

D108b CIL X 8071, 48

Marcus Nigidius [picture of little cow] at his own expense.

Baths of Crassus Frugi (D109)

These baths, whose attractions are advertised by an elegantly inscribed marble plaque, must have been located on the sea shore at Pompeii, but remain undiscovered. The inscription had been reused, so its position provides no hint as to the location of the baths. It seems likely that the owner of the baths, Crassus Frugi, is the consul of AD 64. His use of a freedman to run his business is quite usual in Roman society (compare H21, H23, H26-29, H50, H69, H71-72, H75). Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 31.2.5) mentions some exceptional baths of Licinius Crassus near Baiae (further north around the Bay of Naples), which were built in the sea over a natural hot spring.

D109 CIL X 1063 = ILS 5724

Baths of Marcus Crassus Frugi with seawater and baths with fresh water.
Januarius, freedman.

For the Baths of Julia Felix, see H44.

RELIGION

5

Alison Cooley & MGL Cooley
Pompeii: A Sourcebook
London: Routledge (2005)

Religion played a central part in Pompeian life right from the sixth century BC, when activity focused upon two sanctuaries, those of Apollo next to the Forum (E1-2) and of (probably) Hercules and Minerva at the Doric Temple in the Triangular Forum. By the end of the second century BC, more public temples had been added to the town, honouring Jupiter (E9-11), Isis (E3-6) and Dionysus (for the suburban Sanctuary of Dionysus; see A15-17; for religion in the Oscan town, see also A12-13). Religious experiences at Pompeii, therefore, drew upon a variety of foreign influences, from Greece and Egypt, at a relatively early date. Some temples in the town and its environs are of disputed identity (such as the so-called 'Temple of Jupiter Melichios' in the Theatre district, which may have been dedicated to Asclepius), while others, dedicated to Ceres and perhaps Neptunne (E14), have yet to be discovered. It also seems plausible that the large temple adjacent to the Basilica was dedicated to Pompeian Venus, but no hard evidence supports this hypothesis.

Public cults attracted dedications from individuals and donations by local magistrates (E2, E4-6, E9-14). Miniature altars and statues could be set up in any temple; the deity whose temple it was did not necessarily have to be the one represented. Thus, in the Temple of Isis, statues of Venus and Bacchus stood near one of Isis herself (E4-5). Apart from a colossal bust of Jupiter from his temple in the Forum, no cult statues have been found.

The dramatic political change at Rome, with the emergence of the first emperor, Augustus, had an immediate impact upon the cults of Pompeii. Cult officials in charge of the worship of Mercury and Maia first of all included Augustus alongside these deities, but a short time later actually devoted their attentions to Augustus and subsequent emperors alone (E30-31). During the lifetime of Augustus himself, we also find priests of the emperor, even before he had been officially deified (D53-55). In addition, an entirely new cult of Augustan Fortune was introduced to Pompeii by one of the local elite, who donated some of his own land near the Forum as a site for the new temple (E32-37).

Official involvement in the town's public cults mirrored the hierarchical structure of Roman society. Women from the elite were excluded from

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holding political office, but could become prominent in public life as priestesses of Ceres and Venus (E39-50). Some cults created official posts for freedmen and even slaves. The cults of Mercury, Maia and Augustus, and of Augustan Fortune, as well as the local district cults of the *Lares* (the guardian deities of a district) were entrusted to presidents (*magistri*) and attendants (*ministri*), who were generally freedmen and slaves respectively (E28-31, E34-37, E62-64).

The expression of religious sentiment, however, was far from confined to temples or public cults. Religious dedications, commemorations of vows, and graffiti are found in houses, shops and public areas throughout the town (E16-18, E21-22, E25-27, E58-60). One interpretation of the enigmatic *fiere* in the Villa of Mysteries sees the room in which it was displayed as a place devoted to the cult of Dionysus. Otherwise, cults in the house focused primarily upon the *lararium*, or shrine of the household gods (*Lares*) often found in the *atrium* or kitchen, and upon the *genius* of the master of the household (E51-57). The large numbers of such shrines indicate widespread religious practices among the inhabitants of Pompeii as a whole, but popular religious feelings are generally difficult to pin down. Some hints emerge from graffiti (E21-27) and also from paintings, which seem to invoke a deity's support for an enterprise, such as the picture of Mercury outside a dyer's workshop, shown descending from the steps of a temple carrying a money-bag and his wand.

Finally, alongside various pagan cults, a variety of written evidence shows the presence of Jews at Pompeii.

Temple of Apollo (E1-2)

The Sanctuary of Apollo, to the west of the Forum, was founded by the first half of the sixth century BC. The temple was rebuilt along Hellenistic lines during the second century BC (A12). In the early 70s BC, one of the first actions of the Roman veteran colonists on their arrival in the town was to rededicate the temple's main altar, perhaps as a symbol of the change in regime (B7). At some point before 2 BC, permission was given for the sanctuary to encroach upon neighbouring space (E1). There are some signs of structural repair following earthquake damage, perhaps from AD 62 (C4), but this was not completed before the eruption. Elegant bronze statues of Apollo and his sister Diana in their guise as archer-gods were found in the sanctuary, as well as an impressive sundial, mounted upon a marble column next to the temple (E2).

Modifications to the Sanctuary: end of first century BC,
 before 2 BC (E1)

This inscription relates to changes either in the sanctuary's relationship with the Forum to the east or with private houses to the west. It gives legal permission for the blocking off of light from space adjacent to the sanctuary. It names the town in formal terms as the *colonia*

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Veneria Cornelia. This initially led to the Temple of Apollo, where this was found, being erroneously identified as the Temple of Venus. For Holconius Rufus, see also D51, D53-54, F89.

E1 CIL X 787 = ILS 5915

Marcus Holconius Rufus, duumvir with judicial power for the third time and Gnaeus Egnatius Postumus, duumvir with judicial power for the second time, in accordance with a decree of the town councillors paid 3,000 sesterces for the right to block off light, and saw to the building of a private wall belonging to the *colonia Veneria Cornelia* as far as the roof.

Dedication of a sundial (E2)

Standing next to the temple podium, this sundial mounted on an Ionic column is accompanied by an inscribed plaque, recording its donation by a pair of magistrates. The same pair of magistrates also donated a seat and sundial in the Triangular Forum (CIL X 831).

E2 CIL X 802

Lucius Sepunius Sandilianns, son of Lucius, and Marcus Herennius Epiidianus, son of Anlus, duumvirs with judicial power, saw to this being made at their own expense.

Temple of Isis (E3-8)

A temple to the Egyptian goddess Isis was probably established in the Theatre district towards the end of the second century BC, reflecting the trading and cultural links between the town and Alexandria. The harbour town of Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli), further north-west on the Bay of Naples, also had a temple to an Egyptian deity, Serapis, by 105 BC, and evidence for the cult of Isis has been found in the nearby towns of Herculaneum and Stabiae.

