

Funerary inscriptions in Pompeii

A study of the epitaphs of Pompeian freed slaves

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Abstract

Even though, the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 destroyed the ancient city of Pompeii, it gives us the unique opportunity to investigate the exceptionally well preserved archaeological evidence in its natural surroundings. This accounts also for the eight necropoleis discovered so far. Having this in mind, this paper investigates the funerary inscriptions of ancient Pompeii with special regard to freedmen. Firstly, the complete inscriptions are presented in form of a catalogue, in order to make them easily accessible for further research. Secondly, the thesis analyses the question of the informative value of these inscriptions, in order to see what the epitaphs can tell us about freedmen's funerary practice. Special focus was set on the distribution of freedmen tombs, the social status of the deceased persons and the phenomenon of freedmen and freeborn being buried together.

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Preface

Due to a German research project on slavery in antiquity, I became aware of the fact, that within the field of slavery and manumission a lot of research still needs to be done.¹ A university course on social identity inspired me later on and made me think about different identities; ‘being a slave’ was one of them. The habit of freeing slaves was so widely spread during the late Roman Republic and the early Empire, that Emperor Augustus even introduced a law in order to restrict the numbers of manumission.² But what do we know about people that changed their identity in the middle or at the end of their lives? What do we know about the persons that suddenly became free individuals, free persons?

The archaeological evidence concerning freedmen is abundant. Therefore I decided to choose for this thesis a topic that combines questions of identity and research on freedmen. Another important factor was the wish to contribute something to the current research within this field and not only to review already known facts.

¹ Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz. Forschungen zu antiken Sklaverei.
<http://www.adwmainz.de/index.php?id=997>.

² Mouritsen 2011, 34.

Map of Pompeian necropoleis

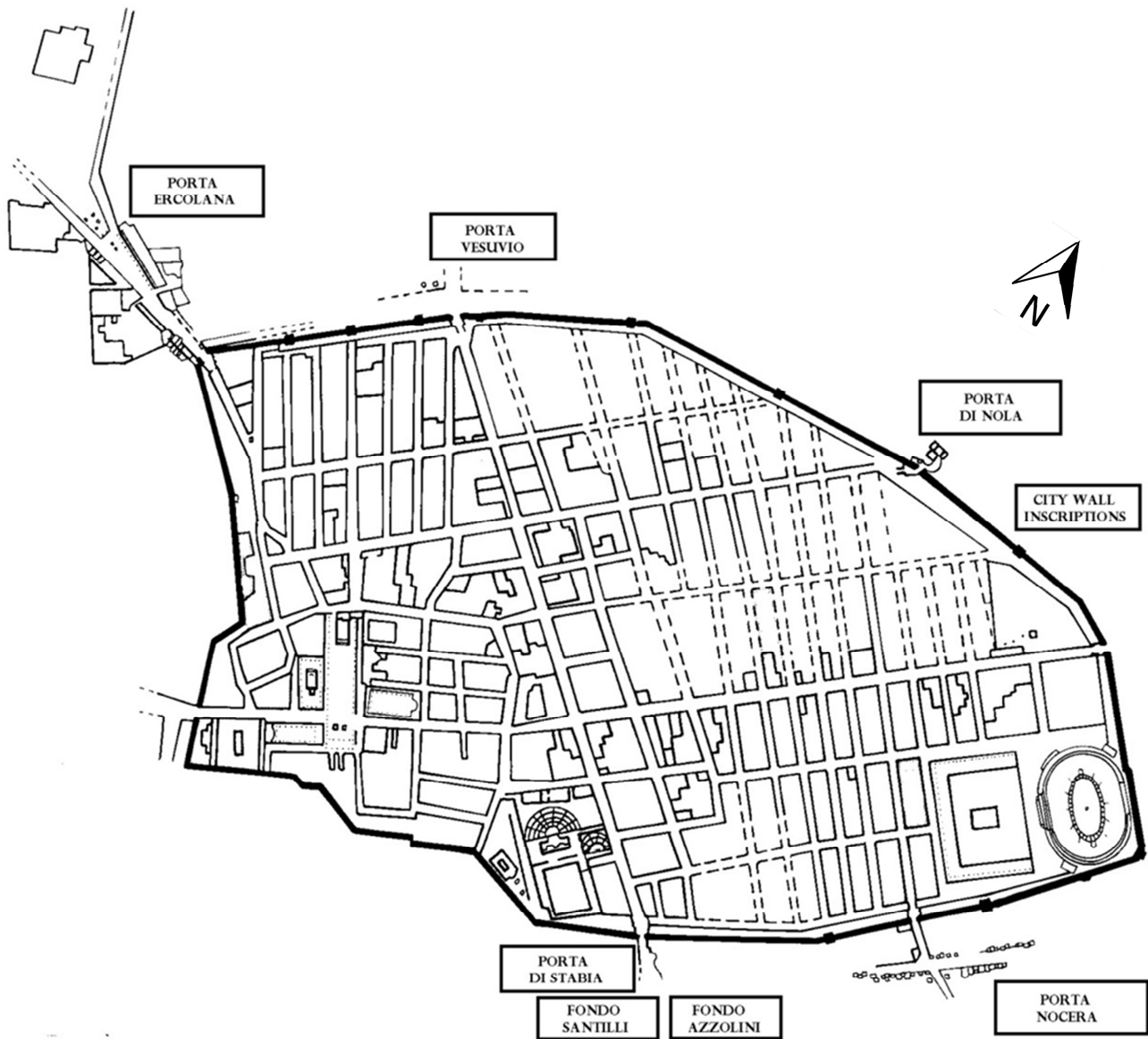


FIGURE 1: MAP OF ANCIENT POMPEII WITH THE LOCATION OF THE EIGHT NECROPOLEIS
(adapted from www.pompeiiinpictures.com, © Jackie and Bob Dunn)

I. Introduction

I.1 Previous research on freedmen

Major research on funerary evidence and the question of self-display of the buried individuals has taken place as well as research on freedmen in a wider context, such as the habit of manumission or the impact of freedmen on Roman society. Quite recently some solid monographs on freedmen and manumission were published, which include at least one chapter dealing with the correlation of freedmen and funerary epitaphs. Furthermore some minor articles are available that deal with freedmen epitaphs, but most of them are based on a different approach or investigate a different phenomenon and therefore provide only narrow insights.

There are two major general works on freedmen that have been quoted and referred to in nearly every study within this topic. Arnold M. Duff's work from 1928 covers the period of the Roman Empire and Susan Treggiari's publication from 1969 gives a solid overview of the research on freedmen during the Roman Republic.³ Together, these two monographs provided a quite complete picture of the research done so far. But both – Duff more than Treggiari – were heavily criticized for not presenting an unbiased but one-sided view on the matter.⁴

The paper of Lily Ross Taylor from 1961 determines the proportion of freedmen and freeborn in the epigraphic evidence for nomenclature in the Roman Empire.⁵ She investigates how large the preponderance of freedmen in epitaphs is and tries to find reasons for that.⁶ Taylor divides the inscriptions in three classes, first freeborn, second freedmen, and third those inscriptions that do not show definite evidence for any status. Taylor calls the last group the *incerti*, a terminology which is followed by most researchers. The investigations of Taylor always show at least twice as many freedmen as freeborn in the epitaphs. Furthermore she points out that many freedmen might not have mentioned their inferior status by writing *libertus* on their grave, which makes the investigation more difficult. According to Taylor, the preponderance of freedmen epitaphs does not mirror the real population. Freedmen had a stronger need to show their achieved status and their names, which indicate that they have been accepted Roman citizens. She also mentions that the epitaphs of Pompeii deserve a thorough investigation. This fact stresses the relevance of my work.

³ Duff 1928; Treggiari 1969.

⁴ Mouritsen 2011, 2-3.

⁵ Taylor 1961.

⁶ Taylor bases her analysis on *CIL IV* and alphabetical lists of names, extracted from epigraphic evidence all over the Roman Empire.

Paul Zanker's article from 1975 should only be mentioned in passing, as it investigates the sculptural decoration of freedmen tombs in and around the city of Rome.⁷ Zanker was the first researcher that examined the reliefs in order to gain knowledge of historical aspects instead of art historical aspects. He was looking for the self-conception of freedmen through investigation of both their funerary inscriptions and their portrait sculpture. In his paper he illuminates a number of social and legal conditions that might have influenced the way freedmen depicted themselves. Zanker's conclusion, that freedmen meant to address with their funerary representation their own kind rather than the upper class, is of particular interest for this paper.

Valerie Hope warns in her article from 1997 of drawing demographic assertions about the population from the evidence of Roman tombstones.⁸ She uses other models (mainly from the Victorian period) for comparison and illuminates the social aspects of the funerary habits in the Roman world. But she draws the same conclusions as Taylor did already in 1961: The intention to erect tombstones with decoration and inscriptions arose from the wish to express a certain social status. Therefore it cannot be assumed that the population is mirrored in the funerary evidence, as some social groups had a bigger need to build monuments for themselves than others.

Willem Jongmans article from 2003 does not deal with freedmen in Roman epitaphs as the articles mentioned above, but the demographics of Rome and the high slavery percentage of the population.⁹ For my thesis, this article is of special interest, as it tries to point out the reasons for the big number of slaves in and around ancient Rome. Jongman does not consider the fact of the high presence of freedmen (and slaves) in Roman epitaphs a matter of self-expression and social status, as – for instance – Valerie Hope does. Instead he explains the fact of the high amount of freedmen and slave graves by the simple fact that there were so many freedmen and slaves. Jongman supports his thesis by demographic investigation, immigration and urban growth. Slaves (which later turned into freedmen) were mainly used to replenish a regularly diminishing population.

All literature mentioned so far presents either only a narrow insight in special issues of this research field or a criticized, biased view on the topic. Not until the beginning of the 21st century two major works have been published that make substantial headways in changing traditional scholarly opinions.

⁷ Zanker 1975.

⁸ Hope 1997.

⁹ Jongman 2003.

First, Lauren Hackworth Petersen should be mentioned with her solid work on freedmen in Roman art and art history of the year 2006.¹⁰ Secondly, the newest work of Henrik Mouritsen, released in 2011, must be honored in particular. Mouritsen rearranges the negative picture of freedmen that is visible in nearly all of the previous publications investigating Roman freedmen and his work is indispensable for every current research within this field. In the introduction “Approaching Roman freedmen” Mouritsen provides a solid research history and demonstrates that freedmen in general have not been studied before the 19th century, and even after that, very few researchers grasped the real nature of slavery and manumission. Since the very first research in this field, the picture of Roman freedmen was not a positive one. Freedmen have even been seen as dangerous figures, which influenced the Roman society through their undignified behavior.¹¹ This fact might be explained by the constant reference to the story of the “nouveau-riche” freedman par excellence, Trimalchio.¹² Petronius presents this man, his friends, family and guests as vulgar people which do not belong to the “elite” of the Roman society in the common sense. Hackworth Petersen also considers this story a point of departure for former researchers and argues that this has had a strong impact on the traditional scholarly opinions.

It is most likely due to this historical source that researchers tried to use the archaeological evidence to confirm this picture and never managed to investigate this topic without bias. The negative reputation of freedmen finds its peak in Duff’s publication, where the main thesis argues that “race-mixture, following large scale manumission of slaves, diluted the old Roman stock and eventually caused the fall of the Roman Empire.”¹³ However, Mouritsen’s publication from 2011 and Hackworth Petersen’s work present refreshing studies on freedmen, which are not influenced by prejudgments and one-sided interpretation of ancient written sources.

Hackworth Petersen is one of the first researchers which combine both epigraphic evidence and material remains. She does not examine a single artifact or inscription without its complete context. She changes the old “Trimalchio-influenced” research approach by pointing out that epigraphic and iconographic evidence which was formerly ascribed to freedmen is not exclusive to them. Further on, in Chapter 2, she questions the common knowledge that *augustales* were always freedmen.¹⁴ She demonstrates that apparently

¹⁰ Hackworth Petersen 2006.

¹¹ I will not discuss this in more detail, as it is not as important for my thesis. For further interest see: Mouritsen 2011, 2ff.

¹² Petronius 1965.

¹³ Mouritsen 2011, 2.

¹⁴ Hackworth Petersen 2006, 57ff.

relatively few inscriptions mentioning *augustales* are clearly indicating freedmen at the same time. That does not mean, on the other hand, that it is not still highly probable that most of the *augustales* were freedmen – but it puts up a question mark on the generalization of this matter. Further on, she has dedicated a whole chapter to the funerary realm and the rituals of remembrance.¹⁵

Henrik Mouritsen is, even in comparison to Hackworth Petersen, the most important author when it comes to freedmen. In his book from 2011 he states clearly that he rather wants to “explore the wider historical implications of such a revision for our understanding of Roman manumission and the freedman’s place in society”,¹⁶ than to rehabilitate the widely spread picture of freedmen. He tries to take away the custom of looking at freedmen as one social group without distinctions.

I.2 Aim and purpose

How can we approach the question of self-expression as well as the question of distribution of freedmen during the Roman Era with sources that mainly consist of ancient literature, iconography and inscriptions? As a matter of fact, one single thesis will not be able to carve out completely satisfying answers to these questions. But this paper aims at least to contribute to the research within this area by concentrating on the study of inscriptions in combination with freedmen. Pompeii is used as a prime example for a lot of archeological investigations due to its well preserved condition and the possibility to examine the finds in their original environment. Even though a lot of research on Pompeian tombs has already taken place, a complete presentation of the material has not been published yet. Therefore I am going to focus on the epigraphic evidence found in Pompeian funerary areas.

As an archaeologist I am aware that we cannot generate absolute facts as we only have a narrow insight to any scene of the past. Even if Pompeii provides a unique snapshot of a Roman colonial town, we are missing most of the factors necessary to create an overall picture. However, limited material can still be investigated through different approaches. It might be possible to extract certain patterns; we just have to bear in mind that they are not universally valid. It is, for instance, not possible to generate absolute numbers of buried persons, classified by their social status, as we do not have access to all tombs. But we can still extract some information from the epigraphic material.

¹⁵ Hackworth Petersen 2006, 84-120.

¹⁶ Mouritsen 2011, 5.

What information can we get by analyzing the epigraphic material in regard to freedmen and their burial habits? This question can be approached by analyzing and illuminating different aspects. In order to do so, the distribution of freedmen in the different necropoleis will be determined as well as the ratio of freedmen/freeborn epitaphs. Have these two social classes been mingling or have they been buried in different places? Maybe the allocation of graves will show certain patterns which can be discussed in respect of status and self-expression of freedmen. Furthermore, I will investigate the connection of the grave type and the status of the buried persons. In connection with this, the question of dedicator and dedicatee will be illuminated, too.

I.3 Material

A coherent analysis can only result from a carefully chosen and suitable material. Most important is that the material is delimited in some way. The material I have chosen has temporal and geographical limits. Geographically it is restricted to the ancient city of Pompeii. And this leads directly to the time period: The change from simple cremation burials from pre-colonial times – as can be found at Porta Stabia – to inscribed monumental tombs occurred around 80 BC, when Sulla transformed the city into a Roman colony.¹⁷ Therefore I will include all tombs built between Sulla's arrival and the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79.

