

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

ENTERTAINMENT
AT POMPEII

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(Eds)
The World of Pompeii

Mau-Kelsey remains a fundamental resource on the buildings in Pompeii dedicated to public entertainment since no complete archaeological investigations of these buildings were undertaken in the twentieth century. All, however, have been the subject of individual studies devoted to the epigraphical evidence and analysis of the standing structures. In 1906, Mau published a detailed study of the theater, while Girioti treated the architecture of the amphitheater in 1932.¹ In the late 1940s and the 1950s, Spano wrote essays on the amphitheater as well as the *theatrum testium*, whose roof Murolo sought to reconstruct.² Only a handful of soundings have been made into pre-AD 79 levels. Mau's excavations in the orchestra of the theater revealed a series of basins evidently used for aquatic displays (*spartiones*) in Imperial times while Mauri exposed the remains of an earlier *cavea*.³ In the 1970s, De Franciscis laid trenches in and around the amphitheater, the results of which remain largely unpublished.⁴ The most significant discovery occurred in the mid-1930s when Mauri cleared the "Palestra Grande," a building whose existence already had been indicated by its depiction in the famous painting commemorating the riot of AD 59 in the amphitheater.⁵ The trend in more recent studies has been to place these monuments within their social and historical context, especially for the pivotal periods of the Sullan colony and the Augustan era, but while these may enhance and clarify the work of Mau-Kelsey, none have superseded it.⁶

As the first permanent auditorium, the theater fulfilled a variety of functions in the life of the Samnite city, from serving as the site for dramatic presentations and games to holding assemblies of the people.⁷ The theater was first laid out in the early second century BC on a natural declivity along the southern edge of the city.⁸ In its original plan it was little more than a semicircular *cavea* with wooden seating, a horseshoe-shaped orchestra, and a simple detached stage, though subsequent modifications and restorations have obscured most traces of this earliest phase. Its setting meant that the upper tiers of seats stood level with the adjacent Triangular Forum, whose porticoed entrance and colonnade were designed to function as a kind of monumental foyer to the theater, especially during the ceremonial processions (*pompa*) associated with festivals. While spectators defiled from the colonnade of the Triangular Forum toward their seats, magistrates and officians could continue down a large

stairway to a point behind the stage, and then parade through the *paradoi* into the orchestra and to their seats.

Changes in the social and political makeup of the city caused by the arrival of the Sullan colonists in the 80s BC were reflected as well in the transformation of its public spaces. While much has been made of Cicero's notice (*Pro Sulla* 60-62) about tensions between the native population and the colonists who took control of the city, the architectural evidence suggests an atmosphere of mutual tolerance in which the new leaders practiced a diplomatic blend of a victor's right of imposition with a realist's sense of compromise in the interest of coexistence. If the amphitheater served the more militaristic interests of the veterans who made up the colonists, the small roofed theater was a response to the natives' fascination with Hellenistic culture. Both buildings elevated Pompeii's image as a cultural mecca in this region as it ousted its neighbors in the sheer number of its facilities for entertainment, and, as a consequence, both also enhanced the social and economic development of the entire city in significant ways.

The building identified as a *theatrum testium* in its dedicatory inscription (*CIL* X, 814) was an architectural innovation, its design modeled after the *bouleuteria* of Hellenistic cities but its construction essentially Roman with Samnite flourishes.⁹ Though built adjacent to the old theater and reaching roughly the same height, its thick outer walls retain a masonry core for the *cavea*, making it an early example of what would become the canonical free-standing Roman theater (Figure 14.1).

The *theatrum testium*'s design, together with the inscription, help date construction securely to the early years of the colony. Its rectilinear plan was laid out in Roman