Following earthquake damage, the small temple, set within an enclosure, had been completely rebuilt by the son of a freedman from a prominent Pompeian family (C5). The opportunity was also taken at this time to take over part of the adjacent Sarnite Palaestra. The popularity of the cult is reflected in the discovery of statues of Isis and several cult-rattles (*stirra*) in private houses. Furthermore, some twenty household shrines (*lararia*) were decorated with images of Isis, and several individuals donated statues within the sanctuary enclosure (E4-6). In addition, the actor Norbanus was honoured with a portrait bust in the sanctuary, perhaps in connection with his appearances in the adjacent Theatre (D70). The notion that the cult's popularity was the result of some kind of religious crisis, with the rise of a belief-based cult requiring initiation at the expense of 'traditional' public cults, is no longer tenable, although the cult was regarded with suspicion at Rome until the first century AD. The reference to worshippers of Isis in electoral

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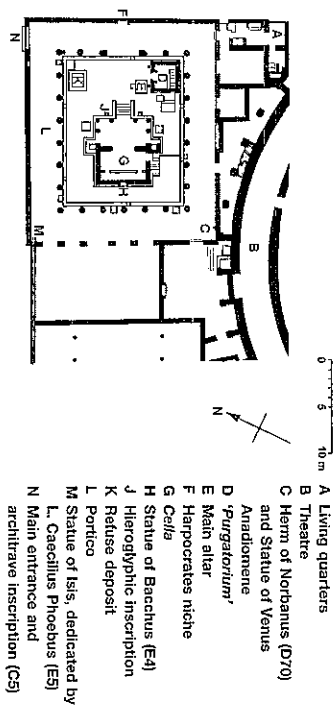
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notices (E7–8), however, certainly implies that some at least of her adherents had a sense of group identity not found with other cults.

The discovery of the temple in the 1760s, early on in the excavation of Pompeii, caused a great stir and captured visitors' imaginations. Their interest was aroused not only by the vividness of the remains uncovered in the sanctuary in Italy, but also by the unusual discovery of an 'Egyptian' temple. These included carbonized remains in pits and on the altar, a dead body (presumed to be the priest), statues and well-preserved paintings (cut away from the walls, and transferred to the royal collection) (J6–10). Much of the sanctuary's decoration was calculated to emphasize the foreignness of the goddess. For example, a tablet inscribed with genuine hieroglyphs was discovered in front of the temple itself, and paintings depicted Egyptian gods, including the dog-headed Anubis, Bes, Osiris, Harpocrates and Isis herself, and Egyptian landscapes peopled with strange creatures, such as the crocodile, ibis and pygmies. Finally, a small structure (*purgatorium*), with steps leading down to a well, was believed to have provided purifying water for the religious ceremonies.

Figure 5.1 E3 Plan of Temple of Isis



Statuette of Bacchus (E4)

The marble statuette (NM inv. 6312) depicts Bacchus with a panther, as a version of the Egyptian god Osiris. It was displayed in a small niche incorporated into the rear wall of the temple, which had ears in stucco on either side, a symbol of the deity's responsiveness to prayer. Its dedication, inscribed upon its plinth, reveals that it was set up by the father of the child who had nominally rebuilt the temple.

E4 CIL X 847

Numerius Popidius Amplianus, father, at his own expense.

Statuette of Isis (E5)

The marble statuette (NM inv. 976), executed in an archaizing style, depicts the goddess holding a *sistrum* (the rattle used in her worship) in her right hand, and the key of the Nile in her left. Traces of gilding can still be seen on the marble.

E5 CIL X 849

Lucius Caecilius Phoebus erected (this statue); space granted by decree of the town councillors.

Dedication to Isis of a statuette (E6)

This inscribed pilaster, which once supported a (now lost) statuette, was removed from the site into a private collection. Consequently, its original location is unknown, but it may have come from the temple.

E6 Tran Tam Tinh (1964), 176 no. 148

To Augustan Isis. Manilla Chrysa [fulfilled] her vow [willingly to the deserving deity].

Electoral notices of the worshippers of Isis (E7–8)

Both of these notices date from the last decade before the eruption. E7 was displayed on the road outside the Temple of Isis, E8 on the Stabian Street, some 50 metres from the temple.

E7 CIL IV 787 = ILS 6420b

All the worshippers of Isis call for Gnaeus Helvius Sabinnus as aedile.

E8 CIL IV 1011 = ILS 6419f

Popidius Natalis, his client, with the worshippers of Isis, call for Cuspius Pansa as aedile.

Jupiter (E9–13)

See also J40.

*Dedication to Jupiter in Greek by an Alexandrian,
April 3 BC (E9)*

A marble plaque was found in the temple of Jupiter in the Forum, which bears two inscriptions, the earlier one (E9) from 3 BC on one side in Greek, and a later Latin one (E10) on the other side. The name of the dedicator, Hephaision, and his use of the Greek language and Egyptian dating system evoke the cultural and religious customs of Alexandria. (Compare the presence of another Alexandrian at Pompeii in H80.) The date is 23 April 3 BC, using an Egyptian month and an era starting from Octavian's final victory over Antony and Cleopatra in 30 BC; the 'Emperor's day' in each month was the day on which he was born.

E9 CIL X 796

Gaius Iulius Hephaision, son of Hephaision, priest of the community of Frigi, dedicated to Jupiter Frigio in the 27th year of Caesar, in the month of Pharnouth, on the Emperor's day.

*Dedication to Jupiter on behalf of the emperor
Gaius Caligula (E10)*

Although the vast majority of inscriptions relating to the emperor Gaius Caligula in the Roman world as a whole were destroyed or had his name erased from them following his murder, he had clearly been popular at Pompeii during his reign. He was also nominated as an honorary magistrate there (E107-108). This inscription in the temple was engraved on the reverse side of E9.

E10 CIL X 796, AD 37

To Jupiter Best and Greatest. For the well-being of [Gaius] Caesar Augustus Germanicus, hailed as victorious general, chief priest, holder of tribunician power, consul, l. . . iocrus at his own expense.

A dedicatory base (E11)

This small marble base originally supported a statue in the temple. It can be dated by its use of the digamma, a letter of the alphabet revived by the emperor Claudius for a short time.

E11 CIL X 797 = ILS 5004, AD 47-54

Spurius Turanius Proculus Gellianus, son of Lucius, grandson of Spurius, great-grandson of Lucius, of the Fabian tribe; staff officer twice; prefect of the curators of the Tiber channel; prefect with the powers of a praetor in charge of jurisdiction in the city of Lavinium; 'father' of the deputation of the Laurentine people in charge of concluding the treaty with the Roman people in accordance with the Sibylline books, which relates to the rites concerned with the origins of the Roman people, the Quirites, and of the people of the Latin name, which are observed among the Laurentines; priest

of Jupiter, priest of Mars; leading member of the Salii priesthood; augur and pontiff; prefect of the Gaerulian cohort; military tribune of the tenth legion (dedicated this). Space granted by decree of the town councillors.

