

## THE *ORDO* OF POMPEII.

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When Vespasian sought to give new vitality to the decadent aristocracy of Rome by admitting the local gentry of the Italian towns to the senate, he was drawing upon a class which was destined to play an important part in the government and defence of the Empire. The municipal nobility, first of Italy and later of the provinces, not only managed the affairs of all the smaller communities, but also came to fill most positions of authority, both military and civil, in the imperial administration. To understand the Empire, therefore, we must know something of this aristocracy, and must study it in that local setting which our literary authorities despise. Here Pompeii affords valuable evidence, through the comparative abundance of the material presented, and through the tragic definiteness of its chronological lower limit. It is true that this evidence, for all its copiousness, is defective, since a large part of Pompeii remains unexcavated; and our lists of magistrates and of candidates for office are compiled from casual finds, not from official sources, so that negative evidence cannot safely be used. It is true also that Pompeii, owing to its unusually favourable economic conditions, is less representative of other Italian *municipia* than could be wished. Within these limits, however, a study of its ruling *Ordo* should throw some light upon the character of these bodies in and even beyond Italy.<sup>1</sup>

The governing class at Pompeii was aristocratic rather than bourgeois. A modern parallel is to be found, not in the mayor and corporation of an English town of similar size, but in the 'county families' of the neighbouring country-side. The Epidii boasted of their descent from an ancestor who fell into the Sarno and emerged as a river-god!<sup>2</sup> And it is possible that other *gentes* with theophoric names, such as the Consii, Cerrinii and Clovatii, cherished similar traditions, or at least claimed the special protection of a native deity, as did the Satrii of Saturnus.<sup>3</sup> The chief families of Pompeii displayed their *pietas* by preserving in their ancestral houses fragments of inscriptions recording the public careers and benefactions of their

<sup>1</sup> Specially valuable evidence will be found in Professor Della Corte's recent series of articles, 'Case e abitanti a Pompeii,' in the *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* from 1919 onwards. The first two parts appeared in *Neapolis*, 1914. Within the limits of the present study it has only been possible to

make illustrative rather than exhaustive use of the evidence available.

<sup>2</sup> Suet. *de Rhet.* 4.

<sup>3</sup> Satre was the Etruscan equivalent of the Roman Saturnus; P.-W. *s.v.* For a possible Satrius Saturninus at Pompeii, see below p. 167, note 5.

forefathers.<sup>1</sup> A similar family pride displays itself in the busts and painted portraits of members of the family which adorned the larger houses. These paintings were at first mistaken for pictures of deities and heroes, owing to the fondness of Pompeian citizens for being depicted, like the Primrose family, more or less mythologically. Thus a group misnamed 'Ares and Aphrodite' might apparently serve as a kind of 'war memorial,' representing the departure of a young officer for the front.<sup>2</sup> The family pride of the Pompeian, as of the Roman, nobility is a pride in public service, at home or in the field, whether rendered to the ancient *patria* or to imperial Rome. Its expression ranges from pictures of sea-fights, of naval trophies, or of victory bearing a prow, to a certain small painting in which the civic status of the owner of the house is ingeniously emphasised by the representation of a letter inscribed: *M. Lucretio, flam. Martis, decurioni, Pompeis!*<sup>4</sup> Such pride is not altogether ludicrous, since it was easier to become a senator in Rome than a decurion at Pompeii, and Caligula, who thought himself at least on an equality with Jupiter, accepted the duumvirate of the Campanian city.

The Pompeian *ordo* was a proud aristocracy: was it also ancient? Pompeii became a Roman colony about 160 years before its destruction; not a long period chronologically, but like the same span which separates us from the sixties of the eighteenth century, crowded with great events and great changes, so that the days before the colony seemed remote. Oscan inscriptions of this earlier period show that certain *gentes*, the Trebii, Pontii, Satrii, Audii and Seppii, who reappear in the later records, held public office in the 'free' city. Other such inscriptions mention the Epidii and Melissaei.<sup>5</sup> The Popidii and Caecilii appear in the earlier (pre-Sullan?) Latin inscriptions. The former played an especially prominent part in old Pompeii, where the *meddix tuticus*, Vibius Popidius, rebuilt a gateway and erected a portico round the forum. The Caesii and apparently the Loreii go back to Sullan times, and the Herennii can be traced at least as far back as the duumvir of that name who was killed by lightning at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy.<sup>6</sup> These instances are not very impressive, but it must be remembered that we possess only slight and accidental evidence for Pompeian pedigrees, and that the very family pride which is so abundantly testified affords a strong presumption that at least a nucleus of the *ordo* possessed ancient descent.

The aristocracy of Pompeii was native rather than Roman.

<sup>1</sup> Conway, *Italic Dialects*, nos. 52, 61, 53; *Not. d. Sc.* 1919 p. 242 (Popidii, Satrii, Trebii).

<sup>2</sup> Della Corte, no. 254, Caesius Blandus, centurion of a praetorian cohort. Cf. also Helbig, *Wandgemälde*. Indices, p. 479, Coelii.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Helbig, no. 1776. Cf. also praetorian emblems, e.g. Della Corte, no. 180, Popidius

Priscus; and representations of magistrates, Helbig, nos. 1387, 1501.

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 879.

<sup>5</sup> Conway, nos. 47, 53, 39, 48, 55, 74.

<sup>6</sup> Caecilii, *C.I.L.* iv, 29, 30, 36; Popidii, *C.I.L.* x, 794, Conway, 45; Caesii, *C.I.L.* x, 819; Loreii, *C.I.L.* iv, Suppl. 4966; Herennii, Cic. *de Div.* i, 18.

Whatever may have been the temporary effects of Sulla's colony, our evidence seems to show plainly that the local element reasserted itself, and absorbed the new-comers.<sup>1</sup> The *nomina* of the officials and candidates are largely Oscan or Etruscan, and some of the *gentes*, such as the Holconii, Istacidii, Niraemii and Albieni occur only at Pompeii. Both the *nomen* and the family *cognomen* of the Cuspii Pansae are Etruscan, while the Veii, Tintirii, Lucretii and probably many others have Etruscan *gentilicia*. The Herennii, Seppii, Marii, Paquii, and Blaesii derive their names from Oscan *praenomina*, and the popular candidate Cerrinius Vatia has a theophoric name of Oscan origin.<sup>2</sup> The connexion of Pompeii with the *gens* Pompeia is generally assumed: indeed, the town is supposed to have derived its name from this family.<sup>3</sup> We have evidence also that some, at least, of the Pompeian aristocracy cherished the old ways, and the old language. The 'House of the Faun,' which dates from the Samnite period, is notable for its Oscan inscriptions and graffiti, the latter showing that the language was kept up by the noble family who inhabited it at a time later than the establishment of the colony. The same house contains a small altar, dedicated in Oscan to the goddess Flora.<sup>4</sup> Della Corte attributes this house to the Cassii, chiefly on the strength of the seal-ring worn by a Cassia who perished there; but this seems rather to indicate that the Oscan *gens* to whom the house clearly belonged intermarried with the Roman Cassii. The Oscan inscription recording a 'Sadiriis' and the cognomen Saturninus, appropriate to the Satrii, borne by one of the owners of the house, suggest that it may have been the ancestral dwelling of the important gens Satria.<sup>5</sup> The house of Epidius Sabinus contains a graffito in which the owner's *cognomen* is written in Oscan and in Latin.<sup>6</sup> The fine old houses and the persistence of the old language must have preserved the strongly native character of Pompeii, which seems to have had a bilingual population much after the manner of a modern Welsh town. Public notices of a kind intended perhaps especially for the rustics who flocked into it from the country were written in Oscan<sup>7</sup> even in the latest period. It is therefore not surprising that the native families are as numerous in the later election-notices as in the earlier records of officials. Among the popular candidates are names such as Epidius, Cuspius, Trebius, Popidius; and it seems probable that the last magistrates who held office at Pompeii included Holconius Priscus and Cerrinius Vatia.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Contrast Tenney Frank, *Econ. Hist.* 2nd ed., ch. xiv, p. 245, and Rostovtzeff, *Social and Econ. Hist.* ch. ii. p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen*, passim.

