

The Archaeoethanatology of Identity:
Freed-People Burials in Nuceria Necropolis, Pompeii

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Honors, Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology
Saint Mary's University
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April 19, 2017

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Abstract of

The Archaeoethanatology of Identity: Freed-People Burials in the Nuceria Necropolis

Jenna Locke

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The thesis examines personal and survivor expressions of identity through freed-people funerary monuments located in the Pompeian necropoleis. The goal is to show how the deceased were able to manipulate their funerary structures to present specific information, or leave behind messages, about themselves or their families. This paper utilizes the archaeological sub-field of archaeoethanatology, and performance theory and impression management theory to examine and interpret several different funerary monuments from the Republican and Imperial periods. This is done by examining aspects such as monument type, location, architectural features and stylistic elements to uncover more subtle details about an individual being commemorated in the monument.

The analyses of these features, reveals that funerary monuments were used as tools to not only preserve memory, but to enhance or increase the social and political positions or reputations of the deceased and their family. The thesis explores the different ways the Pompeian freed-people used aspects such as necropolis location and monument style to reflect their economic means, and how imagery and inscriptions act as identifiers of personal attributes or achievements that the individual wanted to be remembered by or associated with.

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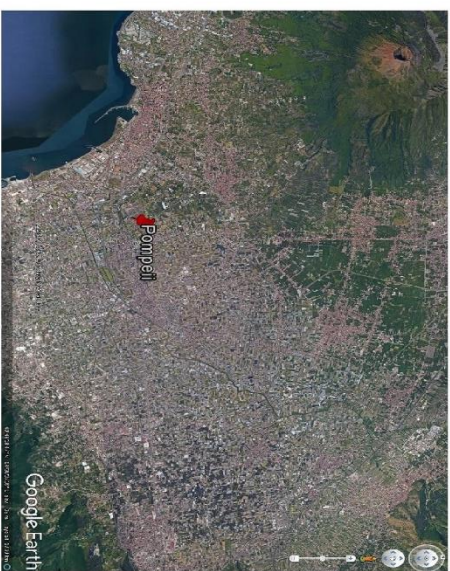
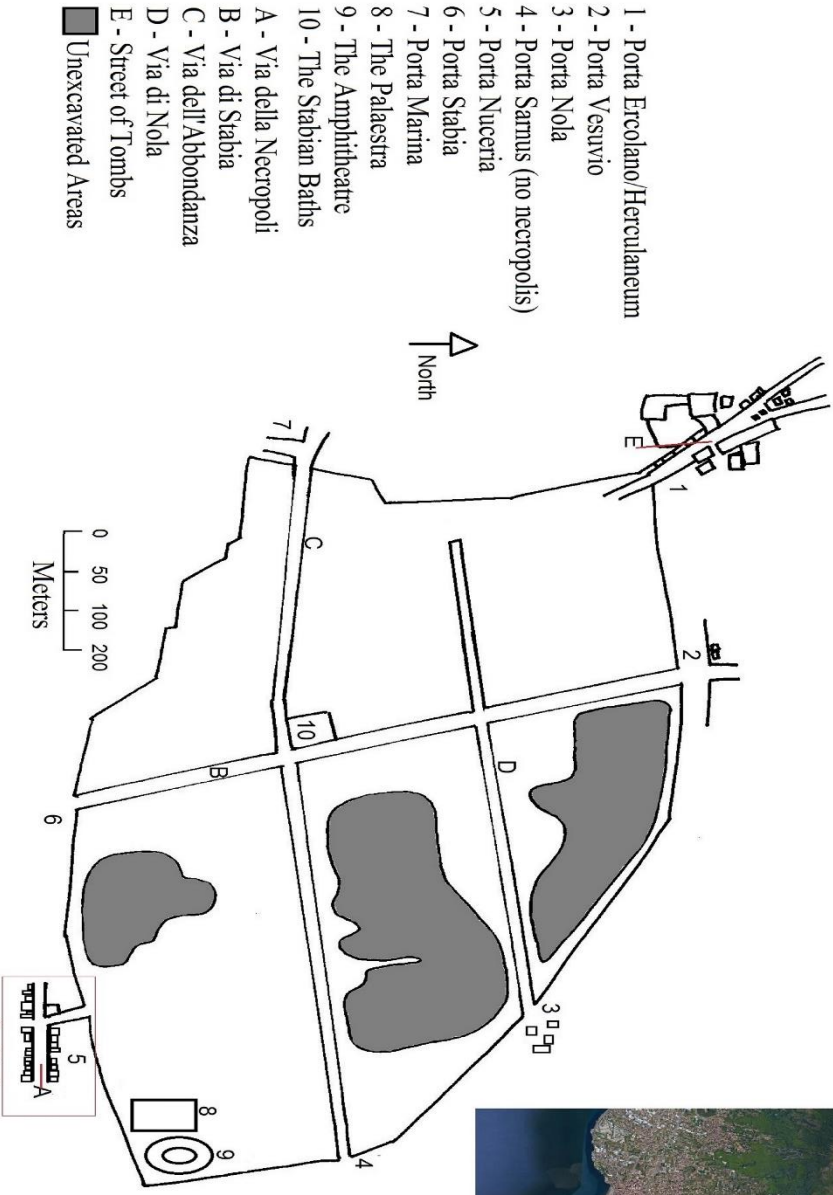
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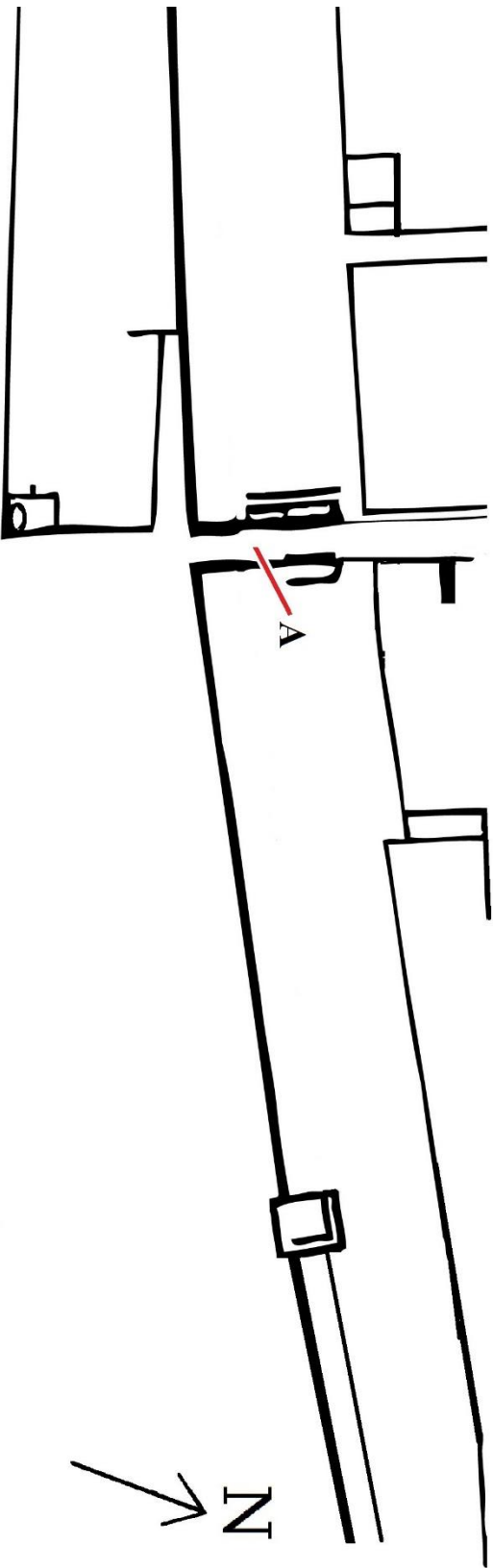
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Map of Pompeii



Map 1 - Map of Pompeii, showing location of Stabian Baths and the Amphitheatre in relation to the Nuceria necropolis

Nuceria Necropolis, Pompeii



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Introduction

The Roman Empire may be long gone, but many significant influences from the Roman period can still be seen and experienced today. These influences can provide insights into more modern cultures and traditions, and even greater insights into how they have historically developed. From Roman literature, politics, architectural wonders and religious customs, the Roman Empire has left a dramatic mark on European history and landscape. Many modern day burial and funerary traditions are heavily rooted in Roman periods, and although some of these traditions pre-date Rome, they are still an extremely significant element of the burial and grieving processes employed by many existing cultures today. In the Roman period, the funerary structure was one of the most crucial elements of a burial, as it was where a family could advertise their wealth, status and successes for future generations. Using the archaeological approach of archaeoethanatology, a study into the Pompeian freed-person classes of the Republican and early Imperial periods can provide significant insights into Roman funerary customs, how they were utilized as identity expressions, and how sex or economic statuses impacted these expressions.

For Roman citizens of every social and economic level, preserving the memory of their identity for descendants of future generations seems to have been a great concern. The needs or desires to be remembered by future generations meant that many monuments were designed as grandiose structures large enough for the immediate family, slaves and loyal freed-slaves to be buried within the enclosure space. Many structures were built along the main roads around the towns they belonged to, and often included elaborate design features, such as miniature pyramids, cylinders, gigantic altars or, like the large kiln-styled structure built by wealthy freed-man Eurysaces, statement structures. Several elaborately designed, attention-grabbing

monuments also included inscriptions meant to address travellers and invoke sympathy or send warning about people who had wronged them (Stewart 2008: 63). Due to the amount of personal or political meaning incorporated into monuments, and the effort that was put into preserving one's memory, they should be treated as significant tools that were used and manipulated by the Romans. By doing so, the structures would therefore become integral to our understanding of the different attempts to communicate individual identity, family values, and community affiliations.

This study will employ aspects of the archaeological sub-field of archaeoethanatology when looking at gravesites, the decorative elements of the monument, and the different architectural types. In anthropology, the word thanatology can be defined as the study of death or death practices within a culture. When used in an archaeological context or by archaeologists, it becomes the archaeological study of death. This study utilizes the archaeological work of Pompeian funerary structures, and will then examine and interpret the specific monuments. Focusing on specific monument structures as case study examples, and comparing them against other monuments in these time periods, will provide more in-depth discussion about the deceased individual, or how the deceased's spouse, children or friends chose to represent the deceased and their descendants.

This thesis will also include examinations of funerary monuments using performance theory and impression management. Performance theory, a concept coined by Erving Goffman (1959), explores the different parts or performances an individual will play depending on their audience. In this thesis, the performer is the deceased individual, who designs and attempts to draw out reactions or emotions of the audience through their funerary monument. The audience, who in this paper, is the family who returned annually to the monument for feasts and ceremonies, or strangers who passed by the monument. The performer manipulates the funerary

structure to advertise their life and family line in hopes of forming connections with the audience to ensure the preservation of their memory or name. Impression management is a concept that will be used to add an additional perspective to the monument when interpreting the meaning or symbolism behind the architectural and stylistic elements. Impression management is how an individual manipulates the materials at their disposal to form or control the interpretation of their monument. Through careful planning, decorative elements can be manipulated by a working class individual to make themselves appear more sophisticated, charitable or successful.

Additionally, an examination and brief comparison between monument types and the decorative elements included on the structures from the various Pompeian necropoleis will be included. Focusing the bulk of my research and study examples from the Nuceria necropolis, and similar structures or design elements from sites like the Ercolano necropolis, and Roman necropoleis, the intricate details included on monuments can also reveal a significant amount of information about an individual, or the values considered most favorable by the deceased's family. Aspects such as epigraphic inscriptions, relief carvings and portraiture, are the most helpful indicators of individual and group affiliations to be gathered. Variations in structure types allow for a generalized timeline to be created, and this timeline allows researchers and archaeologists to form estimated periods of construction. By dating a funerary structure, the decorative elements can be more thoroughly explored and interpreted, as images, patterns and styles faded in and out of fashion over time. From the Republican and into the Imperial periods, mythological scenes, animals and/or symbols were used by the public as identifying markers of civic and social identity. For example, the freed-classes used wreaths to signify a member of the Imperial cult to Augustus (known as an *Augustalis*), while a large bench (a *bisellum*) was used to represent public figures assigned to more than one office, or given multiple titles.

Overview of Pompeii

As an archaeological site, Pompeii is one of the best-known sites of the Roman era. Due to the volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 A.D, the town was destroyed by the debris and pyroclastic run-offs. This debris covered Pompeii in a thick blanket of rock that preserved not only the city, but also the Pompeian citizens who were unable to escape the destruction. From the body cavities and bones left in the layers of volcanic mud and ash first discovered by Giuseppe Fiorelli, things such as Pompeian diets, mineral intake and health have been revealed and extensively studied since they were first discovered in the mid-1700's, especially by archaeologist and Classicists such as Estelle Lazer (2009). While the discovery and studies conducted on the skeletal remains from Pompeii and Herculaneum are an area of my personal interest, this thesis will focus solely on the studies done within the necropoleis that mark the sacred boundaries around the town itself. It was autumn of 1754, when excavators uncovered two monuments from the road leading south of the Civita hill. This area, which was later identified as the ancient town of Pompeii, underwent more than 250 years of excavations after this initial re-discovery (Emmerson 2013: 41).

Since the original findings in 1754, several hundred more graves have been uncovered, and due to the substantial degree of volcanic-related preservation, Pompeii has been an important site for the study of Roman Republican and early imperial funerary practices. The Republican periods are often classified by 'early,' 'middle,' and 'late' Republican, and spanned from 80 to 49 B.C. (Castren 1975: 37) This period was formed after the civil wars that broke out after the end of the Augustan period and marked the transition into the Imperial period. The same three sub-periods (early, middle and late) divide the Imperial period as well. However, because the city of Pompeii existed only during the early Imperial period, this thesis will instead refer to the

historical periods that are associated with reigns of specific emperors. These will include the Caesarian and Augustan Periods (49 B.C to 14 A.D), the Julio-Claudian era (14 to 50 A.D), and finally the Neronian and Flavian periods (50 to 79 A.D) (Castren 1975: 37).

The Nuceria Necropolis

The Nuceria necropolis runs parallel to the city walls and outwards along the Via Nuceria road, and is located south of the Pompeian amphitheatre (see Map 2). The graves in this necropolis are placed seemingly at random, ranging from pre-Roman to early Imperial burials, and contain funerary structures of various styles, sizes and classes (Brion and Smith 1960: 171). It was an active necropolis site, heavily used and visited until the destruction of the city, which preserved the monuments, evidence of funerary feasts and libation offerings. One of the most important purposes of a funerary monument was to preserve the name and memory of an individual, or a family line. The heavy ash and other volcanic debris that covered the city enabled the preservation of many of these monuments and names. The monument itself acted as a symbolic indicator of a person and their personal, political or familial achievements, and was one of the most important aspects of a funerary structure. The preservation of one's name was of great importance to the Romans, and Pliny the Younger even writes that nothing could affect him as strongly as his desire to obtain and preserve a lasting name (Carroll 2011b: 68).

Identity in Social Class

For the very poor or slaves, the main fear of death was being buried without a name. This could lead to being forgotten entirely by the living, but could also result in a loss of self in the afterlife. This was one of the Romans' greatest fears, preventative measures, such as burial clubs and patron-client relationships were formed in hopes of protecting oneself and one's family in

death. Creating large and elaborate monuments was just one way for the wealthy to ensure a long-lasting record of themselves, their descendants and their achievements. Monuments were built and designed by people as displays of their wealth and life, but also to tell stories about the individual and their personal attributes, ideologies and aspirations (Carroll 2006: 3). To decorate their funerary enclosures, elements such as sculptures, paintings or relief carvings were used to commemorate the life of the individual. For those who could afford it, tomb structures were often elaborately decorated with stuccoes, funerary statues or busts, and architectural features such as benches and tables. Even burial elements such as urns, sarcophagi and gravestones were decoratively carved to call attention to the final resting place. (Stewart 2008: 41).

Among the many different classes in Rome, one of the more intriguing is the freed-person class. As former slaves, these people could vary between the incredibly poor, wealthy businessmen, and even members of local councils dedicated to imperial religions, such as the Cult of Augustus, and urban politicians. With their frequent attempts at emulating their former owners, funerary structures became another tool that when manipulated, increased social position and negotiated a superior position for their children and future generations. For these reasons, the burial activities and funerary structures belonging to members of the freed-class have long been studied (Graham 2006: 2). Another key detail of the Roman freed-person class can be found in the form of a piece of Augustan legislation from the 1st century B.C., which provided the freed-women with some autonomy when making their wills and burial plans (Fantham 1994: 304). Additionally, Fantham also references a similar law that granted free-born individuals permission to marry freed-women, and declared that their offspring become full citizens. This was due to the overwhelming number of reproductively-fit females who outnumbered the available males (Fantham 1994: 304).

The Impact of Women

The autonomy granted to women by this legislation in the late first century BC increased the female-presence in the funerary landscape. Women were more typically added as an afterthought or were labelled as ‘the wife of’ on funerary inscriptions but, with the increasing freedom that female citizens were gaining, monuments such as Eumachia’s in the Nuceria necropolis became more commonplace. Females erecting monuments for their husbands, or on behalf of their family was another pattern that increased due to this freedom. One such monument, and an important example discussed later in this thesis, is the grandly built and elaborately designed tomb of Naevoleia Tyche in the Ercolano necropolis, built after the death of her husband, who was a wealthy and influential member of the Imperial cult of Augustus.