I.4 Methodology

With regard to the composition of the paper a three-part structure has been chosen. Introductory notes and background information precedes the main part, where the funerary epigraphic material is presented. The presentation is made in the form of a catalogue, where the tombs and their inscriptions will be numbered consecutively. For every tomb and inscription, certain characteristics and information will be listed.

This information have been selected in due consideration of the possible risks in the analysis of funerary inscriptions, which Mouritsen points out in his article on 'Freedmen and Freeborn in the Necropolis of Imperial Ostia'.¹⁸ This paper is based on Michael Heinzelmann's study 'Die Nekropolen von Ostia. Untersuchungen zu den Gräberstraßen vor

¹⁷ Cormack 2007, 586.

¹⁸ Mouritsen 2004.

der Porta Romana und an der Via Laurentina' and Mouritsen demonstrates, in what way especially methodological issues can affect an analysis. In order to avoid disputable conclusions, the systematization and categorization of the inscriptions should rely on criteria, chosen with special awareness of their subsequent impact. I aimed to be aware of this and have therefore discussed in chapter II.3, how and why I have chosen the criteria included in the catalogue. To mention only some examples, the analysis of the inscriptions should always be made with a view to their visibility. Not every inscription was meant to be seen by outsiders and therefore the content of an inscription placed on the front façade of a tomb might have a different value from the inscription of a columella inside an enclosure. Also, I have chosen to treat columellae as independent tombs only if they were freestanding. In the cases where columellae were put up in connection to a monumental tomb, they are treated as inscriptions belonging to the particular monumental tomb structure. Furthermore, the different tomb classes have been chosen with special awareness of which impression they make. As a result, it is clear visible if a tomb was a modest or pretentious structure, simply by looking at the class assigned to it. This method also helps to reduce the information to its minimum in spatial terms. Whenever possible I have tried to designate things clearly through keywords instead of detailed explanations. As a result, the catalogue should represent a neat presentation of the collected data, clearly structured and easily accessible.

The catalogue is followed by a chapter, where I will present the results and patterns gained from the material. The results will be presented with the help of tables showing statistics and percentages of different kind. The results that I will have carved out by this method will then be discussed.

II. Presentation of the material

II.1 Introduction to Pompeian necropoleis

Around Pompeii's city wall eight necropoleis have been discovered so far. All of them are positioned close to some gate of the city wall and situated along a main road which led to and away from the city, as was the habit in most of the Roman cities.¹⁹ The only exceptions are the inscribed stones of the city wall between Porta di Nola and Porta di Sarno. The remaining seven cemeteries consist of tombs that are aligned to the streets and mostly facing the street with their front wall. These walls were often equipped with inscription plaques, in order to inform the passer-by about the tomb and its owners.

The two most impressive necropoleis in account of their size (as they are stretched out along the roads and make the impression of little suburbs) are placed outside Porta Nocera and Porta Ercolana. The architecture outside Porta Ercolana not only consists of tombs; shop buildings and pre-colonial villas were found here, too. On the other hand, the necropolis outside Porta Nocera consists of tombs only.

Furthermore, some tombs can be found outside Porta Vesuvio and Porta di Nola. A little further south, a part of the city wall between Porta di Nola and Porta di Sarno served as an epitaph and was inscribed with names of deceased. Thirty-eight cinerary urns were found in close distance to the wall.²⁰ Outside one of the southern city gates, at Porta di Stabia, a small number of impressive tombs is situated. Further along this road, two more necropoleis have appeared. About 200 m south from that necropolis, at Fondo Santilli another accumulation of burials was found. Even further, about 500 m from the city gate, the burials of Fondo Azzolini are situated along Via Minutella.²¹

What was the character of these structures for the commemoration of the deceased? The places where the necropoleis are situated and the monumental structures, which sometimes even provide benches, lead to the conclusion, that the necropoleis have been frequented areas. Visitors and travelers needed to pass the tombs when entering the town. Another indication for a high frequency of visitors is the high number of *graffiti* and *dipinti* on the tomb walls which served as community announcements.²² Even gardens were found close to some graves that seem to have invited the living to spend time in the vicinity of the

¹⁹ Toynbee 1971, 73.

²⁰ Cooley & Cooley 2004, 154.

²¹ In this area a grave plot was found with pre-Roman burials, which I will not examine. Furthermore, columellae dating in the Roman period were found, mainly belonging to members of the *Epidii*. The burial area was surrounded by an enclosure wall.

²² Cormack 2007, 594.

deceased.²³

II.2 Previous research on Pompeian tombs and their inscriptions

Despite extensive scientific research on Pompeii, there has – surprisingly – not been a single attempt to provide a complete overview of Pompeian graves and their inscriptions. However, partial surveys have taken place repeatedly. The most important ones are presented in the following text.

Two major works must be named in particular: First of all, Valentin Kockel's standard work from 1983 is a benchmark without comparison when it comes to Pompeian graves and their investigation.²⁴ This publication is a slight variation of Kockel's dissertation and very well prepared. It provides a complete collection of the graves excavated between 1736 and 1838 around the Porta Ercolana and the Via dei Sepulchri with detailed description, decoration, inscriptions and grave types as well as texts about the assumed dedicator and/or dedicatee. Secondly, the publication of Antonio D'Ambrosio and Stefano De Caro from 1983 is essential for the investigation of the Porta Nocera tombs. It presents the complete collection of archaeological evidence in this area excavated in the 1950s.²⁵ However, it does not include the tombs (discovered in an area first called *Fondo Pacifico*) which were found in the late 1880s and in 1983, a little further towards east.²⁶ Those have been identified to belong to the Porta Nocera necropolis. The evidence from the early excavation is, among others, well documented by August Mau.²⁷ This publication also presents the tombs at Fondo Santilli, which were discovered in the middle of the 18th century and further excavated in the 1890s.²⁸ Mau's book was even in 1971 still called "one of the best and most accessible accounts in English of Pompeian tombs".²⁹

Not all necropoleis are published in monographs. Therefore the periodical *Notizie degli scavi (NSc)* will be of importance, as it contains single finds and small excavations, as well as the reports of the excavations at Porta di Stabia in the second half of the 19th century and at Porta di Vesuvio and Fondo Azzolini in the early 20th century.³⁰ Furthermore, the first

²³ Jashemski 1970, 103-104.

²⁴ Kockel 1983.

²⁵ D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a.

²⁶ Mau 1908, 450; D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b.

²⁷ Mau 1908.

²⁸ Mau 1908, 449.

²⁹ Toynbee 1996, 303.

³⁰ *NSc* 1910; *NSc* 1890.

investigation of Porta di Nola which took place in 1907/08 is documented in this periodical.³¹ The material of the later excavation period from 1975 can be found in De Caro's article from 1979.³²

In addition, the volume X of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* from 1883 contains Pompeian inscriptions. Many of the above mentioned inscriptions are presented in *CIL* as well. The city wall inscriptions between Porta di Nola and Porta di Sarno, which were discovered in 1854, are all stated here.

Last but not least, the website www.pompeiiinpictures.com should be mentioned, even if it not a citable source. It is made by amateurs interested in archaeology and gives a solid overview of the city itself as well as its funerary areas. Anyhow, a look at the website is worth in order to get a first impression, as it is clearly structured and provides many maps and pictures.

II.3 Elaboration of terms and concepts of the catalogue

The aim has been to structure the information of the tombs in a consistent way. Nine parameters are stated for every tomb, marked by the capital letters A-I. In the following pages the parameters are presented in detail and background information is provided.

II.3.1 Tomb label (A)

First of all, the label of the tomb is stated. Most of the tombs have been numbered by other researchers or in the excavation reports; I always refer to the already existing number. If a tomb has been discussed in more than one publication or is distinguished by its uniqueness, a name (apart from a number) may be assigned to it. This will be listed in addition (e.g. The tomb of the Istacidi, Kockel 1983: Süd 4A).

II.3.2 Typology of the tombs (B)

The variety of tomb types in Pompeii has been classified several times. Two mentionable attempts were made by Kockel and Sarah Cormack.³³ Even though both researchers define

³¹ *NSc* 1910.

³² De Caro 1979.

³³ Kockel 1983, 15ff. Cormack 2007, 586ff.

different tomb types, both classification systems are unfortunately not suitable for the aim of this paper. As Kockel only refers to the tombs found in the necropolis of Porta Ercolana his classification is not applicable for all Pompeian tombs. Cormack on the other hand provides a detailed classification, which includes several subcategories of the monumental tombs. Adapting my classification to Cormack's recommendation would far exceed the necessity of this thesis and I would get sidetracked by too many details. Therefore I set up my own suitable categories. All nine are chosen with special regard to their qualification for this paper's aim. With nine exceptions, all tombs can be assigned to a certain class.³⁴ This facilitates the analysis. It is also readily identifiable from a first glance if the tomb had complex or rather modest structures.

Class 1, Scholae tombs:

First to be mentioned is the schola-tomb, which consists of a stone bench in semicircular shape with a high back. The bench endings are often decorated with lion's or griffin-lion's feet on both sides. Inscriptions are usually placed in large letters on the back rest of the bench, visible at first sight. This grave type is unique for Pompeii and its surrounding necropoleis, as it has not been found anywhere else.³⁵

Class 2, Altar tombs:

Class 2 includes all tombs that have or have had an altar as main architectural element.³⁶ If two classes apply, the altar is the deciding element for the classification. For example, a tomb with altar and enclosure wall will be assigned to class 2 instead of class 6. Altars are often built on a high stone base.

Class 3, Monumental arch:

Some of the monumental tombs consist of a freestanding arch, which neither connects to any wall nor serves as entrance to a grave plot.

Class 4, Multi-leveled tombs:

Multi-leveled tombs are the most ostentatious tombs in Pompeii.³⁷ Several levels form together an impressive monument: It consists of a main structure, such as an aedicula or a circular superstructure, standing on a podium. On the rear side there is often an entrance that

³⁴ Seven tombs have not been assigned to any class due to either bad condition or not enough evidence for any of the classes: 6, 13, 14, 16, 27, 73, 82. The tombs 13 (triclinium funebre) and 27 (column on base) show monumental structures but are not assignable due to their uniqueness.

³⁵ For a detailed discussion of this tomb type see: Kockel 1983, 18ff.

³⁶ Further information can be found at: Kockel 1983, 22ff.

³⁷ For detailed information see: Kockel 1983, 26–34.

leads to a hidden burial chamber. The highly decorated monumental structure is what affects the visitor, not the hidden burial chamber.

Class 5, Simple chamber tombs:

A ground leveled chamber is surrounded by four walls and a flat roof; the entrance is centrally placed and visible.

Class 6, Grave plots with wall enclosure:

Many of the monumental tombs are surrounded by enclosure walls. But there are also grave plots, which are restricted by walls but show no other monumental structure. Instead the wall itself, especially the front side, is designed to impress: The front wall might have had a tympanum or even niches with busts of the deceased placed inside. In most cases the enclosures are small-scaled and did not have the public character of a fenced-in contemporary cemetery. The only exception is the Fondo Azzolini, which already was in use since before the Roman colonial period. Even if the area was surrounded by a wall, the enclosure has a different character due to its size and the mass of inscribed columellae which were found inside. As only two modest monumental structures were discovered, the columellae found here are mainly treated as single monuments and assigned to class 8.

Class 7, Niche tombs:

Some smaller tombs are brick-built niches, opened to one side. In most cases, the niches contain columellae.

Class 8, Grave markers (columellae, cippi, stelae):

All kinds of grave marker are assigned to class 8, as long as they bear an inscription connected to a deceased person. Two different kinds have been found in Pompeii: the simple funerary stelae, which indicated the burial place or served as area marker of the grave plot. The other kind, which constitutes the notably bigger part, is the so-called columella.³⁸ This type is very typical for Pompeii, as it is hardly known anywhere else. Few exceptions were found – all in southern Campania.³⁹ Columellae are mostly positioned above a cinerary urn to indicate the burial place. But they have also been found in direct connection with the monumental architecture, placed in niches integrated in the facade. The tomb will only be assigned to this class, if no monumental structure is found nearby. Otherwise, the inscription

³⁸ Kockel 1983, 16f.

³⁹ Kockel 1983, 17.

on the columellae will be treated and listed like an inscription plaque – as part of a bigger complex.

Class 9, Inscriptions on the city wall:

For the inscriptions collected in class 9, the city wall served as grave stone. Names of the deceased were written directly on the wall and no freestanding grave markers have been found nearby.

II.3.3 Number of assured deceased persons (C)

The number stated includes all deceased individuals mentioned in the inscriptions. If the central inscription plaque of a monument carries the same name as a columella, the person is naturally only counted once. If a tomb has been dedicated by someone, the dedicator will only be counted among the buried, if he has stated explicitly that he includes himself, too.⁴⁰

II.3.4 Date (D)

Dating of the tombs is not always possible. Though, all of the tombs must have been built in the time between the Roman colonization of Pompeii in 80 BC and the volcanic eruption in AD 79. For some graves a terminus ante quem can be determined, because damages of the earthquake in the year AD 62 can be found. As far as they have been dated by epigraphists detailed information can be found in the quoted literature.

II.3.5 Type and placing of the inscription (E)

Three different kinds of inscription types exist. Either an inscription plaque was placed somewhere on the monument, or letters were inscribed directly on the monument (e.g. scholae tombs and wall inscriptions) or the inscriptions were placed on a grave stone, respectively columella.

⁴⁰ In that case, the common expression ‘sibi et suis’ follows the dedicator’s name.

II.3.6 *Inscription text (F)*

This catalogue only lists stone inscriptions that relate to a deceased person. *Dipinti* or *graffiti*, found on walls or monuments, have been left out.

The funerary inscriptions consist mostly of abbreviations, probably due to the limited space on the gravestones. In this catalogue, the original abbreviated text will be completed by the missing letters stated in parentheses (). Reconstructions of unreadable or lost letters are marked with square brackets [], whereas not reconstructable letters are replaced by hyphens in square brackets [- - -]. Furthermore, doubtful but reconstructed letters are marked with a dot below (ḁ).

Most inscriptions have already been filled out and I adopted these completions from the literature referred to. However, the inscriptions of Fondo Santilli and Fondo Azzolini appeared in *NSc* only in their original abbreviated state; in those cases I have added the missing letters myself.

II.3.7 *Status of the buried person (G)*

Every person mentioned in the inscriptions will be assigned to one of the following four classes: *freeborn*, *freedmen*, *slaves* or *unknown*.⁴¹

The determination of slaves is quite simple, as they had only one name, given by their masters. The identification of the remaining persons requires more effort: The nomenclature of male freeborn Romans was at the time in question dominated by the so-called *tria nomina*, which consists of a *praenomen*, a *nomen gentile* and a *cognomen*.⁴² Presumably mostly in written form, the filiation was added as well: The father's *praenomen* in genitive was recorded and followed by *filius* or *filia*. Freedmen, who had no legal father, adopted instead their former master's name replacing *filius* or *filia* by *libertus* or *liberta* (abbreviated to a simple *l.* or *lib.*).⁴³

Freeborn woman on the other hand, did not have a *praenomen*. When a slave was freed by a woman, the missing *praenomen* was substituted by the very common male name *Gaius*, transformed in the feminine form *Gaia*. However, the abbreviation of *Gaiae libertus*,

⁴¹ Unfortunately, subdividing the group of freeborn would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis.

