

The 2011 Field Season at I.1.1-10, Pompeii: Preliminary report on the excavations

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This article provides a preliminary report on the 2011 excavations undertaken by the University of Cincinnati's 'Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia'. This was the 7th season of excavations for the project at Pompeii, during which four trenches were excavated within four separate properties across insula I.1. The report focuses on the stratified sequences uncovered in each trench, and outlines the phases of activity and how some of these relate to the development of other parts of the buildings already excavated by the project throughout insula I.1, as well as to the results from our excavations on the other side of the via Stabiana at insula VIII.7. The earliest sequence of activities begins in the 4th century BCE, with major developments occurring in the second half of the 2nd century BCE (the establishment of the standing buildings), the Augustan period (the replacement of light-industrial spaces with retail), and the last decades of habitation (the recovery from the earthquake/s).

Introduction

The Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: *Porta Stabia* (PARP:PS) recently completed its seventh campaign of excavations during which four trenches were opened across the extent of I.1.1-10. This was the second season of excavations to be focused on *insula* I.1, following our excavation of three trenches there in 2010¹. Those excavations had recovered the early semblance of a phased sequence of developments for three of the four properties at I.1. Although preliminary – given that they were based on just three trenches – those results demonstrated and confirmed a similar pattern in urban development to that recognized from our five seasons of excavations across the *via Stabiana* at *insula* VIII.7². At this still very early stage of our study of I.1, and as we have seen across the *via Stabiana* at VIII.7, fish-salting and other light-industrial activities dominated the *insula* between the 2nd century BCE and the Augustan period (early 1st century CE), at which time the street-side rooms, especially, were converted more exclusively to retailing activities. By 79 CE, the principal activity for all four properties appears to have been based on hospitality. The aim of the 2011 field season was to add clarity to this phased sequence by building on the datasets through targeted excavations across all four of the properties (I.1.1/10; I.1.2; I.1.3-5; and I.1.6-9). More excavations are scheduled for other parts of each property as we continue to build a robust understanding of the development of a middle-class Pompeian community over time, with the particular goal of charting how those families responded to local, regional, and Mediterranean-wide currents in historic, economic, and cultural developments.

The project opened four trenches across I.1.1-10 in the 2011 field season (fig. 1). Apart from allotting one trench for each property, the location of each trench was targeted to build upon our understanding from the 2010 season of the chronological development of each property. Thus we continued to privilege either the frontages and/or the spaces that incorporated a property boundary; our excavations over the previous six seasons have demonstrated that such areas typically provide the most information on a property's structural developments and its various activities. Trench 53000 was opened in the room (Room 3) that constituted part of the southernmost boundary to the property at I.1.1/10 and thus to the *insula* itself; Trench 54000 was located in the street-side room (Room 6) of I.1.2, a property whose standing architectural delineation suggested that it had originally been a part of

¹ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK, and DICUS 2011.

² Publication of this research on VIII.7 includes: DEVORE and ELLIS 2005; 2008; ELLIS 2011b; ELLIS and DEVORE 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; POEHLER and ELLIS 2011; 2012.

For the online profile of the Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: *Porta Stabia*, see <http://www.uc.edu/pompeii/>.

PARP:PS 2011 Insula I.1



Fig. 1. Location of 2011 trenches (in blue) in I.1.1-10.

I.1.1/10; Trench 55000 was opened in the streetside room (Room 20) of I.1.3-5; and Trench 56000 was opened in the streetside room (Room 32) of I.1.6-9, which was also the northwesternmost part of the *insula*.

Along with the stratified excavations, the project continued several lines of integrated research. The careful collection and detailed analysis of the bio-archaeological record of VIII.7.1-15 and I.1.1-10 continued under a team led by Emily Holt (Michigan), while Mark Robinson (Oxford) continued his study of the paleosols of VIII.7.1-15 and I.1.1-10 to develop an understanding of the geological terrain of the area prior to, but also including, the earliest human presence³. Archer Martin (American Academy at Rome) led a team of ceramics specialists in the analysis of the finds from I.1, while Myles McCallum (St Mary's Halifax) continued the study of the finds from VIII.7. Eric Poehler (UMASS Amherst) directed our architectural survey of the entire zone in addition to his efforts at the PQP⁴. John Wallrodt continued the advancement of the digital infrastructure of the Project, concentrating on our data collection procedures and database⁵.