Through careful study and period comparisons, information about Pompeian identities can also be determined through funerary epigraphy. The use of inscriptions will be an important part of this study, as many personal, professional and political clues are tied into the epigraphic evidence. While there is a multitude of evidence from the city of Rome and other smaller towns about wealthy freed-people, Pompeii has one of the best collections of poor, wealthy and politically influential freed-men, as well as freed-women. The tomb structures used in the Pompeian examples will demonstrate the use and manipulation of funerary spaces and the lengths to which an individual was willing to go to provide their family with an impressive resting place. Within the last 20 years, several studies have been published on many different aspects of Roman funerary practices (Carroll 2006: 20), but very little attention has been paid to the text and inscriptions included on gravestones and monuments.

When becoming a Roman slave, the individual lost his or her ties to their own familial and ancestral background. When granted manumission, they then put all their effort into

emulating their former owners. Using a tomb's written evidence and combining it with structural styles and decorative features, a multifaceted approach can be made to develop a greater understanding of the different ways Pompeian freed-people viewed themselves and their family. Developing a richer understanding of how and why aspects such as economic status and sex affected one's ability to create such elaborate monuments will be a crucial element when studying identity and survivor expressions.

Throughout this thesis, several terms are used when discussing funerary structures. The term 'funerary structure' will be used as a broader term for any type of grave marker, while 'monuments,' which Allison Emmerson (2013) describes as being a type of above ground construction with either internal or external hollows for the internment of a body (Emmerson 2013: 10), will be used when referring to the larger, more elaborate forms of a grave marker, including designs such as altars, *aediculae* and *columbarium*. The terms tomb, stelae and grave will also be used throughout the thesis to indicate other types of grave markers, such as smaller individual tombs, enclosed family-linked burial spaces, or headstones.

1 - Archaeothanatology

As a field of study, thanatology did not gain acceptance until the 1950s, and although it is classed as a 'new' science, death has always been a topic of great interest to humans. As an event that everyone must eventually face, death has intrigued and perplexed people for millennia. Philosophers and poets, such as Socrates and Seneca, wrote about the effect death plays on the soul's immortality and its presence as an omnipresent force, and kept death at the forefront of people's minds (Fonesca and Testoni 2012: 158). It is human nature to be cautious of the unknown, and this natural response developed into a curiosity and fear over what happens to one's soul after death. The mystery of death has had a significant impact on society, and in ancient Rome, it played an even greater role in their social and political systems. (Fonesca and Testoni 2012: 165). In an attempt to achieve a higher status and to legitimize their influence on their local social structures, the free-person classes frequently manipulated the materials that would have been associated with their funerals and burial sites (Graham 2006: 2).

The idea of death and its associated rituals held a great influence over the organization of life in several ways in Roman culture, with one of its main concerns being the negotiation point in the relationship between the living and the dead (Edwards 2007: 8). Eventually, the fascination humans have with death slowly evolved and became more about how different cultures think of, and deal with death (Fonesca and Testoni 2012: 158). This shift in focus was one of the leading factors behind the thanatology movement, and was greatly supported by the ever-evolving technological advancements from our more modernized culture. The support that these new aspects have brought to the thanatological approach may also be a result of the ineffective ways we now mourn, express grief and commemorate the dead (Fonesca and Testoni 2012: 165). According to Fonesca and Testoni, religion is not as influential as it was in earlier

periods or during ancient civilizations. The new lack of religious faith could be linked to a more realistic view of death, and with a growing reliance on technology, this view of death can be encouraged and promoted by a more thorough education on death and different funerary customs (Fonesca and Testoni 2012: 165).

A key part of archaeothanatology is the archaeological work and interpretations that dictate the thanatology portion of the study. The willingness to let material culture drive the interpretations needed for a study on funerary customs or the people who originally created the item in question can skew identity expressions. The belief that interpretations should be made largely based on material goods is still mostly supported or enhanced by archaeological theory and a strong knowledge of the civilization and customs being explored (Archer and Bartoy 2006: 6). For funerary archaeologists, one of the major focuses has been distinguishing between one's status achieved in life from status ascribed at birth. Anthropological and sociological theories both state that ascribed status is the attributes we have no control over, and positions that were dictated upon birth. Achieved status is the position one can attain through personal advancement through higher education or acquired wealth (Parker Pearson 1999: 74). Many ancient funerary rites are archaeologically invisible, and lead to little or no material evidence. The physical actions required for a burial can provide archaeologists with a significant amount of information about funerary practices, burial rituals and social implications (Parker Pearson 1999: 5)

By defining an individual's social role as a demonstration of rights or duties attached to their status, social roles could involve one, or several, different parts. These parts could be presented differently depending on the status level of the individual, who Goffman refers to as a 'performer.' The performer could present these parts on many occasions to the same audience, or may direct them at an audience made up of specific groups or classes of people (Goffman 1959:

16). While the study of architecture, topography and stratigraphy are basic elements in funerary archaeology of the Classical periods, analysis of trace evidence associated with funerary rituals is less so (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 123). A specialized study on archaeobotanical evidence collected at the Nuceria necropolis, Pompeii, will be included in this study, as the carbonized evidence will be useful indicators of enclosure use and ritual activity employed by the freed-person class. Using Goffman's analogy of performers and audiences in the case of ritual activity, the surviving family would use rituals such as funerary feasts to act out the part of performers, while the deceased members buried in the funerary enclosures are given the role of the audience.

Archaeoethanatology is in part, a study of the rites and rituals associated with death and burial practices. Using evidence left behind by these ritual actions, and if possible, corroborating with textual evidence, archaeoethanatology tries to understand the religious background or influences behind these actions (Duday 2009: 25). Ritual actions will often have their own form of symbolic 'codes' that would have helped ancient cultures to develop social structure or social roles and 'rules' (Morris 1992: 9). A combination of rituals to deal with dying, death, funerals and burials can be used to illustrate how the living treated, remembered or disposed of their dead. Whether analyzing a monument as a religious, economic, social or artistic feature, Morris describes this as an analysis of the symbolic action employed by a culture (1992: 1).

Applications in Anthropology

Where we as humans, put the remains of our deceased is typically a well-thought-out activity where the dead can be both remembered and forgotten. These activities also drive our desire to satisfy and construct ideas about death and the dead, through which we can express the identity of the deceased, and reaffirm their place in society (Parker Pearson 1999: 124). The attitudes, beliefs and ideas about death make it an incredibly profound act embedded with meaning.

Mortuary trends are motivated by more than just the desire to express and retain identity and social status, and are not restricted to just the powerful or influential members of a community. Funerals and mortuary trends are just as prominent among various other classes or categories of people, and can often reveal aspects like sex, economic status or social status (Cannon 2005: 41). Our treatment of the dead and the creation of their burial space, is therefore, one of the most carefully prepared and interpretively-rich deposits that an archaeologist can encounter and examine, even if the funeral itself was a haphazard affair (Parker Pearson 1999: 5).

The development of post-processual archaeology, introduced by Ian Hodder in the 1980s (Erickson and Murphy 2017: 133), launched two reconfigured perspectives into funerary archaeology. These were the identification of the inner-workings of power and ideology that are commonly manipulated and expressed through mortuary practices, and the acceptance of funerary rites as legitimate acts even when rank or power cannot be assigned or interpreted in the archaeological context (Parker Pearson 1999: 86). When this occurs, a secondary tool would be to examine the funerary landscape or spaces directly associated with the burial in question. Henry Lefebvre, a social theoretician, poses the use of space to understand and interpret space as a social process itself. Archaeologists have in turn frequently used landscape theory to recognize sites and their different components as a larger cultural context (Archer and Bartoy 2006: 153). Landscapes of the dead can be studied in various methods, some of which can be combined with other methods. For the purposes of this thesis, Parker Pearson's three methods of studying funerary landscapes are particularly relevant to a study conducted in Pompeii. His models include examinations of spatial analysis in funerary rituals or customs.

The first method for studying landscapes of the dead is through examination of the relationship between the living and the dead. This can be explored through spatial separations,

and how the dead occupy or use sacred spaces within the landscape. A second method for studying landscape would be through the micro-topographic settings that the dead may use. This has the potential to shed light on the ways that the dead were incorporated into the culture's cosmology, social practices and landscapes by examining what physical or symbolic barriers were set up to protect the living and segregate the dead. A third method, and one that will play the greatest role in this thesis, would be to study the architectural or spatial organizations of the place dedicated to the dead (Parker Pearson 1999: 124). Examining material culture and identifying certain patterns or trends can be used to distinguish how the dead were set apart from the living, and how the surviving members of a clan or family used these trends to bind the deceased to them.

Another important tool to use when employing archaeoethanatology in a study is to examine a group of people from an ancient civilization through the division between sexes. In this thesis, the agency of women can be identified from the variations in mortuary trends and treatments between men and women. Agency can refer to the actions or practices that maintain or bring about unintended consequences, or that deliberately create a variation that is viewed as beneficial for the responsible agent. In an archaeological context, interpretations of evidence may commonly focus on the differences between sexes as the reason behind a more differential reflection on a women's social role (Cannon 2005: 42). This differential view of women, especially those of wealth or prestige, also indicates that agency may not be as consistently directed towards gender any more than it is in regards to social classes. Differences between the women of different time periods, and between men and women within these time periods may also have indications of newly adopted or modified mortuary expressions that can indicate

women using personal adornment or ornamentation, or structural decorations to express their achieved wealth, status or prestige (Cannon 2005: 65).

Recent European archaeological-based studies on gender have been targeted towards identifying culturally symbolic manifestations or materially manipulated expressions of gender. These gender-archaeology studies are distinguished through their concern for the individual that is represented by sexuality, and grave goods in relation to the body and the space the grave goods occupy (Gilchrist 1999: 7). The role women played in developing or operating some of the more ancient prestigious economies should not be overlooked, especially in this thesis. Some women who greatly desired influence or higher social status hoped to obtain prestige to benefit from the power they would hold (Cannon 2005: 64). Roman women, such as freedwoman Naevoleia Tyche, could use funerary landscapes or practices to promote their family line and increase the public, social or political reputation that the family held. This type of material manipulation allowed her to follow social customs of commemoration, but also allowed her to advertise the wealth and political achievements of her husband.

Memory and identity are two frequently used and often intertwined terms in modern anthropological disciplines. According to John Gillis (1994), the connection between memory and identity is used to remind us that the concept of identity is dependent upon memory. The values and significance behind individual or group identities are perpetuated through remembrance. Because ancient cultures, like the Romans, were very selective in the detail they included in funerary inscriptions, and often manipulated them to meet certain agendas, identity and memory are very subjective terms and can be “highly selective, inscriptive rather than descriptive, and serving particular interests and ideological purposes” (Gillis 1994: 4) thus making them difficult to study or successfully interpret. While the terms share a historical

component, they are also largely political and social concepts. Commemoration, however, is mostly formed by a combination of intentional behaviours, and social and political acts (Gillis 1994: 5).

Briefly returning to Goffman's analogy of performers and audience members, when an individual or family plays the role of commemorator or mourner, they are requesting the audience to pay serious attention to the funerary activities. The observers are being asked to believe and acknowledge that the deceased individual had all the attributes or achievements written about them on their epitaph. Even if this means acting in a manipulative way, the deceased individual and their family may portray the deceased in a certain light on their monument in an effort to encourage specific emotional behaviours (Goffman 1959: 6). This type of performance is what Goffman refers to as 'socialized,' as it has been modified to meet social requirements, and may have slightly different expressions depending on the status or class of the individual (Goffman 1959: 35). By applying the methods and theories relating to archaeothanatology, distinguishing between sex, status or class becomes slightly easier in the Classical world, as ones' sex or social group will have been very distinctly marked in a funerary context.

Applications to Classical Studies

When applied to the Classical archaeology, the field of archaeothanatology has a lot to offer, especially when examining funerary rituals, burial methods and commemoration practices. In the Roman world, funerary commemorations and funerary monuments have a large degree of variety, even between neighbouring towns. Evidence from Pompeii shows that there was also some differentiation in social behaviour, as many of the forms of emulation had a certain degree of variation (Carroll 2006, 91). Once made a slave, that individual is stripped of their cultural

and religious background, and is made to adopt Roman practices and behaviours. If a slave is granted manumission or is able to buy their freedom, they are left with practices, habits and mannerisms that they have picked up from their former owner. By associating oneself with someone of high social or political standing, the freed-person would hope to increase their standing and cultivate a reputation similar to their former owner. Often, this adoption or emulation can also be found in a mortuary context, as the freed-person would do their best to maintain or acquire the status, respect or influence their former owner held.

The distinction between former master and freed-person is one of the more explicitly expressed relationships in the funerary record (Gillis 1994: 36). Freed-people are overly represented in the funerary record, as much of the epigraphic evidence refer to *liberti*, which is the Latin term that means freed-people. Many members of the freed-person class were eager to erect monuments or memorials that would display the freedom they gained, and achievements that came with being a recognized citizen (Carroll 2006: 243). The distinctions between a freed-person and their former owner are also powerfully expressed in terms of dependence. Freed-people, who owed their freedom to their former owners, had certain sets of social customs to follow, and sometimes left slavery to become poor and without means of supporting themselves (Gillis 1994: 37).

For this thesis, monument structures and grave markers will be examined as social and artistic features to interpret the ways an individual or group express themselves. Monuments and other forms of tomb structures lined the roads leading in and out of Roman settlements and were among the more visually impressive public monuments across the empire (Carroll 2011a: 134). However, like many other forms of material culture, it is easy to selectively represent oneself on a burial structure. Inscriptions and decorative elements, such as relief carvings or portrait busts,

are often included so that the individual could promote their status, or to display themselves in a certain light. Often, portrait busts are created by instruction of the surviving family, and the appearance of the individual is then based on how the family wishes their loved one to be seen or represented (Parker Pearson 1999: 9).

Because it was typically the living that were left to remember and provide libations for the dead, it would likely be easier to focus on the memorializing or commemoration process. By focusing on how surviving family members commemorated the dead, funerary aspects such as monuments, wills or epitaphs could undergo closer examinations to determine how they may have been manipulated by the living (Graham 2011b: 22). Manipulating the different funerary aspects or rituals would help the living to promote their family's social standing, or increase their social or political influences over the gathered mourners.

2 – Pompeian History

Literary evidence indicates that both Herculaneum and Pompeii had been occupied by the Oscans, Etruscans and Samnites before the Romans. With a history that included many different people and cultures, Pompeii was a place wherein the traditions of these many different groups were constantly being transformed (Lazer 2007: 613). Many of the Pre-Roman traditions included burying their deceased in caskets, which make it easier for modern scholars to examine physical remains and learn about aspects of daily life, diet and causes of death. Etruscan traditions included digging and designing elaborate burial chambers inside of the funerary structure so that they could leave behind burial goods, host feasts and other ritual ceremonies for the deceased (Graham 2006: 8). These practices quickly changed and were cycled out of popularity when the Roman colonization began, as the Romans preferred to cremate their dead. This change in the funerary process was also followed by the arrival of the Roman fascination of burial monuments to house the cremated remains of the deceased (Mouritsen 2005: 45). As the Romans became more interested in architectural design, monuments became larger and more decorative as ways to show off the wealth and status of those buried in the enclosure.

Enclosure spaces within the necropolis sites were often bought and sold, even if older grave markers still stood on the property. If the family line had ended, or if the family bought new funerary space, the materials for the old monuments or grave markers were often re-used to construct new structures. However, the grave itself was not touched and was often still treated with respect and was gifted with libations and other offerings by the new landowners. As seen in Figure 1, the tomb of Publius Vesonius Phileros contained two graves that had been part of an older enclosure and were covered over with gravel, but still given offerings during ceremonies and ritual feasts (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 118). Some of the earliest graves discovered in

Pompeii dated to the 18th-16th centuries B.C. and, while no graves have been found between the 15th-11th centuries B.C., there were also several graves from the 10th-9th centuries B.C. and from the Samnite period of occupation (circa 5th-2nd centuries B.C.) (Emmerson 2013: 43-44).



Figure 1 - View of the Vesonius Phileros monument, Nuceria Necropolis. Image from Carroll 2011: 114. Image depicts both the monument of Phileros and his companions, but also the enclosure where he, his descendants and slaves have been buried.

By the end of the 2nd century B.C., Pompeii had become a busy port and exchange city. Along with the expanding city boundaries, landmark features like the Pompeian amphitheatre and Stabian bathhouse (Map 1) were constructed during this time of Pompeian prosperity (Castren 1975: 40). Castren goes on to discuss the history of Pompeii, from its time as a Campanian colony until its introduction into a fully Romanized colony, and begins his discussion with the period of Sullan occupation in Pompeii. While some scholars debate the time that Sulla occupied Pompeii, many believe to it have been around 89 B.C (Ibid). In Castren's review of the Sullan period, he describes it as an occupational period that led to the proscription of land, and several municipal, economic and cultural changes to the city (Ibid: 92). It was not until 37 B.C

that Octavian and his supporters settled in Pompeii and held control over the municipal powers for approximately 60 years, when the city became completely Romanized (Ibid: 123).

The Republican and Early Imperial Periods

There have been very few monument-styled burials discovered at Pompeii from the Republican period, but the necropoleis sites contain a pattern of burials that date from the Republican through to Flavian times (Mouritsen 2005: 45). It was during the Republican period when cremation became the most popular method of burial in Pompeii and was later joined by the attractive idea of a monumental structure that could house several dozen urns in one location (Toynbee 1971: 34). Graham notes that the period of stone-line trenches of older periods was “no longer relevant to the needs of an increasingly status-conscious society” and needed to make room for the growing popularity of elaborate monuments (Graham 2006:10).