Other dedications to Jupiter, original context unknown (E12-13)

E13 was found during the construction of the Sarno aqueduct at the end of the sixteenth century. For Pompeian Venus see E15-20.

E12 CIL X 926

Quintus Lollius Scylax and Caldia Antiochis his mother and Marcus Calpidius Nasta, to Jupiter, fulfilled their vow willingly to the deserving god.

E13 CIL X 928 = ILS 3180

By command of Venus Fisica, Antistia Mebe, wife of Antistius Primgenius (dedicated this) to Jupiter Best and Greatest, by decree of the town councillors.

Neptune (E14)

This inscription was found outside the town, towards the shore, perhaps where there was once a temple to the sea-god.

E14 CIL X 8157

Sextus Pompeius Runa, freedman of Sexrus, to Neptune, willingly fulfilled his vow.

Pompeian Venus (E15-20)

Venus held a special place at Pompeii, as its guardian deity, and was integral to the colony's identity as *Colonia Cornelia Veneria*. Pompeian Venus is sometimes given the unique cult title Venus Fisica, which perhaps alludes to her links with nature. The title Fisica seems to be derived from *Oscan*, and is otherwise found elsewhere describing the obscure *Oscan* deity *Mefitis*. Venus is invoked to help with various endeavours, whether electoral or in matters of the heart (E15-18). The significance of the cult is also indicated by the imperial gifts mentioned in two graffiti (E19-20). Compare also D74 and E13.

E15 CIL IV 26 = ILS 6399, Republican date

I ask you to elect Numerius Barcha as *dumvir*, a good man, and may Pompeian Venus [be favourable] to your offerings.

E16 *CIL* IV 4007, I.iii.30

May you, my darling, thrive, and may you have the goodwill of Pompeian Venus.

E17 *CIL* IV 2457, Theatre corridor

Methe, slave of Cominia, from Arella, loves Cinestus. May Pompeian Venus be dear to both of them and may they always live in harmony.

E18 *CIL* IV 538 = *ILS* 5138

[On the margin, underneath a picture of the beginning and end of the fight between two gladiators]:

Whoever harms this, may he leave behind an angry Pompeian Venus.

Offerings to Pompeian Venus by Nero and Poppaea (E19-20)

Two graffiti from the House of Julius Polybus (IX.xiii.1-3) appear to record gifts sent to the town's guardian goddess by the emperor and his wife. Poppaea is said to have sent jewels including a beryl (an aquamarine gemstone from India), while Nero (referred to here as Caesar and Augustus) sent gold. On Poppaea's possible connections with Pompeii, see notes to D40-43.

E19 *AE* (1985) 283

Poppaea sent as gifts to most holy Venus a beryl, an ear-drop pearl, and a large single pearl.

E20 *AE* (1985) 284

When Caesar came to most holy Venus and when your heavenly feet brought you there, Augustus, there was a countless weight of gold.

Popular views of the gods (E21-27)

Unspecific gods sometimes appear in graffiti (E21-22). E23 gives the names of the various deities associated with the days of the week (compare H3). The symbol of a phallus (erect male organ) is commonly found in Pompeii in what seem to modern eyes as unexpected places, such as on wall plaques at street corners, or above an oven in a bakery (E24). Although it can simply be a symbol of sex, it is more often a symbol of fertility and prosperity, or of hopes for good fortune. E26 is a graffiti upon a bar counter in an inn (I.xi.2). The final graffiti (E27) shows a disappointed lover turning against the goddess Venus.

E21 *CIL* IV 6815, VI.xvi.4-5

May god always make Felix Aufidius felicitous.

E22 *CIL* IV 5370

He who disdains life will easily despise god.

E23 *CIL* IV 5202 (in Greek)

The gods' days:

Of Kronos

Of the Sun

Of the Moon

Of Ares

Of Hermes

Of Zeus

Of Aphrodite

E24 *CIL* IV 1454, in a bakery, above an oven

Here lives [phallus] good fortune.

E25 *CIL* IV 7716, III.v.1

Shitter, be on your guard against evil, or else, if you disregard this, may you incur the wrath of Jupiter.

E26 *CIL* IV 8417

The good god lives here in the house of Accl. . . J.

E27 *CIL* IV 1824, Basilica

Whoever is in love, let him come; I wish to break the ribs of Venus

With sticks and maim the goddess's loins;

If she can perforate my tender heart,

Why can I not break her head with a stick?

Cult of Mercury and Maia, and Augustus (E28-31)

Mercury and his mother Maia were worshipped somewhere in Pompeii by an association of freedmen and slaves, under the authority of the local town council. Inscribed plaques, which can be dated to 14 BC and then 2 BC, show how the emperor gradually infiltrated the cult during this period. First of all, Mercury and Maia appear by themselves, then Augustus appears alongside them, and finally Augustus is named by himself. For later dedications, see also *CIL* X 891 (AD 1), X 892 (AD 3), X 895 (AD 23), X 899 (AD 32), X 901 (AD 34), X 902 (AD 34).

E28 *CIL X 885*, 14 BC

[Marcus] Sirtius Papia, freedman of Marcus, (set this up as) sacred to Mercury and Maia in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, by command of Marcus Melsonius, son of Aulus, for the second time, and Publius Rogius Varus, son of Publius, duumvirs with judicial power; and of Numerius Paccius Chilo, son of Numerius, and Marcus Ninnus Pollio, son of Marcus, duumvirs in charge of streets, sacred and public buildings, in the consulship of [Marcus] Crassus and Gnaeus Lentulus.

E29 *CIL X 886 = ILS 6389*, 14 BC

Marcus Sirtius Sertapa, freedman of Marcus, (set this up as) sacred to Mercury and Maia in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, by command of Publius Rogius Varus, son of Publius, and Marcus Melsonius, son of Aulus, for the second time, duumvirs with judicial power; and of Numerius Paccius Chilo, son of Numerius, and Marcus Ninnus Pollio, son of Marcus, duumvirs in charge of streets, sacred and public buildings, [in the consulship of] Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Lentulus.

E30 *CIL X 888 = ILS 6390*

Gratus, slave of Arrius, Messius Arrius Inventus; Memor, slave of Isracidius, attendants of Augustus, Mercury, and Maia, [in accordance with a] decree of the town councillors, by command of [. . .]

E31 *CIL X 890 = ILS 6391*, 2 BC

Aulus Veius Phylax, Numerius Popidius Moschus, Titus Mescinius Amphio, Primus, slave of Marcus Arruntius, attendants of Augustus, in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, by command of Marcus Holconius Rufus, for the fourth time, and Aulus Clodius Flaccus, for the third time, duumvirs with judicial power, and of Publius Caesetius Postumus and Numerius Tintorius Rufus, duumvirs in charge of streets, sacred and public buildings, in the consulship of Imperator Caesar for the thirteenth time and [Marcus Plautius] Silvanus.