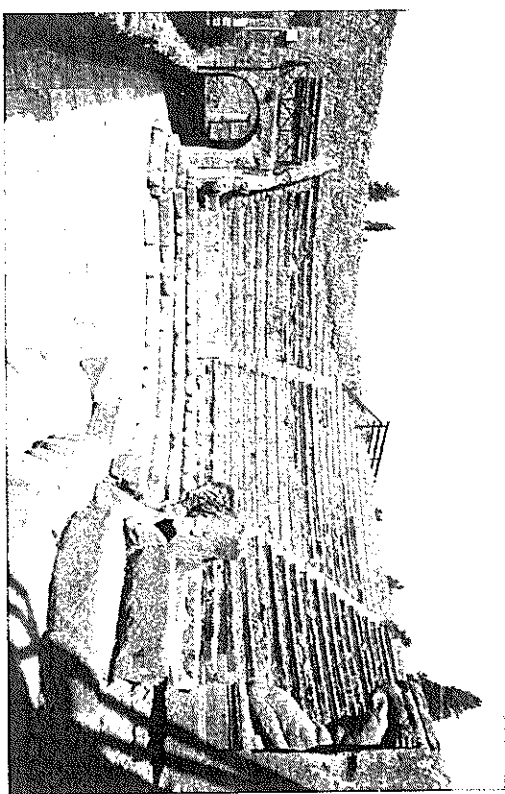


Figure 14.1 View of the orchestra and *cavea* of the *theatrum testium* in Pompeii (VIII.7.16-20). The west tribunal is at the left; note the Telamones figures at the ends of the *anaktomata* at the left and in the foreground, right. View from just inside the east *paradoi*. Photo: J. J. Dobkins.

feet, and *opus quasi reticulatum* and brickwork quoining were used in the construction (Figure 8.11). Of the two *theatru*, the Roman magistrates responsible for letting the building contract and approving the work, one was C. Quinctius Valgus, a wealthy M. Porcius who appears on several monuments datable to this same period. Yet the kneeling *telamones* adorning the ends of the *amulemnia* first appeared in the earlier Samnite theater at Pietrabbondante, as did the winged lions' paws carved at the ends of the balustrade of upright *rufa* slabs that divides the four rows of the *ima cavea* of carved *rufa*. Two stairs, reached from a corridor behind the building, deposited the bulk of the spectators at the top of *cavea*. Special box seats (*tribunalia*) for organizers over, as was done in the theater as well. The building's thicker east and west walls supported crusses that carried a pitched roof and were pierced with windows along the top to help light the interior.¹⁰

Such an elegant structure could not have been intended to serve the interests of the veterans alone by functioning solely as a kind of reunion hall where they could assemble independently from the natives; the spacious stage and the use of the term *theatrum* in the inscriptions both argue against such a limited function.¹¹ Its fusion of cultural traits suggests instead that it sought to acknowledge, as well as to serve, the interests of the entire community. It could be used on any occasion that required a setting that was both free from exposure to the elements and more intimate than that offered by the open-air theater.

In contrast, the amphitheater served a specific function which required a building of relatively simple, but purely Roman, design (Figure 14.2).¹² It dates to the quinquennial divorce of the same two individuals who oversaw construction of the *theatrum tertium*, though Valgus and Porcius claim in the building inscriptions (*CIL* X, 852) that they built what they termed a SPECTACULA with their own funds and gave the site in perpetuity to the colonists, by which they meant all Pompeians. The year of their office is generally fixed as 70 BC, to coincide with the censorial year in Rome, making this the oldest standing amphitheater in the Roman world.

The site chosen for its construction, in the southeast corner of the city inside the walls, featured relatively flat land that was encumbered by few existing structures (Figure 23.1).¹³ Though stratigraphical studies have yet to determine the exact appearance of the amphitheater in its earliest phase, it is likely to have been simply a great oval bowl of earth, created by excavating out the area for the arena and supporting the sloped fill in part with the existing city walls and elsewhere by a retaining wall reinforced by buttresses connected by arches. The arena stands some 6 m below the level of the ground outside and has none of the substructures seen in amphitheaters of later date. The built structures within the earthen *cavea* probably were limited to vaulted corridors cut through the fill that provided access to the arena, perhaps only the two main corridors on the north and southwest façades above whose entrances stood the dedicatory inscriptions. Since the slope of the *cavea* was too steep for spectators to sit comfortably on the earth itself, the seating would have consisted entirely of wooden bleachers accessed from the top by means of six stone stairways built onto the building's façade, a design recalling that of the *theatrum tertium*.