⁴² Duff 1928, 52.

⁴³ Mouritsen 2011, 38.

C. l., would have led to the interpretation, that the slave was freed by a male *Gaius*. The *C* of *Gaia* is therefore shown in reverse form (⊖).⁴⁴

Aside from that, the recording of a tribal affiliation always indicates free birth, as only freeborn member of society have been privileged to do so.⁴⁵ Furthermore, there is some evidence of Pompeian inhabitants carrying a Greek cognomen and some researchers would interpret this as an indication of freedman status.⁴⁶ I refused to do so in order to prevent unscientific speculations, as those persons could also be the children of freedmen or immigrants without a servile background.⁴⁷ These unsure cases have been assigned to the group of freeborn, in order to generate a small but hopefully pure group of freedmen, which I will use for my analysis. Indecipherable names are assigned to the group of *unknown*.

II.3.8 Visibility of the inscription (H)

Epitaphs in form of inscription plaques were usually located on the front side of a monumental tomb or on the podium. I will, however, include the place where the inscription was placed in the catalogue as there do exist examples, where the inscription has been placed inside the tomb and was therefore only visible for the people who were allowed to enter the burial area. As most of the columellae were placed inside an enclosure, it is assumed that they have not been visible from outside the walls, unless they were placed along the road or served as area markers. “Unknown”-stated cases are mostly due to the insufficient excavation reports, which do not always state the find context.

II.3.9 Sources and literature (I)

The main source will be quoted, where a detailed presentation and discussion of the tomb can be found.

⁴⁴ Mouritsen 2001, 39, n. 17.

⁴⁵ Duff 1928, 52.

⁴⁶ Mouritsen 2004, 284.

⁴⁷ Mouritsen 2011, 39.

III. Catalogue of Pompeian funerary inscriptions

Key to the catalogue

A. Tomb label

B. Tomb type

C. Number of assured deceased persons according to the inscriptions

D. Date

E. Type and placing of inscription

F. Inscription

G. Freedman/freedwoman, slave or freeborn

H. Visibility

I. Sources and literature

III.1 Porta Ercolana

23 tombs, 55 inscriptions, 57 deceased

Main source: Kockel 1983

1.

A. Kockel 1983: Süd 1

B. Altar tomb, class 2

C. One deceased, as the columella and the altar inscription refer to the same person

D. AD 60-70

1a.

E. Columella

F. *M(arcus) Cerrinius*

Restitutus

augustalis loc(us) d(atus) d(ecurionum)

d(ecreto)

G. Freedman

H. Not visible from the street

I. *CIL* X 994; Kockel 1983, 47

1b.

E. Inscription on altar

F. [*M(arcus) C]errinius*

[*Re*]stitutus

[*augustalis*]

[*loc(us) d(atus)*]

[*d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*]

G. Freedman

H. Not visible from the street

I. *CIL* X 995; Kockel 1983, 47

2.

- A. Kockel 1983: Süd 2
- B. Schola tomb, class 1
- C. One
- D. 20 BC-AD 20
- E. Inscription placed on the back rest of the schola bench
- F. *A(ulo) Veio M(arcu) f(ilio) Ilvir(o)
i(ure) d(icundo)
iter(um) quinq(uennali) trib(un)o
milit(um) ab popul(o) ex d(ecurionum)
d(ecreto)*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 996*

3.

- A. Kockel 1983: Süd 3
- B. Altar tomb, class 2
- C. One. Another stele is mentioned by Overbeck and Mau 1884, but it bears the same inscription and is not visible anymore
- D. Probably republican period
- E. Cippus, that served as marker of the area
- F. *M(arci) Porci
M(arci) f(ili) ex dec(urionum)
decret(o) in
frontem
ped(es) XXV
in agrum
ped(es) XXV*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 997*

4.

- A. Kockel 1983: Süd 4
- B. Schola tomb, class 1
- C. One
- D. Probably late Augustan or Tiberian time
- E. Inscription placed on the back rest of the schola bench
- F. *M[am]miae P(ublii) f(iliae) sacerdoti
publicae locus sepultur(ae) datus
decurionum decreto*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 998*; Kockel 1983, 57 ff

5.

- A. The tomb of the Istacidi, Kockel 1983: Süd 4A
- B. Podium tomb with circular superstructure, class 4
- C. Ten
- D. Unknown

5a.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Istacidia N(umeri) f(ilia)*
Rufilla sacerd(os)
publica
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 999*

5b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *N(umerio) Istacidio*
Campano
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1005*

5c.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Istacid*
I Crisyri
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1006*

5d.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *N*
ISTAC(id)I N F S
MENOI'CI
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1007*

5e.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *L(ucius) Ist[acidius]*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1004*

5f.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Cn(aeus) Melissaeus*
Aper
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1008*

5g.

- E. Columella with inscription

- F. *C(aius) Venerius*
Epaphroditus
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL* X 1013

5h.

- E. Fragmented columella with inscription, lost today
- F. ---*IRA*
---*IOLE*
---*SSAF*
- G. Unknown
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL* X 1014; Castrén 1972, 236

5i.

- E. Fragmented stele, lost today
- F. *SVE* + *PIILA*
CLLCIX
- G. Unknown
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL* X 1015

5j.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *NI•H•Y•AS*
AI•NVPO•P
- G. Unknown
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL* X 1016

6.

- A. Kockel 1983: Süd 4 E/F
- B. Found without context, no class
- C. Six
- D. Unknown

6a.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *A(ulus) Buccius*
Victor v(ixit) a(nnis) XIII
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL* X 1000

6b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Bucia Apta*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL* X 1001

6c.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Apta Buccia*
vixit ann [- - -]
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL X 1002*

6d.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Melissaeae*
[Amyces]
[Iunoni]
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL X 1009*

6e.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Melissaea*
Cn(aei) l(iberta) Asia
- G. Freedwoman
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL X 1010*

6f.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Meliss(a)ea Sp(uria) f(ilia)*
Asiatice vix(it)
annis XVIII
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL X 1011*

6g.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Fortunatus*
vixit annis II
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL X 1012*

7.

- A. Tomb of Umbricio Scaurus, Kockel 1983: Süd 16
- B. Chambered altar tomb with enclosure, class 2
- C. Two
- D. Unknown

7a.

- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *A(ulo) Umbricio A(uli) f(ilio)*
Men(enia) tribu

Scauro
Ilvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo)
huic decuriones locum monum(enti)
et HS ∞∞∞ in funere et statuam equestr(em)
[in f]oro ponendam censuerunt
Scaurus pater filio

- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL* X 1024

7b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Iunoni*
Tyches Iuliae
Augustae Vener(iae)
- G. Slave
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL* X 1023

8.

- A. Kockel 1983: Süd 17
- B. Chambered altar tomb with enclosure, class 2
- C. Five
- D. After AD 62
- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *[- - -]mici [- - -]*
[- - -] est
[- - o]rnamenta
[- - -]as et munificentiam eius
[- - -]o Secundo patri et
[- - e]t C(aio) Olio Hermae heredibus
[- - -] Marciae Auge et Rustiae
[- - -]ae et Oliae Secundae
[- - -]m ex testamento
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL* X 1025

9.

- A. Kockel 1983: Süd 18
- B. Podium tomb with circular superstructure and enclosure, class 4
- C. Three
- D. Second half of the 1st century AD
- E. Inscription plaque, allocation doubtful, lost today
- F. *[C(aio) F]abio Secundo*
Marcia Aucta
uxor
fecit et sibi et
Fabiaé C(ai) f(iliae) Gratinae
filiae
- G. Freeborn

H. Unknown
I. *CIL* X 1003

10.

A. Kockel 1983: Süd 20
B. Altar tomb with enclosure, class 2
C. One. This monument might have served as a cenotaph and not as an actual burial place.
D. AD 70-79
E. Inscription plaque
F. *C(aio) Calventio Quieto*
augustali
huic ob munificent(iam) decurionum
decreto et populi conse(n)su bisellii
honor datus est
G. Freedman
H. Visible from the street
I. *CIL* X 1026

11.

A. Kockel 1983: Süd 21
B. Graveplot with enclosure wall, class 6
C. Four
D. Unknown

11a.

E. Inscription plaque
F. *N(umerio) Istacidio Heleno*
pag(ano) pag(i) Aug(usti)
N(umerio) Istacidio Ianuario
Mesoniae Satullae in agro
pedes XV in fronte <pe> des XV
G. Probably two freedmen
H. Visible from the street
I. *CIL* X 1027

11b.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *N(umerius) Istacidius*
Helenu pag(anus)
G. Probably freedman
H. Not visible from the street
I. *CIL* X 1028

11c.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Istacidiae Scapidi*
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. *CIL* X 1029

12.

- A. Tomb of Naevoleia Tyche and C. Munatius Faustus, Kockel 1983: Süd 22
- B. Altar tomb, class 2
- C. Two. The inscription of no. 49 refers to Naevoleia Tyche and C. Munatius Faustus, too. As I do not want to count one person twice, they should be left out here and assigned to no. 49.⁴⁸
- D. Ca. AD 60

12a.

- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *Naevoleia L(uci) lib(erta)*
Tyche sibi et
C(aio) Munatio Fausto aug(ustali)
et pagano
cui decuriones consensu populi
bisellum ob merita eius
decreverunt
hoc monimentum Naevoleia Tyche
libertis suis
libertabusq(ue) et C(ai) Munati
Fausti viva fecit
- G. Freedmen
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL* X 1030

12b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *C(aius) Munatius*
Atimetus vix(it)
annis LVII
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL* X 1031

12c.

- E. Columella with inscription, allocation doubtful
- F. *Salvius puer*
vixit annis VI
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL* X 1032

13.

- A. Tomb of Gnaeus Vibrius Saturninus, Kockel 1983: Süd 23
- B. Enclosure tomb with gabled façade facing the street. This grave can not be assigned to one tomb type. It is unique as it has a triclinium inside the enclosure wall. Kockel therefore calls this *Triclinio funebre*.⁴⁹
- C. One
- D. AD 63-79

⁴⁸ Kockel argues that this monument might have served as cenotaph. He believes no. 49 to be the actual burial place, because there was a columella found with the name of C. Munatius Faustus inscribed.

⁴⁹ Kockel 1983, 109.

- E. The inscription plaque was placed over the entrance door of the graveplot
- F. *Cn(aeo) Vibrio*
Q(uinti) f(ilio) Fal(erna tribu)
Saturnino
Callistus C(aiae) lib(ertus)
- G. Freedman erected this for his former patron
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1033*

14.

- A. Tomb of T. Terentius Felix Maior, Kockel 1983: Nord 2
- B. Enclosure wall with traces of small monumental structures inside, which cannot be closer defined. Therefore no class
- C. One
- D. Before AD 62

14a.

- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *T(ito) Terentio T(iti) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu)*
Felici Maiori aedil(i)
huic publice locus
datus et (sestertium) ∞ ∞
Fabia Probi f(ilia) Sabina uxor
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1019*

14b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *T(ito) Maiori*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1020*

15.

- A. Kockel 1983: Nord 5
- B. Enclosure wall, no other monumental structures, class 6
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *N(umerius) Curtius N(umeri) f(ilius)*
Spurianus frater
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc 1886, 169*

16.

- A. Kockel 1983: Nord 34
- B. Tomb unfinished, no class
- C. One
- D. Probably after AD 50
- E. Inscription plaque

- F. *L(ucius) Caltilius L(uci) l(ibertus)*
Coll(ina tribu)
[P]amphilus
[- -]ae uxori
[- -]mo
- G. Freedman
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL X 1046*

17.

- A. Tomb of the Allei, Kockel 1983: Nord 37
- B. Altar tomb, class 2
- C. Two
- D. AD 30-45
- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *M(arco) Alleio Luccio Libellae patri aedili*
Ivir(o) praefecto quinq(uennali) et M(arco) Alleio Libellae f(ilio)
decurioni vixit annis XVII locus monumenti
publice datus est Alleia M(arci) f(ilia) Decimilla sacerdos
publica Cereris faciundum curavir viro et filio
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1036*

18.

- A. Kockel 1983: Nord 38
- B. Monumental tomb with several levels. Kockel reconstructs an aedicula, class 4
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *M(arcus) Popidius Ap(pi) f(ilius)*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL X 957*

19.

- A. Kockel 1983: Nord 39 und der Bezirk Nord 39A
- B. Chambered aedicula tomb with enclosure, class 4
- C. Six
- D. First half of the 1st century AD

19a.

- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *L(ucio) Ceio L(uci) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu)*
Labeoni
iter(um) d(uo)v(iro) i(ure) d(icundo)
quinq(uennali)
Menomachus l(ibertus)
- G. Freedman erected this for his patron
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1037*

19b.

- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *Ceia L(uci) f(ilia) uxor[i - - -]*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL X 1038*

19c.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *L(ucius) Ceius Com
munis*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1039*

19d.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *L(ucius) Ceius L(uci) l(ibertus)
Lucifer*
- G. Freedman
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1040*

19e.

- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *Serviliae [- - -]
amico animi [- - -]*
- G. Unknown
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL X 1021*

19f.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Luceia Ianuaria*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *CIL X 1022*

20.

- A. Kockel 1983: Nord 40
- B. Small rectangular tomb niche, class 7
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella with inscription, allocation doubtful
- F. *Salvius puer*
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL X 1032*

21.

- A. Tomb of N. Velasius Gratus, Kockel 1983: Nord 41
- B. Tomb niche, class 7
- C. One
- D. Ca. AD 50
- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *N(umerio) Velasio Grato*
vix(it) ann(is) XII
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL* X 1041

22.

- A. Tomb of M. Arrius o. L. Diomedes, Kockel 1983: Nord 42
- B. Simple burial chamber with façade that imitates an aedicula, class 5
- C. Five
- D. Ca. AD 50

22a.

- E. Inscription plaque on supporting wall of the hill, below the monument
- F. *Arriae M(arci) filiae*
Diomedes l(ibertus) sibi suis
- G. Freedman erected this tomb for himself, his patron and his family
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL* X 1043

22b.

- E. Inscription plaque on front side of the monument
- F. *M(arcus) Arrius C(aiae) l(ibertus)*
Diomedes
sibi et suis memoriae
magister pag(i) Aug(usti) F(elicis)
Suburb(ani)
- G. Freedman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL* X 1042

22c.

- E. Columella with inscription close to the street
- F. *M(arco) Arrio*
Primogeni
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible
- I. *CIL* X 1045

22d.

- E. Columella with inscription close to the street
- F. *Arriae M(arci) l(iberta)*
Utili
- G. Freedwoman
- H. Visible
- I. *CIL* X 1044

22e.