Temple of Augustan Fortune (E32-37)

At the start of the first century AD, a member of the local elite, Marcus Tullius, paid for the building of a temple to Augustan Fortune on land owned by him near the centre of the town, just north of the Forum. Together with the erection of a monumental arch just beside it and a portico along the street leading up to it, the overall effect was of extending the monumental centre of the town beyond the Forum itself. He marked off the land that

still remained his private property by means of a small *rud* marker beside the temple, to the south. At the end of his life, Tullius' contribution to the town was acknowledged by the councillors, who set up a seat-tomb to him just outside the Strabian Gate (G6).

The cult provided a focus of loyalty towards the imperial regime by freedmen and slaves, who served as its presidents (*magistri*) and attendants (*ministri*), in a similar way to the organization of the cult of Mercury, Maia and Augustus, and of district shrines (E28-31, E61-67). An inscription reveals that it was a requirement of the cult's regulations that the attendants (*ministri*) set up a statue (of what, is not clear), perhaps each year. As with the cult of Mercury, Maia and Augustus, the town councillors had overall authority for the cult. Many of the cult's bases have been found reused in various parts of the town, but some were found in the temple itself.

The construction of the temple, c.AD 3 (E32-33)

E32 is the temple's dedicatory inscription; E33 is the boundary marker of volcanic stone, dividing off land donated by Marcus Tullius to the town from his private property.

E32 *CIL X 820 = ILS 5398*

Marcus Tullius, son of Marcus, duumvir with judicial power three times, quinquennial, augur, military tribune by popular demand, (built) the Temple of Augustan Fortune on his own land and at his own expense.

E33 *CIL X 821 = ILS 5398a*

Private land of Marcus Tullius, son of Marcus.

Bases dedicated by the attendants of Augustan Fortune (E34-37)

The first two bases were found in the temple itself. E34 is the earliest statue base set up by attendants (*ministri*) of the cult, in AD 3. E35, which does not conform to the pattern of the others, refers to a 'law', the regulations laid down for the cult when it was first established. It is rather poorly inscribed, with several errors in its carving: in the consular date, for instance, the text gives 'P[lan]tilio' instead of 'P[lan]tio'. On the upper surface of the base is a hollow in the shape of a foot, indicating that it originally bore a metal statue. Other bases were found reused in different parts of the town (E36-37).

E34 *CIL X 824 = ILS 6382*, AD 3

Agathernus, slave of Veritius; Suvavis, slave of Caesia Prima; Porhus, slave of Numitor; Anteros, slave of Lactulianus, the first attendants (*ministri*) of Augustan Fortune, by command of Marcus Staius Rufus and Gnaeus Melisseus, duumvirs with judicial power, in the consulship of Publius Silius and Lucius Volusius Saturninus.

E35 *CIL X 825 = ILS 6385, AD 45*

During the consulship of Taurus Statilius and Tiberius Plautius Aelianus, Lucius Statius Faustus instead of the statue which in accordance with the law of the attendants (*ministri*) of Augustan Fortune he was required to set up, on the proposal of Quintus Pompeius Amethysus, quaestor, they decreed that he should set up two marble bases instead of a statue.

E36 *CIL X 826 = ILS 6383, AD 56*

Marcellis, slave of Gaius Olius Primus; Mannius Salarius Crocus; Primitigenius, slave of Gaius Olius Primus, attendants of Augustan Fortune; by command of Quintus Postumius Modestus and Gaius Vibius Secundus, duumvirs with judicial power, and of Gaius Memmius Iunianus and Quintus Bruttius Balbus, aediles, in the consulship of Lucius Djuvius and Publius Clodius.

E37 *CIL X 827 = ILS 6384*

Lucius Numisius Primus, Lucius Numisius Opatus, Lucius Melissaeus Plocamus, attendants of Augustan Fortune; in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, by command of Lucius Iulius Ponticus and Publius Gavius Pastor, duumvirs with judicial power, and of Quintus Poppaeus and Gaius Vibius, aediles, in the consulship of Quintus Furius and Publius Calvisius.

Emperor-worship (E38)

A small temple on the east side of the Forum has been identified as a temple for emperor-worship on the basis of the iconography of its marble altar (E38). It displays images closely associated with the emperor Augustus, and probably dates from his reign, although a Flavian date has also been suggested for it in the past. See further Dobbins (1992).

It is possible that the attendants of the cult of Augustus that developed out of the cult of Mercury and Maia (E30-31) were the assistants to the priests of Augustus. Holconius Rufus and Holconius Celer were both priests of Augustus during the emperor's lifetime (D33-55), and other imperial priests for later emperors are also known, including Lucretius Sarius Valens (perpetual priest of Nero when designated successor, D11-15) and Allectus Nigidius Meius (priest of Vespasian, D23). Otherwise, the tombs of several wealthy individuals emphasize their role as *Augustales* (G36-49), who were probably also involved in emperor-worship, but whose meeting place remains unidentified at Pompeii.

Altar for the Emperor in the Forum (E38)

This altar is probably Augustan. Its main (west) scene (E38a), facing the entrance to the sanctuary, portrays a sacrifice of a bull, an animal often used in emperor-worship. In detail, what we see is a priest with veiled head offering a libation (liquid offering) at a tripod altar, accompanied by attendants (including a flute-player and the slave who actually does the killing - *victimarius* - carrying an axe), leading the bull to sacrifice in front of a temple with four columns, which is partially covered by drapery. On the altar's east side is a 'civic crown', a wreath made up of oak leaves, awarded at Rome for saving citizens' lives, upon a shield, flanked by laurel trees. This scene reflects the honours granted by the Senate to Augustus in 27 BC. On the north and south sides are depicted sacrificial implements and priestly symbols beneath garlands of fruit hanging from skeletal ox-heads (*Urocrania*): on the north, a libation dish (*gantra*), ladle (*simpulum*) and jug (*urneae*); on the south (E38b), a hand-towel (*manuale*), incense-box (*thasura*), and curved augur's staff (*lituus*).