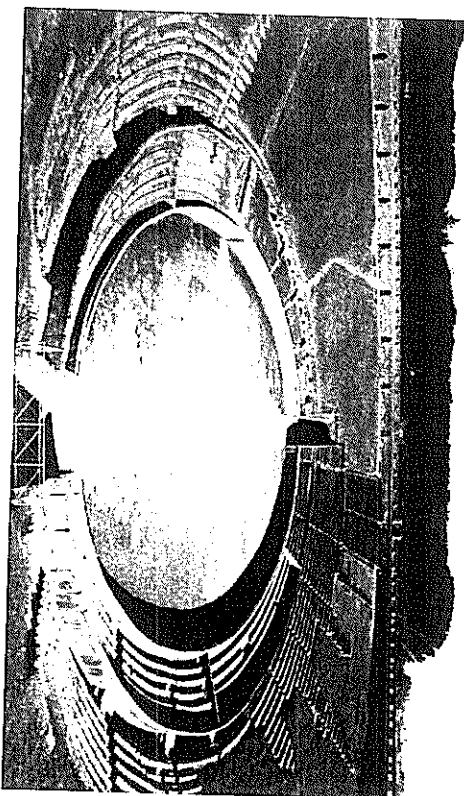


Figure 14.2 The amphitheater of Pompeii (III.6). The arena is in the center. Portions of the original *rufa* seating in the *cavea* are visible on the right. View from the south.

No other city in the Vesuvian landscape, with the possible exception of Naples, could boast of having two theaters and an amphitheater already in the early first century BC. Nuceria, Pompeii's closest neighbor and biggest rival, had only a single theater, while its amphitheater may only be Neronian in date. Sarno had only a theater, and Puteoli only an amphitheater, while Surturnum and Capua had both. Even Rome's first permanent theater, the free-standing Theater of Pompey, dates only to 55 BC, while Statilius Taurus built Rome's first stone amphitheater only in 29 BC. Residents from the numerous small towns and villas throughout the Sarno valley flocked to Pompeii on festival days to enjoy a variety of entertainment that ranged from the local *fabulae Atellanae* and mime performed in the theaters, to gladiatorial shows and animal hunts (*venationes*) in the *spectacula*. These three basic structures would serve Pompeii until its destruction, though over time each underwent modifications and restorations.

The Augustan era, with its emphasis on urbanization and civic beneficence, brought the most significant changes to the physical appearance of these buildings. The theater acquired a considerably more monumental appearance, due in large part to M. Holconius Rufus, the most distinguished Pompeian of this period (cf. Ling, Ch. 9). Together to provide a more suitable setting for the *theatru*, they reverted the *ima cavea* in marble *paradoi* they added *tribunalia* similar to those in the *theatrum tertium*, while behind the existing *cavea* they constructed a *crypta*, evidently the vaulted, annular corridor that supported a *summa cavea* of wooden bleachers and presented a new two-storied, arcaded

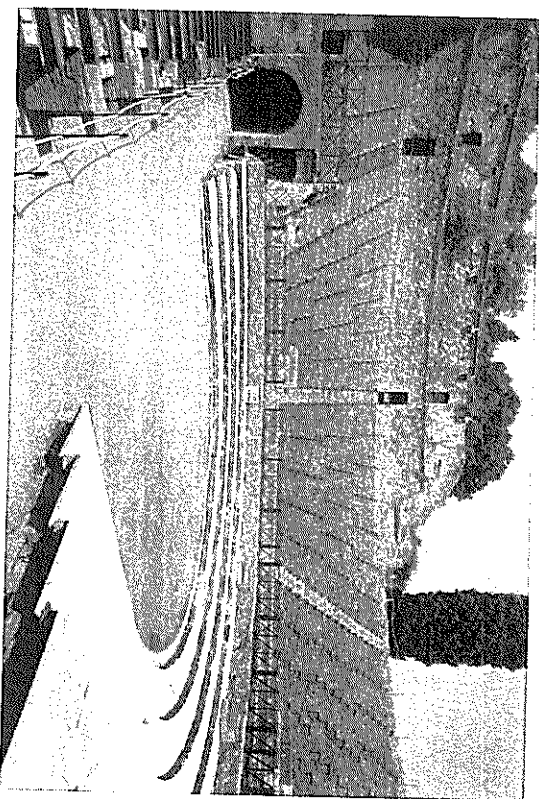


Figure 14.3 The theater of Pompeii (VIII.7.20–21). Part of the stage (without flooring) at left; at the left, above the vaulted west parados, is a tribunal; note the four marble steps for the seats of the *ima caetera*. Above the *media caetera* are the remains of the *corymba*, which supported the *summa caetera*; several of the cufa sockets to support the *vula* are visible along the top of the theater's outer wall. View from just inside the east parados. Photo: J. J. Dobbins.

