Lucius Ansurus.

{Page 4}

{List of (probably) nine witnesses.}

Receipt for proceeds from auction for Histria Ichimas,

November AD 56 (H74)

H74 CIL IV 3340.22

{In ink, on the margin of the second tablet}

Acknowledgement for Histria Ichimas.

(Pages 2-3)

6,456½ sesterces - the sum of money which is due for payment, as contracted with Lucius Caecilius Lucundus, for the auction of Histria Ichimas - Histria Ichimas declared that she has (received this sum), less commission, from Lucius Caecilius Lucundus.

Transacted at Pompeii, 5 November, in the consulship of Lucius Duvius and Publius Clodius.

{Page 4, right column, written in ink, next to seals, now missing}

Of Gaius Nummius Bassus

Of Lucius Nummius Rarus

Of Aulus Veius Aricus

Of Decimus Caprasius Gobio

Of Lucius Valerius Peregrinus

Of . . . Cestilius Philod[esp]ocus]

Of [Gaius] Novellus Fortunatus

Of [Aulus] Alfius Absascalpinus]

Of [Lucius] Ceius Felicio

(Page 5)

In the consulship of Lucius Duvius and Publius Clodius, on 5 November.

I, [name lost], wrote at the request of [Histria Ichimas] that [part of the sum lost, but what remains, first that mentioned above, 6,456½ sesterces] has been paid [by Lucius Caecilius] Lucundus, for the auction which her [slave] made.
Transacted at Pompeii.

185

*Receipt for sale of fixtures and fittings at auction by
Umbriicia Antiochis, November AD 56 (H75)*

Unusually, this tablet gives us a glimpse of the fees and expenses charged for the auction. The items sold fetched 645 sesterces at auction, of which the seller eventually received 560 (i.e. 87 per cent of their total value) after various deductions. In this case, the banker's commission came to around 8 per cent, whereas in Tablet 10 it is 2 per cent, suggesting that there may have been a sliding scale of commission.

H75 CIL IV 3340.23

{Pages 2-3}

{During the consulship of Q. Volusius Saturninus and [P. Cornelius Scipio], on the 11 November.

I, [name missing], slave of Umbriicia Antiochis, [have written] that she has received 645 sesterces from L. Caecilius [Lucundus], for the auction [which was performed on her behalf], for the objects removed from a property sold earlier. Out of this sum [she has received] 200 sesterces [in cash], with valuation costs adding up to 20 sesterces, incidental expenses adding up to 13 sesterces, and the banker's fee of 51 sesterces having been deducted from the price; finally I received today the sum of 360 sesterces. Transacted at Pompeii.

*Receipt for sale of a slave by Umbriicia Antiochis,
December AD 56 (H76)*

H76 CIL IV 3340.24

{In ink, on the margin of the second tablet}
Acknowledgement – for Trophimus.

{Pages 2-3}

In the consulship of Lucius Duvinus Avitus and Publius Clodius, on 10 December.

I, Marcus Helvius Catullus, wrote at the request of Umbriicia Antiochis that she had received from Lucius Caecilius Lucundus 6,252 sesterces for the auction of her slave Trophimus, less commission. Transacted at Pompeii.

{Page 4, next to seals, now missing}
Of Marcus Helvius Catullus
Of Melissaeus Fuscus
Of Fabius Proculus
Of Umbriicia Antiochis
Of Catullus

{Page 5}

In the consulship of Lucius Duvinus [Avitus and Publius] Clodius, on 10 December.

I, Marcus Helvius Catullus, wrote at the request of Umbriicia that she had received from Lucundus 6,252 [sesterces] for the auction of her slave Trophimus, less commission. Transacted at Pompeii.

*Receipt for goods auctioned for Umbriicia Iannaria,
December AD 56 (H77)*

H77 CIL IV 3340.25

{In ink, on the margin of the second tablet}

[Acknowledgement] for Umbriicia [Iannaria]

{Pages 2-3}

11,039 sesterces – the sum of money which is due for payment, as contracted with Lucius Caecilius Lucundus, for the auction of Umbriicia Iannaria – Umbriicia Iannaria declared that she has [received this sum], less commission from Lucius Caecilius Lucundus.