Plate 5.1 E38a Altar for the Emperor: scene of bull sacrifice

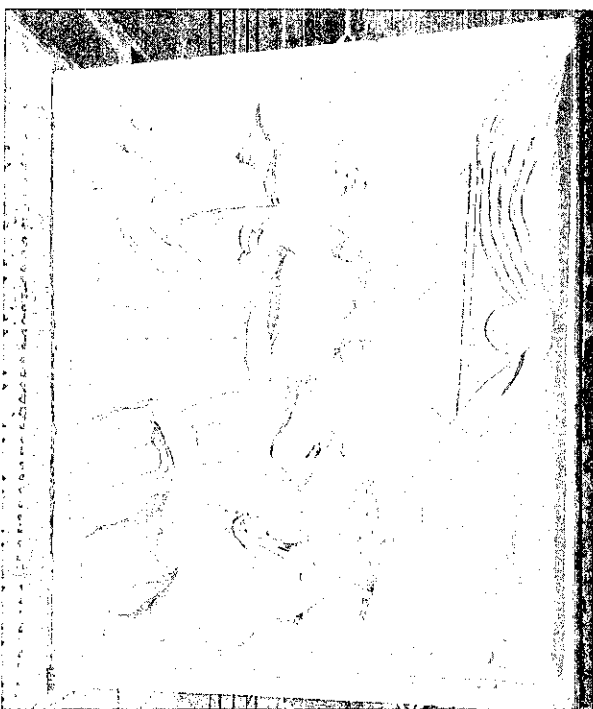
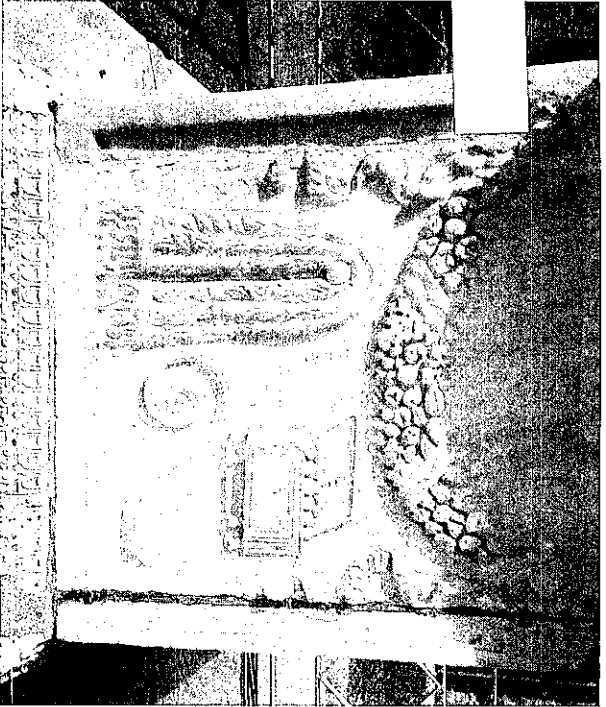


Plate 5.2 E38b Altar for the Emperor: sacrificial paraphernalia



Public priestesses (E39–50)

Public priestesses associated with the cults of Venus and Ceres acted as generous benefactors towards the town. Two of them – Mamma (E39–40) and Eumachia (E41–47) – made particularly significant contributions to the development of the east side of the Forum. A Holconia (possibly the daughter of Holconius Rufus or Celer) was honoured publicly with a stamne (E48). Alleia, the daughter of Alleius Nigidius Maus, was a public priestess in the Neronian period (E49) and has been suggested as a candidate for a statue of this period found in the market, or Macellum (E50). For the family of Alleia Decimilla, see R87.

Mamma (E39–40)

Temple building (E39)

This large inscription commemorating the construction of a building is thought to belong to the temple adjacent to Eumachia's Building on the east side of the Forum, often called

the 'Temple of Vespasian'. The temple in question has long been interpreted as being that of the *genius* of Augustus, but Gaudel (1992) has argued that instead the temple was dedicated to the *genius* of the colony.

E39 CIL X 816

Mamma, daughter of Publius, public priestess, [built this] to the *genius* [of the colony] of Augustus] on her own land and at [her own] expense.

Tomb (E40)

At her death, Mamma was honoured with a seat-tomb outside the Herculaneum Gate (tomb 4 left). This imposing type of monument – designed to allow the passer-by to sit down for a while – was exclusively granted at Pompeii by the town council to public benefactors in recognition of their services to the town. Compare G4–9.

Plate 5.3 E40a Mamma's tomb



E40b CIL X 998 = ILS 6369

To Mamma, daughter of Publius, public priestess, a place for burial was given by decree of the town councillors.

Eumachia (E41-47)

Eumachia's Building in the Forum (E41-45)

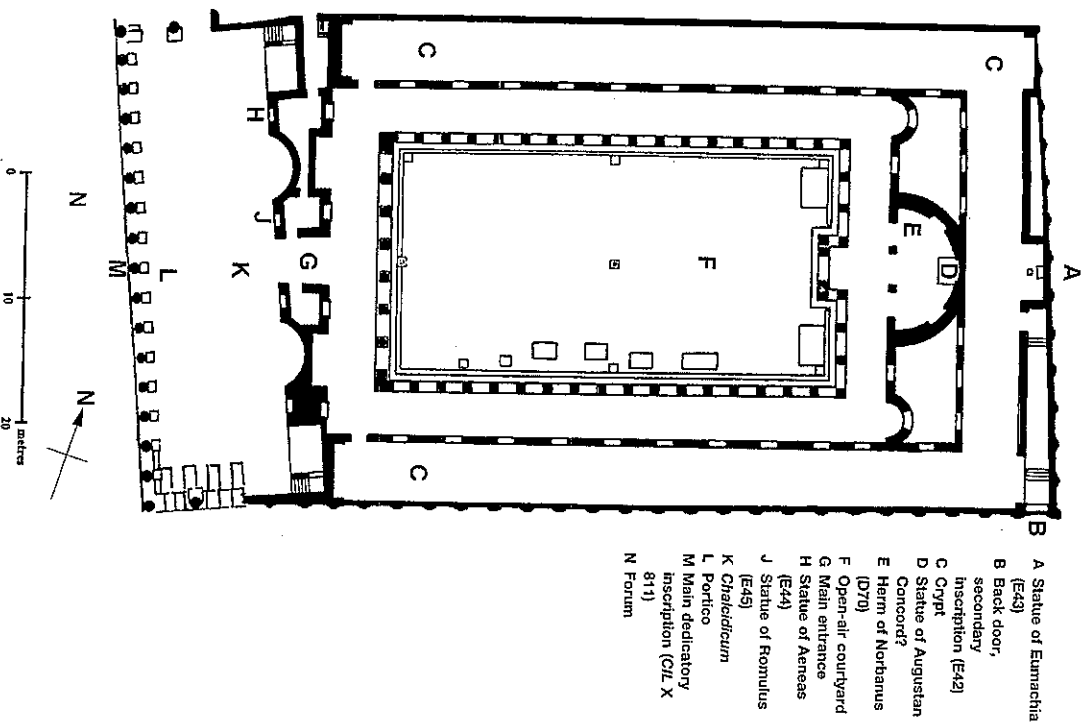
Eumachia built a grandiose building on the east side of the Forum. This replaced some shops and private houses flanking the Forum. She recorded her benefaction in two dedicatory inscriptions, one found complete at the back entrance to the building on the Street of Abundance (E42), the other (a much grander inscription incorporated above the portico, overlooking the Forum) preserved only in fragments (CIL X 811). The back-door inscription is itself a substantial chunk of marble, which had previously been used for an inscription (CIL X 959), but it was recut so that its reverse could be used for Eumachia's text.

The date of the building is the early first century AD, in the late Augustan or Tiberian period, perhaps after the rededication of the Roman Forum's Temple of Concord to Augustan Concord at Rome in AD 10. A Marcus Numistrius Fronto was damnvir in AD 3 (CIL X 692), but he is more likely to have been Eumachia's husband, who was perhaps deceased by the time of the building, than her son, who is mentioned in the inscription.