<sup>3</sup> In *Atti d. Accad. d. Arch.* n.s. viii, 1924, Sogliano argues unconvincingly that the Osco-Samnite equivalent of the Latin Quinctius is

Pomptius, while Pompeius is an ethnicon derived from Pompeii, synonymous with Pompeianus.

<sup>4</sup> Conway, no. 46, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Della Corte, no. 130; Conway, no. 53; *C.I.L.* iv, 297.

<sup>6</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 2395.

<sup>7</sup> See Conway, no. 60.

<sup>8</sup> Mau, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, p. 204.

What is to be said, then, of the Roman element? And what was the effect of the Sullan colonisation? The Cornelii, as we should expect, were both numerous and prominent at Pompeii, and the Claudii or Clodii seem to have played an equally active part in its municipal and business life. The many Julii are presumably descended from provincials or imperial freedmen. The Caecilii may be the descendants of one of Sulla's veterans (though more probably earlier), and the same may be true of the Caesii, who owned vineyards and could boast of a duumvir in the Sullan period.<sup>1</sup> The Porcii, Junii and Cassii may have helped to create that republican spirit which Sogliano attributes to the Pompeians even under the emperors; but the Marii, who inhabited a fine house of the Samnite period, were descended from an old native family, as were probably the Lucretii, who had close connexion with the Epidii and Satrii. The Tullii played a distinguished part in the municipal life of the colony in earlier times, and Della Corte infers from the slender evidence of initials on a seal ring that in A.D. 79 they still occupied the ancestral house in the *insula* which was their property.<sup>2</sup> The Fabii, like the Claudii and Cornelii, were prominent in trade. We may suppose that the Helvii, Naevii, Furi, Calpurnii, Appulei and Sallustii were of Roman descent, and the same may be true of the Sextii, Sextilii, Septimii, Egnatii, Postumii, Licinii and others. Where the *cognomina* are hereditary, we are on surer ground. The Aelii Tuberones, for example, were a Roman family, one of whom was duumvir of Pompeii in A.D. 23. A certain L. Aelius Magnus owned a house in an aristocratic quarter of the town, and was apparently about to intermarry with the Plotii, who lived opposite.<sup>3</sup> More interesting still are the Coelii Caldi, descended from the consul of 94 B.C. These inhabited the 'House of the Boar' at Pompeii, and commemorated on its mosaic pavements the exploits of their ancestor in Spain. A Coelius Calvus, 'adulescens vetustate familiae suae dignissimus,' was taken prisoner with Varus in Germany, and escaped captivity by suicide.<sup>4</sup> The Valerii Flacci and Pomponii Marcelli are also represented at Pompeii, holding the duumvirate together in the time of Augustus.<sup>5</sup> A Poppaeus Sabinus was the owner of a house in the Via di Nola, and of an *officina* elsewhere. Had Pompeii the doubtful distinction of being the *patria* of Poppaea Sabina? Her father's *gens*, the Ollii, is also found there.<sup>6</sup> The incompleteness of our evidence makes it dangerous to generalise; and the veterans of Sulla were not necessarily Roman by birth, though we should expect true Romans to

<sup>1</sup> Caesii, *C.I.L.* x, 819. For the praetorian, see above.

<sup>2</sup> Della Corte, 136.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 895, iv, 1991, Aelius Magnus Plotillae suae, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Della Corte, 334-5; Vell. ii, 120. For a possible allusion to this event, see above.

<sup>5</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 884.

<sup>6</sup> Della Corte, 151-2; *C.I.L.* x, 914 (Q. Ollius Ponti . . ., duumvir).

predominate among those who founded office-holding families.<sup>1</sup> In any case, however, it seems clear that the native element was far from being displaced. Most of the finest houses seem to be in the possession of local families, and it is these who appear to take the lead in municipal affairs. The new settlers perhaps acted as a leaven, Romanising rather than superseding the native aristocracy; and it was the policy of the Roman government alike under the Republic and under the Empire to conciliate the local nobility, and to transform the old leaders of a free people into the supporters and representatives of the Roman power. At Pompeii there are signs of imperial favour bestowed upon the old native families. When Caligula, both before and after his accession (in A.D. 34 and 40), became honorary duumvir, he chose two members of the most ancient families, M. Lucretius Epidius Flaccus and M. Holconius Macer, to represent him as *praefecti*. N. Popidius Priscus served, presumably as an officer, in the praetorian guard. The imperial commissioner of Vespasian, T. Suedius Clemens, was the guest and warm supporter of Epidius Sabinus. A curious graffito in the house of the Cuspia celebrates certain *iudicia Augusti Augustae* in their favour. If the Cuspia Fadus whom Claudius employed as the first procurator of Judaea after the death of Agrippa I belonged to the same family, we have an illustration of the special service which these Campanian nobles could render to the imperial government; their trade relations with the east and their familiarity with Greek made them peculiarly well adapted to the administration of the eastern provinces.<sup>2</sup>

We may thus conclude that the *ordo* of Pompeii, while constantly recruited by fresh elements, bore the stamp of its origin as an old native aristocracy; like some ancient building, continually repaired, it retained its former structure and spirit, however little of the original fabric might remain. It was, in fact, the Senate writ small. But the Pompeian gentry differed in one fundamental particular from the great nobility of Rome: they possessed a long tradition of maritime trade. Pompeii was favourably situated for such enterprises, and it would seem that the Greek and Etruscan traditions of seafaring commerce were adopted by the Oscans of the plain, and even by the Samnite conquerors.<sup>3</sup> Hence it came about that the Italian traders of the Hellenistic East in the great days of Delos came largely from Campania; and maritime trade to east and west continued under

<sup>1</sup> Compare, for example, M. Holconius Rufus, *patronus coloniae*; the Popidii Rufi, *defensores colonorum*; N. Popidius Rufus, *patronus coloniae*; Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius, *princeps coloniae*; M. Epidius Sabinus, *defensor coloniae*, supported by the imperial commissioner and by the entire *Ordo*, *ob merita eius et probitatem*. *C.I.L.* iv, 768. Epidius seems to have been a distinguished *jurisperitus*, which was in accordance with the traditions of his family, judging from the famous rhetor

Epidius in the time of Augustus. Suet. *de Rhet.* 4. See Della Corte, 354-8, and compare 417 (in an election notice on his behalf): *Trebius cliens facit*.