One of the more detailed points from Toynbee’s book (1971) is his discussion of the Roman views and beliefs about death. Throughout the Republican and Imperial periods, there was a strong belief that your soul would survive death and your personal identity would continue existing in the afterlife (1971: 38). Included in this was their belief that the dead could return to the land of the living and walk about with the mortals, which is why the Romans surrounded their city boundaries with necropoleis. By keeping a division between the living and the dead, the deceased could still be remembered, but could not interact with the daily activities of the city. The evidence behind our knowledge of Roman ideas about the afterlife come mainly from 1st century B.C. literary texts and archaeological findings (Ibid: 34). Plautus, circa 250-184 B.C., is one of the best literary sources we have from earlier periods, followed by Ovid, whose late-Republic and early-Imperial writings describe festivals and feasts to honor the dead (Ibid: 35).

The late Republic also introduced a monument form commonly referred to as a familial-tomb. This form, which was modified slightly by the freed-person class, was favoured as it allowed for the family line to grow, and recorded the legacy of ex-slaves (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 38). Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, who refers to the freed-class as the “innovators of funerary behaviour” says they frequently modified older structure styles to fit with newer decorative trends or architectural elements. Along with the changes that the freed-person class was creating in the funerary landscape, Roman women did their part to change or adapt to trends in the funerary customs. With the introduction of new legislation, Roman women were gaining more freedom in society, and were able to act on their own personal interests. In the last few years of the late Republican, and very beginnings of the early Imperial periods, women could name and change their legal guardians and could inherit from their husbands (Ranieri Panetta 2004: 180).

It was not until the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. that the tradition of cremation slowly reverted to inhumation (Toynbee 1971: 40). Literary writings by Tacitus describe how Nero killed his pregnant wife Poppaea by kicking her in the stomach and chose to follow foreign traditions of embalmment and interred her body in a mausoleum. Nero`s choice to forego cremation as per Roman tradition, and to inter an embalmed body sped up the revitalization of inhumation (Morris 1992: 31). In cities such as Pompeii, archaeologists have found a chronological spread to the burials, ranging from cremations to the transition and spread of inhumations, with earlier period burials located furthest away from the city gates (Mouritsen 2005, 45). Using this chronological spread shows that the start of this gradual change is typically located with the Julio-Claudian era burials (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 113), which also

provide some of the best documentation of imperial cults. Many of these monuments reference, or were dedicated by, the *ordo*¹ of magistrates and Augustalis priests (Castren 1975: 105).

Introduction to Pompeian Necropoleis

In ancient Rome, a necropolis was constructed along the sides of the busiest roads that lead in and out of the city. The separation between the living and dead, as was discussed above, was also done in small part, to allow travellers to see the ancestral history of the inhabitants of these cities (Brion and Smith 1960: 160). The city of Pompeii has seven different access points (Map 1), with Roman period graves discovered outside six of these gates: Porta Ercolano, Porta Vesuvio, Porta Nola, Porta Nuceria, Porta Stabia and Porta Marina (Emmerson: 2013: 50). For the Augustan-Tiberian times, evidence of at least 24 monuments have been discovered for the elite classes across all urban necropoleis, but from the last 40 years of Pompeii, there has only been evidence of five monuments built for the elite members of society (Mouritsen 2005: 45).

Henri Duday defines a necropolis as a series of roads, with spaces and zones to move between, and where people are grouped according to their economic position, profession or social class. In this way, a necropolis will partially reflect the structure of the city, and history of the society (Duday 2009: 96). Many of the monuments created by the elite or wealthier members of the freed-person class were designed to provide travellers with benches to sit on, or shade to rest under. The shade would welcome passersby to sit and interact with the souls visiting the living, or learn about the deceased through the messages left in inscriptions (Brion and Smith 1960: 160). Due to the level of preservation found in Pompeian necropoleis, the inscriptions have allowed archaeologists to learn more about household structures, including the slaves and relationships between freed-people and former owners (Carroll 2006, 184). The inscriptions

¹ Order, or the social class of...

discovered at Pompeii have exceeded 6,000 samples, and range from commemorative epitaphs, political or business advertisements to scribbles left on plaster walls of shops (Mau 1982: 485).

On the Street of the Tombs at Pompeii, in the Ercolano necropolis, located outside the Herculaneum gate, all the 1st century B.C. burials are cremations, and many of these monuments belonged to the elite members of society. The Ercolano necropolis has been considered by many archaeologists and researchers as the burial grounds for the more ‘aristocratic’ members of society, where only a few of the monuments or funerary enclosures have been positively identified as freed-person burials (Morris 1992: 42-43). The Street of the Tombs offers a wide variety of funerary structures from different time periods, and of different shapes, sizes and styles, to be studied and explored (Toynbee 1971: 119). Because of the exclusivity of the Ercolano necropolis, and the small number of freed-person monuments located here, two examples² from this location will be included in the study.

Synopsis of the Nuceria Necropolis

The Nuceria necropolis is located outside the Porta Nuceria gate, and runs along the Via Nuceria road and parallel to the city wall (see Map 2). The necropolis is structured chronologically, with the burials themselves scattered along the walkways (Brion and Smith 1960: 171). The necropolis itself consists solely of graves and monuments, whereas other locations, such as the Ercolano necropolis, also had rooms or shops, market stalls and houses. The Nuceria necropolis contains the largest collection of societal classes, and the largest number of buried freed-people (Brion and Smith 1960: 173). Most of the tombs along the eastern part of the necropolis belong to the Augustan-Tiberian periods, with a small group of Republican graves located some distance away (Mouritsen 2005: 46). The Nuceria necropolis is also considered the

² Monuments of Gaius Calventius Quietus and Naevoleia Tyche

largest in Pompeii, as it has the highest number of preserved monuments (Emmerson records 91 examples), the majority of which lined the road leading to the city of Nuceria, and several more heading along the southern road towards Stabiae (Emmerson 2013: 52).

Because of the size of the necropolis, and the variety of social classes and structure types, the Nuceria necropolis has been a location that I have taken personal interest in. It is considered the final resting place of many of the socially ambitious influential freed-men and their families (Cormack 2008: 586), and the location of over 150 stelae, 13 of which commemorate slaves (Mouritsen 2005: 85). According to Emmerson's research, at both the Ercolano and the Nuceria necropoleis, enclosures were the most common funerary form, followed by altars. However, at Nuceria, *aediculae*³ were also a very common feature, placed second after enclosures, with altars being a rarer structure type (Emmerson 2013: 75). The concentration of freed-person tombs, as well as the variations in trend or pattern when compared against other necropoleis makes the Nuceria necropolis an excellent source of information for this thesis.

The structure types, architectural features and monument sizes are helpful when determining potential economic means, while decorative elements and inscriptions will provide further information to piece together other characteristics such as sex and social class. By combining these elements with sculptures or portrait busts, many aspects of an individual's identity can be interpreted. The likelihood of an individual or their family having used manipulative techniques to oversell their life and achievements will be taken into consideration for the duration of this thesis. However, some clues, like monument location, size and elaboration, can potentially be used to counteract these issues, as they will be the best indicators of economic position within society.

³ Type of funerary structure designed with a columned porch

3 - Funerary Beliefs and Rituals

Roman literature, mythologies and funerary art give descriptive accounts of Roman funerary beliefs, traditions and even some rituals. Toynbee uses these ancient sources to substantiate his detailed descriptions of Roman funerals and the belief in the afterlife. In his descriptions, he mentions two major influences on funerary practices, the first of which was the Roman belief that death caused a type of pollution that can effect the house and family, and anyone or anyplace that had contact with the deceased would need to be purified. The second was the negative effects that an improper burial could have on the deceased's soul (Toynbee 1971: 43). These influential notions are coupled with the Roman belief that the deceased's soul can recall their ties to the living, including their family and friends, and that the individual's actions and behaviors had an impact on their fate in the afterlife (Ibid.: 36). While the Romans believed that the soul held memories of the life they once lived, recovered literature and legal texts implied the necessity of a grave marker to preserve identity, and was used to communicate with the living and pass along the memory of the deceased⁴ (Emmerson 2013: 7).

Funerary Beliefs

Passages written by Cicero in his *De Legibus* describe the ancestor spirits as a collective force who were meant to be venerated by their descendants (Toynbee: Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii). If the proper libations were provided and rituals were followed, then the spirits of the dead, the *di Manes*, could assist their descendants, but could become vengeful if they were neglected or if their grave site was left unattended⁵ (Toynbee 1971: 35). According to Toynbee, Classical Greek art and literature can teach us a lot about Roman beliefs of the soul's departure and existence in

⁴ Roman's referred to this as *memoria*

⁵ Plautus calls these spirits *Lemures* and *Larvae*

the underworld. From literary pieces written by Homer, the souls in the underworld kept their names and memories (Fitzgerald: *Odyssey*, xi). Evidence about the belief of an individual's identity in the afterlife is also recorded in the 1st century B.C. by Livy and Vergil (Jackson Knight: *Aeneid*, vi). From the Augustan age and forward, funerary structures have inscriptions that use the formula *D.M.S* or *D.M* (*Dis Manibus Sacrum* or *Dis Manibus*) with the personal name(s) of the deceased buried in the enclosure (Ibid).

While one of the primary social and religious functions of a funerary structure was to preserve an individual's identity and express their status and memories to the public, it was mainly a site for the ancestral worship of the *Manes* (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 110). When dealing with identity, epigraphic evidence becomes one of the most important elements on a funerary structure, as it contains messages about how the individual defined themselves or how the family wanted the individual to be viewed (Emmerson 2013: 7). Advertising social status seems to have been a priority for the Pompeians, who used not only inscriptions but also the structure type, decorations and architectural features as ways to portray their status.

In Petronius' *The Satyricon* (Sullivan 2011), the character Trimalchio is a freed-man who gains wealth and influence after being granted manumission. The feast he hosts for his guests is a combination of refined social customs that would have been typical of Roman parties, and vulgar attempts at comedic entertainment (Emmerson 2013: 7). Part of the evening's entertainment was having his dinner guests rehearse his funeral, including telling them about how his monument looks, and what he wants his inscription to say⁶. Like the inscription and architectural features that Trimalchio states will be included, freed-people often emphasized the values, traits and personal achievements that the individual wished to be associated with after their death. The

⁶ The specifics of Trimalchio's funeral ceremony and monument discussed further in Chapter 6.

inscriptions will also typically include their family connections or relationships with information on careers or memberships in different groups, cults or military units on their inscriptions. Many times, these can be represented by images of animals, faunal pieces, or mythological or metaphorical scenes (Ibid:8).

Funerary Rituals

When discussing Roman funerary rituals, one focus is on the sacrifice or libation offerings that are provided to the dead after the ceremonial feasts (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 110). Burials are comprised of intentional actions that can hold several significant meanings or be representational objects in rituals. These meanings can be read or interpreted in many ways, which makes understanding the symbolic or religious messages behind ritual actions incredibly important to researchers and archaeologists (Morris 1992: 15). Finding evidence of Roman rituals or religious ceremonies, such as the *Parentalia* festival or the *os resectum*, in association with a freed-persons grave can have several implications that may indicate a desire for social acceptance, reaffirming civic affinity or simply as a continuance of emulation.

The *Parentalia* was a festival where family gathered to commemorate their ancestors and an event that had special significance to all members of a society, including the free-people (Graham 2006: 37). The funerary banquet was held on the ninth day after a death and was used to mark the end of the mourning period. It was also used as a yearly festival where family members would gather at grave sites to have meals in the enclosure, and provide offerings of food, wine and olive oil for the spirits (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 111). Every year, the family would come and gather at the grave site on the anniversary of the deceased's birth and death, and would once again provide libation offerings and eat meals (Graham 2006: 37). Another yearly festival held to placate and provide sustenance for the deceased took place near

the beginning of May. This festival, called the *Lemuria*, was a ritualized feast focused around Roman fears of restless spirits and the vengeful souls who did not receive proper burials (Ibid: 38). The Romans feared the vengeful spirits as they believed these souls were the most likely to return and terrorize their ancestors until all the proper funerary rites were performed and all religious burial rituals were conducted (Graham 2011a: 93).

The funerary ritual of *os resectum* refers to the removal or cutting off an element of the corpse prior to burning on a cremation pyre or internment. This ritual let the deceased be properly interred or cremated, while the living family could conduct the necessary purification rituals and funerary rituals. Because death was an act filled with pollution and had negative connotations, the piece of the corpse that was removed from the body could be used in purification rituals for the family members that had been in contact with the deceased before they died (Graham 2011a: 94). Authors Varro and Plutarch both write about *os resectum*, describing its purpose and influence in the funerary process. In his work, Varro⁷ provides several details about the process and practice, stating that if the bone removed from the deceased is left out of the purification ceremony, the household will remain in mourning, and the dead will not successfully transition into the afterlife (Ibid: 93). Plutarch mentions the collection of bone and ash after cremation, and that *os resectum*, which means cut bone, is a piece of bone deliberately cut off the body before the cremation can occur (Ibid: 95).

In other Roman funerary traditions, the term *funus* was used to cover any action, activity or ceremony that took place between one's death and the final mourning ceremonies. While the rituals themselves are relatively similar across all social ranks, the terms used for the different social classes or groups varied. The *funus translaticum* described funerals for the average

⁷ For more, see Graham 2011a: 93, who quotes Varro, "*Latin Language*," 5.23

citizens, *funus militare* for soldiers, *funus publicum* for the Senate or other citizens who worked for the State, and a *funus imperatorium* for the emperors and members of their families (Toynbee 1971: 43)⁸. The phrase *funus translaticum* was also used when referring to the rites and ceremonies associated with freed-person funerary processes, and included dressing the corpse, laying a wreath on their head and placing a coin in the deceased's mouth to pay Charon's fare (Ibid: 44). Charon was a Roman mythological figure who acted as the ferryman of souls, and would collect payment from spirits in exchange for safe passage to the underworld.

The final rituals in any of the above *funus* types involved last meals and ceremonial feasts. Due to the volcanic eruption in Pompeii, the carbonized remains of some of these feasts have been found at grave sites and in pyre debris, along with other organic materials that would have been offered to the deceased during yearly festivals or as libation offerings (Matterne and Derreumaux 2008: 105). Food can also be used to indicate the differences between the living and the dead; while the living would have large feasts at the enclosure site, the deceased would be offered other items such as olive oil, wine, nuts and fruits. Palynology is a scientific study also used by archaeologists and anthropologists to study pollen, grains and spores left at archaeological sites (Kautz 1974: 9). Studying pyre debris from burial pits allows us to not only recreate ancient funerary ceremonies, but to identify the types of fauna that would have existed in these regions (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 121). Research conducted by Veronique Matterne and Marie Derreumaux from the Phileros enclosure (2008) has identified several different types of plant species in what would have been the present-day occupation layers when Vesuvius erupted.

⁸ Refer to Toynbee 1971: 43-49 for more information about funeral processes and class divisions

4 – Structure Types, Features and Decorations

One theory about the six separate necropoleis, was that they were divided for social classes, and would have acted as a reflection of the social relationships the classes had with each other (Emmerson 2013: 76). Each of the necropoleis has higher representations of one particular class type over the others, but each also has different patterns of structure type. The Nuceria necropolis is believed to be a location used by all social classes, but has a higher number of freed-people buried there, while the Ercolano is considered to be a more aristocratic or elite burial ground. The variations in structure type at each necropoleis also supports this class-based theory, as it is believed that location played an important role in structure selection, construction quality and class division (Ibid). There are also different types of funerary deposits, ranging from individual burials to funerary complexes and cluster-groups (Duday 2009: 13).

In her work, Valerie Hope proposes that funerary structures can reveal more information about the role of freed-people and slaves in a household rather than the nuclear family (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 44). When examining a Roman house, Wallace-Hadrill says that the house looks in two different directions, outwards (*foris*) and inwards (*domi*). The *foris* faces the outside world, attracting visitors by the grandeur of the house and status of the family. The *domi* faces the family, as they have their own roles and separate the social obligations of the slaves and freed-people, men and women, adults and children (Ibid). Similarly, the funerary structure looks outwards at travelers and visitors, attracting their attention with relief carvings or inscriptions, and inwards at the individual as a place of rest and memorialization (Ibid: 47).

From the mid-Republic into the early-Imperial, a wide variety of new funerary structures was introduced to funerary landscapes. One such type, the *columbarium*, was mostly subterranean with rows of niches that could hold cremations urns (Graham 2006: 8). In the

Nuceria necropolis, there are several house-tombs clustered together along the same stretch of road, the majority of which belong to freed-persons. Similarly to Hope's theory about Roman funerary housing, Toynbee believes that, because a funerary structure was designed to be the place where the dead could periodically reside, the architectural features of some monuments were crafted to look like the houses that the living had once occupied (Toynbee 1971: 38). House-tombs were designed to contain niches where cremation urns could be stored, but older styles of house-tombs that have also been found at Pompeii had large arched hollows cut into the walls⁹ to hold inhumations (Graham 2006:11).