façade toward the Triangular Forum. Tufa sockets cantilevered along the top of this held the masses of the *vula*, a canopy to shade spectators (Figure 14.3). The Holconii recorded their accomplishments in at least three identical inscriptions (CIL X, 833–5) and even their architect, the freedman M. Artorius Primus, inscribed his name on the theater (CIL X, 841).¹⁴ In thanks for Holconius Rufus' generous contributions, the *decuriones* decreed him a monument, perhaps a *biellium*, centered in the first row of the *media caetera*, along with an inscription recording his public offices (CIL X, 838). The stage building also received its final form in this period and featured a brick *scenae frons* with a main door (*porta regia*) in its central apsed niche flanked by two doors recessed in rectangular niches. At about the same time, the *diouiri* M. Octavianus Venus paved the orchestra of the *theatrum scaevum* in polychrome marble and inscribed it with his name in bronze letters (CIL X, 845).

Octavianus had contributed this pavement in lieu of offering public games (PRO LUDIS), as required by the laws governing Pompeian magistrates.¹⁵ In much the same way, the amphitheater gradually assumed a more monumental form. Eight inscriptions (CIL X, 833–7) carved into its travertine podium record that individual *diouiri* chose to contribute specific *cunei* of tufa seats rather than sponsor games or provide torches for processions (PRO LUDIS ET LUMINIBUS). The fact that one inscription names the *magistri* of the *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbani*, a group organized only in 7 BC,

suggests that the process of adding permanent seating began in the Augustan period. Since no precise chronology for the architectural development of the amphitheater has been established, however, it is unclear to what extent the network of underground access tunnels, corridors and stairs pre-dated, or is contemporary with, the start of this process. The installation of seating helped clearly differentiate the spectators according to class and rank, as the laws dictated. This was especially evident in the *ima caetera*, which was physically separated from the rest of the *caetera* and where the *biellia* of magistrates and the games' sponsors occupied the prime rows in the center of the long sides. Subsequent benefactors must have added the remaining *cunei* over time, but there is no physical or epigraphical evidence to confirm this.

The importance of gladiatorial spectacles in the social and economic life of the city in the early Empire also is illustrated by the construction of the single largest public building in Pompeii adjacent to the amphitheater. It is essentially an enormous rectangular open space enclosed by porticoes on three sides and, on the fourth, by a single wall with five doors toward the amphitheater.¹⁶ In the center of the west portico an *exedra* with two columns marking its entrance and a large pedestal against its west wall is likely a shrine, though the dedication is unknown, while two small rooms adjacent to this may be for the *ostiaris* who monitored the foot traffic entering from the blind alley from the Via di Porta Nocera. A double row of plane trees once stood before the porticoes (Map 3, II.7), the size of their root cavities indicating they were roughly a century old, though a late Augustan or early Tiberian date for the building seems more likely.¹⁷ In the center of the green space stands an immense pool, which marks the terminus of the city's aqueduct. Its runoff flushed a public latrine, built sometime later in the south portico, which is the largest in Pompeii but hardly seems adequate for the needs of crowds in the amphitheater (Figure 14.4).

Construction of this building almost certainly was not undertaken by private individuals as was Valgus' and Porcius' *spectacula*. The need to raze the equivalent of six entire city blocks, even if these were characterized primarily by small vineyards and marker gardens, underscores that this was an important public project decreed by the *decuriones* and paid for with public funds. The building's function is often linked to Augustus' reorganization of the *collegium iuuenum*, a paramilitary youth organization with an emphasis on competitive athletic and equestrian activities, and theater, however, suggests its actual uses were far more broad-ranging and it is more likely a *campus*, a building type attested elsewhere.¹⁸ As the numerous *graffiti* etched into its 120 columns vividly illustrate (CIL IV, 8515–814), its covered halls, shaded *alae*, and open spaces made it not only an ideal meeting place and urban park but also a marketplace for both local and itinerant merchants and tradesmen, who probably affixed temporary awnings or displays to the columns. But its heaviest use came during festivals, when it provided water, shelter, sanitary facilities and concession stands for Pompeians and for visitors from neighboring towns who might camp here for the duration of the *munus*.