A statue of Eumachia was found complete with its inscribed base in a purpose-built niche towards the rear of her building (E43). It depicts her dressed in tunic, *stola* and cloak, with an idealizing portrait (NM inv. 6232).

The function of the building is disputed. Its inscription shows that the building was dedicated to Augustan Concord and Piety, perhaps in imitation of Livia, who built a temple (E44) and Romulus (E45) also imitate monuments at Rome, namely the statues set up in the Forum of Augustus. The iconography of these statues was apparently familiar at Pompeii, appearing in paintings on the Street of Abundance. Romulus was depicted brandishing the *spolia opima* (an award made to a general who had killed in battle the leader of the enemy), and Aeneas leading his family to safety from Troy, holding his son Ascanius by the hand, while carrying his father Anchises on his shoulders. This family group was even parodied in a painting showing them as human figures with dogs' heads, and large phaluses. The highly elaborate door-frame, with its acanthus scrolls inhabited by tiny animals, which recalls the frieze on the Altar of Augustan Peace at Rome, was actually put in place here in modern times. It does not fit this particular entrance, and may in fact belong to the adjacent temple. Even without this, the Augustan programme of decoration is still fairly extensive. Fragments of a statue of Augustan Concord were found in the large central niche opposite the building's main entrance from the Forum. The discovery of Eumachia's statue set up by the fallers has led some to argue that her building served as headquarters for the fallers. It seems unlikely that the rather noxious falling process itself took place in such a grand edifice, despite the claim that basins were found in the building's courtyard. If these basins did exist, they may well have been related to the rebuilding work in progress in AD 79 (J46). No clear picture emerges of what the building was used for, and indeed it may well have served a variety of functions.

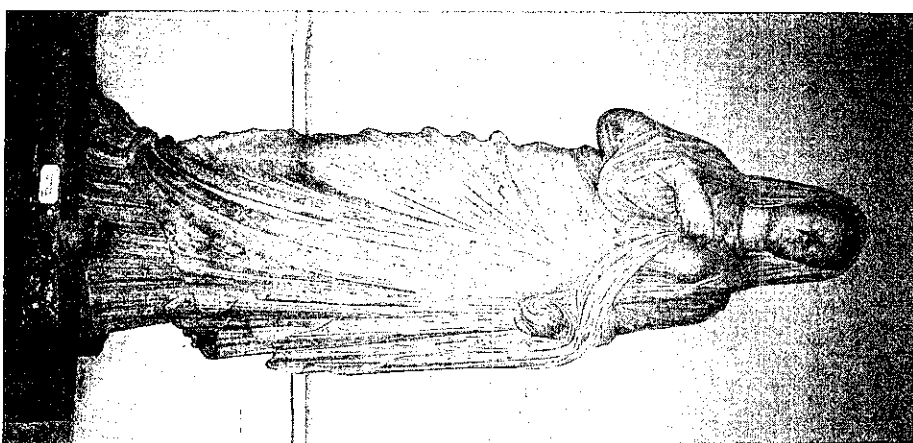
Figure 5.2 E41 Plan of Eumachia's Building



E42 *CIL X 810 = ILS 3785*

Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, public priestess, in her own name and that of her son, Marcus Numistrius Fronto, built at her own expense the *chalcidicum*, *crypte* and *portico* in honour of Augustan Concord and Piety and also dedicated them.

Plate 5.4 E43a Statue of Eumachia



100

E43b *CIL X 813 = ILS 6368*

To Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, public priestess; the fullers (see this up).

E44 *CIL X 808 + 8348 = ILS 63*

Aeneas, [son] of Venus and Anchises, [led] into Italy the Trojans who had survived when Troy was captured [and burnt . . . [three lines lost here] . . .], founded [the town of Lavinium and reigned there] for three years; in the Laurentine war he did not disappear, and [was called] Father Indigens, and was received among the company of the gods.

E45 *CIL X 809 = ILS 64*

Romulus, son of Mars, founded the city of Rome and reigned for 38 years; he was the first general to dedicate the enemy spoils (*spolia opima*) to Jupiter Feretrius, having slain the enemy's general, King Acro of the Caeninenses, and, having been received among the company of the gods, was called Quirinus.

Another gift by Eumachia (E46)

An inscribed plaque records another gift to the town by Eumachia, but we know neither the nature of the statue nor its original context.

E46 *AE (1992), 277*

Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, (set up this) statue.

Eumachia's tomb (E47)

Eumachia's tomb inscription is deceptively unimpressive, given that it belongs to the biggest tomb found so far. The tomb was architecturally lavish, and reproduced the basic arrangement of a *sest-tomb* (see E40, G4-9), but on a much larger scale (see further, G15-19).

E47 D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) 110S

Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, for herself and her family.

Holconia (E48)

This inscription accompanied an honorific statue to Holconia, which was probably part of an arch honouring her family; at the crossroads outside the Stabian Baths, where a statue base and statue in honour of Holconius Rufus were also found (E89).

E48 *CIL X 950/1*

To Holconia, daughter of Marcus, public priestess.

101

Alaia (E49)

E49 EE VIII 855

of Matus, priestess of Venus and Ceres, to herself, in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, with [public] money.

Statue of a local priestess, from the Macellum (E50)

Although the identity of this woman is unknown, her position as a priestess is indicated by her veiled head, her olive-wreath and her holding a libation-dish (*patena*) and an incense-box. Her hairstyle suggests a Neonian date. In another niche of the same building was found a heroic semi-nude statue of a young man.