Commemorating the Poor

As each of the necropoleis have differences in structure type and social classes, none of the Pompeian necropoleis have identical patterns. The patterns in these necropoleis are further disrupted if one takes into account the distribution of sex or enclosures that contain and recognize slaves. One trend that these necropoleis share is the grave stelae, which are often thought to be memorials of those buried in other locations, had no body to bury, or were grave markers given to slaves (Graham 2006: 11). These markers, which are typically referred to by archaeologists as 'herm-stelae' or '*columellae*' are designed to look like the silhouette of a human head (Figure 2). They were typically made of tufa, basalt, limestone, or marble (after the Augustan period). Male and female *columellae* were differentiated by a small knot that was located on one side of the stelae and was meant to represent a coiffure, which was a common female hairstyle at the time (Cormack 2008: 594). Because many stelae are found without inscriptions, they are often believed to mark the burial location of a slave, as their low status would not have required identification or preservation (George 2008: 545).

⁹ This type of structure can also be referred to as an *arcosolia* tomb



Figure 2 - Example of a grave stela with an inscription. Image from Dobbins and Foss 2007: 593. Stela was discovered in the Ercolano necropolis and provides a partial name of one of Marcus Arrius Diomedes freed-men

Lower class citizens could also be buried with wealthy families that acted as a *patron* to the citizen if they were loyal or liked by the wealthy family, or could buy into a burial club. Freed-people who were unable to gain much wealth were also given these options, and could choose to be buried in their former owner's enclosures or with other freed-people, or could purchase membership into a burial club (Cormack 2008: 591). These burial clubs, or *collegia*, had their cremation urns stored in large *columbarium*¹⁰, as they were typically barrel-vaulted structures made of brick, with walls hollowed out for the urns (Morris 1992: 44). They could be built large enough to store several hundred urns, but would have been among the more expensive structures. Dedicatory inscriptions usually indicate that the *columbaria* were constructed by the wealthiest citizens, or were paid for with the *collegia* membership fee (Ibid: 45). Morris suggests

¹⁰ Latin word meaning 'dovecot' because of the hollowed areas for urns

that because they could hold so many burials, they took up less land and therefore, *columbarium* may have served a more utilitarian purpose (Ibid: 47).

The presence of so many urns in a *columbarium* reflects the many social realities in the Roman world. The servile, poor and freed-person classes have different degrees of dependence on, and loyalty to, the wealthy monument owners and their family (Purcell 1987: 38). The occupants welcomed into another family's *columbarium* got to share in the influence and splendor of the monument. Additionally, a *columbarium* may also be used as a form of public benefaction, where a wealthy family constructs the monument and donates it to burial clubs or to the city for poorest residents in the city. This was a popular action by elite families of the late Republican era, who would set up inscriptions naming themselves as benefactors to publicly advertise their generosity and wealth (Ibid).

The Street of Tombs, Ercolano Necropolis

Along with the *columbarium* there are several other monument types found in Pompeii, and many of these structure types can be found in both the Nuceria necropolis and the Ercolano necropolis. The 'Street of Tombs' outside the Herculaneum Gate contains monuments erected from throughout the Republican and early Imperial periods, and provides researchers with an incomparable selection of grave markers and structure types to study (Graham 2006: 9). Toynbee has researched and described many of the more common forms of monument types that appear in Pompeii, including *columbaria* and various forms of roofed and unroofed enclosures. The unroofed enclosure typically has one door that permits entry on one side of the structure and is one of the architecturally simplest forms discovered at Pompeii. A more elaborate version of this structure type was also found between the Street of Tombs and the Vesuvius road and had been

constructed by the freed-man Callistus in honor of his former owner and patron Gnaeus Vibius Saturninus (Toynbee 1971: 119).

Other common monument types that have been found in various forms of elaboration are the cylindrical drums, *aediculae* and altars. Toynbee describes two examples for the cylindrical monuments, one being more architecturally simplistic with the second a more complex version. The stylistically simple version is in the Ercolano necropolis and had three niches, low walls and a doorway facing the street, while the elaborate version in the Nuceria necropolis stood on a square base, and is more stylistically similar to the mausolea built during later imperial times by emperors and their families (Toynbee 1971: 123). *Aediculae*, which Emmerson describes as a canopied superstructure raised on a podium with internments made in the interior chambers, were typically decorated with portrait busts framed by columns (Emmerson 2013: 67). The altar was also usually placed on a low base and decorated with relief carvings of mythological scenes or portrait busts (Ibid), and had originally been a monument type that was favoured by the elite members of society.

By the last few decades in Pompeii, this structure type was being mimicked by people of lower social classes, including the freed-people population who frequently sought to emulate the elite and their higher social traditions (Carroll 2006: 94). Some altars were built to stand two meters high, and were more commonly constructed during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. (Ibid), and some had been constructed and donated to the individual or family in honour of the services they provided to the city. It is possible that some who received this donation kept the monument but buried their dead in enclosures in other necropoleis (Ibid: 95). If this theory is taken into consideration, it could explain the two monuments belonging to the Faustus family: one, which

Gaius Quietus Faustus had constructed on behalf of his family, while the other was a burial plot donated by the city that his wife, Naevoleia Tyche, used to elevate the family name.

The summary that Toynbee provides in his book only gives specific detail about a few monuments (see Figure 3 for list and brief descriptions), but does provide readers with an idea of the wide range of elaborate modifications that can be made to stylistically simple monuments. While many monument types are architecturally similar, the personal effort and requests that go into these monuments are what make them a significant tool for insights into an individual's identity. The monuments would have been elaborated on to meet the desires of the individual prior to their death, or by the family following the death of a loved one, which explains not only the variety in design elements, but the modifications to architectural features. These architectural and decorative variations play a large role not only in understanding individual beliefs and values, but also in understanding the personal and social relationship between the individuals buried in the monument or enclosure.

Structure Type	Architectural Features	Stylistic Elements	Use and Implications
<i>Aedicula</i>	-Canopied structure with a 'porch' -Interior chambers hollowed for niches -Doorways	-Portrait busts -Columns -Typically mythological relief carvings	Originally favoured by the elite, it quickly became adapted by the freed-people. Used to assert and display newly acquired status.
Altars	-Large rectangular structure -Support base	-Portrait carvings/busts -Relief carvings -Inscriptions	Older monument used by elite, typically in the Ercolano necropolis. Adapted by the freed-people to distinguish those who achieved higher public or social status, or was dedicated by the city council.
Arch Monument	-Archway/Barrel vault -Hollows for niches	-Plaster or stucco paint -Relief carvings -Inscriptions	Designed to imitate honorary arches, used by the freed-people class to declare their status and position in society
<i>Columbaria</i>	-Occasionally subterranean. -Barrel-vaulted -Hollows for niches	-Stylistically simple with brief inscription if commissioned by a <i>collegia</i> or as public benefaction -Doorways, tables and benches, relief carvings or statuary if commissioned by elite	Typically a burial club for the most destitute of the freed-people and poor citizens. Allowed them to receive proper burial after death. Sometimes used by elite classes as a type of mausoleum where the family can include space for their slaves or freed-people
<i>Columellae</i>	-Solid stone slabs	-Styled after the silhouette of human busts -Small knot on the back to distinguish sex	Grave markers to show location of urn or internment in funerary enclosure, usually used to indicate burial of the poor freed-people or slaves
Cylindrical Monuments	-Low walls -Rows for niches -Doorways	-Relief Carvings -Inscriptions -Occasional statuary	More elaborate form of monument, used mostly by elite or to commemorate a freed-person's elite patron
House-Tombs	-Architecturally simplistic -Roof and doorway	-Plaster painted walls -Inscriptions -Relief carvings or busts	Architecturally and stylistically simple, used mainly by freed-people or working class and their families.

Figure 3 – Breakdown of a small selection of funerary structures by their architectural features, stylistic elements and what these aspects portray about the deceased.

*Chart includes Latin terminology, see the Glossary for English translations.

Architectural and Decorative Influences

The unpredictable nature of social status made the preservation of one's class all the more important. As members of society are subject to status changes, and at this time in history, dependent on the many Roman deities for prosperity and protection, status was one of the more important identifying features in the Roman world. For those who experienced an increase or improvement in their social status, the funerary monument holds a more symbolic meaning to the individual and their family. For the freed-class, their newly awarded legal status as full citizens was cause to celebrate their freedom and advertise their new position in the community (Graham 2006: 18). The freed-people took great pride in being able to erect monuments on the same roads as senators, soldiers or the elite, and celebrated their new status by erecting monuments to honour their citizenship (Graham 2006: 18). Epigraphic evidence and the decorative elements preserved on these monuments offers a wealth of information about personal identity and values, while the architectural features, such as size and type, reveal information of social and economic status (Cormack 2008: 591).

Other common and more affordable ways of expressing identity through decoration would have also included architectural features, such as arches, tables and benches, gardens and plastered walls. Architectural elements on a monument were often removed from an older monument and reused on a new one, or eventually became building materials for newer monuments in the enclosure or neighboring monuments. One example of recycled materials was found in the Nuceria necropolis, when archaeologists recovered marble *columellae* and later identified them as reworked columns and cornices (Carroll 2006: 108). Plaster painted monuments were one of the most common and inexpensive ways to decorate a monument, and ranged from solid plaster paintings to elaborate multi-colored designs. When a wall was painted

in a single, solid coating of plaster, it was almost always done in white, black or red (Emmerson 2013: 77). Plaster was also used on many of the Pompeian monuments to create a stucco effect, and would have been used to imitate pediments, columns or cornices (Ibid: 78).

Roman funerary spaces were very versatile, and would act as both a gathering place for the living and resting place for the dead. Family members would gather at the grave sites several times a year to honour the dead by providing libations and sharing meals (Jensen 2008: 107). Because monuments were also used to advertise the wealth and status of the deceased and their descendants, the monument spaces were often decorated with furnishings like entryways, tables and benches or chairs, as well as tubes or other similar features where libations could be poured and food could be offered (Ibid). Large monuments with elaborate furnishings were quickly replicated by the freed-people, such as the Manicus Diogenes monument in the Nuceria necropolis where a large arch-styled monument had been built (Figure 4). The inscription, which was placed over the vault, read “to the memory of Publius Mancius Diogenes, freedman of Publius Mancius; the monument was erected in accordance with the terms of his will, under the direction of Mancia Doris, freedwoman of Publius Mancius” (“*P. Mancio P. l[iberto] Diogeni ex testamento arbitrato Manciac P. l[ibertae] Dorinis*”) (Mau 1982, 432).



Figure 4 – View of the Manicus Diogenes monument, Nuceria necropolis. Image from Mau 1982: 434. Image depicts the Diogenes arched styled monument on the left.

The freed-people who sought to emulate their former owners did not always desire to increase their social standing, or acquire wealth. As slaves, these people would have been in constant contact with the elite class' customs, whether it was through active participation or witnessing it. These customs would have eventually become behaviors that the slave associated with public interactions (Graham 2006: 20). Publius Manicus Diogenes may have been one of these people, as the monument itself was not nearly as elaborately decorated or furnished as other arch monuments in this area of the Nuceria necropolis. Inscriptions identifying oneself as a freed-man or freed-woman were not always so easily identified as this monument either. Over time, the number of inscriptions identifying the deceased as a freed-person (the 'l' which represented *'libertus'*) began to decline. This may have been due to the freed-people no longer wanting to identify themselves as a lower status individual, or because they did not want to be associated with the social obligations they owed their former owners (Ibid: 20).

Inscriptions

The frequency with which social customs or funerary trends passed in the Roman Empire causes some complications to an identity study, as a freed-person could stress their current status while hiding their origins. The ease with which epigraphic materials could be manipulated by the freed-people make inscriptions a more difficult feature to successfully interpret, and this use of impression management is one of the reasons why recent studies on death, burials and funerary customs exclude inscriptions in favour of the grave goods and physical remains (Carroll 2006: 20). However, in this study, inscriptions are one of the more important elements of a monument as they can be used to discern familial or political connections and occasionally personal information, such as ethnic origins, education level or even careers (Carroll 2011b: 66). Naming the deceased in the inscription, as well as the dedicator of the monument, also reveals

information about the social or familial relationship, and would have been used to commemorate the deceased, and show the generosity or loyalty of the dedicator (Ibid: 65).

Almost all Pompeian monuments with existing inscriptions highlight the relationship between husband and wife, and former owner and freed-slave over any other form of relationship (Emmerson 2013: 106). When entering into servitude, the individual is stripped of any original kin or ethnic relations, and when granted manumission, the freed-people typically looked to their former owners as the founder of their new family line. This was encouraged by Roman laws that enforced a bond of obligation between the freed-man and their owner, which existed even after death. A freed-person could be called upon to erect and dedicate a monument to the former owner, but the patron would provide burial space for his freed-people in the family enclosure as a way to mark the ex-slave as a member of the family that the patron was required to care for (Ibid: 107). Naming the deceased in the inscription and identifying the dedicator, who was usually the husband or wife, mother or father, or the child, was meant to strengthen the familial bonds after death (Carroll 2006: 33).

Pompeian inscriptions also tended to identify the offices held by the deceased individual during their life as a way to connect or associate themselves with a higher status. Naming the office that the freed-man held also reflected their desire to be remembered or perceived as a successful man, who once had a great deal of influence over the city (Emmerson 2013: 99). Listing the offices, professions or career that the freed-person once held, could also have been used as another way of creating or inflating their identity and status, as positions in public offices were rather limited for the freed-people. Freed-men could become Augustales, the priests of the cult for Augustus, or magistrates in suburban districts of their community. Freed-women were

not able to gain public office positions at all. Priestess-hoods were available only to the free-born women (Ibid: 103).

Inscriptions allowed people to create a detailed or individualized narrative of themselves or their family, and were one of the more significant commemorative features on a monument. They allowed an individual to fully disclose their personal identity, or provided the surviving family with an opportunity to express the favoured qualities of the individual (Carroll 2006: 13). Often, an individual would choose the text they wanted carved in their inscription, as this allowed them to fully express themselves and leave a lasting impression on the family and community. Occasionally, during a sudden death or for an unprepared individual, the inscription was chosen by family members, friends or the community itself. While many inscriptions preserved aspects that the individual considered to be important or valuable, they could also be very personal messages that speak to how the family wanted their loved one to be remembered (Ibid: 19). When marble replaced basalt and tufa stone for monuments and stelae, craftsmen could cut letters and messages with more precision, and we find an increased number of inscriptions in the funerary landscape. For slaves, however, this was still a cost that some patrons were not willing to spend, and while the number of anonymous burials decreased significantly, many slaves were buried and left without a name (Ibid: 59).

Emmerson's research has divided inscriptions into two different groups based on their content and the audiences they address. Monumental *tituli* had inscriptions set into the façade of the monument, whereas individual inscriptions were marked by stelae (Emmerson 2013: 97). Inscriptions are another way of demonstrating the relevance of Goffman's performance analogy for Pompeian funerary customs, as the different inscription styles are meant to address different groups of people, and cause different sensory reactions. Monument *tituli* were directed towards

the public, and were meant to capture the attention of strangers (*hospes*) or travelers (*viator*), but individual inscriptions were directed towards people with regular access to the enclosure space (Ibid). For freed-people, the easiest way to capture attention and form bonds with the living was by using the *tria nomina* (for men) or the *duo nomina* (for women)¹¹, as it included their former owner's name, and tied them to the elite citizens (Ibid).

In the western provinces of the Roman Empire, Carroll suggests that less than 10% of the adult male population was literate in the first two centuries A.D. (Carroll 2006: 55). If this is an accurate assumption, then it was very likely that the clear majority of citizens could not even read their own inscriptions. While the inscription could have been chosen by the deceased, their family or friends, it is also possible that the craftsman had collections of inscriptions he could provide, or had ones already made for purchase. An individual could also have the inscription made based on one they had seen on other monuments that would have been appropriate in his community, or for his class (Ibid: 108). Due to the suggestion of limited literacy, epigraphic writing was formulaic, and contained several abbreviated terms that would have been common knowledge. This ensured that members of all social classes would be able to see and understand their meanings (Graham 2006: 13).

From the Augustan period, and more frequently after the 1st century A.D., inscriptions usually began with "*Dis Manibus Sacrum*," which later became "*Dis Manibus*"¹² before being shortened even further to "*D.M.*" (Carroll 2006: 126). Other common abbreviations used in commemoration inscriptions were "*H.S.E.*" for the phrase "*hic situs est*",¹³ and "*Ex T Fec*" for "*ex testament fecit*"¹⁴ These would have been easily recognizable phrases that anyone would be

¹¹ Discussed more in Chapter 5

¹² A Latin dedicatory phrase meaning "to the spirits of the dead"

¹³ Funerary abbreviation included in the inscription meaning "Here lies..."

¹⁴ Funerary abbreviation meaning "In accordance with the will of..."

able to see and understand, as they would have appeared in the same order and used in the same context (Ibid: 56). A less common inscription abbreviation in Pompeii was the one that indicated which monuments or funerary plots could not be sold off or inherited through a will. This phrase “*hoc monumentum heredem non sequester,*” later shortened to “*H.M.H.N.S.,*” expressed the plot owners wish that certain individuals not inherit the funerary plot by stating “this monument will not follow the heir.” (Ibid: 102).

Another phrase that would have been easily identifiable listed the names of people who had been granted permission to be buried in the enclosure. While many inscriptions include the rights of freedmen and freedwomen, slaves and descendants, this inscription is used when referring to exact names of friends, loyal freed-people or family members. The inscription would start with “*qui infra scripti sunt*”¹⁵ and would be followed by a list of names (Carroll 2006: 103). Common phrases or abbreviations would have been used to assist the illiterate population, as the repetitiveness would allow them to see and connect the engraving with the intended epigraphic phrase. They would also serve to create very specific messages to friends, family or community members. When inscriptions would call out to passers-by for their attention, it was often that they carried advice that the deceased wanted to pass on, or had warnings for a family, business rival or neighbouring city. Commemorative inscriptions can also provide information on the deaths, beliefs and grudges that some people took with them to their graves.