Literary and archaeological sources provide a rare glimpse into many aspects of *munera* at Pompeii.²⁰ Painted announcements found throughout the city and on the number of pairs of gladiators, the duration of the games, and whether or not

venationes would be offered or the *vela* unfurled to shade spectators in the stands.²¹ Others for games in Nuceria, Nola, Puteoli and Cumae illustrate how far enthusiastic fans might travel to attend these spectacles. Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.17) documented the grim consequences of the resulting intense inter-city rivalries in his account of the riot of AD 59 at Pompeii. Little is known for certain about this fatal brawl between triumphant Pompeians and disgruntled Nucernians but the episode was captured by a local painter in a bird's eye perspective showing the fighting as it spills out into the areas around the amphitheater and the *campus*.²² In particular, it is unclear precisely what kind of events were outlawed and whether the city really endured the full ten-year ban on "spectacles of this kind" that Rome imposed. The repercussions on the city's economy, likewise, are impossible to assess because of the upheavals caused by the earthquake four years later, an event whose effects are far more tangible.

The importance of entertainment in the life of the city was reaffirmed by the speed with which the Pompeians restored these structures in the years after the earthquake, while several religious sanctuaries and even public baths lay in ruins. It is clear, however, that gladiatorial spectacles took precedence over theatrical displays.²³ The *theatrum testum* may have been knocked out of service entirely while the *scenae frons* of the theater had to be heavily restored and the *summa cavea* sustained serious damage and had not yet been repaired by AD 79.²⁴ The *quadriporticus* behind the theater, originally constructed around the time of the *theatrum testum*, was converted into a gladiatorial *hubs*, a training ground and dormitory for gladiators.²⁵ Columns in the *campus* had to be re-anchored to the stylobate with lead clamps and many were receiving a new coat of stucco. The amphitheater was extensively restored, including a new *summa cavea* and brick buttresses to support the vaulted ceilings of the main access tunnels. The arena's podium was brightly painted with a frieze of panels depicting gladiatorial contests, *venationes*, winged Victories and faux-marble motifs.²⁶ Two inscribed stamne niches (*CIL* X, 838-9) flanking the northern entrance to the arena indicate that this work was carried out by C. Cuspius Parsa and his son, whose duovirate has been dated to AD 79.

The area surrounding the amphitheater and *campus* was similarly revitalized to capitalize on the crowds returning to this quarter of the city. While the aediles allocated spaces to concession stands in the arcaded facade of the amphitheater (*CIL* IV, 1096-7) and the tree-lined area between it and the *campus*, property owners in the adjacent area converted their homes and vineyards into taverns and restaurants (e.g., perhaps, Figures 31.6 and 31.7).²⁷ One notable example of such an enterprise is the *Prædia*, or "Properties," of Julia Felix (II.4.1-12), a unique complex of shops, baths and garden reception rooms north of the amphitheater on the Via dell'Abbondanza (cf. Nappo, Ch. 23; Figures 23.11-13). The elegant baths, the only ones identified so far in this part of Pompeii, featured the entire spectrum of facilities found in the larger public baths but included a *laconicum* (26) and an open-air *natio* (34) (cf. Koloski-Ostrow, Ch. 15). They were flanked by a *pupina* and a sprawling *carpinia* (at no. 7) which offered patrons the choice of dining while reclining or sitting upright. Their proximity allowed these establishments to draw their business from one another. The main reception rooms stood on the west side of the *Prædia* behind a gracious colonnade of white marble pillars with Corinthian capitals (Figure 23.13). Chief among these rooms was a barrel-vaulted *nympheum* (83) with a water stair