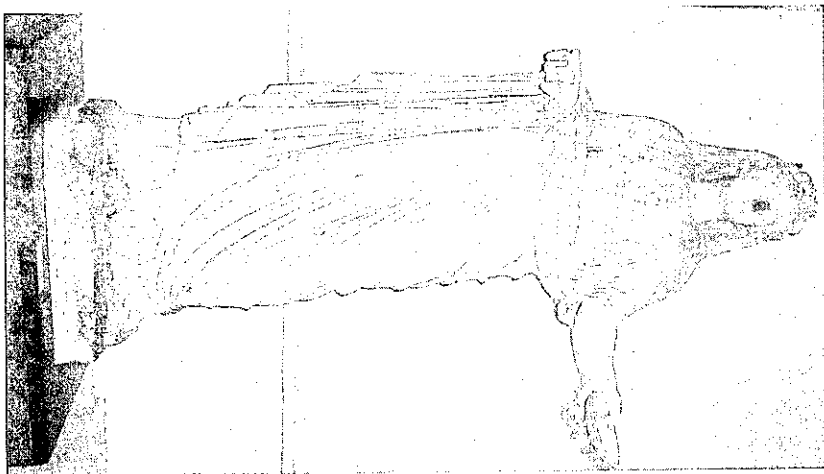


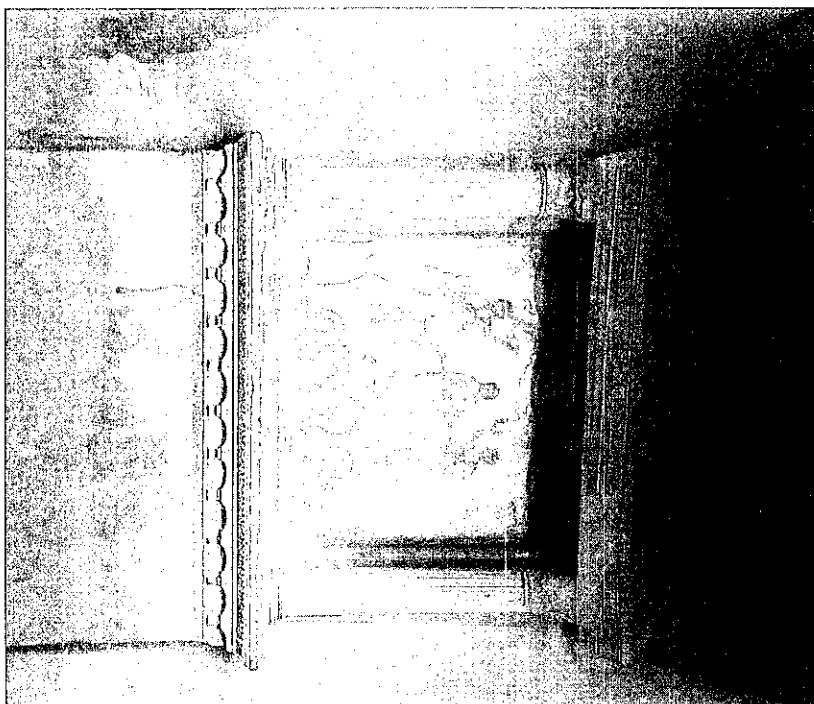
Plate 5.5 E50 Statue of a local priestess

102

Cults in the home (E51-57)

Shrine of the household gods (lararium), House of the Vertii (E51)

Many houses had a shrine in their main reception room (*atrium*) or kitchen. This example, from the House of the Vertii is particularly lavish; it is located in a secondary *atrium* next to the kitchen. In the pediment can be seen a libation dish (*patena*) at the centre, a knife to the right, and a skeletal ox-head to the left. Below, in the painting, at the centre appears the figure of the *genius*, dressed in a toga, with veiled head. He is carrying a libation dish (*patena*) in his right hand and incense-box in his left. On either side of him the *Lares* (household gods) appear as youthful male figures dressed in tunics, carrying drinking-horns and a wine bucket. At the bottom a snake slithers towards offerings upon a small altar.

Plate 5.6 E51 House of the Vertii, *lararium*

103

Vows on household shrines (E52-53)

These vows were probably all offered by slaves or freedmen. E52 accompanies an elaborately painted shrine, which depicts a *genius* sacrificing at an altar, around which a snake entwines itself. On either side appear *Lares*. E53, a painted inscription inside a placard, appears on a household shrine in a kitchen. Painted upon the shrine are a figure pouring, the *Lares* pouring libations and a snake.

E52 AE (1985) 285, House of Gaius Iulius Polybius (IX.xiii.1-3)

For the well-being, return, and victory of Gaius Iulius Philippus. Publius Cornelius Felix and Vitalis, slave of Cuspius, made a vow here to the household gods.

E53 CIL IV 9887, II.iv.13

Felix [made] a vow to the household gods (*Lares*).

The genius of the household's master (54-57)

In addition to worshipping the household gods, members of the household also offerings to the *genius* (divine spirit) of the master of the household (*genefamilias*). E54 is inscribed upon a marble plaque incorporated into the household shrine. A herm (portrait bust set upon a short marble column) located in the main reception room (*atrium*) or the household shrine itself might provide a focal point for such ceremonies (E55-57).

E54 CIL X 861 = ILS 3641, IX.i.20

To the *genius* of our Marcus and to the *Lares*. The two Diadumeni, freedmen (see this up).

Herm of Lucius in the House of Caecilius Lucundus (E55)

Two herms were found in the *atrium* of the House of Caecilius Lucundus (V.i.26), one on either side of the doorway into the *tablinum*, opposite the main entrance to the house. One of these was found together with its bronze portrait bust still intact, and bronze genitalia beneath (NM inv. 110663). The portrait depicts an ageing man, with a prominent wart, and is thought to date from the Augustan period. His identity is problematic. It could be the father of the banker Lucius Caecilius Lucundus, whose name was Lucius Caecilius Felix, and who was alive in the Augustan era. Alternatively, the freedman Felix who set up the portrait might himself be the banker's father. In this case, we should imagine that Felix was a favoured freedman who eventually became his ex-master's heir. For other finds from this house, see C3, D77, F17, H69-82.

Plate 5.7 E55a Herm of Lucius



E55b *CIL X 860 = ILS 3640*To the *genius* of our Lucius Felix, freedman (set this up).E56 *CIL X 864, VIII.ii.14-16*

To Gaius Cornelius Rufus.

E57 *CIL X 865, VI.xiv.20*

To our Primus Arterios, treasurer (set this up).

Visions and vows (E58-60)

Individuals might choose to set up monuments to commemorate particular religious experiences. E58 is a thin marble plaque affixed to an altar in a shop. IX.1.25. E59 was inscribed upon a small marble altar. E60 accompanied a painting of Isis.

E58 *CIL X 930*

Pacuvius Erasistratus, after a vision.

E59 *CIL X 863, VII.xii.26*

Antiochus fulfilled his vow.