<sup>2</sup> Praefecti, *C.I.L.* x, 901, 904; Priscus, Della Corte, 189; Sabinus, *C.I.L.* iv, 768. For the Cuspia, see *C.I.L.* iv, 1074, and P.-W. *s.v.*

<sup>3</sup> Sogliano, loc. cit., traces the origin of the town to a Greek trading settlement.

the Empire, when Campania was one of the few parts of Italy which engaged in an active export of goods.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to Greek and Etruscan example, the Pompeian aristocracy did not hold aloof from trade and industry, but belonged to the same general type as that of Carthage and of many Greek cities, especially in Sicily, consisting of a body of large landowners, who exported the produce of their estates, and also engaged in such industries as arose naturally out of their other activities. As has often been pointed out, the production of wine was their most characteristic source of wealth.<sup>2</sup> It is significant that a species of vine, the *Horconia (uitis)*, was apparently named after the *Holconii*, one of the greatest and wealthiest of the native families of Pompeii.<sup>3</sup> The house of M. Lucretius the decurion is full of decoration suggestive of wine production: Bacchic attributes are painted on the walls, larger pictures illustrate the legend of Dionysus, and a smaller painting depicts Cupids as vine-dressers.<sup>4</sup> Similar indications are to be found in the 'house of the Centenary,' which Della Corte assigns to A. Rustius Verus. The *Ceii*, a prominent family in the political and business world of Pompeii, and the *Fabii*, with whom they intermarried, seem to have owed their wealth to the produce of their vineyards.<sup>5</sup>

Besides furnishing their freedmen with capital in the small workshops of the town, some members of the Pompeian aristocracy seem to have engaged in industry on a larger scale. *Vesonius Primus* for example, owned two large and lucrative businesses, a *fullonica* and a tannery.<sup>6</sup> The *Vibii Vari*, an old and important *gens* going back to the pre-Sullan period, and famous for their wealth, engaged in the usual production of wine. But Della Corte suggests that they were also manufacturers of arms, of all trades the most appropriate to an old nobility. Metal-working was one of the chief industries of Campania, and the *Vibii* may, since the foundation of the colony, have turned their activities into more pacific channels. In producing goods for export, the leading families of Pompeii were brought into contact with distant markets, and themselves visited the different countries of the Mediterranean world. The *Vibii Vari* (who reached the consulship under Hadrian) are found in *Histria*, where C. *Vibius Varus* built a shrine to *Fortuna*, a deity appropriate to merchants. The identity of name with C. *Vibius C. f. Varus*, IIIIvir of Pompeii, seems too close to be accidental.<sup>7</sup> *Epidii* are also found in *Histria*, which like Campania was a vine-growing district. Tiles from the factory of C. M. *Epidii* and their freedman *Theodorus* are found widely distributed along the coast territory from *Histria* to *Aquileia*

<sup>1</sup> Tenney Frank, *Economic History*, 2nd ed., ch. xv, p. 291-3, xvi, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist.* ch. ii note 21.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* 2, 6, §25.

<sup>4</sup> Helbig, *Indices*, p. 842.

<sup>5</sup> Della Corte, 155, 397; *C.I.L.* iv, 5521.

<sup>6</sup> Della Corte, 410.

<sup>7</sup> *Vibii*; for family traditions, compare *cognomina* *Italus* and *Palaephatus*. Metal industry, Della Corte, 192-4. *Vibii* in *Histria*, *C.I.L.* v, 3089.

and as far as Dalmatia.<sup>1</sup> The house of Lucretius above described contained in its decoration not only Bacchic subjects but various suggestions of foreign trade, such as two sea-centaurs, each holding a prow, and a figure with its foot on an elephant's head, which Helbig conjectures to be a personification of Egypt or Alexandria. The connexion of Pompeii with Egypt is conspicuously displayed in the popularity among its governing and trading class of the cult of Isis, of which the Popidii seem to have been the especial patrons. In the house of Loreius, a Pompeian of old family, were found statuettes of Egyptian deities and the portrait of an ancestor dressed as a priest of Isis.<sup>2</sup> A still closer tie bound Pompeii to Numidia, through the establishment of the colony of Veneria Rusicade, whose settlers came from Pompeii itself. The inscriptions of this town show the presence there of the old Pompeian *gentes*, Satrii, Trebii, Lucretii, Fadii and probably Pontii. The Roman element is represented by Caecilii, Aelii, Coelii, Caesii, Valerii, Junii, Porcii, Sallustii; the inevitable Julii abound, while the Cornelii, Claudii and Fabii are comparatively numerous.<sup>3</sup>

A study of the Pompeian *ordo* as a trading aristocracy reveals a close connexion between the various cities of this region, and the migration to Pompeii of merchants, not only from the neighbouring towns, but from foreign ports with which Pompeii had commercial relations. Various Pompeian families can be described as local without necessarily claiming Pompeii as their *patria*. Among the most famous of these *gentes* are the Sittii. They originally belonged to the land-owning aristocracy of Nuceria, and possessed great wealth, which they no doubt preserved and enhanced by remaining faithful to Rome in the Social War, unlike the majority of their neighbours. A certain Sittius or Sippius was proverbial among the Roman Stoics for luxurious living.<sup>4</sup> This may have been the father of the famous Caesarian, unless, indeed, the original of the proverb belonged to the *gens* Seppia, traces of which are found in two of the most splendid houses of Pompeii. P. Sittius of Nuceria, who was implicated in the Catilinarian conspiracy and took refuge in Mauretania, made the name of his *gens* widespread and famous in Africa. Many Sittii are naturally found at Rusicade, which owed its foundation to him. The rest of his picturesque story does not concern us here. But his business activities reveal the wide range of trade issuing from the Sarno valley; his first relations with Mauretania were commercial, and he visited Further Spain for business purposes before he made these a pretext for furthering the cause of Catiline there. At Pompeii the Sittii are represented by four candidates for office in the latest period, and their trading activities are suggested by two witnesses in the receipts, a wine merchant and several prominent freedmen. One

<sup>1</sup> P.-W., supplement, art. *Epidiana*.