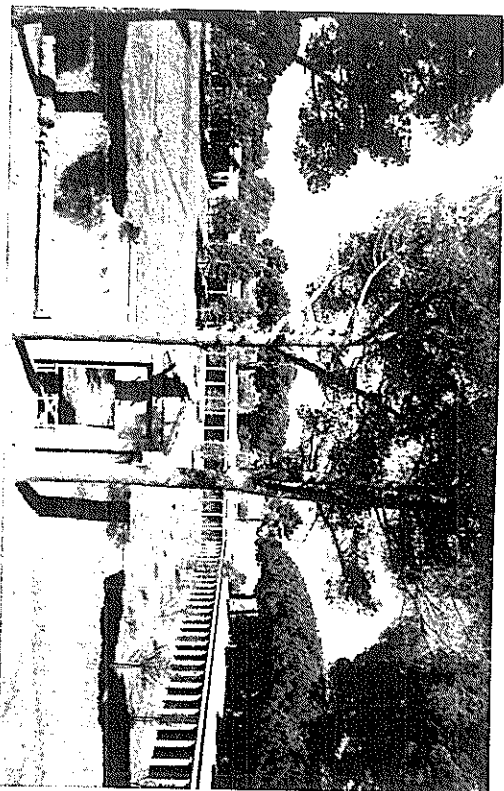


Figure 14.4 The northern half of the *campus* or "Great Palaestra" (II.7) of Pompeii. On the right, in front of the north colonnade, are the two rows of plaster casts of the root cavities of the plane trees. The *natio* is visible on the left while the *caedra* with its shrine is in the distance. View from the east (from the top of the amphitheater).

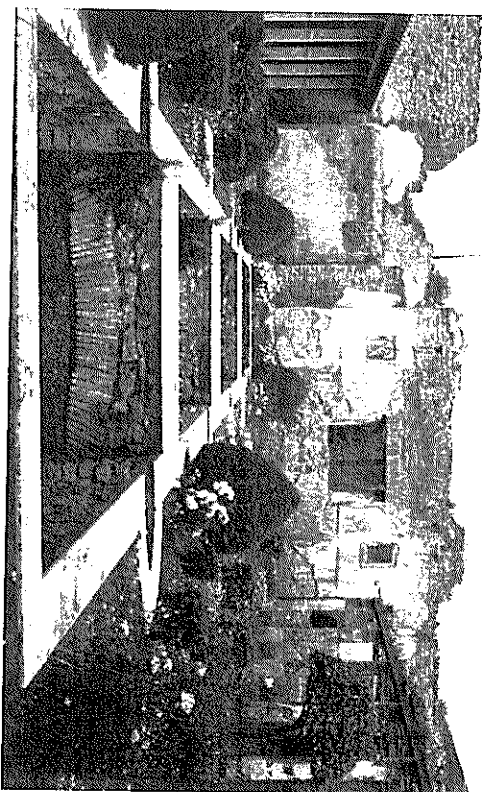


Figure 14.5 View of the *curpin* in the *vitiarium* of the *Prædia* of Julia Felix (II.4) in Pompeii.

fountain in the rear wall and a blue painted frieze showing flora and fauna of the Nile delta. Patrons reclining on its masonry *trichinium* looked out onto a *viridarium* adorned with a *erythra* and an eclectic assortment of garden statuary (Figure 14.5).²⁸ Other reception rooms had been fashioned out of an old *domus* that stood south of the colonnade (at nos. 10–11). Those facing onto a large *hortus* to the east were decorated with particularly fine paintings, including one with a set of Apollo and the Muses and another (92) with a frieze of still-life panels. The sumptuousness of the architecture and the quality of the decoration indicate that the *Prædia* were intended to cater to a clientele limited to the upper echelons of Pompeian society. As in the grand *thermae* in Rome, patrons could linger here for hours, enjoying a bath or a meal, relaxing in the shade of a vine arbor, and perhaps even hearing a poetry recital, before heading off to their beloved games.²⁹