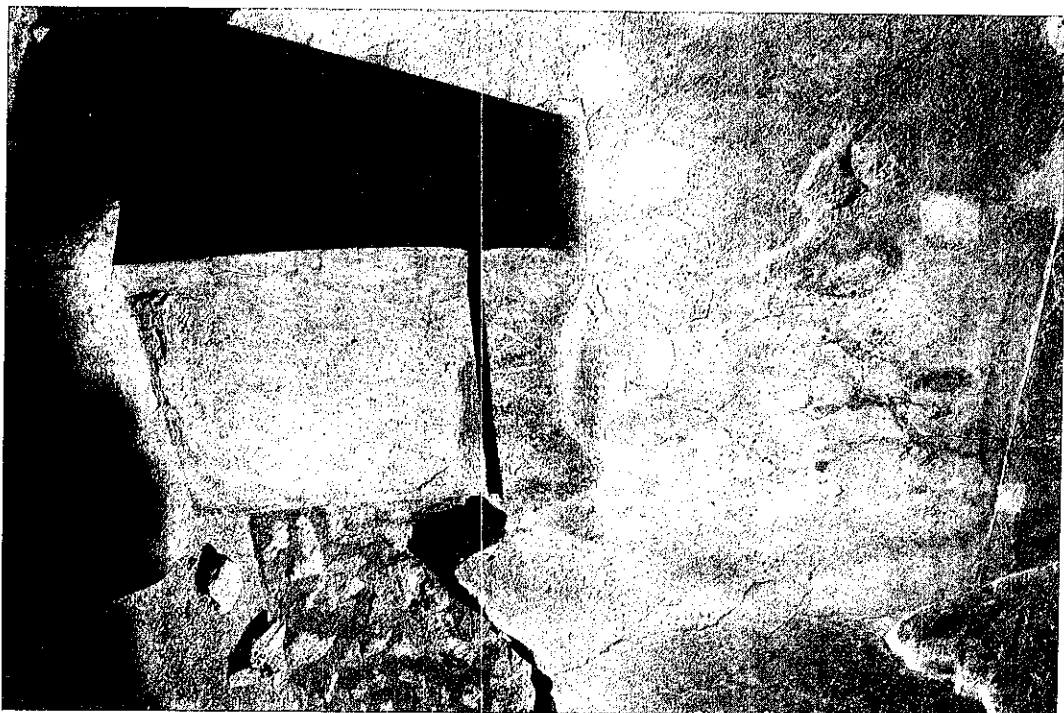
E60 *CIL IV 882*

Ptolecallus fulfilled his vow willingly to the deserving deity.

Crossroad shrines to the *Lares* (E61-67)

Pompeii was divided up into districts, each of which had a shrine to the guardian gods of the neighbourhood (the *Lares*). These shrines are generally located at street corners on main roads, or at junctions onto main roads. Over thirty such shrines have been identified in the town. The cults were tended by low-status individuals appointed annually, often freedmen presidents (*magistri*) and their slave attendants (*ministri*). The actual shrine can consist of any combination of an altar, niche and chapel. Most often, remains are found of the paintings accompanying the shrine. Typical themes include the *Lares* holding up drinking-cups, four figures (probably the *magistri*) carrying out a sacrifice, a snake representing the location's divine spirit (*genius loci*) and attendants of the sacrifice, such as a flute-player or incense-carrier. Inscriptions alongside shrines are more rarely found, but can include lists of the neighbourhood's officials presiding over the cult.

Plate 5.8 E61 District shrine on street corner, between I.xi and I.ix



Lists of local district officials (E62-64)

E62 is an inscription painted on a house front along the Street of Abundance near the Forum. It gives the names of the neighbourhood officials in charge of the crossroad cult for the years 47 and 46 B.C. It may originally have been situated next to an altar, but no trace of one remains. It is painted in small black letters on a block of tufa covered by plaster and was not visible in AD 79. After excavation, however, once the plaster became exposed to the elements, it gradually peeled off, eventually revealing this inscription beneath. It is highly unusual for such an old painted inscription to be preserved. Other partially preserved lists of names of neighbourhood presidents have also been found painted at crossroads (CIL IV 7807, 7425, 7853).

E63 is written with charcoal inside a placard, above an altar fixed to a wall situated at the corner of I.xi. It gives the names of the local district officials, or more probably their attendants, in charge of the cult. Below the text were pictures relating to the cult, with two snakes below, and above two *Lares* with drinking-cups next to a figure sacrificing. Its excavators could discern five layers of painting, which indicates that the shrine's painting was renewed over a period of some years. On the upper surface of the altar itself were found considerable quantities of ash and wood, perhaps the remnants of burnt offerings.

E64 is a painted placard containing the names of the presidents of this crossroad cult who appear to be slaves. It accompanies an altar and painting on a corner of the Street of Abundance. The painting depicts a snake below, approaching offerings, and a sacrifice by the cult's officials at an altar, flanked by two *Lares*. Above appears the inscription in a placard.

E62 CIL IV 60 = ILS 6375

During the year when Gaius Julius Caesar was dictator for the second time and Marcus Antonius was master of the horse [47 B.C], the presidents of the neighbourhood and of the crossroads: Marcus Blatius, son of Marcus; Marcus Cetrinius, son of Marcus; Marcus Sepullius L. J.; L. J.; Quintus Prae. J.; Gaius Cornelius . . . J.; L. J.; Publius Ruf. Jius, slave of L. J.; Salvius El. Jro, slave of Marcus.

During the consulship of [Gaius Caesjar and Marcus Lepidus [46 B.C]: L. J Blatius, son of Marcus; Gaius Ernartorius, son of Publius; Marcus Titius Plutus, freedman of Marcus; Marcus Sronnius Nicl. . . Jo, freedman of Marcus; Marcus Oppius Aestl. . J, freedman of Spurius; Gaius Cepidius L. J of Gaius; L. J.

E63 CIL IV 7425, II.1

Primigenius, slave of Caeseria; Strabonus, slave of Numerius Maro; Chius, slave of Gaius Virius Primigenius.

E64 CIL IV 7855

Successus, Victor, Axclepiades, Cosstas.

Dedications and requests (E65-67)

As well as lists of cult officials, some crossroad shrines have preserved various dedications and requests. E65 is painted above an altar at a street corner, where there is a painting of two horns-of-plenty and a gaidard. E66 (see also Plate 5.8) appears to the left of a street-corner shrine, where a painting of a *Lar* and a snake can still be faintly seen. On top of the altar were found the carbonized remains of a sacrifice of a chicken. E67 is inscribed upon a bronze plaque, which was originally affixed to a wall.

E65 CIL IV 3774 = ILS 3822, IX.viii.8

Sacred to Well-being:

E66 CIL IV 8426, I.xi

By the sacred Lares, I ask you . . .

E67 CIL X 927

Agathemerns and Heracla presidents of the Lares, gave as a gift.

Jews (E68-71)

An inscription written in Hebrew (E68) seems to record the sale of something by three men to a fourth. An inscription in Greek letters on an *amphora* (E69) records a slave of a master known as Judaeus (i.e. 'The Jew' / 'From Judaea?'). Jewish names appear in contexts which suggest Jewish slave-girls: a Maria is listed among a group of textile workers (CIL IV 1507) and supporting Helvius Sabirius (E558), and a Marria at D97.

Pottery has also been found with labels which probably indicate kosher food. Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 31.95) tells us that special (*tastiniamina*) garum is made from fish without scales for religious and Jewish rites. Several pottery vessels labelled 'garum cast' have been found (E70). Finally, E71, inscribed in large letters, before Pompeii's destruction, was written by someone with knowledge of the Old Testament (*Genesis* 13.13 and 18-19), perhaps in criticism of the morality of Pompeii. The story in *Genesis* culminates in 19.24 with 'Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven.' Some of the evidence mentioned here (and see also more to D85) could apply to early Christians, but no unequivocal evidence has been found of Christianity at Pompeii.

E68 CIL IV 8010 = CIJ 562

Sold by Karl. . J, Jesus, Shadan(ham?) son (?) of Lemanth, to Vergaz . . . what is beneath the baths.

E69 CIL IV 6990 (*amphora*)

Felix, slave of Judaeus.