- E. Inscription plaque found near the tomb
- F. *Arri[us] H[er]mes*
Patri fec(it)
de suo
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1946, 129 no. 411

23.

- A. Kockel 1983: Nord 43
- B. Chambered aedicula tomb with enclosure, class 4
- C. Two
- D. First half of the 1st century AD

23a.

- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *P(ublius) Sittius Diophantus*
augustalis
- G. Freedman
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL* X 1034

23b.

- E. Inscription plaque
- F. [- - -] *x Ancile*
[- - -] *cilt Rufi*
[- - -] *xit an(nis) XX*
- G. Unknown
- H. Unknown
- I. *CIL* X 1035

III.2 Porta Vesuvio

4 tombs, 4 inscriptions, 4 deceased

Main source: *NSc* 1910

24.

- A. *NSc* 1910: Tomba i
- B. Unfinished tomb with rectangular floor plan and tympanon on front wall, class 6
- C. One
- D. Not finished before AD 79
- E. Inscription plaque placed on the tympanon
- F. *M(arco) Veio Marcello*
vivo locus monumenti
d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)
- G. Freeborn

H. Visible from the street
I. NSc 1910, 403

25.

A. NSc 1910: Tomba j
B. Altar tomb with enclosure, class 2
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Inscription plaque placed on the altar front
F. *C(aio) Vestorio Prisco aedil(i)
vixit annis XXII
locus sepulturae datus et
in funere HS ∞ ∞
d(ecreto) d(ecurionem)
Mulvia Prisca mater p(ecunia) s(ua)*
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. NSc 1910, 402

26.

A. NSc 1910: Tomba k
B. Schola tomb, class 1
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Fragmented inscription plaque
F. *[Ar]elliae N(umeri) f(iliae) Tertullae Vei Frontonis
huic decurion(es) locum sepulturae post mortem dederunt et funus ex p(ecunia)
p(ropria) decre(verunt)*
G. Freeborn
H. Visible from the street
I. NSc 1910, 405

27.

A. NSc 1910: Tomba l
B. Column on base, no class
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Inscription plaque placed on the base
F. *Septumiae L(ucia) f(iliae)
d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)
locus sepulturae publice
datus et in funere HS ∞ ∞
Antistia P(ubli) f(ilia) Prima filia
fecit*
G. Freeborn
H. Visible from the street
I. NSc 1910, 407f.

III.3 Porta di Nola

5 tombs, 5 inscriptions, 5 deceased

Main source: De Caro 1979

28.

- A. Tomb of Aesquillia Polla
- B. Schola tomb with column, class 1
- C. One
- D. Shortly before AD 79
- E. Inscription plaque placed on the column base
- F. *N(umerius) Herrenius N(umeri) f(ilius) Men(enia)
Celsus d(uo)v(ir) i(ure) d(icundo) iter(um) praef(ectus)
fabr(um)
Aesquilliae C(ai) f(iliae) Pollae
uxori vixit annos XXII
locus sepulturae publice datus
d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *N*Sc 1910, 385

29.

- A. Tomb of Marcus Obellius Firmus
- B. Tomb with enclosure, class 6
- C. One
- D. Shortly before AD 79
- E. The inscription plaque is placed on the tympanon on the front side
- F. *M(arco) Obellio M(arci) f(ilio) Firmo aedili
I(vir) o i(ure) d(icundo) huic decuriones loc(um)
sepulturae et in funer(ibus) HS IΩΩ censuer(unt) pagani
thuris p(ondo) XXX et clupeum, ministr(i) eor(um) in odorib(us)
HS CIO et clupeum*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. De Franciscis 1976, 246

30.

- A. Tomb of Lucius Betutius Niger
- B. Stele, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Gravestone placed along the road
- F. *L(ucius) Betutius
Q(uinti) f(ilius) Oufen(tina) tribu
Niger mil(es) c(o)ho(rtis) II praetoriae
vix(it) ann(is) XX
mil(itavit) ann(os) II*
- G. Freeborn

H. Visible from the street
I. De Caro 1979, no. 1

31.

A. Tomb of Lucius Manilius Saturninus
B. Stele, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Gravestone placed along the road
F. *L(ucius) Manilius*
Quarti f(ilius) Rom(ilia tribu)
Saturninus
dom(o) Ateste
spec(ulator) mil(itavit) ann(os) V
vix(it) ann(os) XXIV
fr ater posuit
G. Freeborn
H. Visible from the street
I. De Caro 1979, no. 3

32.

A. Tomb of Sextus Caesernius Montanus
B. Stele, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Gravestone placed along the road
F. *Sex(tus) Caesernius*
Sp(uri) f(ilius) Vel(ina tribu) Montanus
Aquileia specul(ator)
mil(itavit) an(nos) XI h(ic) s(itus) e(st)
G. Freeborn
H. Visible from the street
I. De Caro 1979, no. 4

III.4 City wall inscriptions between Porta di Nola and Porta di Sarno

13 tombs, 13 inscriptions, 13 deceased

Main source: *CIL X*

33.

A. *CIL X 8353*
B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Cremation inscription on city wall
F. *Pausia Iulia*
G. Freeborn

H. Visible
I. *CIL* X 8353

34.

A. *CIL* X 8355
B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Cremation inscription on city wall
F. *Αολλία*
Χηλειδών
G. Unknown
H. Visible
I. *CIL* X 8355

35.

A. *CIL* X 8351
B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Cremation inscription on city wall
F. *A Fisti v*
locu
G. Unknown
H. Visible
I. *CIL* X 8351

36.

A. *CIL* X 8357
B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Cremation inscription on city wall
F. *Protus*
G. Slave
H. Visible
I. *CIL* X 8357

37.

A. *CIL* X 8349
B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Cremation inscription on city wall
F. *Alleia*
Calaes
Al(leia) Nu(m)phe
G. Unknown
H. Visible
I. *CIL* X 8349

38.

- A. *CIL X 8350*
- B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Cremation inscription on city wall
- F. *C(aius) Cosidius*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible
- I. *CIL X 8350*

39.

- A. *CIL X 8352*
- B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Cremation inscription on city wall
- F. *A S*
A[3]ISTII F
- G. Probably slave
- H. Visible
- I. *CIL X 8352*

40.

- A. *CIL X 8354*
- B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Cremation inscription on city wall
- F. *LOIA*
- G. Slave
- H. Visible
- I. *CIL X 8354*

41.

- A. *CIL X 8356*
- B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Cremation inscription on city wall
- F. *NA*
- G. Unknown
- H. Visible
- I. *CIL X 8356*

42.

- A. *CIL X 8358*
- B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Probably one

F. *C(ai) Venni*
G. Unknown
H. Visible
I. *CIL X 8358*

43.

A. *CIL X 8359*
B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Cremation inscription on city wall
F. *XAI*
G. Unknown
H. Visible
I. *CIL X 8359*

44.

A. *CIL X 8361*
B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Cremation inscription on city wall
F. *Cai[*
G. Unknown
H. Visible
I. *CIL X 8361*

45.

A. *CIL X 8361*
B. Cremation inscription on city wall, class 9
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Cremation inscription on city wall
F. *LP(?)*
G. Unknown
H. Visible
I. *CIL X 8361*

III.5 Porta Nocera

45 tombs, 112 inscriptions, 132 deceased

Main sources: D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b

46.

A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: ES 17
B. Chambered tomb, class 5
C. Three

- D. After AD 50
- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *C(aio) Cuspio C(ai) l(iberto) Cyro mag(istro) pag(i) Aug(usti) Fel(icis) Sub urb(ani) Vesuiae Iucundae Uxor(i) C(aio) Cuspio C(ai) l(iberto) Salvio mag(istro) pag(i) Aug(usti) Fel(icis) Sub urb(ani)*
- G. Two freedmen and one freeborn woman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 17

47.

- A. Tomb of Lucius Barbidius, D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: ES 15
- B. Tomb with large arcuated niches built in its façade, class 6
- C. Ten
- D. After AD 50

47a.

- E. Inscription plaque placed above the entrance door
- F. *L(ucius) Barbidius L(uci) l(ibertus) Communis mag(ister) Pag(i) Aug(usti) Fel(icis) Suburb(ani) sibi et Pithiae P(ublico) l(ibertae) Rufilliae uxori Vitali et Ianuario l(iberis)*
- G. One freedmen, one freedwoman and their two children
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 15

47b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *L(ucio) Barbidio L(uci) l(iberto) Communi*
- G. Freedman
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 15

47c.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Acris vixit ann(is) XV*
- G. Slave
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 15

47d.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *A(ulus) Dentatius Fortunatus*
- G. Unknown
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 15

47e.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *A(ulus) Dentatius Felix*
- G. Unknown
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 15

47f.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *A(ulo) Dentatio A(uli) l(iberto) Celso*
- G. Freedman
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 15

47g.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Pompeia Aucta vix(it) an(nis) XXV*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 15

47h.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Vitalis puer v(ixit) ann(is) III*
- G. Freeborn (son of freedmen)
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 15

47i.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Ianuaris v(ixit) a(nnis) II*
- G. Son of freedmen
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 15

47j.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *L(ucio) Barbidio Vitali*
- G. Freedman
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 15

48.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: ES 11
- B. Graveplot with enclosure wall and tympanon on frontside, class 6

C. Three

D. AD 50-60

48a.

E. Inscription plaque placed above the entrance

F. *A(ulo) Veio*

Attico

Augustali

G. Freedman

H. Visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 11

48b.

E. Columella with inscription

F. *A(ulus) Veius Ny*

mphius v(ixit) a(nnis) XXVIII

G. Freeborn

H. Not visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 11

48c.

E. Columella with inscription

F. *Arriae Spudis*

G. Freeborn

H. Not visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 11

49.

A. Tomb of Caius Munatius Faustus and Naevoleia Tyche, D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: ES 9

B. Monumental tomb with tympanon over the entrance, class 6

C. Nine

D. AD 50-60

49a.

E. Inscription plaque placed on the tympanon of the façade

F. *C(aius) Munatius Faustus*

Augustal(is) et pagan(us) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) sibi et

Naevoleiae Tyche conjugii

G. One freedman and one freedwoman

H. Visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 9

49b.

E. Columella with inscription

F. *C(aio) Munatio*

Fauso (sic!)

G. Freedman

H. Not visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 9

49c.

E. Columella with inscription

F. *L(ucio) Naevole*
io Eutrapelo
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 9

49d.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Munatia Euche*
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 9

49e.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Helpis*
vix(it) a(nnis) III
G. Slave
H. Not visible from the street
I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 9

49f.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Primigenia*
vix(it) m(ensibus) IX d(iebus) V
G. Slave
H. Not visible from the street
I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 9

49g.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Arsinoe*
vix(it) an(nis) III
G. Slave
H. Not visible from the street
I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 9

49h.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Psiche*
vix(it) an(nis) III mensibus VI
G. Slave
H. Not visible from the street
I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 9

49i.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Atimetus*
vix(it) annis XXVI
G. Slave
H. Not visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 9

50.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: ES 3
- B. Chambered podium tomb with circular superstructure, class 4
- C. Three
- D. Probably late republican period

50a.

- E. Inscription plaque placed on the façade
- F. *Veia N(umeri) f(ilia) Barchilla
sibi et N(umerio) Agrestino Equitio
Pulchro viro suo*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 3

50b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Halo
filio
p(ater)*
- G. Slave
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 3

51.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: ES 1
- B. Podium tomb with niches, class 4
- C. One. Due to chronological issues, De Caro does not consider this inscription as belonging to the grave
- D. Unknown
- E. Fragmented inscription plaque
- F. ... *argen(tarius) ...
... [ma]g(ister) pagan[us] ...*
- G. Unknown
- H. Unknown
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, ES 3

52.

- A. Tomb of Lucius Ceius Serapio and his wife Helvia, D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 3
- B. Tomb on podium with aedicula, class 4
- C. Two
- D. Second half of the 1st century BC
- E. Inscription plaque placed on the façade
- F. *L(ucius) Ceius L(uci) l(ibertus) Serapio
argentarius
Helvia M(arci) f(ilia) uxor sacr(averunt)*
- G. Freedman and his freeborn wife
- H. Visible from the street
- I. Castrén 1975, 152

53.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 5
- B. Enclosure with tympanon and decorated rear wall, class 6
- C. Eight
- D. AD 50-79

53a.

- E. Inscription plaque placed on the tympanon of the rear wall
- F. *A(ulus) Clodius A(uli) f(ilius) Iustus
sibi et
A(ulo) Clodio G(aiae) l(iberto) Aegialo patri
et Tironiae G(aiae) l(ibertae) Repentinae matri*
- G. One freedman, one freedwoman and their son. The son erected the monument for himself and his parents.
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 5

53b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Clodiae
A(uli) f(iliae)
sacerdoti
p(ublicae)*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 5

53c.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Clodia G(aiae) l(iberta)
Nigilla porcar(ia)
publica*
- G. Freedwoman who was a *porcaria publica*, a public pig herder
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. Castrén 1975, 155, no. 119, 13

53d.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *A(ulus) Clodius
G(aiae) l(ibertus) Faustus*
- G. Freedman
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 5

53e.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *A(ulus) Clodius A(uli) f(ilius)
Pompeianus*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 5

53f.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Lucidus*
vix(it) an(nis) V
- G. Slave
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 5

54.

- A. Tomb of Publius Favius Philoxenus, Flavia Agatheia and Publius Flavius Acastus, D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 7
- B. Tomb with numerous exterior niches, class 6
- C. Three
- D. Late Roman republic (before 27 BC)

54a.

- E. Inscription plaque belonging to a statue, that was placed in one of the niches
- F. *P(ublius) Flavius P(ubli) l(ibertus)*
Philoxenus
Flavia P(ubli) l(iberta) Agatheia
vivont
- G. One freedman and one freedwoman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 7

54b.

- E. Inscription plaque belonging to a statue, that was placed in one of the niches
- F. *P(ublius) Flavius*
P(ubli) l(ibertus) Philoxen(us)
Flavia P(ubli) l(iberta)
Agatheia
- G. One freedman and one freedwoman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 7

54c.

- E. Inscription on plinth of a female bust
- F. *Flavia P(ublica) l(iberta)*
Agatheia Salanie(nsis)
- G. Freedwoman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 7

54d.

- E. Columella with inscription on the right side of the entrance
- F. *Spiron*
vix(it) ann(is) III
- G. Slave
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 7

55.

- A. Exedra of Eumachia, D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 11
- B. Tomb with monumental exedra, class 4
- C. Six
- D. AD 14-54

55a.

- E. Two inscription plaques on the front wall, which form together the following inscription:
- F. *Eumachia*
L(uci) f(ilia)
sibi et suis
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 11

55b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *L(ucius) Eumachius*
Aprilis
vix(it) annis XX
- G. Freeborn, family member of Eumachia
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 11

55c.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Cn(eio) Alleio Mai l(iberto) Eroti Augustali*
gratis creato cui
Augustales et Pagani
in funeris honor(ibus)
HS singular milia
decreverunt vixit
annis XXII
- G. Freedman
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 11

55d.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Cn(eius) Alleius Logus*
omnium collegioru(m)
benemeritus
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 11

55e.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Pomponia Dech*
arcis Allei Nobilis
Alleii Mai mater

- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 11

55f.