Trench 53000

Trench 53000 was opened within Room 3 of property 1.1.1/10 (fig. 2)⁶. The western two-thirds of the space was excavated down to a naturally deposited layer of Mercato ash. The research questions guiding this campaign evolved logically from the findings of the previous year's excavations, which showed that Room 2 was a later (Augustan period) addition to the original property, enclosing what had been an important public well from as early

³ ROBINSON 2011.

⁴ POEHLER and ELLIS 2011; 2012. On the architectural methodologies, see ELLIS, GREGORY, POEHLER, and COLE 2008.

⁵ These new digital methods in the incorporation of tablet computers (iPads) in the field, and indeed the philosophies behind them, are helping to revolutionize archaeological fieldwork.

For more information see: <http://paperlessarchaeology.wordpress.com/>.

⁶ Kevin Dicus (Michigan; now Case Western Reserve) supervised the excavations of Trench 53000

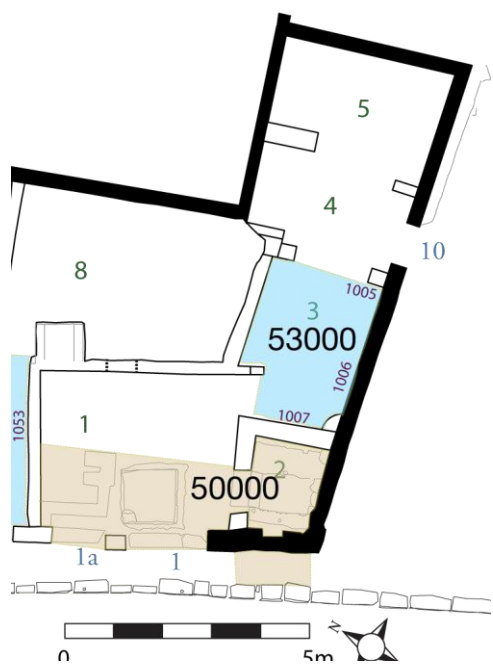


Fig. 2. Plan of Trench 53000.

top of the latest of the Phase 1 surfaces (Phase 1c). Its form was that of a 'T', oriented E-W (fig. 3). At the western edge, a small doorway gave access to the interior. The structure ended suddenly at the east, destroyed by later phases of activity; construction during Phase 6 erased any evidence of an eastern extension to the feature, while the Phase 4 construction of the southern wall (WF 1006) destroyed the structure's southern trajectory. At what is now the eastern extent of the preserved portion, large stones formed a squared shelf that might be identified as an altar. To the east of this, a large krater was set within a pit that had been cut into the Mercato ash.

Verification of the structure's sacred character came from the materials associated with it. The interior space was filled with fragments of tiles and pottery. Most of the pottery was coarseware and cookware, however some examples of fine-ware and Campanian ware were also recovered. Other and cylindrical vessel supports (used to separate vessels being fired in a kiln) of note included miniature votive cups and vessel supports (incense burners): within the krater, three vessel support and two votive cups were found; another five vessel supports and ten votive cups were scattered within the fill of the structure's interior. Furthermore, no less than eight votive cups and three vessel supports were recovered from contexts that postdated this sacred structure. These, however, should also be linked directly to the early structure: their disturbance and redeposition are easily attributable to the later construction projects (from Phase 6, below, but already mentioned above) that destroyed much of the structure itself.

The end of Phase 1 was marked by the destruction of the sacred area. The interior fill pointed to unintentional burning as the cause of the structure's collapse. Ash deposits were uncovered on the floor, and the terracotta fragments and the standing walls exhibited heavy burning. Rubble from the collapse appeared to remain where it fell; perhaps the sacred nature of the site precluded the obligation to clean it up, and the remains were covered. A final ritual enacted over the now-covered remains attests to the continuity of the site's sanctity: worshippers dug a pit into the fill and rubble to dedicate a burnt offering (fig. 4). We were able to recover among the



Fig. 3. Structural remains of the 'shrine'.

as the 2nd century BCE⁷. This discovery demonstrated that the southern extent of the property had undergone a significant change in the function of its space; the property's seeming acquisition of the public well in the Augustan period marked a transition in the use of public space just inside the *Porta Stabia*. The find of the well guided our decision to excavate further to the east (in Room 3) so as to better understand the public functions of those earliest phases in this area, and to chart the development of the property and its use of space.