<sup>2</sup> Della Corte, 493.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.* viii, p. 684.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. xii, 543 a; Plut. *Cato Min.* 4.

of their slaves appropriately sketched a ship on the walls of the Basilica.<sup>1</sup>

Much older and more splendid associations are called forth by the presence in Pompeii of the *gens* Laelia. A certain Laelius Fuscus, who appears with two other members of his family in the *apochae*, was a candidate for the aedileship and duumvirate; and some silver cups from Pompeii and the neighbourhood bear the same gentile name. Their association with Pompeii gives further support to the theory that the Laelii belonged originally to the seafaring aristocracy of Campania, and first acquired Roman citizenship through the naval services of C. Laelius, who was Scipio's *praefectus classis* in the attack on New Carthage. His son, the friend of the younger Scipio, owned property at Puteoli. Another Campanian family of this kind, which seems to have specialised in eastern trade, was the *gens* Hordeonia, represented at Pompeii by A. Hordeonius Flaccus, aedile in the time of Nero, and by two Hordeonii Philostorgi in the *apochae*. The Hordeonii are also found at Delos and Puteoli. A specially interesting Pompeian *gens* is that of the Lollii, also traceable at Rusicade; two of its members appear among the later candidates for office, and others, chiefly of the freedman class, are found in the *apochae* and elsewhere. Their large and splendid house, if we may accept Della Corte's identification, contained many indications of maritime commerce: a bronze rudder, a painting of Neptune, and a mosaic pavement at the entrance representing dolphins, sea-monsters and prows of ships. Unfortunately the only direct evidence for the owner of the house is the *cognomen* Fuscus, which Della Corte conjectures to belong to C. Lollius Fuscus, a popular candidate for the aedileship in the latest period. But this *cognomen* is not uncommon at Pompeii, and might refer, for example, to the Laelius described above.<sup>2</sup> The Lollii were one of the great trading families of Campania, first appearing at Delos in the third century B.C. Q. Lollius, a Roman knight, was one of the victims of the rapacity of Verres. A Q. Lollius Saturninus appears at Pompeii among the witnesses of the *apochae*. If Groag is right in his conclusion that the Lollia Saturnina of *C.I.L.* vi, 21473a was a sister of Lollia Paulina, the wife of Caligula, a clue seems suggested to the favour shown by Caligula to the town of Pompeii. The names of the humbler Lollii, presumably of the freedman class, correspond to the trading activity of the *gens*: M. Lollius Bithus, Lollius Synhodus and Lollia Successa, the owner of a workshop. It is noticeable that such *cognomina* as Synhodus, Euhodus and Successus betray the connexion of a family with commerce.<sup>3</sup>

The proximity of Pompeii to Nuceria brought about another link with an imperial house. The Vitellii were natives of the latter

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> Della Corte, 279.

<sup>3</sup> For the Sittii, Laelii, Hordeonii and Lollii see P.-W. s.v.



town, deriving their descent either from the god Faunus and from ancient kings of Latium, or from a freedman of Nuceria who exercised the trade of cobbler;—a *sutor ueteramentarius*. Both these extreme versions really point to the same fact, that the Vitellii were self-made men among the aristocracy of Nuceria.<sup>1</sup> The family is represented at Pompeii by P. Vitellius, a candidate for office. Other Pompeian families came from Puteoli. The L. Avianus Flaccus Pontianus who was duumvir at Pompeii is clearly related to the Avianus Flaccus who held the same office at Puteoli. The Aviani Flacci, who were a well-known family at Puteoli in the days of Cicero, appear to have intermarried with the old Pompeian *gens* of the Pontii, whose scanty traces in later times include a T. Pontius Successus. The C. Vestorius Priscus who was a candidate for office at Pompeii, probably belonged to the family of C. Vestorius Puteolanus, the famous banker and friend of Cicero.<sup>2</sup> Some Italian immigrants came from further afield, such as M. Loreius Tiburtinus, aedile in the latest period and a candidate for the duumvirate, who was descended from an ancestor of the same name in the Sullan period and from a priest of Isis named Tiburs. The family evidently held its *patria* in remembrance, not only by the hereditary *cognomina*, but in pictures illustrating the legend of Hercules, the tutelary deity of Tibur, with which the fine house of the Loreii was adorned. Literary tastes seem also to have been traditional in this *gens*.<sup>3</sup> The connexion of Pompeii with Sicily was naturally close: the two Pompeii Grosphi who held the duumvirate in A.D. 59, and according to Della Corte were deposed in consequence of the famous riot in the amphitheatre, clearly belong to the same family as the landowner in Sicily, Pompeius Grosphus, to whom Horace addressed an ode.<sup>4</sup> Another distinguished Sicilian family, the Heii, is represented at Pompeii by the Heiae Rufulae, M. et L. f., who were priestesses, appropriately, of Ceres.<sup>5</sup>

There are indications also that foreign merchants sojourned at Pompeii. Among the old *programmata* are several which support the candidature of Numerius Veius Barca for the duumvirate, and a graffito in the amphitheatre alludes less pleasantly to the same man: *N. Vei Barca, tabescas*.<sup>6</sup> Unless the bearer of this Punic *cognomen* was a freedman of the Veii, a native family which engaged actively in trade, we must suppose that he or an ancestor was a Phoenician merchant who had acquired Roman citizenship through their influence. A problem is offered by the ethnic *cognomina* of certain Pompeian dignitaries, such as N. Istacidius N. f. Cilix and L. Julius Ponticus, both *duumviri*.<sup>7</sup> The Istacidii are a family found only at Pompeii. N. Istacidius Amicus appears as a creditor in the *apochae*,

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *Vit.* i.

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.L.* v, 1064, 1792, Aviani; Cic. *ad Att.* 6,

2, 3, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Della Corte, 493.

<sup>4</sup> Hor. *Od.* ii, 16, *Ep.* i, 12.

<sup>5</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 812.

<sup>6</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 49, 72, etc., and 75.

<sup>7</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 857, 827.

and three other members of the family, perhaps *liberti*, among the witnesses. But the name occurs most often in sepulchral inscriptions, which show connexion by marriage with the Melissaei and Tintirii.<sup>1</sup> The family was commemorated by a conspicuous monument in the Street of Tombs, surrounded by ten small stones in the shape of human busts, such as are found also at Capua. (One N. Istacidius so recorded has the cognomen Campanus).<sup>2</sup> Both Cilix and Ponticus are names borne by slaves, so that we might conclude that these two chief magistrates were of servile origin. But it seems unlikely that they would reach the duumvirate without discarding a type of name which was offensively servile. It is more natural to suppose that the names have reference to commerce. Either these are foreign merchants, as the imperial *nomen* of Julius suggests, or they are Pompeian citizens who were celebrated for trade with the eastern provinces, like the Hordeonii and other gentes of Campania.<sup>3</sup> It seems possible to connect with Cilicia also the curious *gentilicium* Sandelius, which occurs in the name of two chief magistrates, N. Sandelius Messius Balbus and L. Sepunius L. f. Sandilianus. An A. Sandelius also appears among the witnesses of the *apocbae*.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, L. Varius Gallicanus, a candidate in the later *programmata*, may have been a local merchant having trade relations with Gaul, since the *cognomen* signifies connexion with, rather than origin from, that country.<sup>5</sup> It cannot be doubted that active trade intercourse existed between Pompeii and the south of France. Celtic names bear witness to a Gallic element in the town: for example, Sex. Pompeius Ruma, who dedicated a thank-offering to Neptune and was a seafaring freedman of the Pompeii, appears to have a Celtic *cognomen*.<sup>6</sup> The absurd nickname of Fabius 'Ululitremulus,' owner of a *fullonica* in the Street of Abundance, may conceal a Celtic name, though he seems to emphasise the Roman character of his *gentilicium* by the pictures of Aeneas and Romulus at his doorway. A connexion with Gaul is suggested by the names of some of his fellow-workers, Sula, Ricinus and Geru(1)us or Glerus. In such an environment it seems more appropriate to associate Sula with Sul Minerva the deity of Bath than to suppose him a namesake of the great dictator.<sup>7</sup> *Fullones* are naturally connected with the great wool-producing provinces of Gaul. But Celtic nomenclature is not confined to the humbler Pompeians. C. Cacos, a candidate in the oldest *programmata*, may, like Barca, have preserved his barbarian name unchanged.<sup>8</sup> More often the native patronymic was retained as