NOTES

- 1 A. Mau, "Das grosse Theater in Pompeii," *RM*, 1906, vol. 21, pp. 1–56; M. Grotzi, "L'Anfiteatro di Pompei," *MemNap*, 1936, vol. 5, pp. 29–55. For the theater, see also A. W. Bynanck, "Das grosse Theater in Pompeii," *RM*, 1940, vol. 25, pp. 107–24.
- 2 G. Spano, "Osservazioni intorno al 'Theatrum Tectum' di Pompei," *Annali dell'Istituto Superiore di Scienze e Lettere di Santa Chiara*, 1949, vol. 1, pp. 111–39, and idem, "Alcune osservazioni natescenti da una descrizione dell'anfiteatro di Pompei," *Annali dell'Istituto dell'Università di Magliore di Salerno*, 1952, vol. 1, pp. 357–419; M. Murolo, "Il cosiddetto 'Odo' di Pompei ed il problema della sua copertura," *RealNap*, 1959, n.s. 34, pp. 89–101.
- 3 Mau's work was initially reported by his excavator, R. Paribeni, "Relazioni degli scavi eseguiti nel mese di settembre 1902," *NSI*, 1902, pp. 512–15, and A. Sogliano, "Esplorazioni nel teatro scoperto," *NSI*, 1906, pp. 100–7; see also A. Maturi, "Saggi nella cavea del 'Teatro grande,'" *NSI*, 1951, pp. 126–34.
- 4 A. De Franciscis, *Fasi Archeologiche*, 1971–72, vol. 26–7, n. 8186, and idem, "Attività archeologica," *CronPomp*, 1975, vol. 1, pp. 245–6.
- 5 A. Maturi, "Scavo della 'Grande Palestra' nel quartiere dell'Anfiteatro," *NSI*, 1939, pp. 165–238.
- 6 See especially P. Zanker, *Pompeii: public and private life*, Cambridge, MA, 1998, esp. pp. 65–72, 107–14; S. De Caro, "La città in età imperiale," in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii*, Naples, 1992, vol. 2, pp. 11–38, esp. pp. 26–9; S. Adamo Muscarella, "La trasformazione della città tra Silla e Augusto," in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii*, Naples, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 73–112; F. Zevi, "Pompeii dalla città sannitica alla colonia sillana: Per un'interpretazione dei dati archeologici," in *Les dites municipalités de l'Italie péninsulaire des Gracques à Néron*, Rome, 1996, pp. 125–38.
- 7 L. Richardson, jr., *Pompeii: an architectural history*, Baltimore, MD, 1988, pp. 75–80.
- 8 For similarities in the plans of the theaters at Pompeii, Pierchabonde and Sarno, see H. Lauter, "Die hellenistischen Theater der Samniten und Luceria in ihrer Beziehung zur Theaterarchitektur der Griechen," in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, Göttingen, 1976, pp. 413–30.
- 9 Richardson, *Pompeii*, pp. 131–4; Zanker, *Pompeii*, pp. 65–8; W. Johannowsky, "La situazione in Campania," in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, 1976, p. 272.
- 10 Murolo, "Il cosiddetto 'Odo' di Pompei ed il problema della sua copertura," pp. 91–101; G. Isenour, *Roofed Theaters in Classical Antiquity*, New Haven, CT, 1992, pp. 66–72; R. Meinel, *Das Odeon: Untersuchungen an überlieferten antiken Theatergebäuden*, Frankfurt, 1979, pp. 36–44, 155.
- 11 Zanker, *Pompeii*, p. 66, proposed it was an assembly hall for the veterans, a notion refuted in part by Zevi, "Pompeii dalla città sannitica alla colonia sillana: Per un'interpretazione dei dati archeologici," p. 131.
- 12 Grotzi, "L'Anfiteatro di Pompei," pp. 29–57; Spano, "Alcune osservazioni natescenti da una descrizione dell'anfiteatro di Pompei," pp. 357–419; Richardson, *Pompeii*, pp. 134–8; J. C.