One of the main challenges that surround inscriptive-informed studies of identity goes back to the reasons behind the creation of an inscription. In the Roman world, erecting grand monuments with detailed inscriptions was more of a cultural practice, or a habit, than it was an

¹⁵ Funerary abbreviation meaning “whose names are inscribed below”

instinctive action. (George 2013: 44). The addition of decorative elements, such as architectural features and relief carvings can also offer significant insight into the identity of the individual.

Relief Carvings

Many of the funerary structures found in Pompeii have relief carvings that helped the intended audience to decipher the message left on the inscription. These images can often contain mythological scenes, metaphorical imagery, symbols of status or profession, or images of the deceased or the dedicator (Carroll 2006: 57). Including a sculpture or bust of an individual on a monument not only preserved the name of the individual, but their appearance too. This could include images of past ancestors, who were carved to look similar enough to an individual to represent the family line, or have images carved of every successful member when they died to create an ancestral gallery in the enclosure (Carroll 2011b: 68). Portraits were used by almost all social classes, especially during the first few years of the early Imperial period, but were also commonly used by freed-people from the late Republican period (Stewart 2008: 78).

Scenes of mythological events are rather uncommon on Pompeian graves in the earlier Republican periods, but this type of content became widely popular in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Images of Oedipus and the sphinx or Hercules were more common mythological images, but many also included images of self-deification (Cormack 2008: 597). One of the subtler examples of self-deification found in Pompeii is the funerary statue of Vesonina on the monument built by freed-man Gaius Calventius Quietus¹⁶. At one point, Vesonina held a torch in one hand and a small animal in the other as a way to associate her with the goddess Ceres (Ibid).

Metaphorical imagery is found on the monument of C. Muntaius Faustus in the Ercolano necropolis, where scenes of naval trade are meant to represent his passage into the afterlife

¹⁶ Discussed further in Chapter 5

(Ibid). Symbols of status or profession were found on several freed-people monuments, typically representing the office title the individual held. One more unusual case is from the Nuceria necropolis, and as seen in Figure 5, the monument was designed with triangular shaped tiles laid into the wall. This was meant to represent a carpenter's *labella*, or his level, and indicated the freed-man's profession during his life (Emmerson 2013: 81).



Figure 5 - Monument with the *labella* laid into the masonry, located in the Nuceria necropolis.

Image from D'Ambra and Métraux 2006: 4.

The bricks were laid out to reflect tools used by tradesmen, and indicates the profession of this freed-man.

In the late Republican into the early Imperial periods, the legal status of a freed-person was indicated through two main images. Because a slave could legally receive citizenship and get married after they had been granted manumission, images of freed-men in togas were used to represent their citizenship status, and a husband and wife holding hands¹⁷ represented marriage ties (Carroll 2006: 146). These two images were used to create a powerful visual of the acquired, or sometimes achieved, status change and the social and personal bonds created by receiving their freedom. Many fragments of portraits have been found in the different Pompeian

¹⁷ In Latin, this scene is referred to as a '*dextrarum iunctio*'

necropoleis, but Emmerson notes that less than ten of them could be positively assigned with their monument (Emmerson 2013: 80). Of these, one belonged to the Flavia family, another to C. Calventius Quietus from the Nuceria necropolis, and a third to the Gaius Faustus and Naevoleia Tyche monument in the Ercolano necropolis (Figure 6). The monument for Faustus was one of the rarer examples of funerary portraiture, as it depicted a bust of Tyche (Ibid).



Figure 6 - Public benefaction scene and portrait bust of Naevoleia Tyche on funerary monument in the Ercolano necropolis. Image from Emmerson 2013: plate 19.

A bust carving of Tyche, a scene of a man handing out grain with decorations of vines and flowers along the edges. The left side of the image shows the *bisellum* granted to Faustus.

A more peculiar example of funerary portraiture was found in Rome and depicted the Gavii family. This monument, which was dated circa 40 B.C., had a portraiture panel of four family members who were identified in an inscription as freed-man Dardanus, his son Rufus, who was born while the mother Asia was still a slave, and a second son Salvius (D’Ambra and Métraux 2006: 20). As seen in Figure 7, both the expression and clothing worn by the Gavii family in their funerary busts were common for this time period. They have stern expressions, while the men wear the toga and Asia has her hair pinned in a style that would have been fashionable among her peers (Ibid). By depicting themselves with facial features, hair styles and

the toga, the Gavii family asserted their public and social positions in their community, and showed the changes that freedom gave them. This was a style that was copied by many freed-people during this time, as it was used as a way to break away from the restrictions that had been placed on the freed-people during their servitude (Ibid).

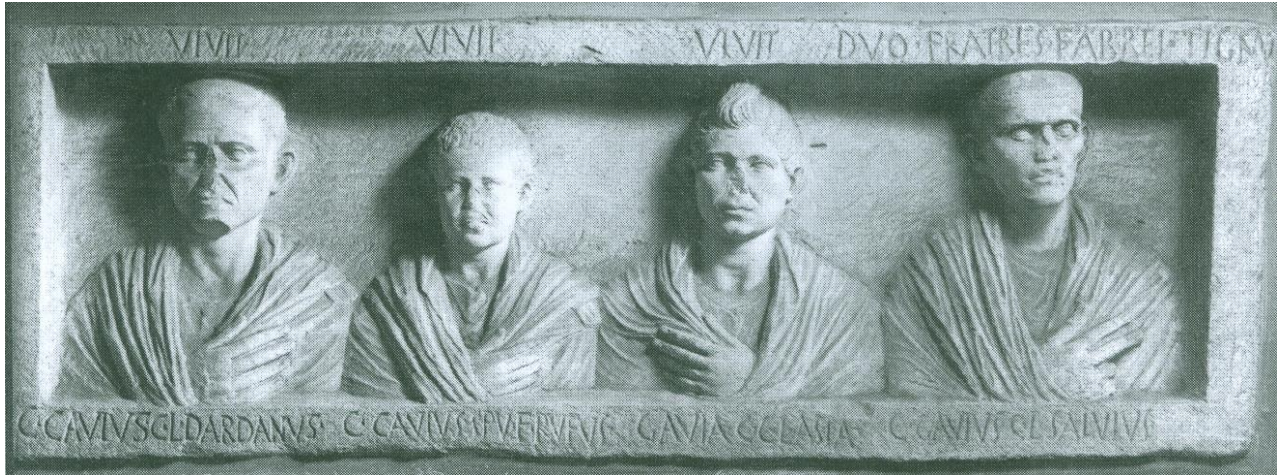


Figure 7 - Relief sculpture panel of the Gavii family of Rome, c., 40 B.C. Image by D'Ambra and Métraux 2006: 20. Sculptures show the husband and father Dardanus, youngest son, wife Asia, and eldest son (left to right). The family is wearing togas to symbolize their legal status as citizens, and have artistically 'common' facial expressions and hair styles for this period.

5 – Freed-People and Burials

When slaves were granted manumission, they experienced a kind of rebirth.

Manumission could be granted formally where a slave gained both freedom and legal citizenship through registration in a census list or by a testament. It could have also been granted informally, in front of witnesses, through a letter, or by announcement during feasts, celebrations or funerals (Ranieri Panetta 2004: 178). The death of a patron or patroness marked one of the biggest events in a slaves life and their status within the community. If the patron included a list of names in their will, those slaves would be granted their freedom after the will was read out to the family and household (Carroll 2011a: 126). The reading of a will was a transition point for many slaves; it released them from servitude and allowed them to become their own person. However, in many ways, a slave never did truly gain freedom from their patrons as there were several social, economic and obligatory bonds that tied them together.

For the slaves fortunate enough to gain their freedom, there would have also been a bias towards these individuals because of their former status as a slave. While their legal and economic status may have changed, their social positions and relationships would have been harder to improve, and may have limited a freed-person's opportunities and experiences (D'Ambra and Métraux 2006, 19). The profession that a freed-man entered after his manumission did not begin with his new change in status, but would have occurred due to the work he did for his patron (George 2008: 542). His experience, knowledge and skill in the profession would have been gained through his time as a slave. A slave with great skill in trades, who drew in more business for the patron, was more likely to be granted manumission. Such skills helped to ease the freed-person into the community. There have been several freed-men named on Pompeian monuments who identify themselves as tradesmen or manufacturers through

inscription or through work scenes that suggest the importance of a freed-man's career as a tool for self-identification within the community (George 2008: 542).

A slave's manumission did not sever the bonds that they would have had towards their patron. Freed-men were obligated to work for their former owner, and owed the patron their allegiance¹⁸. A patron could call on his former slave whenever he needed or wanted assistance, and this would have prevented the freed-man from enjoying the freedom that his new citizenship could have given him access to (D'Ambra and Métraux 2006, 19). The relationship between the freed-person and former owner was not always a negative bond though, as it also included the patron extending economic and financial security. While the patron had a more beneficial relationship with his freed-people, the freed-people could be allowed access to the family funerary space, and ensured that they would receive a full and legal burial. If the patron died and there was no one to watch over and maintain the enclosure, his freed-people and their descendants would be able to take up his duties at the burial site (Carroll 2006: 244).

From reading Petronius' *Satyricon*, it is very clear that the aristocratic members of society did not interact very frequently with the freed-class, and that marriages between the freed-people and elite class were not very common. In the novel, freed-men put more effort into emulating their patron's lifestyle, manners and customs, and in Trimalchio's case, did their best to acquire a marriage that could promote their social standing (Ranieri Panetta 2004: 179). However, in Rome, manumission and marriage were the two most common ways to gain freedom and mobility for women. Through marriage, a freed-woman could leave servitude and occasionally become one of the elite (Bernstein 2008: 532). Monumental inscriptions found throughout the Roman Empire provide evidence of marriages between female slaves and their

¹⁸ In the Roman world, this was referred to as a freed-man's *operae et obsequim*

former owners, suggesting that it was not as uncommon of an act as Petronius would have us assume. A female slave could experience a major change to her social, financial and legal status through marriage, because she would need to be freed for the union to be legitimate and the children to be full citizens (Carroll 2006: 241).

In Roman law, freed-men were identified as an *ingenui* (born free) or as a *libertini* (manumitted). There were several legally acceptable ways to be made into a *libertini*. One way, which has already been discussed, was through *manumissio testamento*. This occurred after a patron's death, where the patron's heir read out the will and would release the slave from servitude. A second way was through *manumissio censu*, where a slave could gain freedom by presenting himself at the census collection that occurred every five years (Carroll 2011a: 127). This would have required the patron's permission, gained through good-will or payment for a slave's freedom, gathered through the allowances he earned¹⁹ (Carroll 2006: 239). The third way was through *manumission vindicta*, where a slave would be given his freedom when the patron announced his intentions to the community magistrates (Carroll 2011a: 127). In these cases, a slave and patron would enter a reciprocal relationship of social and economic support, and social, political or personal loyalties that tied the two together even after their deaths.

Another, more personal bond that connected a slave and patron was their name. In Rome, slaves were given new names, either by their seller or their patron after being bought. Slave names were taken from several sources, including mythological or historic figures, animals, and geographical terms, but were most commonly of Greek origin (Eckardt 2010: 50). Roman personal names were typically made up of two or three names, depending on an individual's sex. Some of the *cognomina* used most frequently by freed-men were Faustus, Gaius and Primus, and

¹⁹ This allowance was referred to as '*peculium*'

by freed-women were Venusta, Ianuarius and Fortunata (Emmerson 2013: 118). The *tria nomina* was made up on a forename (*praenomen*), family name (*nomen*) and the surname (*cognomen*), while the *duo nomina* was a forename and family name. A freed-person would often adopt their former patron's name to assert their citizenship, and when present on the monument's inscription. This name was a statement of legal status and personal identity (Carroll 2006: 129).

Though they were not related to their former owners, the freed-people who adopted their patron's name would also list their relationship to their owner on the monument inscriptions. Because of the lack of family ties, freed-people could not identify themselves as 'the son or daughter of...', but by adopting the family name of the former owner, they could create new family or personal ties by referring to themselves as the 'freed-man or freed-women of...' (Carroll 2006: 241). By adding an 'l' for *libertus* after the patron's name²⁰, the freed-person would not only name themselves and their patron, but preserve the memory and relationship (Carroll 2006: 129). In their funerary enclosure space, when a freed-person died the survivors would erect a dedication to their patron or patroness. When referring to the patroness in the funerary inscriptions, the shorthand representation is a reversed letter C. (Carroll 2006: 242).

As previously mentioned, some owners allowed their freed-people to have access to their family's funerary enclosure by including the phrase '*ex nomine meo*,' meaning "bear my name" (Carroll 2006: 208), or '*sibi et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum*, which meant "for themselves and their freed-men and freed-women and their offspring" (Ibid: 244). By extending invitations to the burials of unnamed freed-men, freed-women and their children, the inscription reinforces the bonds shared between the family of the former owner and the family of the freed-

²⁰ An example of this would be "*C.(aius) Ninnius C.(ai) l(ibertus) Tertius*" meaning Gaius Ninnius Tertius, freedman of Gaius

people (Ibid: 208). The children of a freed-man or freed-woman, who would have been freeborn, would have inherited a portion of their name from their parents, but they would not have retained any trace of their parents' status, meaning that the stigma surrounding slaves or manumitted slaves would begin to disappear from this generation onwards (Carroll 2006: 242).

The term used to indicate a freed-man, *libertus*, or the freed-women, *liberta*, was considered a pride-worthy achievement in the Republican period, but slowly declined from the epigraphic records, especially after the first century A.D (D'Ambra and Métraux 2006, 27). This decline makes it significantly more difficult to determine an individual's social class or possible servile origins. If a manumitted imperial-era slave in the family's history adopted the name of an emperor or a mythological character, then this name was more likely to be passed down and can trace the origin of an individual's family line (Carroll 2006: 242).

Role in Society

The main difference between freed-people, freeborn and slaves was the legal positions and roles that each held in society and the economic pressures they each faced. These are important factors to distinguish in identity studies, because both impacted the burial and commemorative performances of each class of people (Graham 2006: 3). For the poor members of the freed-class, their survival was dependant on their employment prospects and the income they could earn to support themselves. Slaves, who had other demands, limitations and fears in their daily lives, did not have to worry about the financial pressures in tasks such as providing food (Ibid: 4). Freed-men desired legitimacy and a greater social acknowledgement than the freeborn because of the social stigmas about slavery, which even affected the methods of improving social, economic and commercial status (Carroll 2006: 247).

The limitations to freed-people extended into the political circles of Roman life as well, as they were banned from jobs in the public office and the military. Laws allowed them to marry freeborns, and intermarriage between the freed and elite classes were allowed, but heavily disapproved of (D'Ambra and Métraux 2006: 19). Their ineligibility to obtain careers in public offices led them to seek options in commercial or trade industries (Carroll 2006: 247). Various professions are named in the funerary epitaphs of freed-people from the working middle classes (Figure 8), including merchants, textile businessmen, clothing makers, and sellers of meats and fish, olive oil and wine (Ibid: 247). Craftsmen jobs have also been represented in the epigraphic records of marble masonry, gold-smiths, doctors and scene-painters (Ibid: 248). Successful freed-men could be elected into the imperial cult of the *Augustales* by the *decurions*, who were members of the local municipal orders (Castren 1975: 73).

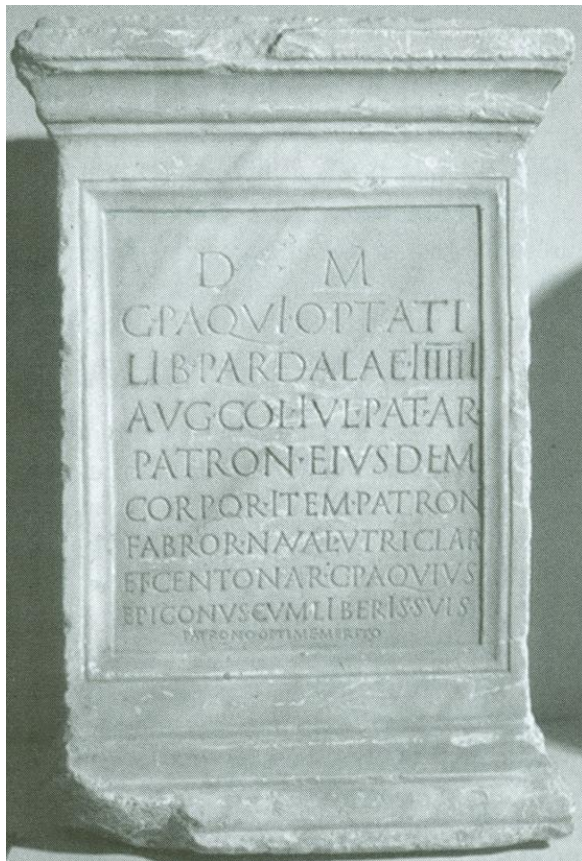


Figure 8 – An example of a funerary inscription, naming the freed-man, his patron, and the patrons' profession. Image by Carroll 2006: 251.

Inscription commemorates the life and qualities of Gaius Paquius Pardalas, and was found in Arles. Circa 2nd century A.D.