<sup>1</sup> C.I.L. x, 1008, 1071.

<sup>2</sup> Mau, *Pompeii*, Part iv, ch. 50.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. M. Hordionius (sic) Oriens, C.I.L. xi, 583; cf. C. Mustius Oriens, creditor in the *apocbae*.

<sup>4</sup> Sandon or Sandes was a native deity of Cilicia, from whose name various personal names were formed. See P.-W.

<sup>5</sup> Perin, *Onomasticon*.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.L. x, 8157; Della Corte, *Addenda*, 503. For the speculations of Sogliano on this personage, see his article on the Gens Pompeia. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, regards the name as Celtic, and gives other instances.

<sup>7</sup> *Not. d. Sc.* 1913, p. 146. Holder gives Celtic examples of Sula, Riginus and Gerus as *cognomina*.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.L. iv, 31.

a *gentilicium*; and the *nomina* of a number of magistrates and candidates are strongly suggestive of Celtic origin. M. Melsonius A. f. and P. Rogius P. f. Varus, who held the duumvirate together in the time of Augustus, both have *gentilicia* which Holder claims as Celtic.<sup>1</sup> Q. Cotrius, Q. f., duumvir at the same period, M. Cantrius M. f. Marcellus and M. Cinnius M. f. both chief magistrates, and M. Samellius Modestus, a candidate for office, may be Celtic also. The M. Casellius Marcellus who appears with L. Albucius as a popular candidate for the aedileship in the later *programmata* has a name which reminds us of the Gallic potter Casillus and even of Kasilos, a chieftain whose name appears on the coins of the Salassi.<sup>2</sup> There are few epigraphic traces of these apparently Celtic *gentilicia* except in connexion with the tenure of public office. It seems possible that Pompeii welcomed merchants from southern Gaul or the Po valley whose sojourn in the town was more or less temporary, and admitted them to the *ordo* and duumvirate for the sake of benefiting municipally from their proverbial wealth. The close relation between the two languages unfortunately makes it impossible to decide in many cases whether a personal name is Latin or Celtic. The *gentilicium* Betutius or Betitius, for example, recalls both the Oscan Betitis and the Celtic Betuus and similar names. Otherwise we might identify as Gallic the Betutius Placidus who owned a *pistrinum* in the Street of Abundance, and who, among several genuine *programmata*, was responsible for the apparent witticism *Betutius rog. Betiti filium*. Another Betutius lived in the Via dei Soprastanti, and there may be significance in the spelling on the amphora addressed to him as Petutio (sic) Quintioni. Della Corte regards Petutius as evidence of a new *gens*; may it not rather represent Quintio's Celtic pronunciation of his own name? <sup>3</sup> Evidence of a different kind is supplied by the *cognomen* of the *duumvir* N. Curtius Vibius Salassus, whose name shows us that he was a member of the old Pompeian *gens* Vibia, prominent in trade, who had become the adopted heir of Curtius Salassus. P. Curtius P. f. Salassus occurs in an inscription from Canusium, and a Q. Curtius Salassus was murdered while collecting tribute for Antony. The name Curtius may itself be Celtic.<sup>4</sup>

It seems to be characteristic of trading aristocracies that they should require to be constantly recruited by new blood. At Pompeii, at any rate, the vigour of the *ordo* was thus maintained, partly, as we have seen, by the immigration of wealthy and perhaps noble

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 885-6; cf. iv, 1243, L. Rocius Modestus. (Holder gives other examples of Rocius.)

<sup>2</sup> For Casellius Marcellus, *munerarius magnus*, see Della Corte, 274. His small house contained a strong "safe" and fugitives laden with jewels and money. Della Corte compares C. Casellius Vol. Pompeianus, who died at Nemausus—a striking indication of the connexion of Pompeii with Gaul.

For the Celtic Casillos and Kasilos, see Holder, *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> *Not. d. Sc.* 1912, p. 408, Della Corte, 439, Placidus; *Not. d. Sc.* 1910, p. 486, Della Corte 221, Quintio.

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 1886; Gardthausen, *Augustus*, p. 183. Curtos, Gallic name from *cortos*, *curtos*, "squat." See Malvezin *Dict. des racines celtiques*, 2nd ed. s.v. *COR*.

families from other commercial cities. Another source of life was the steady rise of 'new men' which trading conditions promote. Our evidence seems to show that room was made for them by the decline of some, at any rate, of the old noble families. Certain names, like those of the Aninii, Occii and Niraemii, magistrates in the Sullan period, do not recur. Others appear to have fallen from their ancient splendour, though the graffito on the walls of the Basilica, *Fuere quondam Vibii opulentissimi*, is malicious.<sup>1</sup> There are signs that houses and estates changed hands. Cornelius Rufus apparently superseded the native occupants of his fine house, since the Oscan inscription recording their tenure of public office was found, after the manner of white elephants, 'with its face turned to the wall beneath the staircase.'<sup>2</sup> The Seppii, who had perhaps once owned this house, are found living as tenants in the splendid 'House of the Centenary,' owned by the more prosperous and less aristocratic Rustius Verus. More important evidence is provided by the prevalence of adoption, probably in the form of adoption by will, which involved the assumption of new *gentilicia* on the part of heirs. Thus M. Alleius Luccius Libella was evidently the adopted son of his father-in-law. A later member of the gens Alleia, must have adopted two brothers, the Nigidii, Maius and Verus.<sup>3</sup> The Lucretii provide specially striking examples of this practice, adopting members of other distinguished *gentes*, such as the Decidii, the Epidii and the Satrii.<sup>4</sup> In the case of M. Stlaborius Veius Fronto we may discern the effort of an old local family, represented in the *apochae* by a single freedman, to maintain itself by adoption from a similar *gens*, which displayed greater vitality in commercial and public life. Another sign of the extinction which threatened the wealthy families of Pompeii may be found in the social and even political prominence of its women, since this importance would seem to have been due, sometimes to the lack of male heirs, sometimes to the part played by marriage in recruiting an old family and exalting a new one. Eumachia, the benefactress of the *fullones*, shows that ladies of rank could patronise a trade with which, presumably, they had a hereditary connexion. The Eumachii, who intermarried with the Herennii, were doubtless an old and aristocratic family at Pompeii, possibly descended from that Eumachus of Naples who wrote a history of Hannibal. Eumachia was priestess of Ceres, and the family may have had some connexion with Sicily.<sup>5</sup>

So we come finally to the *noui homines*, the men who at once invaded and recruited the ranks of the Pompeian nobility. Con-

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> Conway, no. 48; cf. also the *insula Arriana*, owned by Alleius Nigidius and leased to the Ollii; Della Corte, 124.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 1036; iv, 1179.