- 13 Golvin, *L'ambitiosità romana*, Paris, 1988, pp. 33–7; K. Welch, "The arena in late-Republican Italy: a new interpretation," *JRA*, 1994, vol. 7, pp. 59–80.
- 14 De Franciscis's excavations (see n. 4) revealed what he believed were the remains of private houses under the amphitheater.
- 15 M. Fuchs, *Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung römischer Theater in Italien und den Westprovinzen des Imperium Romanum*, Mainz am Rhein, 1987, pp. 44–6.
- 16 See especially, from Pompeii: *CIL* X, 829; *EX EA PECUNIA QUOD EOS E LEGE IN LEUDOS AUT IN MONUMENTO CONSUMERE OPORTUIT* ("from the money which the law required them to spend on games or a monument"), and the Lex Coloniae Genetivae Juliae ("Charter of Usco"), #70–71 (E. G. Hardy, *Three Spanish Charters and Other Documents*, Oxford, 1912, pp. 31–2). The inscription is no longer in situ.
- 17 Maturi, "Scavo della 'Grande Palestra' nel quartiere dell'Anfiteatro," pp. 165–231.
- 18 W. Jastramski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villa of the Papyri*, vol. 1, New Rochelle, NY, 1979, pp. 160–1, fig. 246.
- 19 M. Della Corte, *Inventus*, Arpinno, 1924; De Caro, "La città in età imperiale," pp. 27–8.
- 20 M. Della Corte, "Il campus di Pompei," *RealNap* Ser. 8, 2, 1947, pp. 555–68; H. Dewijter and F. van Wousterghem, "Il campus nell'impianto delle città romane: Testimonianze epigrafiche e resti archeologici," *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia*, 1981, vol. 20, pp. 33–68, and idem, "Ancora sul campus delle città romane," *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia*, 1982, vol. 21, pp. 93–8.
- 21 P. Sabbatini-Tumolesi, *Gladiatorium pariter: Annali di spettacoli gladiatori a Pompei*, Rome, 1980. See also George, *Ch.* 35, n. 18 for additional bibliography.
- 22 R. Gratek, *Vala erunt: Die Zehlfelder der römischer Theater und ähnlicher Anlagen*, Mainz, 1979, pp. 36–40, pl. 28–35 (theater), 67–70, pl. 77–82 (amphitheater).
- 23 MNN inv. no. 112222 (1.70 x 1.85 m), from the west wall of courtyard (n) in 1.3.23 ("House of the Ritor in the Amphitheater"); G. De Petra, *Giornale degli Scavi*, n.s. 1, 1868–9, pp. 185–7; *Pompeii: Pitture e Mosaici*, Rome, 1990, vol. 1, pp. 80–1; T. Föhlisch, *Lararien- und Festsaalbilder in den Vesuvistädten*, RM-EH 32, Mainz, 1991, pp. 241–7, pl. 23.2.
- 24 A. Maturi, *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei*, Rome, 1942, pp. 83–9.
- 25 The state of the *theatrum tertium* in the last period is difficult to access given its extensive restorations. Francesco La Vega, who first excavated and restored it in 1793, believed it had been damaged in the earthquake and never restored, but offered no evidence to support this conclusion; see M. Pagano, *I datori di scavo di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabiae di Pranzano e Patro La Vega (1764–1810): Raccolta e studio di documenti inediti*, Rome, 1997, pp. 124–5.
- 26 At VIII.7.16; Richardson, *Pompeii*, pp. 83–7.
- 27 *Pompeii: Pitture e Mosaici. La documentazione nell'opera di disegnatori e pittori dei secoli XVIII e XIX*, Rome, 1995, pp. 105–11.
- 28 Examples from the *insulae* immediately adjacent to these buildings include Regio II.1.8, II.2.2 ("House of D. Octavius Quartus"), II.5.9, II.5.5 (Figure 31.6), II.8.2, II.8.5, II.8.6 and II.9.6.
- 29 Though excavated first in 1755–57, the *Prædia* had been rebutted and were not visible in Mau-Kelsey's day; they were only re-excavated and restored in the early 1950s. For a summary of the excavation history and the finds, along with pertinent bibliography, see C. Parslow, "Documents illustrating the excavations of the *Prædia* of Julia Felix in Pompeii," *RSP&Pomp*, 1989, vol. 2, pp. 37–48. See also C. Parslow, *The Prædia of Julia Felix in Pompeii (Regio II.4.1–12)*, forthcoming.
- 30 The so-called Portico dei Tridini in the Pagus Martianus of Pompeii (Murecine) consisted of a small bath complex attached to a porticoed *viridarium* which was surrounded by at least five rooms, each with a *trichinium* equipped with elaborate water features and decorated with fine wall paintings. It has been identified as the seat of a commercial enterprise or the Collegium of maritime merchants, though it is likely a bathing and dining establishment on the model of the *Prædia*. See, M. Pagano, "L'edificio dell'agro Murecine a Pompei," *RealNap* n.s. 58, 1983, pp. 323–62. The site has recently been re-excavated and buried yet again; see S. C. Nappo, "Nuova indagine archeologica in località Morecine a Pompei," *RSP&Pomp*, 1999, vol. 10, pp. 185–90. The present contribution was completed in 1999.

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