Phase 1a, 1b, and 1c: First occupation (early to mid-3rd century BCE)

The first phase predated both the residential structures and the public well known from our 2010 excavations (see Phase 2, below). At this time the *Porta Stabia* was already a major point of entry for the city, and the function of this space in the first phase should be linked to the activities associated with the city gate. Three sub-phases have been noted through the identification of three hard-packed surfaces, the first of which (1.5cm thick) was laid down over the Mercato ash; the subsequent two surfaces (2-3cm thick) were set directly on top of the first as resurfacing events.

The most significant development to be recognized in this phase was the identification of what was apparently a sacred zone for the *Porta Stabia*. In the south of the trench, a small structure (maximum dimensions: 1.40m N-S x 2.24m E-W) was uncovered, built directly on

⁷ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 5-6; and ELLIS 2011b: 68-69.



Fig. 4. Votive pit dug into destruction debris and rubble that covers shrine.



Fig. 5. Phase 2 surface and cleared remains of the hearth (above), abutting debris and rubble of the remains of the shrine from phase 1 (below).

wood charcoal and ash a number of carbonized food items, including small round cakes, almonds, hazelnuts, walnuts, and chickpeas, as well as the bones of domestic fowl and small mammals. Along the northern edge of the pit, nine votive cups, all of the same style as those found within the structure, were recovered; thus in total, no less than 29 votive cups have been found in association with this feature⁸.

Phase 2: Construction of a hearth; construction of the public well and the house (2nd century BCE)

The 2nd century BCE saw major developments affecting this and the surrounding area. To the west, a large public well was constructed⁹. To the north, the house (I.1.1-2/10) that would eventually (see Phase 4) incorporate this space was also built at this time. In this early period this space was still open and accessible via the narrow public road that ran parallel to the city wall along the southern extent of *insulae* I.1 and I.5. The space also communicated directly with the public well. Thus, two distinct types of space defined the area at this time: the enclosed residence to the north and an open public space to the south.

The hard-packed surface of this phase was elevated approximately 20cm higher than the final surface of Phase 1c. Later construction projects have destroyed most of it; the construction trench for the western wall (WF 1007; Phase 4) removed its western extent and a later construction event (Phase 6) removed its eastern extent. Only a small sample remained, found in the western part of the trench. It ran 1.05m N-S, tapering toward the south (1.1m wide at the northern end, 0.46m at the southern end). The surface abutted the wall of the recently constructed house at the north, directly below what would become the doorway when this area was incorporated as an interior space of the house (Phase 4). Thus we can conclude that this was the first exterior surface associated with the construction of the house. We can also logically assume, although the physical evidence is missing, that it continued west up to the public well. The southern extent of the surface reveals a curious physical relationship with the ruins of the shrine from the previous phase. The higher elevation of the new surface was not enough to overlie completely the standing remains of the structure and the fill within it (fig. 5). Rather than remove any of the early materials and level the area for the later surface, workers seem to have laid this newer surface down around the remains, leaving the fill of the shrine to act now as the *de facto* surface at this spot. Perhaps this can be explained by the continued sanctity of the site in that the builders were unwilling to destroy the remainder of the structure and instead laid the surface around it.

A hearth (0.95m N-S x 0.60m E-W) was built into the hard-packed surface, the remains of which consisted of large terracotta tiles that were set vertically into the surface in a 'U' shape open on the east side (fig. 6). Within the hearth a substantial deposit of wood ash attested to the large amount of burning that occurred within it.

⁸ For more on ritual pits of this type, see ROBINSON 2002 and 2005.

⁹ See Phase 2 of Trench 50000 in ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 3-4.



Fig. 6. Remnants of the hearth with ash in situ and Phase 3 soak-away above.