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 851, 901; iv, 1084, 3884.

<sup>5</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 810-13. Eumachia was the mother of M. Numistrius Fronto, *duumvir* in A.D. 3. For Eumachus of Naples, see P.-W. s.v.

ditions were favourable for the foundation of such new families ; but in many cases the ' new man ' is difficult, if not impossible, to detect. Sometimes, indeed, he proclaims himself, and glories in his ascent of the social ladder. A good instance of this type is provided by D. Caprasius Felix, a candidate in the later elections, whose fine house can be identified in the Via Stabiana. Its *lararium* contained a statuette of Fortuna enthroned ; and the *cognomina* of Felix himself, of his wife Fortunata and their friend or freedman Successus seem to boast the prosperity of the self-made man whose patron deity is the goddess of good luck.<sup>1</sup> His curious *gentilicium* may be derived from one of the various localities similarly named, though it is interesting to find a Caprasius among the German manufacturers of Terra Sigillata at Rheinzabern in the second century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

A certain D. Caprasius is found at Pompeii as early as the reign of Augustus, and many members of the family appear in the *apochae* of Jucundus. The Caprasii were connected, probably by marriage, with the wealthy family of the Vettii. Felix supports the candidature of Vettius Syrticus for the duumvirate, and A. Vettius Firmus, a candidate for the aedileship, has the support of a Caprasia. Another candidate for the same office was A. Vettius Caprasius Felix, showing that one of the Vettii had adopted a Caprasius as his heir.<sup>3</sup> The names of Caprasius Felix and his wife suggest that they belonged to the class of *liberti*, though the name Felix may have had less exclusively servile associations at Pompeii than elsewhere, and Caprasius may possibly have adopted it in token of his good luck. *Noui homines* were of two kinds : free commoners, who had made their way in business ; and the descendants of emancipated slaves, whose position as the agents of noble, or at least of wealthy, trading families had enabled them to found a fortune and a family on their own account. The former element seems to have been comparatively strong at Pompeii, for various reasons.<sup>4</sup> The Vettii themselves had acquired their wealth through trade, and were not ashamed to proclaim it in the decoration of their magnificent house, where Cupids are depicted as engaged in the various industries by which the family had risen to such an important position. The *cognomen* Syrticus, on the other hand, and the naval trophy painted in one of the houses apparently belonging to the Vettii suggest maritime exploits, which may date from the Civil Wars. The house of P. Vedius Siricus is similarly adorned with several figures of Victory, one of them bearing a prow.<sup>5</sup> Siricus was *duumvir* in A.D. 60, and a

<sup>1</sup> Della Corte, 209-10 ; *C.I.L.* iv, 5374.

<sup>2</sup> Caprasia was the name of a place in Bruttium, and of one of the mouths of the Po ; several islands were also called Capraria or Caprasia (Perin *Onomasticon*). For the German Caprasius see P.-W. Supplement.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 805, D. Caprasius ; iv, 935 g, Syrticus 171, Firmus ; 3687, Vettius Caprasius.

<sup>4</sup> See Tenney Frank, *Econ. Hist.* 2nd ed., ch. xiv, p. 269.

<sup>5</sup> Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, ' Casa delle Quadrighe ' and ' Casa di Sirico.'

P. Veidius appears among the early candidates for office. But the concise philosophy of life expressed by the famous mosaic inscription *Salve lucrum* is most likely to be proclaimed by a self-made man. Vedii are numerous in the business world of the *apochae*, and the associations of the name are not distinguished. One of the Epodes of Horace is said to have been addressed to a Vedius Rufus, *eques Romanus, ex servis oriundus*; and Vedius Pollio, the friend of Augustus, famous for his luxury, is declared by Dio to have been the son of a freedman. As he bequeathed to the emperor a villa near Naples, it is possible to connect him with the Vedii of Pompeii.<sup>1</sup> One of the most interesting of the 'new men' of Pompeii is Umbricius Scaurus, the manufacturer of fish sauce, who developed an industry of unusually modern type and scale. An inscription in the Street of Tombs throws light on the rise of this family. Here an elder Umbricius Scaurus records the splendid career of his son and namesake, the *duumvir*, in whose honour the decurions had erected an equestrian statue in the forum. The father had probably built up the fortune which the son spent lavishly on gladiatorial shows and other benefactions in order to attain to such a distinguished position in the *colonia*.<sup>2</sup> Another interesting example of a commercial family who aspired to the *cursus honorum* is provided by the Attii, one of whom, Sex. Attius Amplus, was a candidate for the aedileship. A shop in the Via Stabiana containing cakes of colouring matter, one of which bears the stamp *Attiorum*, shows that the same family had prospered in this business ever since the days when an Attius *pigmentarius* was mentioned by Cicero.<sup>3</sup> The *cognomen* of the *duumvir* P. Gavius Pastor presents a problem; it might be servile, but such a magistrate would hardly proclaim himself a former shepherd. Members of this *gens* are found as candidates in both the old and more recent *programmata* and in association with aristocratic colleagues, such as the Holconii and Trebii. Gavius Rufus, a candidate for the *duumvirate*, had the support of a tradesman, Phoebus, *cum emptoribus suis*, and of the *sagarii*, or makers of rough woollen cloaks. Is it possible that Gavius Pastor owed both his *cognomen* and his wealth to sheep-breeding, for which the neighbourhood of Pompeii offered facilities?<sup>4</sup> A Pompeian citizen who has long been regarded as a self-made man is P. Paquius Proculus, the candidate whom a graffito from the amphitheatre declares to have been unanimously elected to the *duumvirate*. The Paquii or Paccii were an old and distinguished Oscan family, and Proculus was the owner of a fine

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 20, x, 874; Dio, 54, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 1024. For Umbricius Scaurus, see Tenney Frank, *Econ. Hist.* 2nd ed. ch. xiv, p. 259. It seems possible that the fine-sounding hereditary *cognomen*: which the Umbricii assumed was suggested to them by the name of the fish—*σκαμβρος*—from which the sauce was manufactured, through

the adjective *σκαμβρός*, which is identical in meaning with Scaurus.