Transacted at Pompeii, 12 December, in the consulship of Lucius Duvinus and Publius Clodius.

{Page 4, next to seals, now missing}
Of Quintus Appuleius Severus
Of Marcus Lucretius Lerus
Of Tiberius Iulius Abascantus
Of Marcus Iulius Crescens
Of Publius Teerentius Primus
Of Marcus Epidius Hymenaeus
Of Quintus Granus Lesbos
Of Titus Vesonius Lel...]
Of Decimus Volcius Thallus

{Page 5}

12 December, in the consulship of Lucius Duvinus and Publius Clodius Thrasea.

I, Decimus Volcius Thallus, wrote at the request of Umbriicia Iannaria, that she had received from Lucius Caecilius Lucundus 11,039 sesterces, less commission from her auction, as confirmed on examination of sealed tablets. [Traces of two seals remain.]

*Receipt for auction of goods by Tullia Lampyrus,**December AD 57 (H78)*

H78 CIL IV 3340.40

{Pages 2-3}

8,562 sesterces – the sum of money which is due for payment, as contracted with Lucius Caecilius Lucundus, for the auction of Tullia Lampyrus – Tullia Lampyrus declared that she has been paid this sum, less commission, by Lucius Caecilius Lucundus.

Transacted at Pompeii, 23 December in the consulship of Nero Caesar for the second time and Lucius Caesius Martialis.

{Page 4, next to seals, now missing}

Of Lucius Vadius Ceratus
Of Anlus Caecilius Philologus
Of Gnaeus Helvius Apollonius
Of Marcus Stabius Chryseros
Of Decimus Volcius Thallus
Of Sextus Pompeius Axioc(h)us
Of Publius Sextus Primus
Of Gaius Vibius Alcinus

{Page 5}

In the consulship of Nero Caesar for the second time and Lucius Caesius Martialis, transacted at Pompeii on 23 December. I, Sextus Pompeius Axioc(h)us, have written at the request of Tullia Lampyrus, that she has received from Lucius Caecilius Lucundus 8,560 sesterces and 2 *asae* for her auction, as confirmed on examination of sealed tablets.

Receipt for proceeds from auction sale by military personnel at Nuceria (H79)

This is the only tablet written outside Pompeii, at a military camp, probably to the north of Pompeii, near Nuceria, where members of the praetorian guard appear to have been stationed. By the first century AD, it was quite usual for detachments of praetorians (the emperor's body-guard) to leave Rome during imperial travels (see also G66-69, H59). The document contains several other unusual features. It records that the proceeds of an auction sale by Alfenus Pollio (a *decurio*, or commander of a cavalry unit) and Epirus Nica are being handed over to Alfenus Varus, who is a *praesentis Augusti* (i.e. a high-ranking officer in the praetorians). The most likely scenario is that Epirus and Pollio owe some money to Varus. They then auction off some goods belonging to another party who, in turn, is indebted to them. Part of the proceeds of the auction is passed over directly to Varus, thus clearing their debt to him, and they probably then received any surplus from the auction themselves. The text itself is poorly written (e.g., with *Inquandus* for *Lucundus*).

H79 CIL IV 3340.45 (with AE 1993.454)

{Pages 2-3}

In the consulship of [. . .] and Lucius Iunius, on 27 August; I, Publius Alfenus Varus, the emperor's *praesentis*, have written that I have received from Lucius Caecilius Inquandus 25,439 sesterces, from the auction of Publius Alfenus Pollio, cavalry officer, and of Numerius Epirius, for that part contractually due to me as substitute debtor. Transacted at the Julian camp at the Nuceria garrison.

{Page 4, right column, in ink, next to seals, now missing}

Of Publius Alfenus Valrus], emperor's *praesentis*
Of Publius Alfenus Pollio
Of . . . Trausus A . . .
Of [Publius] Alfenus Varus, emperor's *praesentis*
Of Publius Alfenus Pollio

Ptolemy of Alexandria, seller of linen at the market (H80)

The rest of the text is mostly lost, but enough survives of the ink summary to attest the activity of an Alexandrian trader at Pompeii, nicely complementing other evidence in the town for the impact of Egyptian culture and influence there (see also E3-9).