Phase 3: Creation of a new surface associated with the public well

In the third phase a new surface was laid directly on top of the surface of the previous phase, thick enough (circa. 25cm) to cover completely the hearth as well as the shrine to the south. It was poorly preserved; its top elevation had been scraped away during later construction, and it was cut away at the east and west. Like the earlier surface, the eastern cut was due to construction activity (Phase 6) and the western cut was due to the construction trench dug to install the later wall to the west (WF 1007, Phase 4). To the north it abutted the southern perimeter wall of the house.

The construction technique for this surface, as well as the two soak-aways that were found set into it, indicate something of its function in the eastern approach to the public well (fig. 7). It was of a very rough and porous consistency, being made primarily of terracotta fragments. This may have helped in the drainage of spilled water from the well. The two soak-aways also suggest the presence of large quantities of water. The upper halves of both fixtures were sheared off during a later phase (Phase 4), but their placement still provides information regarding their function. One was located against the northern wall, below the phase 4 doorway connecting Rooms 1 and 3, and was set at a 45-degree angle bearing south so that the opening faced away from the wall itself. The second soak-away was found in the centre of the surface, far from any wall. Environmental analyses of the fills within the soak-aways detected mammal bones, fish bones and scales, bird eggshells, and marine shells.

At this time, then, the water was apparently drawn from the well on both the east and west sides. Vertical grooves along the interiors of the well, made by ropes hauling out the heavy buckets, indicate that traffic was much greater on the western side¹⁰. It is possible that the eastern side, with its rough terracotta surface and soak-aways, was intended for functions other than simply the collection of water. Vessel cleaning and waste disposal could be an option, as the high concentration of faunal remains suggests.

Phase 4: Enclosure of the space and access to the house (late 1st century BCE)

The area of Trench 53000 was entirely enclosed for the first time and incorporated into the residential structure (I.1.1/10) to the north during Phase 4; 21 coins recovered from the associated strata demonstrate that this certainly happened after 80 BCE and very likely in the late 1st century BCE¹¹. To privatize the space the western wall (WF 1007) and the southern wall (WF 1006) were erected, thus cutting off access to the eastern side of the public well and separating the space from the southern minor road that ran east along the fortification wall from the *via Stabiana*. A doorway that provided access to this area from Room 1 of I.1.1/10 was opened up in the northwest

¹⁰ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 3-4.

¹¹ All of the coins from the project's excavations are under the study of Giacomo Pardini (Salerno).



Fig. 7. The two soak-aways associated with the Phase 3 surface, set over and into the Phase 2 hearth.

corner of the new room (Room 3).

The enclosure of Room 3 in this phase likely relates to the restructuring of the property – and indeed much of the *insula* – during the later 1st century BCE¹². It was at this time that the fish-salting activities in Room 1 were abandoned and the property extended southward to enclose the once-public space. Privatizing the space also cut off this area from the well to the west; the well itself, however, remained accessible, for a short time, on its western and southern sides to pedestrian traffic on the *via Stabiana*; it is noteworthy that the wear marks caused by the ropes rubbing along the sides of the well when lifting the water were more numerous and worn far more deeply on the western side of the well than on the eastern¹³. The well would remain an important public source for water until at least the early 1st century CE¹⁴.

A hard-packed surface was associated with this phase in Room 3. It abutted the new walls to the south and west (WFs 1006 and 1007), as well as the threshold of the new doorway in the north wall. Later construction activity associated with the final phase (Phase 6) of occupation removed the entire surface at the east. A drainage system was uncovered beneath the surface in the southwest corner of the room. This consisted of a stone-lined channel that tapered as it descended into the ground (fig. 8). One stone of particular note was a re-used *cippus*, discovered in the channel's lowest course. Although once of patent spatial and symbolic value, very little can be said about that value because of its removal from its original context.

No structural features were found associated with the surface of this phase, giving the impression that the room in its earliest incarnation was a storage and/or circulation space, perhaps with moveable objects but no permanent fixtures. Even so, the events of this phase were of great relevance to the property at I.1.1-2, which at an (indeterminably, but immediately preceding) time had embarked upon a major development in the use of space (ie. the fish-salting activities witnessed in Phase 4 of Trench 50000¹⁵ and Phase 5 of Trench 54000, below). It is noteworthy that important structural changes were impacting the central property (I.1.3-5) and its sidewalk (and by proxy, the street itself) at about this time (see Phase 4 of Trench 51000¹⁶ and Phase 4a of Trench 55000, below).