<sup>3</sup> Della Corte, 298. *Cic. ad. Fam.* xv, 17, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 827 (date uncertain), Gavius Pastor; iv, 103 and 753, Gavius Rufus. For the pastures near Pompeii and the clothing trade, see Tenney Frank *loc. cit.* ch. xiv, p. 260.

house in the Street of Abundance, where many *programmata* show the extent of his influence in public life. He has been wrongly identified, as Della Corte shows, with the baker Proculus who owned two large bakeries in the Via Stabiana.<sup>1</sup> This other Proculus, according to the same writer, was the brother of Terentius Neo, who lived in an atrium connected with one of the *pistrina*. The Terentii were numerous and active at Pompeii, appearing especially as producers of wine and as witnesses in the *apochae*. Two are candidates in the later *programmata*, and the family had already entered upon the *cursus honorum*. T. Terentius T. f. Felix Maior held the aedileship, and received a place of burial from the grateful community in the Street of Tombs. The name of his wife, Fabia Sabina, Probi filia, shows that he had married into a similar family of merchants. The well-known portraits in the house of Terentius Neo may perhaps represent this magistrate Felix and his wife.<sup>2</sup>

The second type of 'new man,' the freedman or rather the descendant of freedmen, is equally interesting but even more elusive, owing to the ease with which servile nomenclature could be disguised or discarded. Normally, the name Felix is a clear sign of servile origin; and unless Pompeii was exceptional in this respect owing to its connexion with Sulla—which we have no reason to suppose—we may therefore include Terentius Maior in this class. The same holds good of Julia Sp. f. Felix, owner of the property on which stood the gymnasium of the *Collegium Iuventutis*. As she was apparently not legally entitled to her father's *nomen*, though presumably his heiress, she may have assumed his *cognomen*.<sup>3</sup> An excellent example of the ascent from servitude to distinction is provided by the family of the famous auctioneer and banker Caecilius Jucundus, whose box of receipted bills has provided such valuable evidence for the business life of Pompeii. One early receipt preserved in this box is dated A.D. 15, and records the purchase of a mule by Caecilius Felix, whom Zangemeister identifies with the father of Jucundus. A certain L. Caecilius Felix occurs among the *ministri Augusti* (always slaves or freedmen), of the year A.D. 1.<sup>4</sup> Evidently Felix was a *libertus* of the Caecilii, an old and distinguished Pompeian *gens*. Such freedmen acted as business agents for their patrons, and managed all their financial affairs, which gave them a complete business training, and enabled men of ability to acquire wealth and importance and become founders of families. The shrewd countenance of Jucundus, known to us from his realistic portrait-bust, shows that he inherited his father's capacity. He increased the paternal fortune by a variety of business enterprises, and aspired to

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 1122; Della Corte, 429 and 201; and *J.R.S.* xvi, pp. 145-154.

<sup>2</sup> Della Corte, 201-2; *C.I.L.* x, 1019. For the *Fabii*, see above.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 1136; Della Corte, 496.

<sup>4</sup> For the *tabulae ceratae*, see *C.I.L.* iv, Suppl. Pt. I. The first, no. 3340, is that of Felix. Tenney Frank discusses Jucundus in his *Econ. Hist.* 2nd ed. ch. xiv, p. 268; *C.I.L.* x, 891, *min. Aug.*

found a family of Caecilii Jucundi. His two sons, Quintus and Sextus, both bore their father's *cognomen*. Sextus, indeed, went further still, if we may trust the evidence of an amphora found in the house of Jucundus, and assumed the additional *cognomen* of Metellus, thus associating himself with no less a family than the Caecilii Metelli!<sup>1</sup> Another Pompeian who bore one of the Roman family *cognomina* was C. Vergilius Salinator, associated with the cult of Augustus in A.D. 23. Freedmen connected with the salt works at Ostia were called Salinatores, and it is natural to suppose that Vergilius owed his name to the similar works at Pompeii, though he may have been of more aristocratic origin. A Cn. Vergilius appears among the earlier candidates for the aedileship.<sup>2</sup> A doubtful case is presented by C. Laecanius [Succ]e]ssus, a candidate for a junior office in the later period. Five letters are apparently lost; otherwise it would be easy to emend to Bassus, and to connect the candidate with the distinguished family of the Laecanii Bassi, having the same praenomen, one of whom was consul in A.D. 64. They apparently came from Histria, where they had large estates, and amphorae with their stamp are widely distributed. According to Otto, the servile name Successus 'ad honestiores fere nunquam pervenit.'<sup>3</sup>

One more instance of the *noui homines* at Pompeii cannot be omitted, the rich and powerful family of the Popidii Ampliati. Of their servile origin there can be little doubt: Ampliatus is a name originally bestowed upon slaves, which 'in usu servorum mansit.'<sup>4</sup> The founder of the family may well have been the N. Popidius Amp(liatus) who appears among the *ministri Augusti*. Two Popidii Ampliati are found in the latest period—Numerius, who rebuilt the temple of Isis after the earthquake of A.D. 63, and Lucius, a candidate for the aedileship. Both names occur among the witnesses of the *apochae*, Numerius once and Lucius five times. Just as in the case of the Caecilii Jucundi, growing ambition rejected the first attempt at a hereditary *cognomen*. Numerius improved his position by marrying a Corelia Celsa (perhaps a member of the enterprising family who introduced a new variety of chestnut at Naples<sup>5</sup>), and their son was known as N. Popidius N. f. Celsinus. His career shows very plainly how the descendants of freedmen could effect an entrance into the ranks of nobility by means of their wealth; in return for his rebuilding of the temple he was enrolled gratuitously in the *ordo decurionum*.<sup>6</sup> One of the finest houses in Pompeii, the 'House of the Citharist,' seems to have been in the possession of the same family. Here, according to Della Corte, lived two L. Popidii, Secundus and Ampliatus, the former a popular candidate for the aedileship and

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 3433, 5788.

<sup>2</sup> Salinator: Schulze, *loc. cit.* p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, Suppl. 7014. Otto, 'Nomina propria hatina,' etc., in Fleckeisen's *Suppl.* xxiv, p. 637. For Le Laecanii Bassi, see P.-W. s.v.

<sup>4</sup> See Otto, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* xvii, 17 (26), §122.