H80 CIL IV 3340.100

{On edge of tablet, in ink}

Acknowledgement of auction of linen of Ptolemy, son of Masyllus, of Alexandria.

Payment of rental for fullery, August AD 58 (H81)

This document relates to the payment of rental for a fullery for the year AD 57/58. This is the second year of rental in an agreement covering a five-year period.

H81 CIL IV 3340.142

{Pages 2-3}

In the dunnavariate of Lucius Albucius Iustus and Lucius Veranius Hypsaeus, I, Privatus, slave of the colony, have written that I have received from Lucius Caecilius Lucundus 1,652 sesterces, from the outstanding amount for the fullery before this day, 14 July.

Transacted at Pompeii, 14 August, in the consulship of A. Paconius Sabinus and A. Petronius.

*The latest tablet: receipt of market tax/rental,
January AD 62 (H82)*

H82 CIL IV 3340.151

{Edge of 2nd tablet in ink}

Payment. . . .

{Pages 2-3}

In the dumvirate of . . . and Tiberius Claudius Verus. . . . January, 1,
[Privatus], slave of the colony of Pompeii have written that I have received
from [Lucius] Caecilius Lucundus 2,520 sesterces, on behalf of Marcus Fabius
Agathinus, stall-holder in the market.
Transacted at Pompeii.

In the consulship of Publius Marius son of Publius and Lucius Afnus.

Town amenities (H83)

H83 Distribution map of public water fountains,
bakeries and *popinae* (snack bars)

See Figure 8.1.

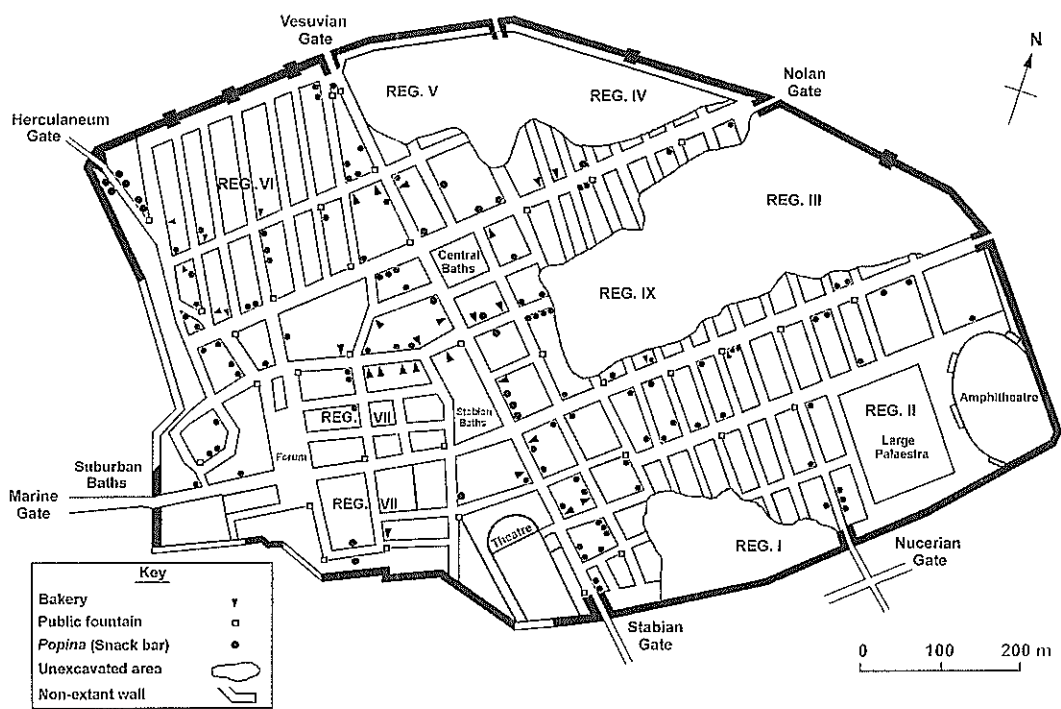


Figure 8.1 H83 Distribution map of public water fountains, bakeries and *popinae* (snack bars)