Inscription reads:

To the spirits of the dead and of Gaius Paquius Pardalas, freedman of [Gaius Paquius] Optatus, priest of the Imperial cult in to Colonia Iulia Paterna Arelate, patron of this corporation, and also patron of the shipbuilders, the river bargers, and the makers of quilts [for extinguishing fires]. Gaius Paquius Epigonus and his children set this up to their patron for his glorious services. (Carroll 2006: 252)

Pompeii's municipalities were divided between the urban, *vici*, and the rural, *pagi*, and were run by the *ministri vici* and *ministri pagi*. While the *ministri vici* was run by freeborn citizens, the *ministri pagi* were usually made up of freed-men (Castren 1975: 72). The Augustales, who were part of the *pagi* division, oversaw the community with the *decurions*: while they did not have as much political power as the *decurions*, they were more influential than the average citizen (Ibid: 73). After being appointed to the *decurions* and *Augustalis* orders, they had financial responsibilities towards the community that would help finance municipal works. These *summa honorario*, honorary sums, helped fund maintenance and construction of public buildings, roads and community festivals (D'Ambra and Métraux 2006, 32).

The *Augustalis* post was created after Augustus' death, and these people served as priests to the imperial cult of the emperor. The ranks of the *Augustalis* class were filled from the most successful or wealthy freed-men and their wealth would be important to fulfill the financial requirements (Carroll 2006: 138). During his time as a slave, the freed-man may have been introduced in the cult if a patron allowed the slave he marked for manumission to participate in the cult. An early introduction to the civic roles that an *Augustalis* would perform would give them a level of prestige and social connections that other wealthy freed-men didn't have (George 2008: 544). If the freed-man had enough wealth and social prestige, he could gain additional influence and be granted the political honor of *bisellum*. In Pompeii, only two *Augustalis* were given a *bisellum*, C. Munatius Faustus and C. Calventius Quietus (Castren 1975: 75).

Even though an *Augustalis*' function was almost totally ceremonial and financial, they were also referred to as the second town council, and received social benefits such as priority seating at public events (Butterworth and Laurence 2005: 50). Although a freed-man may have been banned from holding or being elected into public office, he could expose his son to the

community's municipalities so that their sons could reach a level of prestige that their fathers were not able to (Ibid: 21). The pattern of public exposure, slave and patron to freed-man and son, is something he would aspire to pass on to his son.

Freed-People: Examples and Discussion

Throughout this thesis, burial and commemorative actions have been discussed because of their impact on status displays and identity expressions used by the freed-people. Among these were the locations of the grave, the size, shape and style of monument (see Figure 9 for a brief summary), and the art and inscriptions, as they can be used to form the clearest interpretations about an individual. While funerary behaviours, architectural styles and burial trends shifted throughout the Republican and early Imperial periods, the performative actions between the sexes were more personal. Inscriptions were used to describe personal relationships between a husband and wife, parents and children, and freed-people and patrons. Of these inscriptions, some of the best preserved examples from Pompeii come from the Ercolano and Nuceria necropoleis, and serve as some of the better monuments to fully explore elements of personal, civic or group identity.

Monument	Location	Structure Type	Stylistic Features	Inscription* and Discussion
Manicus Diogenes	Nuceria necropolis	Arch Monument	-Table and benches, libation tubes -Inscription	<i>P. Mancio P. l Diogeni ex testamento arbitrato Manciac P. l Dorinis.</i> The information provided by this monument and inscription shows Diogenes attempts' at emulation through the inclusion of elaborate monument furnishings and the style of the monument itself.
C. Calventius Quietus	Ercolano necropolis	Altar	-Relief carvings on three panels -Inscription -Square-stepped based	<i>C. Calventio Quieto Augustal; huic on munificent decurionum decreto et populi consesu bisellii honor datus est</i> The information provided by this monument and inscription reveals that his monument space was dedicated by the city council for his hard-work and service as a member of the Imperial Cult of Augustus.
Eurysaces	Via Labicana, Rome	Unique Monument	-Unique architectural and stylistic elements to include a kiln -Columns -Relief carving and portrait statues -Inscriptions	*Inscription not used or refereced in this thesis, but mentions his and his wife's name. The information provided by this monument and inscription reveals Eurysaces as a very wealthy freed-man and was very likely a baker in Rome.
Vestorius Priscus	Vesuvio necropolis	N/A	-Stucco painting -Plaster frescoes -Inscriptions	*Inscription not used in thesis, but records his age at death (22 years old), his positions as a magistrate in the city. His mother's used of imagery associated with the freed-class indicates his family history.

Figure 9 – List of a select few funerary structures by type and location, stylistic elements and inscription.
*Chart includes inscription, if known, from each example listed above. See Glossary for English translations of each inscription.

Personal relationships, such as a father and his daughters, are expressed in a monument in the Stabian necropolis. Freed-man Marcus Petacius Dasius mourned his daughters Petacia Montana and Petacia Ruffila by erecting a large monument for them in a family enclosure. Children are lovingly referred to on monuments to show the familial bonds between the family, and the desires that parents had for their children in the afterlife. Similarly, wives will dedicate monuments for their husbands, and adult children would commemorate their mothers with elaborate grave markers (Bernstein 2008: 527). While women did not have as much freedom as men, their social restrictions had been significantly reduced in the funerary sphere after the Augustan legislations. Some of the best examples of this freedom are the Naevoleia Tyche²¹, Muttia Salvia and Vestorius Priscus' monuments. The freed-woman Muttia Salvia honored her husband C. Muttius Capito with a commemorative monument in the Vesuvian necropolis (Bernstein 2008: 529). Vestorius Priscus died at 22 years of age, was commemorated by his mother in a funerary plot donated by the city council around 71 A.D (Stewart 2008: 68).

The inscription on this monument, located in necropolis outside Porta Vesuvio, identifies the deceased individual as Priscus, and that he was a junior magistrate in Pompeii. It lists his age at death, and that the monument was dedicated by his mother. The interior wall was decorated with plaster frescoes which represented his status in the community, but also contained images frequently used by the freed-class (Ibid). In this example, the individual has achieved a magisterial position in the city, but the mother used the paintings to advertise the family's servile origins to demonstrate the success her son was able to achieve, and the newly acquired influence of the family's social standing. Receiving a plot donated by the city council indicates that Priscus was an important enough figure in the community for his family to receive landspace. His

²¹ Discussed further in Case Study 1

mother choosing to include images associated with the freed-person classes, indicates that his mother was expressing both her view of her son, and the increased status of the family.

Previous discussions of the C. Calventius Quietus monument centered around the mythological scenes and self-deification presented on his monument due to their presence and popularity in funerary art during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D (Dobbins and Foss: 2008: 597). This monument, located in the Ercolano necropolis, was situated beside monuments of earlier elite members of the Pompeian citizens. Quietus, one of the *Augustales* members who were given a *bisellum*, erected and commemorated his life with an altar monument that was designed to mimic altars that had belonged to citizens who received burial plots as donations from the city (Carroll 2006: 94). The altars erected by Quietus and Tyche are two of the best examples of altar monuments in Pompeii, as both are decoratively styled with images to reflect their status as an *Augustalis* and the *bisellum* they were awarded with (Figure 10, below).

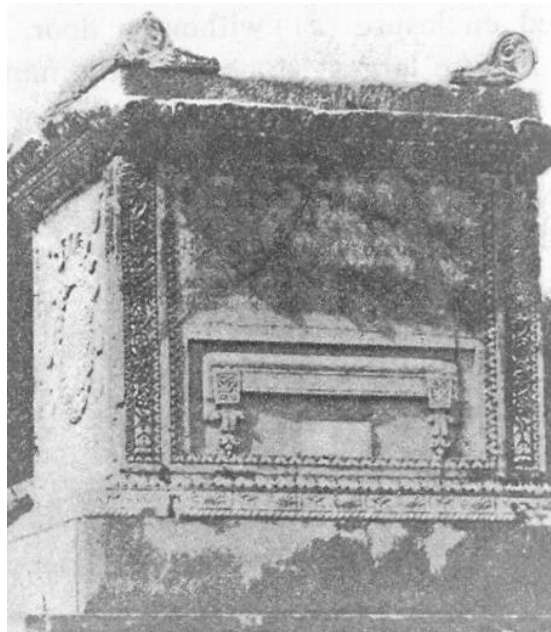


Figure 10 – View of C. Calventius Quietus’ monument in the Ercolano necropolis. Image by Mau 1982: 422. Image depicts the *Augustalis* wreath on the left, and the *bisellum* on the front panel to indicate the double seat awarded to Quietus.

Quietus' inscription, which read '*C. Calventio Quieto Augustal; huic on munificent[iam] decurionum decreto et populi conse[n]se bisellii honor datus est*²²', reveals his influential position as a member of the Augustales class, and that it was the city council and public who granted him the *bisellum* (Mau 1982: 421). The altar monument also included relief carvings of the civic crown made of oak leaves that were symbolic rewards given to those who saved the life of a Roman citizen (Ibid). The Quietus' monument was built without arches or entrances into a chamber, meaning that the monument may have been erected because he had no existing family to provide his ashes with libations. This would explain the reasoning for the solid-masonry altar and the cremation urn having been buried underneath the monument (Mau 1982: 422)

Both the Priscus and Calventius monuments had been elaborately decorated with images, carvings and inscriptions, but both were architecturally smaller and stylistically simpler when compared against the fictional monument crafted by Trimalchio. The comedic nature of Trimalchio's monument, his plan for his funeral and the performance he puts on during his dinner feast²³ was written as a demonstration of the freed-peoples attempts at emulating the refined lifestyles of elite members of society. The freed-man monument of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces and his wife Atistia was constructed outside of Rome in the second half of the 1st century B.C. (Stewart 2008: 64). Eurysaces has been referred to by archaeologists as a 'real-life Trimalchio' as his monument, which can be seen in Figure 11, had been elaborately constructed to reflect his profession as a baker. Evidence in the monument's construction, design and grand scale has led to the widespread belief that Eurysaces and his wife were freed-people. The monument was uncommon in scale, shape and design, as it was constructed to express his

²² Translates to "to the memory of Gaius Calventius Quietus, member of the Brotherhood of Augustus. On account of his generosity the honor of a seat of double width was conferred upon him by the vote of the city council and the approval of the people."

²³ Discussed further in Case Study 3

profession, the personal relationship between Eurysaces and his wife, and his civic position in the community (D'Ambra and Métraux 2006, 23)

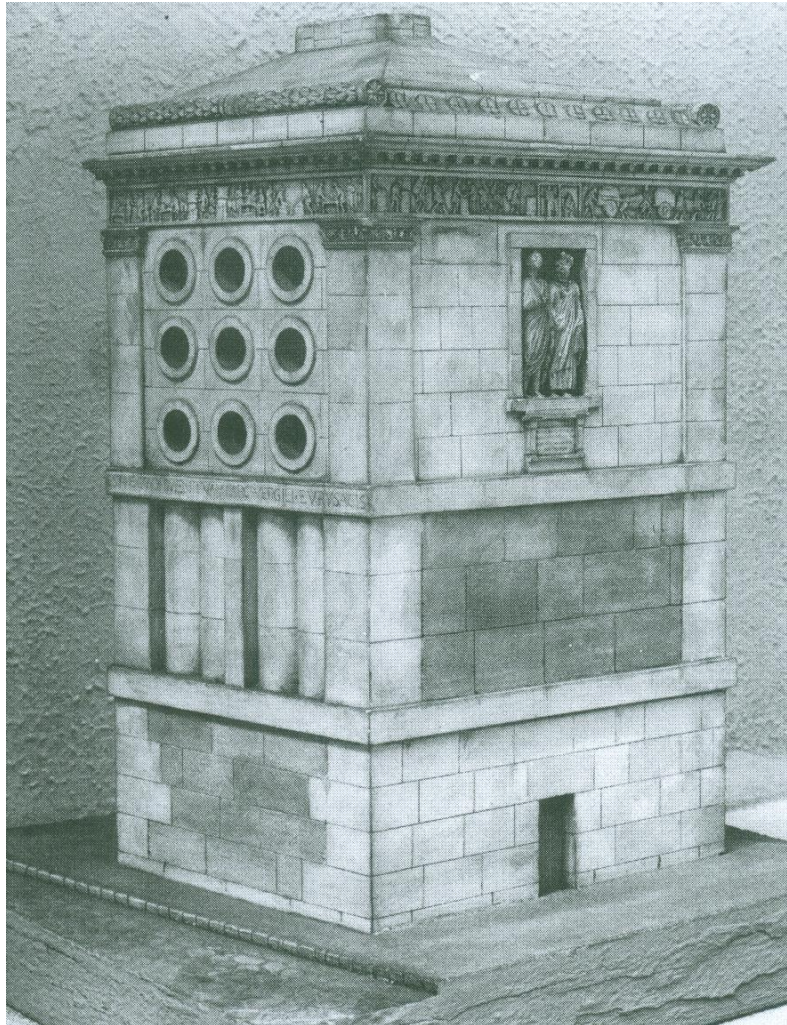


Figure 11 - Reconstruction of Eurysaces kiln-inspired tomb located in Rome. Image by D'Ambra and Métraux 2006: 17.

Image depicts a reconstructed model of Eurysaces tomb, that is believed to have been inspired by his career as a baker. The model contains the kilns that would have baked the bread on the left, and sculptures of Eurysaces and his wife above the doorway on the right.

6 – Identity and Expression

The combination of archaeoethanatology, performance theory and impression management are among the most useful concepts to use when exploring aspects of personal identity, survivor expressions or identity expressions. When combined together, the study of each individual monument can provide a multi-dimensional or more in-depth interpretation of the deceased. Archaeoethanatology, performance theory and impression management will be used to examine and interpret the inclusion of architectural features, stylistic elements and any information provided in the inscriptions. Separately, these concepts can each be useful tools to uncover certain aspects of identity, but when combined they can become powerful tools to understand and recognise more subtle aspects of personal or survivor expressions.

The following case studies will examine the monuments of the freed-people Gaius Munatius Faustus, Naevoleia Tyche, Publius Vesonius Phileros and the fictional character Trimalchio (see Figure 12 for summary). The first case study will examine Faustus and Tyche as individuals, and as a married couple and family. This will allow for a greater picture to be painted in terms of their personal identity, familial connections, and portrayal of their family values. This will also provide an opportunity to further explore differences between the sexes, as the monuments commissioned by the husband and wife are so vastly different in terms of physical size, stylistic appearance and inscriptive evidence. The monument commissioned by Phileros will provide more information about personal bonds between friends the freed-man's patroness. Phileros's monument also contains three large portrait statues that will be briefly examined, as they are decorative elements not seen in many freed-people monuments. These statues were constructed based off the three people named in Phileros's inscription, and indicate

who they are, their relationship to each other, and why he granted them permission to be buried in the plot space.

The third case study will be an examination of the fictional character Trimalchio from Petronius's *The Satyricon*. In the translated edition by J. P. Sullivan (2011), the author describes the dinner feast as an 'outrageous extravaganza' and as an 'odd juxtaposition of refinement and vulgarity' (Sullivan 2011: XXI). Because of Trimalchio's status as a freedman, he is a man who can legally conduct or own businesses and accumulate a large fortune through business dealings. This accumulation of wealth is displayed in full-force by Trimalchio, as he entertains his guests by reading out Trimalchio's will and describing the size, architectural features and decorative elements of his monument. While this example is purely fictional, it features many characteristics that were commonly included in 'real life' monuments. This monument will be examined as it is an excellent example of a display of wealth. The decorative and architectural aspects of this monument will be examined, as will the inscription and will that Trimalchio reads out to his guests, as they are elements that Trimalchio specifically requests in order to portray himself, his wife and his household in a particular fashion.

Monument	Location	Structure Type	Architectural and Stylistic Features	Inscription*
Munatius Faustus	Nuceria necropolis	House-Tomb	-Enclosure with several other stelae -Inscription -White plaster paint	<i>G Munatius Faustus Agustal et pagan d. d. sibi et Naevoleiae Tyche coniugi</i>
Naevoleia Tyche	Ercolano necropolis	Altar	-Large square-stepped base -Relief carvings and metaphorical scene -Portrait carving -Inscription	<i>Naevoleia L. lib Tyche sibi et C. Munatio Fausto Aug et pagano, cui decuriones consensu populi bisellium ob merita eius decreverunt. Hoc mon imentum Naevoleia Tyche libertis suis libertabusq et C. Munati Fausti viva fecit</i>
P. Vesonius Phileros	Nuceria necropolis	<i>Aedicula</i>	-Enclosure with several other stelae -Large columned porch -Portrait statues -Inscriptions	#1: <i>P Vesonius l Phileros Augustalis vivos monument fecit sibi et suis Vesoniae P F patroneae et M Orfello M L Fausto amico</i> #2: <i>hospes pauillisper mor are si non est molestum et quid evites cognosce amincum hunc quem speraveram mi esse ab eo mihi accusato res subiecti et iudicia instaurata deis gratias age et meae innocentiae omni molestia liberates sum qui nostrum mentitur eu nec do penates nec inferi recipiant</i>
Trimalchio	N/A	Unique Monument, fictional	-Large garden -Furnishing including benches and chairs -Relief carvings -Portrait statues	This monument does not go to the heir. Here sleeps Gaius Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus, elected to the Agustuan college in his absence, he could have been on every board in Rome, but he refused, God-fearing brave and true, a self-made man, he left an estate of 30,000,000, and he never heard a philosopher, farewell, and you fare well, Trimalchio

Figure 12 - Listing funerary structures discussed in Case Studies by structure type and location, stylistic elements and inscriptions

*Chart includes inscription, if known, from each example listed above. See Glossary for English translations of each inscription.