- E. Columella with inscription, placed in the exterior wall
- F. *Antistia M(arci) l(iberta)*
Auxesis
- G. Freedwoman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 15

56.

- A. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 13
- B. Aedicula tomb on podium, class 4
- C. Two
- D. Late republican period
- E. Inscription plaque on front wall
- F. *M(arcus) Octavius M(arci) f(ilius)*
Men(enia tribu) et Vertia G(aiae) l(iberta)
Philumina in loco
communi monument(um) communem sibi
postereisque sueis fecerunt
- G. One freeborn man and his freed wife
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 13

57.

- A. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 15
- B. Cippus, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Stele with inscription set in wall of adjacent tomb (tomb of Eumachia, no. 55)
- F. *C(aius) Minatius*
Iucundus
mag(ister) pag(anorum)
Pag(i) Au(usti)
F(elicis) [S](ub) Ur[bani]
in f(rontem) p(edes) x
int(ro) p(edes) XVI
- G. Freedman
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 15

58.

- A. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 17
- B. Chambered tomb, probably altar tomb, class 2
- C. Five
- D. Late republican period
- E. An inscription plaque was placed just below the ceiling on the northern wall of the monument. It consists of five paragraphs.

F. [*L(ucius?) Tillius*] *C(ai) f(ilius) Cor(nelia)*
[tr(ibunus) mil(itum) L]eg(ionis) X equest(ris)
duovir i(ure) d(icundo)

C(aio) Tillio C(ai) f(ilio) Cor(nelia)
Rufo patri duumvir(o)
i(ure) d(icundo) bis aedili i(ure) d(icundo) Arpini
auguri Verulis

C(aio) Tillio L(uci) f(ilius)
Cor(nelia) avo

Fadiae C(ai) f(iliae)
matri

C(aio) Tillio C(ai) f(ilio) C[or](nelia)
Rufo fratri tr(ibuno) mil(itum)
Leg(ionis) X
auguri Verulis

G. Freeborn

H. Visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 17

59.

A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 17b

B. Niche tomb, class 7

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella with inscription, placed in rear wall

F. *T(itus) Mut*

tius Pro

culus v(ixit)

a(nnis) XXV

G. Freeborn

H. Not visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 17b

60.

A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 19a

B. Traces of a square enclosure, class 6

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella with inscription

F. *Helle Puel*

la vixit an

nis IV

G. Slave

H. Unknown

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 19a

61.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 21
- B. Graveplot with enclosure wall, class 6
- C. Two
- D. Unknown

61a.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Stalliae*
Haphe G(aiae) l(ibertae)
- G. Freedwoman
- H. Unknown
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 21

61b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Bebrix*
vix(it) an(nis) VI
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 21

62.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 23
- B. Tomb with aedicula, class 4
- C. Six
- D. AD 50-70

62a.

- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *P(ublius) Vesonius G(aiae) l(ibertus)*
Phileros Augustalis
vivos monument(um)
fecit sibi et suis

Vesoniae P(ubli) f(iliae)
patronae et M(arco) Orfello M(arci) l(iberto)
Fausto amico
- G. One freedman erected this for himself, his patrona and his freed friend
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 23

62b.

- E. Inscription plaque, just below no. 62a
- F. *Hospes pavillisper morare*
si non est molestum et quid ecites
cognosce amicum hunc quem
speraveram mi esse ab eo mihi accusato
res subiecti et iudicia instaurata dies
gratias ago et meae innocentiae omni
molestia liberates sum qui nostrum mentitur
eum nec di penates nec inferi
- G. -

H. Visible from the street
I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 23

62c.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *P(ublius) Vesonius
Phileros*
G. Freedman
H. Not visible from the street
I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 23

62d.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Vesonia
P(ubli) f(ilia)*
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 23

62e.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *P(ublio) Vesonio
Proculo
vixit a(nnis) XIII*
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 23

62f.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Vesonia Urbana
vixit annis XX*
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 23

62g.

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Eliodo
rus vix(it) annis XVIII*
G. Slave
H. Not visible from the street
I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 23

63.

A. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 25a
B. Niche tomb, class 7
C. One
D. After AD 25

63a.

E. Inscription plaque was placed on the tympanon above the niche

- F. *Castriciae G(aiae) l(ibertae)*
Priscae vixit annis
XXV hic sita est
- G. Freedwoman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 25a

63b.

- E. Columella with inscription found inside the niche, close to the rear wall
- F. *Castricia*
G(aiae) l(iberta) Prisca
vix(it) ann(is) XXV h(ic) s(ita) e(st)
- G. Freedwoman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 25a

64.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 27
- B. Probably tomb with aedicula on a podium, class 4
- C. One
- D. Second half of the 1st century BC
- E. Inscription plaque on front side of the podium
- F. *A(ulus) Campius*
T(iti) l(ibertus) Antiochus
- G. Freedman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 27

65.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 29
- B. Tomb with aedicula on a high podium, class 4
- C. Two
- D. Middle of the 1st century BC
- E. Round inscription plaque was placed on the north side of the podium
- F. *Annedia Q(uinti) f(ilia)*
ex testament
suo de sua pecunia
heredes suos iusit fieri monumentum
sibi et L(ucio) Caesio C(ai) f(ilio)
d(uo) v(iro) i(ure) d(icundo) viro suo
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 29

66.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: OS 31
- B. Tomb on podium with niches, class 4
- C. Four
- D. Republican period

66a.

- E. Inscription carved into the wall on the northern side

- F. *C(aio) Stronnio P(ubli) f(ilio) Pap(iria tribu) pater*
C(aio) Stronnio C(ai) f(ilio) f(ilio) Pap(iria tribu)
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 31

66b.

- E. Inscription carved into the wall on the northern side
- F. *M(arcus) Stronnius C(ai) l(ibertus) Metinius*
de sua peq(unia) fec(it) patroneis
sueis et sibi et Stronniae C(ai) l(ibertae)
Acatarchini
- G. One freedman, his patrons and one freedwoman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, OS 31

67.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: EN 4
- B. Tholos tomb on podium, class 4
- C. One
- D. 27 BC-AD 14
- E. Inscription plaque in the upper center on south side of the podium
- F. *L(ucio) Cellio L(uci) f(ilio)*
Men(enia) duo vir(o) i(iure) d(icundo) tr(ibuno)
mil(itum) a populo
ex testam(ento)
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, EN 4

68.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: EN 8
- B. Graveplot with enclosure wall, class 6
- C. Two
- D. Unknown

68a.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Aninia*
Didime
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, EN 8

68b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Aninia*
[C]naei l(iberti) l(iberta) Tertia
- G. Freedwoman
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, EN 8

69.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: EN 16
- B. Graveplot with enclosure wall, class 6
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *N(umerio) Alleio*
Aucto
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, EN 16

70.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: EN 22
- B. Graveplot with enclosure wall, class 6
- C. Four
- D. Ca. AD 60
- E. Inscription plaque placed on the tympanon of the south side
- F. *L(ucius) Publicius Syneros*
et Aebiae L(uci) l(ibertae) Faustae
et L(ucio) Aebio L(uci) l(iberto) Aristoni patr(i)
et Aebiae L(uci) l(ibertae) Hilarae
sibi et suis
- G. Lucius Publicius Syneros erected this for himself and his family, Aebia Fausta, her father Lucius Aebius Aristo and Aebia Hilara. Lucius Publicius Syneros might have had servile ancestors but he himself was probably freeborn.⁵⁰ The other three persons mentioned in this inscription have all been freed during their lifetime.
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, EN 22

71.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: EN 30
- B. Graveplot with enclosure wall, class 6
- C. Three
- D. 1st century AD
- E. An inscription plaque is placed on the gable of the tympanon
- F. *Melissaeae N(umeri) filiae*
M(arco) Servilio p(atri)
M(arco) Servilio filio
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, EN 30

72.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: EN 32
- B. Probably tomb on a podium with aedicula, class 4
- C. One
- D. Probably Julio-Claudian period
- E. Columella with inscription

⁵⁰ Castrén 1975, 211, no. 325.

- F. *L(uci) Sepuni L(uci) f(ili)*
Sandil[ia]n[i]
[I]n frontem
p(edes) XX in a[g]r(um)
[p]edes XX publice
datum ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)
- G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, EN 32

73.

- A. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: EN 34
B. Traces of a tomb were found, no detailed information available. The area of the tomb is marked by several cippi along the road, no class
C. One
D. Before AD 62
E. Cippus with inscription, allocation doubtful
F. *Afreia M(arci) l(iberta)*
Prima
G. Freedwoman
H. Not visible from the street
I. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, EN 34

74.

- A. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a: EN 42
B. Tomb with enclosure wall, class 6
C. One
D. Probably first half of the 1st century AD
E. Columella with inscription was placed inside the enclosure
F. *Derecia*
Sp(uri) f(ilia)
Methe
v(ixit) a(nnis) XXI
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983a, EN 42

75.

- A. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b: Tomba D Nord
B. Probably tomb on podium with aedicula, class 4
C. Two
D. Probably late republican period
E. Inscription plaque on the front side
F. *Caecilia L(uci) l(iberta) Agathia*
viva sibi fecit et
L(ucio) Caecilio L(uci) l(iberto) Dioscuridi
viro suo
G. Freedman and freedwoman
H. Visible from the street
I. D’Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 206f.

76.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b: Tomba E Nord
- B. Altar tomb with rectangular enclosure, class 2
- C. Five
- D. Probably Tiberian period

76a.

- E. Inscription plaque on altar front
- F. *Novia C(ai) l(iberta) Amoena
sibi et suis
et L(ucio) Iacellio Virillioni*
- G. One freedwoman and one freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 207f.

76b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Cornelia Quieta
vixit annis XXX*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 207f.

76c.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *C(aius) Novius
G(aiae) l(ibertus) Lupercus*
- G. Freedman
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 207f.

76d.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Cn(aeus) Turranius
Primus vix(it) an(nis) XXXX*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 207f.

77.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b: Tomba F Nord
- B. Graveplot with enclosure wall and tympanon on front side, class 6
- C. Two
- D. Neronian-Flavian period

77a.

- E. An inscription plaque was placed on the tympanon above the entrance
- F. *C(aio) Veranio Q(uinti) f(ilio)
Rufo Ilvir(o)
Verania Q(uinti) l(iberta) Clara optimo
patrono sibi et suis*
- G. Freedwoman, her patron and her family
- H. Visible from the street

I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 209f.

77b.

E. Columella with inscription

F. *Verania Q(uinti) l(iberta)*

Clara

G. Freedwoman

H. Not visible from the street

I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 209f.

77c.

E. Columella with inscription

F. *C(aius) Veranius*

Q(uinti) f(ilius) Rufus aed(ilis)

G. Freeborn

H. Not visible from the street

I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 209f.

78.

A. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b: Tomba H Nord

B. Monumental arch, class 3

C. Three

D. Probably Augustan-Tiberian period

78a.

E. Central inscription plaque above the arch

F. *Blaesiae*

C(ai) l(ibertae) Nicae

Malchio l(ibertus)

G. Freedman erected this for freedwoman

H. Visible from the street

I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 212f.

78b.

E. Inscription plaque above the arch, on the left of the central plaque.

F. *Blaesiae*

G(aiae) l(ibertae) Quartae

G. Freedwoman

H. Visible from the street

I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 212f.

78c.

E. Inscription plaque placed above the arch, on the right of the central plaque

F. *M(arcus) Blaesius*

G(aiae) l(ibertus) Malchio

G. Freedman

H. Visible from the street

I. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 212f.

79.

A. D' Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b: Tomba I Nord

B. Monumental arch, class 3

C. Four

D. Late republican period

79a.

E. Central inscription plaque placed on the façade above the arch.

F. *M(arcus) Lollius M(arci) l(ibertus)*

Nicia

Lollia M(arci) l(iberta)

Hermiona

et libert(i) et liberta(e)

G. One freedman, one freedwoman and their freedmen

H. Visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 213f.

79b.

E. Left inscription plaque placed on the façade above the arch

F. *M(arcus) Lollius*

M(arci) l(ibertus) Felix

G. Freedman

H. Visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 213f.

79c.

E. Right inscription plaque placed on the façade above the arch

F. *M(arcus) Lollius M(arci) l(ibertus)*

Lucio

G. Freedman

H. Visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 213f.

80.

A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b: Area A Sud

B. No evidence of any monumental structures, columellae were placed in a line, class 8

C. Three

D. Unknown

80a.

E. Columella with inscription

F. *L(ucius) Nonius*

Celer vixit

annum et me[n]

ses quat[tu]or

G. Freeborn

H. Not visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 215f.

80b.

E. Columella with inscription

F. *A(ulus) Staius*

Moschus

G. Freeborn

H. Not visible from the street

I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 215f.

80c.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Hygia*
vix(it) an(nis) XVI
- G. Slave
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 215f.

81.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b: Area B Sud
- B. No clear evidence of any monumental structures, columellae placed in U-shape, class 8
- C. Six
- D. Unknown

81a.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Mercurialis*
vixit annis XI
- G. Slave
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 216f.

81b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Calventia*
Primilla
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 216f.

81c.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Sex(to)*
Numisio
Aucto
Calventia Cloe
patri
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 216f.

81d.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *L(ucius) Calventius*
Amplius
v(ixit) a(nnis) VI
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 216f.

81e.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *L(ucius) Calventius*
Cytherus
vix(it) annis XX
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 216f.

81f.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *L(ucius) Calventio*
Staphlyo
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 216f.

82.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b: Area D Sud
- B. Maybe niche tomb, no class
- C. Two
- D. Probably late republican period

82a.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Secun*
dus
- G. Slave
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 219f.

82b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *C(aius) Auficius*
Clemens
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 219f.

83.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b: Area E Sud
- B. Tomb enclosure with entrance arch on front side, class 6
- C. One
- D. Probably late republican period
- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Valentinus*
v(ixit) a(nnis) V
- G. Slave
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 220f.

84.

- A. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b: Area G Sud
- B. Grave plot with enclosure wall, where a row of columellae was placed close to the rear wall, class 6
- C. Five
- D. Probably 1st century AD

84a.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *P(ublio) Cluvio attico*
mag(istro) pag(i) subur(bani)
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 223f.

84b.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Calidia*
Propolis
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 223f.

84c.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Calidia*
Aucta
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 223f.

84d.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *M(arcus) Decidius M(arci) f(ilius)*
Macer v(ixit) a(nnis) VIII
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 223f.

84e.

- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Callidia Soteris*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 223f.

85.

- A. This inscription plaque was found without context in the middle of the street between the tombs H nord and G sud
- B. Unknown
- C. Three
- D. Probably Augustan-Julio Claudian period

- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *T(ito) Vibio T(iti) l(iberto) Philodespoto et Popidiae G(aiae) l(ibertae) Augeni et T(ito) Vibio Primo l(iberto)*
- G. Two freedmen and one freedwoman
- H. Unknown
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 227

86.