<sup>6</sup> *C.I.L.* x, 921, N. Popidius Amp. 846-8, Ampliatus, Celsa and Celsinus.



duumvirate, the latter for the lower office only.<sup>1</sup> Both appear as producers of wine, and had evidently acquired the vineyards as well as the town-house of the true Popidii, from whom this wealth and splendour were presumably inherited. The decorations of the house seem inspired by the vine cultivation and the literary tastes of its original owners. It contained a very interesting series of portrait-busts, two of husband and wife in the atrium, and a third apparently representing their red-haired daughter. These are not aristocratic in type, and two other male busts of more dignified appearance, which had been relegated to a room over the stable, may possibly represent the true Popidii, who had had to make room for the upstarts. The relation of Secundus and Ampliatus to these persons and to each other is not clear. The former evidently derived his *cognomen* from his grandmother, Taedia (?) Secunda, who supported his candidature for the aedileship and triumphantly claimed to have secured his election. Much more mysterious is the name Augustianus, which is applied to him in several graffiti in the 'House of the Citharist.' Della Corte supposes that Secundus had been one of Nero's retinue of applauders, to whom the name was given. But the other Augustiani found at Pompeii have almost all servile names, and include women. A *collegium Concordiae Augustianorum* in *C.I.L.* vi, 8532, throws no light upon the meaning of the adjective, which is most frequently applied to *domus*. On the analogy of such names as Fructus Faustianus the *cognomen* should signify a former slave of the emperor; but Secundus is saved from this reproach by the possession of a grandmother! He is described with particular enthusiasm in the *programmata* as *egregius adulescens, uerecundus adulescens, iuuenis innocuae aetatis*.<sup>2</sup>

Two of the most important questions which can be asked concerning the nobility of Pompeii or of any Roman *municipium* are, how far the *ordo* became penetrated with servile blood and what was the effect on its quality. But our evidence does not admit of more than conjectural answers to either. The number of families at Pompeii which can be certainly traced to a servile ancestor is very small. An early example is afforded by the M. Artorius, candidate for the duumvirate, who must have been closely connected with 'M. Artorius M. l. Primus,' the architect of the larger theatre in the time of Augustus.<sup>3</sup> Other apparent instances break down on investigation, such as that of L. Staius Receptus, a supposed candidate for the duumvirate with a certainly servile *cognomen*. The only electoral notice supporting him is the work of his neighbour, the *scriptor* of such notices, Aemilius Celer, and this is probably only a personal compliment to a friend, or a professional pleasantry.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Della Corte, 361-2 and 383.

<sup>2</sup> *Not. d. Sc.* 1919, p. 237: Taedia. *C.I.L.* iv, 3380-83, Augustianus. Other Augustiani: 1330, Onesimus; 1379, 1385, Iucundus; 2413, Callistus;

1382-4, Aphrodite, Etias; 4754, Successa. *Laudationes*: 1012, 968, 720.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 68, etc.; x, 841.

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.L.* iv, 3775; Della Corte, 219.

Freedmen were numerous and important at Pompeii, as the *apochæ* and the list of *ministri Augusti*, besides the evidence of the sepulchral inscriptions, abundantly show. It is possible, therefore, that many of the most unimpeachable names among the magistrates and candidates conceal servile descent; but we have no evidence to make this probable. When the descendants of freedmen did enter the *ordo*, it is likely to have been through their success in trade more frequently than through adoption into noble families. Our evidence suggests that like intermarried with like, and that childless nobles chose as their adopted heirs persons of their own social type, who were probably kinsmen. The law did not countenance the adoption of freedmen, though it could be evaded.<sup>1</sup> By whatever means the blood of slaves entered the ruling class, it must have become progressively diluted, since the successful freedman might marry an *ingenua*, and his descendants would intermarry freely with the class of free and prosperous commoners. The 'new man' was thus easily absorbed by the *ordo*, bringing with him, perhaps, high business talents and familiarity with the traditions of the class into which he entered. Ancient slavery had one advantage, that it drew the social extremes nearer together; the relation between the freedman and his patron united high and low by a multiplicity of ties; and Pompeii gives us the impression of a sociable and even democratic little community, in which the different classes were intimately known to each other, and the rich decurion in his fine house united with the small shopkeeper at his door to announce their support of the same candidate for office.

*Novi homines* are always regarded as inferior by the aristocracies which they invade, and which would perish or deteriorate without the introduction of new blood. The inferiority of the servile element did not lie in its racial character; in so far as the slaves were of Greek or Celtic origin, at any rate, they came of stocks neither inferior to nor unduly different from the Italian. The serious objection to the admission of such men to the ruling class lay in the too often degrading conditions of ancient slavery, which might be supposed to leave a moral taint which would cling about the descendants of freedmen. There is, however, another side to these conditions. The *uerna* was regarded as a member of the family, and was often brought up as the playmate of his future master; the *familia* was his little world, and its concerns were his own. He shared in its worship, and may often have guarded its traditions and upheld its honour as jealously as the old family servant of Victorian times. Nor was the attitude of such a slave to 'Our Marcus' invariably cringing. The immortal figure of Trimalchio has probably distorted our conceptions of municipal society. Petronius, no doubt, has given us a life-like

<sup>1</sup> Roby, *Roman Private Law*, vol. i, book ii, ch. iii, p. 59.

picture of a certain social type in its most repulsive form ; but, if taken as a representation of the normal, it is a savage caricature. We should gain much from a more sympathetic study of the self-made man of antiquity, or better still from some general picture of upper class society in a town such as Pompeii from the hand of a contemporary Thackeray. It is true that Pompeian life, even apart from its grosser manifestations, gives us an impression of coarseness in the midst of elaborate culture ; but it is a coarseness characteristic of the age and of its literature. It is true also that greed and ostentation are manifest ; but these beset a commercial society in any period. Nor must *salve lucrum* and the painting in which Bacchus and Fortuna are represented as ruling the world<sup>1</sup> be taken as exhausting the Pompeian philosophy of life. Ethical *cognomina* are common at Pompeii, and the bestowal of such names was not always or wholly conventional. They include adjectives appropriate to the ideal magistrate or man of business, such as Fortis, Justus, Firmus, Severus, Verus, Certus, Probus ; and others which suggest a character the reverse of Trimalchio's, such as Modestus, Castus, Pudens, Verecundus, Simplex. One member of the *gens* Decidia has the curious *cognomen* Pauper ; did this merely class him among the ' new poor,' or hint at a Stoic austerity ? The name Priscus (like that of Sabinus ?) was doubtless meant to suggest the manly virtues of the good old times. In bestowing such names upon their children or slaves, the Pompeian gentry were perhaps recalling a moral ideal inherited from the distant past.<sup>2</sup> The disaster which overwhelmed Pompeii has preserved for us pathetic evidence of ancient *pietas*, not only in the tragic displays of family affection, but in the family worship, which was maintained until the end. Some of the fugitives carried with them, like Aeneas, their household gods ; and others offered even on that last day the customary sacrifice. In the ' Casa dei Marmi,' the house of Popidius Priscus, the remains of the final offering were found still lying upon the altar of the Genius and Lares.<sup>3</sup> Whatever sound elements remained in the municipal nobility were doubtless fostered by these family pieties, family affections and family ideals ; and such local and personal loyalties were carried into a wider world, and played their part in the effective defence and administration of the Empire.

<sup>1</sup> Della Corte, 401.

Marii, Popidii, Poppaei, Terentii and Vestorii.  
M. Decidius Pauper is a witness in the *apocbae*.

<sup>2</sup> The name Priscus occurs among the Holconii,

<sup>3</sup> Helbig, *Indices*, p. 475.