Case Study 1: Gaius Munatius Faustus and Naevoleia Tyche

One of the more impressive examples of identity expressions in the Pompeian necropoleis were the Faustus and Tyche monuments erected in the first half of the 1st century A.D. This family erected two different monuments, one built by Gaius Munatius Faustus in the Nuceria necropolis, and the second by his wife Naevoleia Tyche in the Ercolano necropolis (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 63). The Faustus monument is significantly less elaborate than Tyche's monument, but Faustus' monument was constructed for his family and future descendants, and housed burials for multiple people. Tyche's altar-styled monument, which was more elaborately decorated, was designed to promote the family's status by associating her husband with the monuments of the Pompeian aristocrats (Mouritsen 2005: 56).

The Nuceria necropolis, which is considered a more socially 'open' necropolis, had burials from the wealthiest of the elite members, to freed-people and servile burial clubs. A cluster of freed-people burials from the 1st century A.D. was constructed in white-plastered house-tombs running parallel to the city walls (Figure 13). The Faustus monument is located on the south side of the road, with a stuccoed façade and located between several other freed-person monuments (Carroll 2006: 93). This monument has stelae for Faustus, a man named L. Naevoleius Eutrapelus, who was either Naevoleia's freed-man, or her former owner, a freed-women named Munatia Euche and four slaves. These slaves all had *columellae*, whose inscriptions named them as Helpis, Primigenia, Arsinoe and Psyche, and date them between 11 months and three years of age, and a fifth slave, Atimetus, who was 26 years old (Ibid: 185).



Figure 13 – Faustus’ white plaster painted house-tomb (right) in the Nuceria necropolis.

Image by Carroll 2006: 94.

Identical funerary structures erected by two freed-men, one being Munatius Faustus, who was an *Augustalis*.

There is no inscribed *columella* to indicate whether Tyche was buried in this enclosure with the rest of her family or not, and it is likely that she was instead buried at the monument she had erected in her husband’s memory. The inscription on Faustus’ monument, which reads ‘*C Munatius Faustus Augustal(is) et pagan(us) d(erecto) d(ecurionum) sibi et Naevoleiae Tyche coniugi*’ is a rather modest description of his life as it simply states “Gaius Munatius Faustus, priest of Augustus and suburban official, granted buried by the city council for himself and his wife Naevoleia Tyche.” This monument, which underrepresents himself and his family, may have been the reason that Tyche chose to erect and commemorate her husband in a secondary monument, and why she was buried there instead of with her family as her husband had intended (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 64). Faustus’ use of impression management may have been too underwhelming for his wife, which would have encouraged her to erect a secondary monument for her husband and her remains. This monument was constructed in an altar style that was meant to conform to social standards of the more elitist Pompeians that had been buried along the Street of Tombs (Carroll 2006: 93).

The Tyche monument was erected to advertise the wealth, influence and position that her husband had managed to achieve after his manumission. The monument consisted of a small portrait of Tyche above a relief scene of a ship sailing away with a woman, presumably Tyche herself, at the helm (Bernstein 2008: 530). The relief scene of the sailing ship was used by many cultures, including the Greeks and Romans, as a metaphor for the journey a soul takes to reach the afterlife (Figure 14). Because Faustus had been granted a *bisellum*, his monument also has a panel depicting a large bench, meant to represent the double seat he was granted at ceremonial and public events (Toynbee 1971: 125). The advertisement of his status as an *Augustalis*, *bisellum* and a freed-man, and the monuments association with neighbouring graves of the earlier Pompeian elite, is Naevoleia's way to utilize impression management to increase her family's social standing and reputation, and to commemorate her husband's memory.

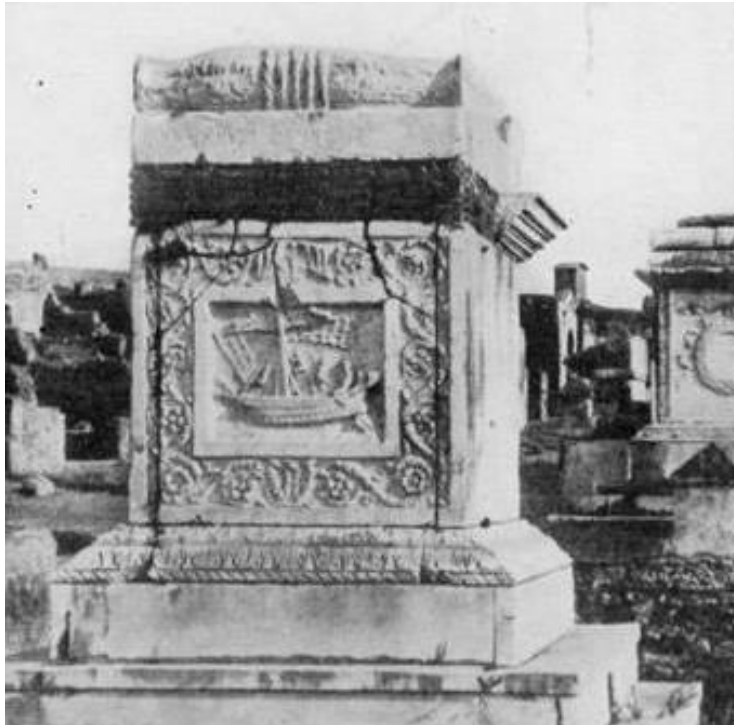


Figure 14- Tyche altar with a side panel depicting a sailing ship located in the Ercolano necropolis. Image by Mau 1982: 423.
Altar monument with relief carving of a sailing ship, used as a symbolic representation of the soul's journey into the afterlife.

Under the portrait bust is the inscription that Tyche commissioned for the monument, and a third carving of a public benefaction scene (Mau 1982: 422). The inscription was much more detailed than the one on the Faustus monument and was created to identify with a different, higher-class audience. This inscription reads *'Naevoleia L. lib[erta] Tych sibi et C. Munatio Fausto Aug[ustali] et pagano, cui decuriones consensu populi bisellium ob merita eius decreverunt. Hoc monimentum Naevoleia Tyche libertis suis libertabusq[ue] et C. Munati Fausti viva fecit'* which translates to:

“Naevoleia Tyche, freedwoman of Lucius Naevoleius, for herself and for Gaius Munatius Faustus, member of the Brotherhood of Augustus and suburban official, to whom on account of his distinguished services the city council, with the approval of the people, granted a seat of double width. This monument Naevoleia Tyche built in her lifetime also for the freedmen and freedwomen of herself and of Gaius Munatius Faustus” (Carroll 2006: 93).

In the case of the Faustus family who erected two monuments, there are several inconsistencies on both monuments that can be explained through impression management. Faustus likely would have started constructing his monument in the Nuceria necropolis once he gained his freedom. This monument is rather plain, and was built to blend in with the structures surrounding his. Because of his political position as an *Augustalis*, Tyche built her husband a much grander monument in the Ercolano necropolis after his death. This elaborate monument with three different panels of relief carvings, and a small portrait of herself was a more detailed and complex statement. In both monuments, location, size and style play significant roles in the representation of the individual and family. Faustus' plain monument under-represents himself, while Tyche's monument advertises her husband's importance.

Case Study 2: Publius Vesonius Phileros

The patron-client relationship was made up of a system of duties and obligations, and was a tool that Roman woman could very easily have exploited to gain influence in political and social circles. An example of these types of obligations is seen in the funerary enclosure belonging to Publius Vesonius Phileros from the Nuceria necropolis, where he commemorates his wealthy and influential patroness Vesonia. (Bernstein 2008: 532). Honouring the patroness with a burial place was one of the obligations a freed-man had towards the woman who gave him freedom (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 116). The monument erected by Phileros was built in an existing plot that had been in use for generations before Phileros bought the enclosure. The Phileros monument was built between 50-60 A.D., around the same time as the Tyche and Faustus monuments, but represents a third type of structure previously discussed, the *aedicula* (Ibid: 113).

The inscription erected on the Phileros monument indicated that he was a freed-man of a Roman patroness, which was indicated by the reversed 'C' that was an abbreviation of the name Gaia (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 114). His inscription names himself and his patroness, but also a friend named Marcus Orfellius Faustus, who was also a freed-man (Ibid). The inscription Phileros had commissioned reads '*P(ublius) Vesonius Phileros, G(aiae) l(iberatus), Augustalis, his patrona, Vesonia P(ubli) f(ilia), and M(arcus) Orfellius Faustus M(arci) L(iberatus) amicus*²⁴', and is used to identify those buried in the monument, and are represented through a funerary sculptures (Ibid). Amendments to the original inscription reveal that Phileros was selected as an *Augustalis* after the monument was first commissioned, and that he included the

²⁴ Translates to "Publius Vesonius Phileros Gaius, a freedman and priest of Augustus, for his patroness Vesonia, a daughter of Publius, and his friend and freedman Marcus Orfellius Faustus"

simple phrase *'et suis'* so that his family and dependants could freely receive burial in the enclosure space (Ibid: 116).

At some point after this, there were further amendments made to the inscription to strike Orfellius' name and memory from the monument (Carroll 2006: 184). The changes to the inscription included a secondary inscription that was meant to warn the public about Orfellius' betrayal of his friend Phileros by referring to him as "the one he had hoped would be a friend." This makes the Phileros monument even more uncommon because Orfellius, who had been officially recognised as a friend and granted allowance into the enclosure only to be accused of a betrayal, was refused entry into the burial grounds (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 118). If Orfellius was still alive, Phileros could legally block his entry into the monument. If Orfellius had been dead and already buried in the monument, then the space was legally considered sacred space to the Romans. Phileros then erased Orfellius' name from the stela, back-filled the space designated for the cinerary urn and ceramic pipe meant for libations (Figure 15) (Ibid: 119).



Figure 15 - Image of Phileros' stela and grave site in the Nuceria necropolis. Image from Carroll 2006: 118. Image depicts the vaulted area behind the monument where Phileros was buried, and the space beside him, meant for Orfellius, has been back-filled and paved over.

The porch at the top of the monument contains three statues that depict the patroness Vesonia situated between the two freed-men, Phileros and Ofellius, wearing togas (Figure 16). The addition of Ofellius in the funerary sculpture is a rather uncommon feature, as the man was unrelated to the plot owner Phileros, and his patroness Vesonia, but provides additional insights into the personal bonds and Phileros' personal life (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 48). In both the inscription and monument sculptures, the two freed-men were positioned on either side of the patroness, but the remains of the two freed-men were located side by side under the monument (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 117). After the removal of Orfellius from the monument, the burials fell under two categories, the relatives of the deceased and people whose relationships to Phileros are specified in inscriptions or *columellae* (Ibid: 116).



Figure 16 - View of the porch of the *aedicula* with statues of Phileros, Vesonia and Ofellius in the Nuceria necropolis. Image of Dobbins 2007: 593. Statue depicts Vesonia, positioned between her two freed-men, and the men wearing togas to represent their legal status as citizens

The extended members of Phileros' household or family (children, freed-men, slaves and his patroness) could be included as third parties in the monument. In the enclosure, direct relatives of Phileros have been identified through inscriptions on *columellae* such as his son, P. Vesonius Proculus who died at age 13 (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 117). The enclosure had at one point belonged to another family, and had been in use for several generations before being acquired by Phileros. These burials would have been filled over and treated as 'inherited' dead, and would continue to receive libations from Phileros' surviving relatives (Ibid). The evidence for this type of plot transaction was preserved by the volcanic eruption, and has left traces of funerary feasts, ceremonies and faunal remains for further study of familial and civic relationships.

A recent archaeobotanical study at the enclosure site has revealed information about the activity that was occurring in the days before the eruption, and provides an insight into the community's relationship with the necropoleis (Matterne and Derreumaux 2008: 105). The most recent layers, those dating from the 1st century A.D., had been excavated and revealed fruit flesh, fig and grape seeds, walnuts and hazelnuts was the most common food types to be offered to the deceased. Some of the graves also included cereals, weeds and breads (Ibid: 105). The seeds and fruits were found mixed with glass and pottery shards, likely from balsamars that were destroyed during the eruption, and would have been left at the grave site following ceremonies and offerings (Ibid: 110). There were other non-edible items such as cypress wood, which may have been used for its scent in funeral pyres (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 124). The remains of these items, and the frequency with which they were found during the ceremony indicates that the descendants of Phileros were still using his enclosure when Vesuvius erupted, and that his prospering family line was carrying his memory through the generations.

Case Study 3: *Satyricon*'s Trimalchio

The final example to be discussed and examined in this thesis is the fictional character Trimalchio, who was a freed-man created by Petronius. Trimalchio works hard throughout the night to come off as an intelligent and sophisticated man of high class, while constantly reminding his guests of his freed-man status. His behaviour and actions throughout the night, including his incorrect recitation of Greek mythology, is carried over into his monument as a way to show off his wealth and exaggerate his life. This fictional monument is being included due to the similarities it shares with other monuments found throughout the Roman Empire, including the unusual features that Eurysaces' kiln-inspired monument features.

The *Satyricon* was written as a comedic account of a freed-man's desire to emulate his former owners and the social elite, as many of the burial activities and commemorative performances described in the book are ones that freed-men would have engaged in (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 40). Trimalchio's character is typically described as laughable and vulgar, with a combination of refined and gaudy characteristics (Purcell 1987: 25). Trimalchio hosts a dinner party where he announces the plans he has made for his slaves in his will, how his monument should be designed and decorated, the garden and plants that would be included, and what the inscription should read (D'Ambra and Métraux 2006, 19).

The monument itself was to be constructed one hundred feet long facing the road, and set two hundred feet back towards a field with several types of fruit growing around his ashes and surrounded by vines. The monument would include a portrait statue of Trimalchio, one of his most favoured slave and one of his wife holding a dove (Sullivan 2011: 58-59) The statue of Trimalchio would be outfitted with painted images of his dog, wreaths and perfume jars at his feet, and additional images of gladiatorial fights (Sullivan 2001: 58). The relief carvings, portrait

statues and garden that he is commissioning in the book have several similarities to features that are included in wealthy freed-men monuments around the Roman Empire (Stewart 2008: 35).

The dinner party that Trimalchio hosts is filled with different forms of entertainment that he uses to confuse his guests. Serving creative dishes during the feast and having his guests act out a fake funeral, he manipulates the atmosphere of the party so that his speeches do not come across as being inarticulate or uneducated (Edwards 2007: 169). Trimalchio's feast, the use of a silver skeleton as a prop and inspiration for poems about death have encouraged the theory that Trimalchio's character was obsessed with death (Ibid: 167).

The inscription that Trimalchio rehearses to his guests very boastful about his life and achievements since his manumission, and was deigned to be viewed and supported by all aspects of his monument (Emmerson 2013: 10). The inscription he recites to his guests would have read:

“This monument does not go to the heir. Here sleeps Gaius Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus, elected to the Augustan college in his absence, he could have been on every board in Rome, but he refused, God-fearing brave and true, a self-made man, he left an estate of 30,000,000, and he never heard a philosopher, farewell, and you farewell, Trimalchio” (Sullivan 2011: 59)

Pairing this type of boastful inscription with his portrait statue, the size and elaboration of the of the monument, the plants and trees he forsees in the garden he selects as a collective unit, he hopes to create a visual of his life and achievements, and brag about the wealth he gained after his manumission. Although Trimalchio is a fictional character, his behaviour in the novel written by Petronius is very eccentric, and depicts a man who is desperate for his peers to view him as an equal. The stigma that freed-people were faced with when being introduced into society as legal citizens would have made their attempts at emulating the higher class citizens more apparent to the public. By boasting about his status as a self-made man and part of the Augustan college, he is trying to increase his reputation and status in the community, and

attempts to evoke an emotional response from the audience through his comment about never hearing a philosopher.

In his novel, Petronius has written an elaborate funerary scene that reveals significant insights into Roman views on the process and preparations that went into dying, but also the behaviour that many Roman citizens, especially the freed-class, would have exhibited to prepare their monuments before they died. Trimalchio's monument would have been impressive in both size and style, as he was using the monument as a final display of the sophistication he believes he has as a self-made man, and the wealth he accumulated in his life. He attempts to give off the impression of grandeur through his decorative and plentiful garden, statuary and paintings of gladiatorial fights in his monument. Trimalchio's manipulation of his funerary structure would make him appear to strangers as an exceedingly wealthy man who had been brave, loyal and kind, when in the novel he is portrayed as a rather foolish man with poor etiquette and manners.

In the novel, Trimalchio puts on a vulgar and comedic performance for his guests, who unwillingly become audience members to Trimalchio's mock funeral. Trimalchio's behaviour and performance throughout the night proves that he is rather ignorant of the more acceptable social customs, and the fictional monument commissioned by Trimalchio would have been erected to inflate his social standing and reputation in the city. Pairing Goffman's theory of performance and the depiction of Trimalchio's character, it is clear that Petronius wrote the dinner scene to make Trimalchio seem self-absorbed and that he intended to use his monument as a form of exaggerated self-representation. The information he includes in his inscription is more boastful than commemorative, and while he is including a sculpture of his wife, he does not mention her in the inscription, as he is more concerned with preserving and escalating his own identity and memory.

Conclusion

The town of Pompeii had a long occupational history before the Roman colonization. This colonization led Pompeii into a new era of prosperity and growth, where the populations of both the living city and the necropoleis expanded rapidly. Along with the inclusion of so many different pre-Roman cultures, the trade industries and immigration populations that colonization introduced to Pompeii meant that many of the funerary traditions and beliefs surrounding the dead were constantly evolving to incorporate new influences. The Nuceria necropolis in particular is a site where the occupation periods and imperial eras of the Roman Empire can be traced through a chronological shift throughout the necropolis.