- A. This inscription plaque was found without context in the middle of the street between the tombs H nord and G sud
- B. Unknown
- C. One
- D. Probably Augustan-Julio Claudian period
- E. Inscription plaque
- F. *Popidiae Venustae Popidius Cotidianus*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983b, 227

87.

- A. Mau 1888: Sepolcri della Via Nuceria, no. 1
- B. Monumental arch, class 3
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Inscription plaque found in the earth around the tomb
- F. *Alfiae N(umeri) l(ibertae) Servilliae*
- G. Freedwoman
- H. Unknown
- I. Mau 1888, 123

88.

- A. Mau 1907: Grabnische des Apuleius und der Veia
- B. Monumental niche tomb with entrance arch, class 7
- C. Two
- D. Unknown
- 88a.**
- E. Cippus with inscription
- F. *Festae Apulei f(iliae) vix(it) ann(os) XVII*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. Mau 1907, 451

88b.

- E. Cippus with inscription
- F. *[C]onviva Veiaes*

vix(it) an(nis) XX

G. Slave

H. Not visible from the street

I. Mau 1907, 451

89.

A. Mau 1907: Monument des L. Caesius und der Titia

B. Monumental arch, class 3

C. Three

D. Probably Augustan-Tiberian period

89a.

E. Columella with inscription

F. *L(ucio) Caesio*

L(uci) l(iberto)

Logo

G. Freedman

H. Not visible from the street

I. *NSc* 1887, 34

89b.

E. Columella with inscription

F. *Tit(ia) G(aiae) l(iberta) Vesbina*

G. Freedwoman

H. Not visible from the street

I. Mau 1907, 452

89c.

E. Columella with inscription

F. *Titia G(aiae) l(iberta) Optata*

G. Freedwoman

H. Not visible from the street

I. Mau 1907, 452

90.

A. Mau 1907: Bogenmonument des P. Mancius Diogenes

B. Multileveled monumental tomb with arch and aedicula, class 4

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Inscription plaque on front of the tomb

F. *P(ublio) Mancio P(ubli) l(iberto) Diogeni*

ex testamento arbitrato

Manciae P(ubli) l(ibertae) Dorinis

G. Freedman

H. Visible from the street

I. Mau 1907, 452

III.6 Porta di Stabia

3 tombs, 3 inscriptions, 3 deceased

Main source: *NSc* 1890

91.

- A. The schola of Tullius, closest tomb to the gate
- B. Schola tomb with remains of a rectangular base, class 1
- C. One
- D. Augustan period
- E. Inscription plaque, probably placed on base behind the schola bench, lost today
- F. *M(arco) Tullio*
M(arci) filio
ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *NSc* 1890, 329

92.

- A. The schola of M. Alleius Minius
- B. Schola tomb, class 1
- C. One
- D. Augustan period
- E. Inscription carved in large letters on the back rest of the bench
- F. *M(arco) Alleio Q(uinti) filio Men(enia) Minio Iv(iro) i(ure) d(icundo) locus*
sepulturae publice datus ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *NSc* 1890, 330

93.

- A. Tomb of Cn. Clovatus
- B. Schola tomb with angled shape, class 1
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Inscription carved in large letters on the back rest of the bench
- F. *[C]n(aeo) Clovatio Cn(aei) filio Ivir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) tr(ibuno) mil(itum) loc[us]*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *CIL* X 1065

III.7 Fondo Santilli

37 tombs, 43 inscriptions, 42 deceased

Main sources: *NSc* 1893, 1894, 1897

94.

- A. Tomb of Marcus Petacius Dasius
- B. Small chambered tomb with entranche arch, class 5
- C. Six
- D. Unknown

94a.

- E. Inscription plaque on tympanon on the front side
- F. *M(arcus) Petacius M(arci) l(ibertus) D(asius)*
M(arco) Petaciom f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) [...]
M(arco) Petaciom f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) Seve(ro)
Petaciae M(arci) l(ibertae) Vitali (e)x t(estamento)
- G. Freedman erected this for his two sons and one freedwoman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *NSc* 1893, 333

94b.

- E. Inscription plaque on the southern wall of the tomb
- F. *(Marcus) (Pe)tacius M(arci) l(ibertus) Dasius*
M(arco) (Pe)tacio M(arci) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) Severo fil(io)
Petaciae M(arci) l(iberta) Vitali l(iberta)
- G. Freedman erected this for his son and a freedwoman
- H. Visible from the street
- I. *NSc* 1893, 333

94c.

- E. Columella inside the tomb
- F. *M(arcus) P(etacius) D(asius)*
- G. Freedman
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *NSc* 1893, 333

94d.

- E. Columella inside the tomb
- F. *M(arco) Petacio*
Communi
- G. Son of freedman
- H. Not visible from the street
- I. *NSc* 1893, 334

94e.

- E. Columella inside the tomb
- F. *M(arcus) Petacius M(arci) f(ilius)*
Men(enia tribu) Severus
vixit ann(is) XVII

G. Son of freedman
H. Not visible from the street
I. *NSc* 1893, 334

94f.

E. Columella inside the tomb
F. *Petacia Montai*
vix(it) ann(is) XICI II (sic!)
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. *NSc* 1893, 334

94g.

E. Columella inside the tomb
F. *Petacia*
Rufilla
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. *NSc* 1893, 334

94h.

E. Columella inside the tomb
F. *Petacia Vi*
talis
G. Freedwoman
H. Not visible from the street
I. *NSc* 1893, 334

95.

A. *NSc* 1893, 334: no. 7
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
F. *Q(uintus) Caecilius*
Capitolini l(ibertus) Eros
G. Freedman
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1893, 334

96.

A. *NSc* 1893, 334: no. 8
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
F. *Q(uintus) Caecilius Q(uinti) f(ilius)*
Iunionis
vixit ann(is) XXVII
G. Freeborn
H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1893, 334

97.

A. *NSc* 1893, 334: no. 9

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94

F. *L(ucius) Gavius*

Iucundus

G. Freeborn

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1893, 334

98.

A. *NSc* 1893, 334: no. 10

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94

F. *Felicio*

G. Slave

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1893, 334

99.

A. *NSc* 1893, 334: no. 11

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94

F. *Felícula*

vix(it) ann(is) VIII

G. Slave

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1893, 334

100.

A. *NSc* 1893, 334: no. 12

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94

F. *L(ucius) Spurius*

Pilargyrus

G. Freeborn

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1893, 334

101.

A. *NSc* 1893, 334: no. 13

B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
F. *Claudiae*
Laudicae
Aug(usti) lib(ertae)
vixit ann(is) LV
G. Freedwoman
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1893, 334

102.

A. *NSc* 1894, 15: no. 1
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
F. *Delliae Q(uinti) l(ibertae)*
chiae
G. Freedwoman
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1894, 15

103.

A. *NSc* 1894, 15: no. 2
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
F. *Fortunata v(ixit) an(nis) L*
G. Slave
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1894, 15

104.

A. *NSc* 1894, 15: no. 3
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
F. *Ianuaris*
vix(it) ann(is)
XXV
G. Slave
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1894, 15

105.

A. *NSc* 1894, 15: no. 4
B. Columella, class 8

- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *L(ucio) Laturnio Grato*
pagano
et ministro
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1894, 15

106.

- A. *NSc* 1894, 15: no. 5
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Laturnia*
Ianuarina Calcaria
vix(it) ann(is) XXXXV
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1894, 15

107.

- A. *NSc* 1894, 15: no. 6
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *M(arco) Petacio M(arci) filio*
Men(enia tribu)
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1894, 15

108.

- A. *NSc* 1894, 382: no. 1
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Amandus*
vix(it) an(nis) XX
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1894, 382

109.

- A. *NSc* 1894, 383: no. 2
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One

D. Unknown
E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
F. *Ampliat
anniculi
et mens(es) III*
G. Slave
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1894, 383

110.

A. *NSc* 1894, 383: no. 3
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
F. *Echi[...]
ann(is) X[...]*
G. Slave
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1894, 383

111.

A. *NSc* 1894, 383: no. 4
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
F. *Faventinus*
G. Slave
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1894, 383

112.

A. *NSc* 1894, 383: no. 5
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
F. *Lascivo s(uo)
intrimatu*
G. Slave
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1894, 383

113.

A. *NSc* 1894, 383: no. 6
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
F. *Orles vix(it)*

annis) V

G. Slave

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1894, 383

114.

A. *NSc* 1894, 383: no. 7

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94

F. *Topyrus Plocami*

G. Freeborn

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1894, 383

115.

A. *NSc* 1894, 383: no. 8

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94

F. *Venustus*

vixit an(nis) XIII

mens(ibus) IIII

G. Slave

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1894, 383

116.

A. *NSc* 1894, 384: no. 9

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94

F. *HELICF*

G. Unknown

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1894, 384

117.

A. *NSc* 1894, 384: no. 10

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94

F. *L(ucius) Melissaesus*

Castor august(alis)

G. Freeborn

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1894, 384

118.

- A. *NSc* 1894, 384: no. 11
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *L L AT*
L R S
- G. Unknown
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1894, 384

119.

- A. *NSc* 1894, 384: no. 12
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Neliae*
Cor(nelia) Primigeniae
vix(it) annis XXXXV
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1894, 384

120.

- A. *NSc* 1894, 384: no. 13
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Poppaea Corinn(a)*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1894, 384

121.

- A. *NSc* 1894, 384: no. 14
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Tutiae G(aiae) l(ibertae)*
Licentiae
- G. Freedwoman
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1894, 384

122.

- A. *NSc* 1894, 384: no. 15
- B. Columella, class 8

- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Ursilla*
vix(it) an(nis) XXV
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1894, 384

123.

- A. *NSc* 1894, 385: no. 16
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Fragmented columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Hegia* [...]

Quinta
vix(it) ann(is) I[...]

pro[...]
expec[...]
V[...]

- G. Unknown
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1894, 385

124.

- A. *NSc* 1897, 275: no. 1
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *C(aius) Caecilius Secundus*
miles chort VIII
vix(it) ann(is) XXVIII mil(itavit) ann(is) XIIIIF
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1897, 275

125.

- A. *NSc* 1897, 275: no. 2
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Curia Atalante*
vixit an(nis) XXVIII
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1897, 275

126.

- A. *NSc* 1897, 275: no. 3
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Lasaea*
Venusta
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1897, 275

127.

- A. *NSc* 1897, 275: no. 4
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *C(aio) Quintio*
Restituto
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1897, 275

128.

- A. *NSc* 1897, 275: no. 5
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Annalis*
Lassae
vix(it) an(nis) XXI
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1897, 275

129.

- A. *NSc* 1897, 276: no. 6
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Fortunatus*
vix(it) an(nis) XVII
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1897, 276

130.

- A. *NSc* 1897, 276: no. 7
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella found in the surroundings between wall and tomb nr. 94
- F. *Fortunatus*
Pisulliae Vern(a)
xiv(it) ann(is) IIII
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1897, 276

III.8 Fondo Azzolini

28 tombs, 32 inscriptions, 32 deceased

Main source: *NSc* 1916

131.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 1
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella
- F. D. *Terpnos*
vix(it) an(nis) VI
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

132.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 4
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella
- F. *M(arcus) Epidius*
Monimus
vix(it) ann(is) XXX
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

133.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 5
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One

- D. Unknown
- E. Columella
- F. *M(arcus) Epidius Am
pinomus*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

134.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 7a-c
- B. Arch on podium, class 3
- C. Three
- D. Unknown

134a.

- E. Columella
- F. *Philetus*
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 302

134b.

- E. Columella
- F. *Livis Calliope
v(ixit) ann(is) XXX*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 302

134c.

- E. Columella
- F. *Martiali*
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 302

135.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 13
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Cornelia
Helpis v(ixit) an(nis) XXII*
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

136.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 23
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One

- D. Unknown
- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Liberalis*
vixit XVII
annis
- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

137.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 27
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *C(aius) Naevi(us) M(arci) f(ilius) Men*
Aciscl
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

138.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 35
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *N Popid(ius?)*
coclea
filio
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

139.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 38
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Greganius*
Hymenaeus
- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

140.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 42
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Felix*
 vixit an(nis) III II
G. Slave
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1916, 303

141.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 49
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella with inscription
F. *Valeriae*
 Pothine
G. Freeborn
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1916, 303

142.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 46
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella with inscription
F. *Tertia*
G. Slave
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1916, 303

143.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 65
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella with inscription
F. *Mythus Epidi*
 Flacci lib(ertus) v(ixit) a(nnis) LXXXV
G. Freedman
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1916, 303

144.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 66
B. Simple chamber tomb, class 5
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella with inscription found inside the tomb
F. *M(arcus) Epidius*
 Dioscuros
G. Freeborn

H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1916, 303

145.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 69
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella with inscription
F. *Ianuaris*
vix(it) an(nis) XXXV
G. Slave
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1916, 303

146.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 81
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella with inscription
F. *A(ulus) Timetus*
v(ixit) ann(is) XI
urbanae
matri
chryseros
fecit pater
pesus cosui
G. Freeborn
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1916, 303

147.

A. Tomb of M. Epidius Antychus, Vibia Pelagia and Vibia Cronice, *NSc* 1916: t 104a-c
B. Monumental niche tomb, class 7
C. Three
D. Unknown

147a.

E. Columella
F. *M(arco) Epidio Antycho*
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street
I. *NSc* 1916, 301ff.

147b.

E. Columella
F. *Vibia Pelagia*
vixit
annis XXXX
G. Freeborn
H. Not visible from the street

I. *NSc* 1916, 301ff.

147c.

E. Columella

F. *Vibia Crocine*

vixit a(nnis) LXXX

G. Freeborn

H. Not visible from the street

I. *NSc* 1916, 301ff.

148.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 106

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella with inscription

F. *M(arco) Epidio*

Thychni

G. Freeborn

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1916, 303

149.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 107

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella with inscription

F. *M(arco) Aemilio*

milo

G. Freeborn

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1916, 303

150.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 108

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella with inscription

F. *Epidia*

Lais

G. Freeborn

H. Unknown

I. *NSc* 1916, 303

151.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 109

B. Columella, class 8

C. One

D. Unknown

E. Columella with inscription
F. *Epidia*
 Euodia
 vix(it) ann(is) XIII
G. Freeborn
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1916, 303

152.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 110
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella with inscription
F. *Epidiae*
 Veneriae
G. Freeborn
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1916, 303

153.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 111
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella with inscription
F. *Epidia*
 Agate
G. Freeborn
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1916, 303

154.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 114
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella with inscription
F. *Primigenia*
 vix(it) ann(is) XIII
G. Slave
H. Unknown
I. *NSc* 1916, 303

155.

A. *NSc* 1916: t 116
B. Columella, class 8
C. One
D. Unknown
E. Columella with inscription
F. *L(uci) Livinei*

D IXI

- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

156.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 117
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Felicio Va(lerio)*

XXIIX

- G. Freeborn
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

157.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 118
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Conus vix(it)*

annis XXX

- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

158.

- A. *NSc* 1916: t 119
- B. Columella, class 8
- C. One
- D. Unknown
- E. Columella with inscription
- F. *Glypte*

- G. Slave
- H. Unknown
- I. *NSc* 1916, 303

IV. Analysis of the catalogue

IV.1 Limitations of the material

Even though the catalogue provides several characteristics for every single inscription, the material has its natural limitations. Of course, some basic factors can be taken for granted. For instance, the gender of the person derives from its name. Even the duration of the lifetime is often stated explicitly. Another example would be the mentioning of an office held during lifetime. But aside from the information of objective character, only a limited interpretation is possible. Setting the material in a larger context would naturally allow us to get a better picture. But it would go beyond the scope of this thesis to consider all excavations and the evidence which they brought to light.

In addition the knowledge we can gain from epitaphs is restricted, because people obviously only inscribed in stone, what they considered as important and what they wanted other people read. A freedman who did not want to record his status is therefore hard to identify. This is directly connected to the problem, that some persons are possibly not identified correctly. Even though we have no reasons to believe that someone pretended to be a freedman if he actually was not, the reverse of simply not mentioning the status would be possible. In order to eliminate the possible risks of incorrect results, I restricted most parts of the discussion to the persons with assured freedmen status. Moreover one has to consider that the burial plots were often used several times. Research has shown that some enclosures have already been abandoned after one generation and have been re-used in later times by new owners.⁵¹ We must therefore be aware that we can only analyze the last occupants.

Finally, it should be noted, that the catalogue only gives a representation of the preserved inscribed tombs in Pompeii. It excludes quite a substantial number of tombs: burials without any inscription, tomb inscriptions which have been damaged by bad weather conditions or other factors as well as the many assumed inscriptions which remain to be discovered in the future.

⁵¹ Van Andringa & Lepetz 2010, 118.

IV.2 Discussion of the collected material

IV.2.1 The proportions of tombs, inscriptions and deceased

In order to be able to grasp the extensive information given in the catalogue, table 1 provides a summarized overview depicting the sizes of the necropoleis. This is done by counting the total number of tombs, inscriptions and deceased persons mentioned in the inscriptions of the particular necropolis, without a particular focus on where freedmen were buried. Even though the size of a graveyard does not in itself give us knowledge about its overall importance, it might give us an account for which necropoleis were the most usual places to be buried in as an inhabitant of Pompeii. Unfortunately this would be a hasty conclusion. As long as there are still areas within and outside of Pompeii, which have not undergone excavations, one does not know the total sizes of some necropoleis. That accounts especially for the graveyards situated closely to the modern town of Pompeii or to current private property, which for obvious reasons are difficult to excavate fully today.

This problem of incomplete information has already turned up in the catalogue and is a constant companion of the entire thesis. All conclusions drawn out of the collected material can only reflect the information we have accessible today and should therefore not be seen as universally valid. But the accessible information in present day Pompeii does already give us a unique and extraordinary insight of the different cemeteries. Starting with the biggest necropoleis, one should mention the Porta Nocera, Porta Ercolana, Fondo Santilli and Fondo Azzolini. The opposite, much smaller necropoleis are the Porta Vesuvio, Porta di Stabia, Porta di Nola and at last the very special wall inscriptions.

Table 1: Overview of the necropoleis

	Porta Ercolana	Porta Vesuvio	Porta di Nola	City wall inscr.	Porta Nocera	Porta di Stabia	Fondo Santilli	Fondo Azzolini	Total
Tombs	23	4	5	13	45	3	37	28	158
Inscriptions	55	4	5	13	112	3	43	32	267
Deceased	57	4	5	13	132	3	42	32	288

In addition to that, a look at the total numbers gives us a further detail of great importance for understanding the material. Firstly one can make out that the number of the deceased is nearly twice as high as the number of tombs. Secondly one can see in the catalogue that there are many single tombs, which puts us in front of the questions of how the double number of deceased were distributed among the smaller number of tombs. The explanation is simple: A high degree of tombs provide a burial ground for many family members, in which even slaves

could be included. Obviously, in many families there was the custom to provide a burial ground for their slaves.

Other kinds of tombs include a variety of single-, family- and collective tombs. It can be noted that the total number of deceased and inscriptions is quite alike. This is due to the fact that the catalogue only lists deceased persons asserted by inscribed monuments.

At last it is important to consider the time dimension in order to be able to draw the right conclusions out of the proportions of the different types of tombs. The tombs of Pompeii do all in all not have a chronological pattern. The vast majority of the tombs are from the last 30 years of Pompeii's existence and only a minority from the late republic. There is evidence of the theory that tombs were used temporarily. As I stated in chapter IV.1, many grave plots seem to have been reused from time to time and the earlier evidence is covered by later burials.

IV.2.2 Composition of the necropoleis

Having had a look at the size of the different necropoleis, the question arises of who was buried where? Is it possible to discover a certain pattern of social class, especially in regard to the freedman or was the actual place of burial of minor importance from such a perspective?

Table 2 gives an overview of the matter. Here the necropoleis are listed and each depicts how many deceased freedmen, freeborn and slaves were included. The first thing one can determine is that there are distinguishing marks visible. In the biggest necropolis, the Porta Nocera, the widest mixture prevails with all kinds of statuses of the deceased included. There is no certain pattern visible. But already the Porta Ercolana seems to be of greater homogeneity, with a great majority of freeborn and only a few graves for freedmen and slaves. The smaller necropoleis, such as the Porta Vesuvio, Porta di Nola and Porta di Stabia, are exclusively for freeborn, but they have not yet been excavated to their full extend.

Table 2: Overview of the deceased, divided by necropoleis and status of the deceased

	Porta Ercolana	Porta Vesuvio	Porta di Nola	City wall inscriptions	Porta Nocera	Porta di Stabia	Fondo Santilli	Fondo Azzolini
Freedmen	8	--	--	--	52	--	6	1
Likely freedmen	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Freeborn	38	4	5	2	60	3	19	21
Slaves	4	--	--	2	17	--	14	10
Likely Slaves	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--
Unknown	5	--	--	8	3	--	3	--
Total	57	4	5	13	132	3	42	32

Special focus should be directed to the burials found at Fondo Santilli, where the graves are of a very simple nature compared to other necropoleis. This observation lets Mau conclude, that it might have been assigned to the poor inhabitants by the city council. Having that in mind, it is peculiar and quite surprising that one can only assign one single grave to a freedman. Instead, about 30% of the graves are for slaves. Does this give an indication of a good financial status of the freedmen? It would be too early for such a conclusion, despite its apparent plausibility. Clearly though, a great part of the financially lower classes consisted of slaves.

Another place, which might allow us to further complete our picture are the inscriptions of the city wall between Porta di Nola and Porta di Sarno. These memorials are the simplest version of commemoration in Pompeii. The already existing monumental structure of the wall was used for inscription and replaced the use of slabs manufactured for the funerary purpose. This kind of commemoration was obviously cheaper than setting up independent monuments for each person. Similar to the Fondo Santilli, it is quite obvious that this place was for the poor inhabitants of the city. Interestingly there is no evidence of freedmen at all.

However, reasoning that most of the freedmen have been financially well equipped according to this evidence goes too far. One mustn't forget the possibility that poor freedmen might have existed but did either not indicate their freed status or were buried without any epitaph. A freedman did not have a master anymore, who would give the individual room in his own family tomb. Furthermore, the freedmen who succeeded in doing a successful career after their manumission might have, for obvious reasons, had a far greater motivation to designate themselves as freedmen as in the case of poor, unsuccessful freedmen. One could therefore conclude that the necropoleis of the poor might have included many more freedmen, than designated, or they did not receive inscribed tombs at all.

Another highly interesting area is the grave plot of Fondo Azzolini, which was in use long before the Roman colonization of Pompeii. Besides the burials of the Roman period, there are much older Samnite tombs (not included in the catalogue). Most of the epitaphs dating to the Roman period name members of the *gens* Epidii, a traditional Pompeian family, which existed even before the colonization.⁵² As one can see in table 2, there are quite a number of slaves and freedmen buried in the necropolis, indicating that they partly might have belonged to the household of the Epidii.

⁵² *NSc* 1961, 287ff.

In order to get a better feeling for the proportions of the deceased, table 3 uses total percentage figures of the status of the buried. Please note that a certain number of the persons assigned to the freeborn status might be freedmen as well. Due to lack of information, they have been grouped together with the freeborn citizens.⁵³

Table 3: Overview of the proportion of the deceased

Freedmen	Likely freedmen	Freeborn	Slaves	Likely slaves	Unknown
67	2	152	47	1	19
23%	< 1%	53%	16%	< 1%	7%

This leads us to the interesting conclusion that less than 50% of the deceased were Roman citizens without any servile background. One might argue here, that the names inscribed in the epitaphs are a mirror of the composition of the inhabitants of Pompeii, pointing to the condition that the majority of the population at least had a servile background. But as Hope already pointed out, we have to consider that “(...) there existed a distinctive culture of commemoration in which not all members of society could or wanted to participate equally.”⁵⁴

Having this thought in mind, one might observe the composition of the age of the deceased. Especially the graves of the slaves exhibit quite a good documentation of age. 33 out of 47 slave epitaphs mentioned the age of the deceased. Most of them, entire 21 persons, died before their 16th birthday.⁵⁵ Nine died between 16 and 25 years of age.⁵⁶ Only three inscriptions show slaves exceeding the age of 25: being 30, 35 and 50 years old.⁵⁷ With other words, the deceased slaves are in average quite young. In contrast, only four tombs of freedmen do indicate an age at all.⁵⁸ Of them, two died quite young in the age of 20, respectively 25, but the other two reached the age of 55 and even the surprisingly old age of 85.

One explanation for the absence of adult slaves could be the widespread habit of manumission in the Roman Empire.⁵⁹ Obviously, the chances of a slave being freed increased, the older the person became. Emperor Augustus enacted the *lex Aelia Sentia* which regulated the manumission.⁶⁰ Full Roman citizenship could only be achieved by freed slaves mostly

⁵³ See p. 19.

⁵⁴ Hope 1997, 109.

⁵⁵ 6g, 12c, 47c, 49e, 49f, 49g, 49h, 53f, 54d, 60, 61b, 81a, 83, 99, 109, 113, 115, 122, 130, 131, 140.

⁵⁶ 49i, 62g, 80c, 88b, 104, 108, 129, 136, 154.

⁵⁷ 103, 145, 157.

⁵⁸ 55c, 63a, 101, 143.

⁵⁹ Duff 1928, 12.

⁶⁰ Mouritsen 2011, 34.

older than 30 years. The minimum age to be freed was 20; everyone between these ten years held an intermediate status. This in turn explains as well, why many of the buried slaves were that young. If we follow this hypothesis consistently, freedmen and slaves do belong to the same group of people. Being a member of that group the career would start as a slave in young age and eventually transform to become a freedman, at about 30.

Furthermore, there is another point which stands out in this context. The assertion of the freedmen's age seems to be quite rare in comparison to what concerns the evidence of deceased slaves. A reason for that is not necessarily found in their social status but rather in their age group. At last there is an interesting characteristic concerning the inscriptions for children in particular. These inscriptions stand out, because they often have the detailed description of the age of the deceased.⁶¹

Having had some thoughts about the social status as a differing characteristic for how to organize the necropoleis, a look at the occupations of the freedmen might be of relevance. Using such a perspective, one often finds information about a *cursus honorum* (official post) listed in the epitaphs, but less about the actual occupation. It is generally known that the urban commercial sector of the Roman economy was dominated by freedmen.⁶² In regard to Pompeii there are only two examples with one designating the deceased as an *argentarius* (financier)⁶³ and the other as a *porcaria* (shepherd)⁶⁴. Clearly this did not be a decisive factor for the organisation of tombs in Pompeii.

As a result one might conclude that the place of burial does only to some extent give evidence of the social status of the buried. On the one hand, there are socially completely mixed necropoleis and on the other hand there are socially homogeneous funeral areas. Despite of that it is impossible to speak of necropoleis which were exclusively for one particular social class. Instead one can assume that the necropoleis do in part reflect the inhabitants of the quarters nearby. Presumably such a practical way of organizing the cemeteries prevailed, where factors such as distance and space were of importance. In addition, there is no doubt that the financial aspects must have been decisive when it comes to location and proximity of the tomb to the city.

But there is another conclusion of great importance, which is the fact that one cannot believe the figures of the poorer funeral areas, due to their underrepresentation of freedmen. The reason for that would rather be the lack of explicit mentioning, instead of absence. With

⁶¹ Schreiber-Schermutzki 2008, 61.

⁶² Mouritsen 2011, 206.

⁶³ 52.

⁶⁴ 53c.

other words the necropoleis are not an exact mirror of the structure of the inhabitants of Pompeii, especially when it comes to the class of the freedmen.

IV.2.3 General characteristics of freedmen tombs

As the title implies, the upcoming analysis does only include those freedmen who are explicitly mentioned in the inscriptions as such. Cases with uncertain data are excluded, such as presumed freedmen who dedicated a tomb to someone else.

Table 4: Overview of the necropoleis regarding freedmen

	Porta Ercolana	Porta Vesuvio	Porta di Nola	City wall inscr.	Porta Nocera	Porta di Stabia	Fondo Santilli	Fondo Azzolini	Total
Tombs	8	--	--	--	27	--	5	1	41
Inscriptions	11	--	--	--	46	--	8	1	66
Deceased	8	--	--	--	52	--	6	1	67

Note: No. 12 is not included in the analysis, as it mentions the same persons as tomb no. 49.

Starting with table 4 one gets a good overview over the distribution of the assured freedmen. Now we can restrict the presence of freedman in four out of eight necropoleis. The Porta Nocera has the largest absolute amount of buried freedmen and a share of about 40% of the total (see table 5). This makes it the necropolis with the highest density of freedmen. Above that there are, to a much lower extent, freedmen buried at Porta Ercolana and Fondo Azzolini. In both areas they make up a share of about 14%.

Table 5: Buried persons in the different necropoleis, percentage of freedmen

P. Ercolana	P. Vesuvio	P. di Nola	City wall inscr.	P. Nocera	P. di Stabia	F. Santilli	F. Azzolini
14%	0%	0%	0%	40%	0%	14%	3%

The Porta Ercolana stands out with regard to its three freedmen altar tombs which were built on a decurionial decree. Because such a decurionial decree constituted a special honor by the city of Pompeii, one can conclude that these three freedmen had a very high standing in the society. It is even more exceptional when one has in mind, that they are the only example in our material of such an honor for freedmen.

The handling of the honored in regard to their tombs opens the door to another discussion. Did they receive special tombs, which distinguished them from others? Is there an evident difference between freeborn and freedmen? A look at the three honored freedmen of

our material, the mentioned altar tombs of the decurionial decree, might help as to shed some light on the matter. All three of them were built in the type of altar tombs, constituting class 2 in table 6. If one summarizes all tombs of decurionial decree without a special focus on freedmen, one finds a wide variety of tombs with classes 1, 2, 4 und 6. They all have in common that they are of a representative character.