The basic principles of archaeothanatology are incredibly powerful tools when examining identity expressions from ancient cultures. Understanding the customs and beliefs of that culture allows for the materials being examined to be harnessed in a multitude of ways that assist the researcher in decoding the messages that the deceased intended to leave behind. Funerary structures can be studied from an archaeological, architectural or decorative perspective, each contributing to an archaeothanatomical study. Taking this into consideration, its applications in Roman studies could be beneficial due to the overwhelming amount of artistic, literary and physical materials that still exist, or may still have some relevance, in the modern world. While a monument is a tool that the freed-person used to perpetuate their personal and civic identities, it is also a tool used to examine how and why these expressions were so important, and what factors played the more influential roles in changing the patterns of expressions.

The monuments were not only used to publicly display an individual's identity, they were also closely linked to social and personal ties, or religious beliefs, that influenced a person's desire to be remembered. Funerary performances and commemorative behaviours were deeply

intertwined with Roman religious fears of the afterlife (Graham 2011a: 91). For the soul to live on, you had to lead a good life, but to keep your identity and personal attachments, you needed to ensure that your name would continue to exist in the minds of the living. For the freed-people, this was especially important as they were forced to sever ties with their biological families and seek new personal and familial relationships. In many cases, the freed-people who joined the masses of the common citizens faced economic pressures and social fears that left them undistinguishable from the thousands of other citizens in Pompeii.

The changes in status, economic stability and legal freedom that a freed-person experienced after their manumission affected the ways they commemorated themselves. However, because the terms ‘poor,’ ‘common’ and ‘wealthy’ are modern classifications, it is more difficult to distinguish economic means in the funerary records. Aspects such as relief carvings, construction materials, and structure sizes are the best indicators of economic means, and because it is the wealthy who can afford high quality materials, the citizens belonging to the poor are the ones most easily forgotten. Very few freed-people were preserved in the archaeological record after the volcanic eruption, but for those who were, their emulation of the elite classes reveals practices, behaviours and beliefs held by the elite citizens and freed-people.

Using combinations of the epigraphic evidence, architectural features, decorative elements, and structure size, type and location, the stories some individuals try to leave behind about themselves or their family members can be distinguished as a unified message. Attempting to interpret the message from only a small portion of the information can create an inaccurate interpretation of the person’s identity. The modern theories of impression management and performance are both relevant concepts throughout this thesis, and in the study of archaeoethanatology itself. Both based on the interpretive materials that an individual or their

family choose to manipulate to tell stories about themselves or their loved ones. In impression management, a person can be more selective in the ways they represent themselves, or the information they choose to advertise through their funerary structures.

In cases like the Naevoleia Tyche monument, selective representation allowed the couple to make two different statements about their family, and directed their statements at two different audiences. Naevoleia Tyche's monument is larger than typical altars, and was more decorative than her husband's, and when examined seems to have exaggerated her husband's importance in the community. Munatius Faustus' monument is architecturally simple and plain in its form, with more stylistically simple decorative and epigraphic elements. By viewing and interpreting the Faustus monument, he does not seem to be a person of any great importance, as his monument blends into the background which is a direct contradiction to the desires a freed-person often held in preserving their identity for future generations. The obvious difference between the Faustus and Tyche monuments is the sex of the commemorator; Tyche, who is beginning to experience newer freedoms with the Augustinian laws, uses money left to her in her husband's will to design and erect a grandiose monument for him and the family.

Goffman's idea of performance is widely seen in the funerary sphere, as there are many different steps and rituals that go into the mourning, burial and ceremonial processes that made up the Roman views of death. The impressive monument Tyche builds is in a prime location on the Street of Tombs that would have encouraged the ties of status by association. Using an ornate monument to display the status, wealth and new social position her husband had acquired to advertise her family's ties to the public orders, Tyche puts on a performance that was meant to draw in the attention of the contemporary elite. Her mourning and commemorative performances

were more elegant and refined than Faustus's, and would have ensured public recognition in the community for herself and their future descendants.

Through the information that both Tyche and Faustus chose to represent on their monument, it could be said that Faustus was more reserved and practical. While he achieved a greater influence in the city, he did not boast about his position with a large or ornamental monument. He dedicated a spacious and simple monument for his family, named himself and his wife to ensure their names would be remembered in future generations, and met the most basic social requirements for a Roman funerary structure. His stylistically simple monument was overshadowed by his wife, who would have used a portion of the monetary inheritance to erect a secondary tomb that would be more boastful and help increase the family's social reputation.

The disregard that Tyche shows towards the monument that Faustus had erected can just as easily be interpreted as a display of marital affection. By dedicating a newer, more grand monument in her husband's name, and decorating it with relief carvings of status symbols and metaphorical scenes, she is displaying the Roman-ness that each has acclimated to since their times as slaves. The images of sailing ships and public benefaction scenes were scenes more commonly seen by the elite and more influential members of the city. The meaning behind these scenes, the soul's journey in the mortal world to the afterlife, and the generosity and affection one has for the commoners, were images frequently used to increase political standing of the surviving males, or to invite new social, economic or political alliances.

Vesonius Phileros's monument reveals a more complex statement about his life. Having made several small amendments and banning his friend Orfellius from the grave site he had designated for him are both very significant statements about his personal bonds and about the ways an individual could manipulate the funerary spaces to avenge themselves against betrayals.

In this monument, Phileros abides by the social obligations of providing his patroness with a burial spot in his enclosure, and by preserving her name and image by commemorating her in both statuary and epigraphic forms. By opening his monument to his family and dependants (his slaves, freed-people, etc.) Phileros is displaying his generosity, but by publicly denouncing his relationship with Orfellius, he is also showing how much more influential he is than his friend.

Phileros' use of selective representation is very powerful here, as he could have used the typical Roman custom of banning the memory of an individual (*damnatio memoriae*) which is simply erasing any traces of the individual from the monument. Instead, he chooses to add an inscription detailing his relationship with Orfellius, and the betrayal he was subjected to by his friend. By doing this, Phileros is presenting the higher economic standing and social influences that he has over his friend and bans him from receiving a resting place among the people he considers friends and family. This performance is directed towards the public, to warn them about Orfellius, but also towards the *Manes* to warn them about the character of his friend.

The personal dispute reveals information about the power one has in the funerary landscape, including the legal aspects of forbidding someone a burial place, and the social effects that it has on the individual that is being publicly shamed. In this regard, Phileros gives the impression of a man who is wealthy and influential, but also protective and capable of ruining Orfellius' reputation. By creating a large monument with life-sized portrait statues, he creates a bond between his family and dependants with his patroness, and in doing so, he reinforces the personal bonds between the families. By announcing his servile origin, he advertises his freedom and successes, and increases his family's social and political reputation in the city. At the same time, he is using this monument to tarnish Orfellius' reputation and warning others away from betraying or slighting his family.

The monuments erected by Calventius Quietus and Manicus Diogenes in the Nuceria necropolis have been included due to the stories portrayed through the decorative and inscriptive features. Quietus, who was an *Augustalis*, erected his monument in the Ercolano necropolis and commissioned it after an older architectural style that was typically used by the elite class. In this monument, Quietus uses imagery of wreaths and a large stone bench to represent his rank as an *Augustalis* and the *bisellum* he was awarded. The imagery he uses gives the impression of a good reputation in the city as he was granted a *bisellum* by the city council and public, but also uses the imagery and size of the monument as a display of wealth. The Diogenes monument, located in the Nuceria necropolis was an arch styled monument with a very simple inscription and was stylistically simple. The architectural features of this monument were rather unusual for the freed-man class, but distinguishes his monument from those surrounding it. This differentiation from nearby monuments was meant to draw attention to the structure, its size and shape would have given the impression of wealth and status.

Both monuments use architectural features to draw attention to the monument, as Quietus' altar monument would make the viewer associate the structure and style with the elite classes, and Diogenes uses a unique style to draw attention away from surrounding monuments. These examples of material manipulation play into Goffman's theory of performance theory, as they commissioned the monuments to relay specific messages to the audience through the architectural appearance of the monument. Drawing the audience in through physical appearance of the monument ensures that they will remember the structure, and therefore the person commemorated on the monument.

The modern study of archaeoethanatology, used in combination with Goffman's ideas about personal performance and the slightly older idea of impression management, demonstrate

how more elaborate interpretations can be formed about the deceased from ancient civilizations. Treating every element included in a monument as ritually, symbolically or metaphorically significant, but also as a unified structure, promotes a more comprehensive view into the actions and intentions behind the individual's choices. In both identity expression and survivor expressions, family members work to establish, promote or perpetuate the memory of the deceased, and their presence in the family and community. By creating elaborate or obscure monuments, such as the monuments commissioned by Eurysaces and Trimalchio, a very specific picture can be ascertained about the individual.

Identity goes far beyond simple labels or categories that an individual can be slotted into, as the expressions and intentions behind each element on the monument were done with specific purpose. Tyche is more than just a wife or a freed-woman. Through this study, she can also be identified as an aspiring Roman woman who is harnessing the new freedoms being granted to women through the Augustinian laws and taking advantage of her right as a wife and citizen to erect an elaborate monument to promote her family line. Phileros is more than just an *Augustalis*, father, or freed-man. In expressing his displeasure with his friend, Phileros is someone who has been betrayed by a close friend and has lashed out in a very public fashion. He is a man who was very respectful of his place in the social order, as he had his remains buried at the base of the monument, but had his patroness buried away from the structure's base. This was because, as a freed-man, he was inferior still to his patroness.

Freed-people experienced many limitations in their lives, first as slaves, and then as freed-people surrounded by social stigmas and prejudices. In the funerary sphere, where there were no real limitations or social rules to govern behaviour, a freed-person could choose to advertise or express themselves in anyway they wanted. This can confuse the material evidence

and can misguide many of the interpretations being made, but if viewed from a more creative standpoint, it can also reveal the more personal story behind the monument. Eurysaces commissions a bakers-inspired monument to represent his life, profession and position in the community, but did so in a comedic way that, similarly to Trimalchio, captures attention and ensures that his name, image and personality would be remembered for generations to come.

In Pompeii, a city with a rich occupational history, preservation of self, history and ancestry was an important part of funerary custom for the citizens. The monuments erected by freed-people provide some of the best indications of social structure, religious and ceremonial customs and burial traditions in ancient Rome. The monuments and people studied in this thesis all have similar origins and life stories, but chose several different ways to display and tell these stories. The freed-people, who worked hard to emulate their former owners and make a better, more respectable life for themselves and their future families, often ended up with very little to show for their work, and resulted to burial clubs or burials within their patron's enclosures.

In Rome, wealth equalled respect and influence for the freed-people, and was one of the most important aspects to be recorded on an inscription. The social or political influence that an *Augustalis* held increased the position, reputation and opportunities of the family and future generations. The few who amassed a sizeable wealth and gain standing in their community were able to build monuments suitable to preserve the name of the individual and be used to bury and trace the family line.

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Glossary

Titles:

Aedile = Roman office responsible for maintenance of public buildings and keeping public order

Augustalis = a member of the Imperial cult dedicated to Augustus

Bisellum = double seat; people who hold multiple public offices are provided a special chair

Decurion = civic official, member of the town council (or local Senate)

Hospes = guests, stranger

Imagines = ancestor images

Ingenui = born freedmen, ``freeborns``

Libertus/Liberti = referring to freed people

Magistri Pagi = annual 'head' of a *pagus*, or district (usually a freedmen, sometimes freeborn)

Magistri Vici = annual 'head' of a *vicus*, or district

Ministri Fortunae Augustae = priests of the cult of Augustus

Ministri Pagi = those who assist the *magister pagus*

Ministri Vici = those who assist the *magister vicus*

Lemures/Larvae = spirits or shades; vengeful spirits

Pagi = rural division within the territory of Pompeii

Patron/Patrona = master/mistress; referring to one's former owner

Plebs = Plebians/Commoners

Viator = traveller

Vici = urban district within the town of Pompeii

Terms:

Aedicula = columned porch; used to describe a type of tomb

Amicus = friend

Arcosolia = large recessed cut into the tomb for inhumation burials

Cognomen = surname

Collegia = group/organization (guild)

Columbaria/Columbarium = 'dovecot,' describes large tombs with multiple niches for urns

Columellae (Herm-Stelae) = grave stelae, rectangular slabs with carved images of human heads

Domi = (towards) the house

Familia = family

Foris = (towards) outside

Funus = funeral / last rites

Iusta = just, lawful

Loculi = shelf-like niches

Munera = gifts

Nomen = family name

Obsequium = service/allegiance (in the form of acts)

Ordo = order/social class

Ornamenta Decurionalia = decorations that indicate a member of the decuriate assembly

Operae = duty / service (in the form of goods)

Os Resectum = cremation ritual, cutting off a piece of bone

Parentalia = annual festival to celebrate the dead

Peculium = allowance (customarily given to slaves)

Pietas = duty

Praenomen = forename (first name)

Publice = city, or sometimes the public

Suffitio = purification ritual; a ceremony to mark separation between living and death

Tria Nomina = three names (identifier of a freeborn citizen)

Phrases:

Collegium Domesticum = public burial clubs

Damnatio Memoriae = condemning of memory

Di Manes (Sacrum) = the spirits of the (sacred) dead

Dextrarum Iunctio = joining right hands in marriage

Ex Nomine Meo = bear my name

Funus Imperatorium = final rights to emperors or family members

Funus Militare = final rights to soldiers

Funus Publicum = final rights to State officials

Funus Translaticum = final rights for those of poor to moderate means

Hoc Monumentum Heredem Non Sequester = this monument will not follow the heir

Laudation Funebris = eulogy

Locus Religiosus = place of religion

Nomine Meo = bear my name

Operae Et Obsequim = work and allegiance

Qui Infra Scripti Sunt = whose names are below

Sacerdos Publica = name given to an order of priests

Sibi Et Libertis Libertabusque Posterisque Eorum = for themselves, their freedmen, freedwomen and their offspring

Sibi Et Suis = themselves and their relatives

Summa Honorario = honorary sum

Vivos Monumentum Fecit Sibi Et Suis. = Living monument to himself and his family

Tombstone Abbreviations:

Ɔ - names such as Caius or Gaia

D.M (D.M.S) - spirits of the dead

EX T FEC (ex testament fecit) - in accordance with the will of...

f. (filius / filia) - identifies a freeborn

HMHNS (hoc monumentum heredem non sequester) - this monument will not follow the heir

HSE (hic situs est) - Here lies...

l. (liberti) - identifies a freedperson

loc. d. d. d. (locus datus decurionum decreto) - Place of burial granted by vote of the city council

s. / ser. = slave

Tombstone Inscriptions:

Tomb of C. C. Quietus, Nocera Necropolis

C. Calventio Quieto Augustal ; huic on munificent[iam] decurionum decreto et populi conse[n]se bisellii honor datus est.

To the memory of Gaius Calventius Quietus, member of the Brotherhood of Augustus. On account of his generosity the honor of a seat of double width was conferred upon him by the vote of the city council and the approval of the people.

Tomb of C. M. Faustus, Nocera Necropolis

C. Munatius Faustus Agustal(is) et pagan(us) d(irecto) d(ecurionum) sibi et Naevoleiae Tyche coniugi

Gaius Munatius Faustus, priest of Augustus and suburban official, granted burial by city council for himself and his wife Naevoleia Tyche.

Tomb of N. Tyche, Ercolano Necropolis

Naevoleia L. lib[erta] Tyche sibi et C. Munatio Fausto Aug[ustali] et pagano, cui decuriones consensu populi bisellium ob merita eius decreverunt. Hoc monumentum Naevoleia Tyche libertis suis libertabusq[ue] et C. Munati Fausti viva fecit

Naevoleia Tyche, freedwoman of Lucius Naevoleius, for herself and for Gaius Munatius Faustus, member of the Brotherhood of Augustus and suburban official, to whom on account of his distinguished services the city council, with the approval of the people, granted a seat of double width. This monument Naevoleia Tyche built in her lifetime also for the freedmen and freedwomen of herself and of Gaius Munatius Faustus.

Tomb of P. M. Diogenes, Nocera necropolis

P. Mancio P. l[iberto] Diogeni ex testamento arbitrato Manciac P. l[ibertae] Dorinis.

To the memory of Publius Manicus Diogenes, freedman of Publius Mancius; (the monument was erected) in accordance with the terms of his will, under direction of Mancina Doris, freedwoman of Publius Mancius

Tomb of P. V. Phileros, Nocera necropolis

P(ublius) Vesonius Phileros G(aiae) l(iberatus), Augustalis, his patrona, Vesonia P(ubli) f(ilia), and M(arcus) Ofellius Faustus M(arci) L(iberatus) amicus.

Hospes pauillisper mor are si non est molestum et quid evites cognosce amincum hunc quem speraveram mi esse ab eo mihi accusato res subiecti et iudicia instaurata deis gratias age et meae innocentiae omni molestia liberates sum qui nostrum mentitur eu nec do penates nec inferi recipient

Publius Vesonius Phileros Gaius, a freedman and priest of Augustus, for his patroness Vesonia, a daughter of Publius, and his friend and freedman Marcus Ofellius Faustus.

Stranger, delay a brief while if it is not troublesome, and learn what to avoid. This man whom I had hoped was my friend, I am forsaking. A case was maliciously brought against me, I was charged and legal proceedings were instituted. I give thanks to the gods and to my innocence, I was freed from all distress. May neither the household gods nor the gods below receive the one who misrepresented our affairs.