Table 6: Distribution of tomb classes

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6	Class 7	Class 8	Class 9	Unknown	Total
All	7	10	5	18	4	19	6	67	13	7	156
Freedmen	0	4	4	10	3	10	1	6	0	4	42

Note: Tomb no. 13 and 27 are not included here, due to their special appearance. No. 13 is a freedman's tomb, no. 27 is the tomb of a freeborn.

Even though it has been researched, that freedmen did enjoy considerable social acceptance, the highest class of representative tombs (scholae tombs) was never built for their kind. All scholae tombs found in Pompeii were either built for *duoviri* or their wives.⁶⁵ These scholae tombs were located directly next to the city wall, constituting an outstanding exception by both location and splendor. They are an example of a special Pompeian funerary architecture.⁶⁶ It is important to note though, that the scholae tombs with their special position are an exception. Freedmen did not encounter any other restrictions concerning the tomb types.

In addition to class 1 and 2 tombs, there were other very representational tombs such as the monumental arches (class 3), multi-leveled tombs (class 4), simple chamber tombs (class 5) and impressing enclosures with decorated facades (class 6). Here the share of freedmen is surprisingly high. Some of the most impressive monuments belonged to freedmen. Even if we take the methodological considerations of this study into account, the clear connection between freedmen and pretentious tombs is strong.

In contrary to the representational tombs, there are the very modest niche tombs (class 7), columellae (class 8) and at last the inscriptions in the city wall (class 9). Columellae in particular seem to have been used by all kind of social classes. It is therefore surprising, that a relatively small percentage of freedmen are featured on those tombs. Furthermore one encounters again the fact of the lack of freedmen at the city wall. As already discussed earlier a possible explanation is the missing of such designations, rather than an actual missing of freedmen.

⁶⁵ Kockel 1983, 21.

⁶⁶ Kockel 1983, 19.

That brings us to the question of how much the inscriptions actually were visible at the time. As shown in table 7, about 59% of the inscriptions were visible for the ordinary by-passers. The remaining 41% of invisible inscriptions include quite a substantial amount of columellae. A reason for that can be seen in their positions inside the enclosures, which in turn were labeled with inscriptions themselves.

Table 7: Visibility of the tomb inscriptions of freedmen

Visible	not visible	Unknown
41	16	13
ca. 59 %	ca. 23 %	ca. 19 %

Note: If one freedman is mentioned in two different inscriptions (e.g. inscription plaque on tomb façade and columella), only one inscription has been counted. If it is a monument with inscription plaque and a corresponding columella, the visible inscription on the monument is included in this table. If an inscription mentions two freedmen, two persons are counted in the table. This method allows comparing the visibility with the absolute number of freedmen.

To summarize, there are two main points of interest: Firstly one can observe that there is not an even spread of freedmen between the necropoleis. On the contrary a great majority is buried at the Porta Nocera. If one follows the assumption that inhabitants often were buried nearby, that would allow us to conclude that those freedmen lived in and around *Regio I* and *Regio II*.

Secondly, this analysis has shown that there is a substantial amount of freedmen tombs with monumental and representational character.

IV.2.4 Analysis of the 27 monumental tombs of freedmen

The aim of this part is to give an overview over the 27 monumental tombs of freedmen, which means, that columellae (class 8) will not be included. Due to the fact, that they have only partly been identified as independent tombs within the catalogue, they cannot be treated with the same value as tombs of monumental character.

Table 8 lists the builders of the tomb, who either used the tomb for themselves or who built it for others. Thus the distinction is made between the dedicator and the dedicatee. The idea is to have a closer look at which tombs are built by freedmen and for whom as well as to observe the relationship between freedmen and their patrons who both have tombs were they are dedicators and dedicatees.

Table 8: Dedicators and dedicatees from monumental tombs of freedmen

Tomb	Dedicator ⁶⁷	Dedicatee ⁶⁸
1	M Cerrinius Restitutus	
10		C. Calventius Quietus
16	L. Caltilius L. l. [P]amphilus	[---]ae uxori
22a	M. Arrius G. l. Diomedes ⁶⁹	Arria M. f.
23a	P. Sittius Diophantus	
46		C. Cuspius C. l. Salvius Vesua Iucunda C. Cuspius C. l. Salvius
47	L. Barbidius L. l. Communis	Pithia P. l. Rufillia Vitalis Ianuarius
48		A. Veius Atticus
49	C. Munatius Faustus	Naevoleia Tyche
52	L. Ceius L. l. Serapio Helvia M. f.	
53	A. Clodius A. f. Iustus	A. Clodius G. l. Aegialus Tironia G. l. Repentina
54	P. Flavius P. l. Philoxenus Flavia P. l. Agatheia	
56	M. Octavius M. f. Men. Vertia G. l. Philumina	
62	P. Vesonius G. l. Phileros	Vesonia P. f. M. Orfellius M. l. Faustus
63		Castricia G. l. Prisca
64	A. Campius T. l. Antiochus	
66b	M. Stronnius C. l. Metinius	Stronnia C. l. Acatarchinis C. Stronnius P. f. Pap. pater ⁷⁰ C. Stronnius P. f. f. Pap. ⁷¹
70	L. Publicius Syneros	Aebia L. l. Fausta L. Aebius L. l. Aristonius Aebia L. l. Hilaria
75	Caecilia L. l. Agathia	L. Caecilio L. l. Dioscuridi
76a	Novia C. l. Amoena	L. Iacellius Virillio
77	Verania Q. l. Clara	C. Veranium Q. f. Rufus
78a	Malchio l.	Blaesia C. l. Nica
78b		Blaesia G. l. Quarta
78c	M. Blaesius G. l. Malchio	
79a	M. Lollius M. l. Nicia M. Lollia M. l. Hermiona	
79b	M. Lollius M. l. Felix	
79c	M. Lollius M. l. Lucio	
85		T. Vibius T. l. Philodespotus

⁶⁷ Every name stated in nominative.⁶⁸ Every name stated in dative.⁶⁹ Full name known from inscription no. 22b.⁷⁰ Full name known from inscription no. 66a.⁷¹ Full name known from inscription no. 66a.

		Popidia G. I. Auge T. Vibius Primus I.
87		Alfia N. I. Servillia
90		P. Mancius P. I. Diogenus
94a	M. Petacius M. I. Dasius	M. Petacius f. Men. [---] M. Petacius f. Men. Severus Petacia M. I. Vitalis

To begin with one can draw the following information out of table 8. There is one patron who explicitly adds his freedmen and freedwomen to his funerary area and in reverse there are six tombs which were erected by freedmen to their patrons.⁷² Interestingly enough there are two cases of tomb inscriptions which do not include the freedmen themselves, but where only built for the commemoration of the patron.⁷³ In the other four tombs of the six, the freedmen are buried together with their patrons.

In most cases there is not a lot more information to be found, except for these basic facts. The whole issue demands that one keeps in mind, that the dedicators have lived a great deal of their lives as slaves under the same masters they honored with the monumental tomb. The question arises if a former slave's thankfulness went that far that he wished to commemorate his patron in an expensive and grandiose way? Can one see such monuments as a conventional custom, which brought glory to the dedicator and was expected as a sign of respect? Or was it at the end of the day real gratitude for support and friendship? Both freedmen and patrons could inherit from each other. Was such a benefit linked to the obligation of spending a certain share for a tomb?

The 27 monumental tombs for freedmen have in common that they are anything but modest. This might support the assumption that they were erected out of true gratefulness. Obviously those freedmen who did dedicate a monument to a patron had become rather rich in their later life. They simply had the financial means to build such a tomb. Thus one might assume that self-expression was an additional element which was part of the motive. It is easy to imagine that a former slave, who had made a fortune after being freed, must have been very proud of being able to honor his patron with a monumental tomb. Here the example of the erector of the tomb 66 might help to a conclusion. The dedicator explicitly writes that the monument has been built *de sua pecunia* (erected with his own money). With other words, gratefulness and self-expression have most likely played a role for the motive. In addition to that it seems as if it was a custom amongst the richer freedmen, but not necessarily a rule.

⁷² 13, 16, 22a, 62, 66b, 70, 77.

⁷³ 13, 16.

In order to gain a further understanding about the matter a focus at the relationship between a freed slave and his patron might help. The freedmen remained associated to their patron even after manumission. Only the character of the relationship changed: the freedman was now seen as a *quasi-son*.⁷⁴ When a freedman died without having descendents, the patron became the heir of his estate.⁷⁵ In reverse, it seems likely, that a patron, who was the last living member of his family, might have appointed his freedman as heir. Surely this model contributed to the mixed tombs, but to what extent remains uncertain.

Having gained a general perception about the monumental tombs and the motivation standing behind them, a closer look at certain tombs is of great interest. To start with, the case of the tomb of Verania Clara (tomb 77), who was freed by Quintus is an unusual example. She dedicates her own tomb to herself and to her patron at the same time.⁷⁶ However, she seems to have been freed by the father of the person she calls her patron: The freedwoman adds an affectionate *patrono optimo* to the name of her master's son. The front plaque of the enclosure states nothing else but these two names. Even inside the enclosure the only two columellae found, bear the name of Verania Clara and C. Veranius Rufus. This gives an indication that there is a possibility or even likelihood, that this is a tomb of a couple.

Having that in mind a look at tombs with "mixed" freeborn and freedmen couples in particular, might be of interest. Except for the just mentioned tomb 77, four further tombs have been found with indications of relationships between the deceased. Tombs 46 and 52 are without doubt built for a couple, as it names the freeborn women as *uxor* (wife) of the respective freedman. In contrast, the inscription of tomb 56 is explicitly put in another way: Instead of naming any *uxor*, the couple mentions their common decedents. At last there is the outstanding case of tomb 70, in which a freeborn with servile ancestors, dedicates his tomb to Aebia Faustae, a freedwoman, and her family. Though they might not have been married, Castrén interprets her as his concubine.⁷⁷

Leaving the particular view at the monumental tombs aside, the question of the overall amount of tombs with mixed tombs arises. In total numbers, including both monumental tombs and columellae, there are 30 out of 41 freedmen tombs, that show evidence of including either slaves or freeborn, thus might be considered as mixed tombs. This result is interesting from a sociological view point and allows the following conclusion: Despite of the fact, that freedmen have been slaves for a number of years and at the lower end of the

⁷⁴ Mouritsen 2011, 37.

⁷⁵ Mouritsen 2011, 42.

⁷⁶ 77.

⁷⁷ Castrén 1975, 211.

hierarchy, there is no evidence of them being socially excluded after being freed. In contrary mingling with them was obviously not an issue for some of the freeborn people.

As mentioned above, there are cases of patrons including their freedmen and freedwomen into their tombs. In total there is one monumental tomb and three cases of freedmen buried inside the enclosure of their masters, without being addressed in the main inscription plaque of the monument, but instead commemorated by *columellae*.⁷⁸ In other words, most freedmen erected their own tombs reserved for themselves. It does not seem as if one can speak of a usual custom of freeborn including their freedmen into their tombs. Thus it is difficult to draw conclusions about the motivations of the all in all four cases in Pompeii. Did the patron want to show the superior position by including the freedmen or where the freedmen simply seen as a part of the family? Being unable to give a full answer to the question one should at least consider one thought: The separation between family and household was not that clear as it is today, which might be one factor playing a role in the answer.

Even though it is difficult to generalize about the differences of family and household it is worth to have a look at the relationship freedman and family. It can be seen as a fact, that freedmen appreciated their families as something very valuable, as they have not always been in the position to call their descendants their family. During their time in slavery, every child they got was – by law – owned by the master, not by the biological parents.⁷⁹ Taking this into account, it does not surprise that at least 19 of the tombs include the family members; either spouse, children or parents. This number does not seem as high as expected but we must be aware that not every freed person might have had an own family. On the other hand, only seven cases of single tombs have been detected.⁸⁰

At this point of the analysis, tomb 13 is worth mentioning, because it is the only of its kind in Pompeii and depicts a strong family association already in its architecture. It is the only tomb that includes a so called *triclinium* and can therefore not be assigned to one of the main classes.⁸¹ The *triclinium* was to provide room for the traditional funerary cult, which meant that the family had meals at the tombs, while commemorating the deceased.

To summarize, the focus at both the 27 monumental tombs in particular and the overall number of tombs brought a variety of mixed tombs to light, such as freedmen/patrons including or commemorating the other and even five cases of assumed mixed couples.

⁷⁸ 19d, 55c, 55f.

⁷⁹ Hagelin 2010, 13.

⁸⁰ 1, 10, 16, 63, 64, 87, 90.

⁸¹ Kockel 1983, 109ff.

Further on the motivations behind freedmen's expressions of loyalty towards their patrons was questioned. It seems as if a mixture of gratefulness, self-expression and custom stood behind most of the tombs, not meaning that additional motivations are impossible. Additional issues were touched upon, such as the relation of freedmen with their real families or freedmen as heirs of their patrons, possibly obligating them to fund a tomb for their patron. Those last questions surely help to understand more about the motivations for many tombs, but do not provide any facts, on which a theory could base.

V. Results and conclusions

After having collected and analyzed the inscriptions of the freedmen, the question arises what kind of conclusions are in fact possible to draw out of this huge amount of information. I want to emphasize that every conclusion of the thesis is merely based on the information which the collected funerary inscriptions offer. Thus the drawn conclusions are carefully chosen, in order to prevent over interpretation.

One particular question one encounters in this thesis is the over-representation of freedmen in the found epitaphs. In this case I follow the argument of most scholars, who have distanced themselves from using these total figures as a mirror of the inhabitants of the city in question.⁸² Thus the distortion can be seen as deriving from the financial differences, with the poorest inhabitants lacking the means of both representative and modest tombs. This is in line with what one finds in Pompeii, where there are many representative tombs by freedmen in contrast to the less moderate tombs and a single designated freedmen tomb at the city wall.

Another point discussed is the high number of freedmen at certain funerary areas, in particular the Porta Nocera. While having had a look at factors such as social status and financial means I concluded that the location of a tomb might first of all depend of the nearby quarters in which the deceased used to live. It seems as if practical reasons such as space and distance have prevailed, similar to the organization of cemeteries today. Having said that there are important exceptions: The most representative tombs (class 1) for the *duoviri*, are found to be closer to the city wall and better visible. These were built by a decurional decree which constituted a special honor by the city of Pompeii.

The motivation behind freedmen, commemorating or including their patrons to their tombs, has as well been discussed in the analysis. There is a range of possible motivations

⁸² Mouritsen 2011, 127.

most likely a combination of factors. To begin with self-expression was named with the purpose to display the financial independence of the builder. Secondly the factor of gratitude is seen as important even though it is impossible to conclude anything about the scale of it. As there were many such tombs there is no doubt that it was an actual custom among the richer freedmen. At last the discussion derived to the different definitions of family and household compared to today, in which both freedmen and patrons could inherit from each other creating a private and public link between them.

This leads us to the last point of the conclusion: Against my own expectation there is no evidence of different treatment of freedmen in regard to where and how they were buried. However this might have been different during the lifetime of a freedman but these distinctions did not appear after death.

VI. Literature

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