Phase 5: Penultimate flooring

Activity from the following phase (Phase 6) disturbed much of the upper elevations of the site, leaving little behind of this penultimate phase. In areas where there were fewer disturbances – mainly along the sides and in the corners of the room – we were able to detect remnants of an *opus signinum* surface. This surface had raised the elevation of the room by 10cm, and the threshold of the northern doorway was also raised to accommodate this. This phase corresponds to the Augustan-period activities in Rooms 1 and 2 identified during the 2010 excavations (Phase 6 of Trench 50000); one of the direct connections was the same *opus signinum* surface¹⁷.

Phase 6: Installation of a latrine and final *opus signinum* flooring, construction of new downpipe (mid-1st century CE)

In the mid-1st century CE the space underwent significant structural developments. A large construction trench (3.04m N-S x 2.3m E-W) extended over nearly the entire eastern half of the room. This removed all of the underlying strata of the previous phases. Material culture from the previous phases was found mixed within the fill of the pit, notably two votive cups and one vessel supports show that the trench cut the early shrine (Phase 1). These



Fig. 8. Stone-lined drainage pit in southwest corner of the room.

¹² See Phase 5 of Trench 50000 in ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK, and DICUS 2011: 5. On the Pompeian salted fish industry, see Ellis 2011b.

¹³ See ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 3-4, fig. 6.

¹⁴ On the privatizing of the well in the early 1st century CE, see ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 6; Ellis 2011b: 68-69.

¹⁵ See ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 4-5.

¹⁶ See ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 9-10.

¹⁷ See ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 5-6.



Fig. 9. The interface of the toilet and the Phase 1 shrine. Note that the construction of the toilet cut through the eastern extent of the shrine.

and set against the southern wall (WF 1006) and the brick wall segment at the east (WF 1005). A rectangular opening (1m E-W x 0.5m N-S) was left at the top of the mortar pour. Here, along the interior sides of the mortar, impressions of wooden planks were still visible. These planks would have crossed the opening to create the foundation for a wooden seat. Pumice filled nearly 2m of the toilet's depth, indicating that it was still open and in use at the time of the 79 CE eruption. As the toilet was located directly to the east of the Phase 1 shrine, this late activity explains why the eastern half of the shrine is now missing – the eastern edge of the crater, in which early votive offerings were found, had been cut into by this construction.

The latrine was set within a small enclosure for privacy. A wall foundation consisting of a large Sarno block was found to the north of the latrine's opening. It is possible that a wooden partition was built on top of this, which would explain why we have no remains of the wall above the foundation. About 50cm to the west of this block, a door-post was found *in situ*. It appears, then, that the entrance to the latrine was in this northern wall, with the door swinging out and closing against the Sarno block. A minor wall foundation was also detected to the west of the latrine's opening, starting at the door-post and running south against the southern wall (WF 1006).

While a 10cm thick mortar flooring was found within the small space surrounding the opening (fig. 10), the flooring for the remainder of the room was of *opus signinum* (12cm thick) during this phase. Modern disturbance erased remains of the surface over the majority of the trench, with the exception of the corners where traces were found lipping up against the walls. Along the western edge of the room, a larger strip of the *opus signinum* flooring (0.7m E-W x 1.6m N-S) was found just north of the enclosed latrine, laid on top of the fill of the construction trench.

Against the southwest corner of the room a new downpipe was constructed at this time. A terracotta conduit was set within an *opus incertum* casing that was mortared at the join of the southern and western walls (WFs 1006 and 1007). It was erected directly above the stone drainage pit from Phase 4; however, this was no longer the channel to which water was directed. At the bottom of the downpipe, a hole was punched through the southern wall (WF 1006) to draw the water and waste from the second floor into an exterior drain that ran east against the southern property wall toward the *via Stabiana*.

It is likely that much of this late work was the consequence of repairs following the earthquake damage of the early 60s CE; certainly the datable finds point to this time, as much as the wholesale repairs themselves to both



Fig. 10. Toilet opening with surrounding *opus signinum* flooring and remnants of the wall that enclosed the toilet.

assemblages help to reconstruct the formation process of the pit and its fill: the soil that had been removed was clearly kept nearby and reused to fill the hole after the completion of the construction work.

The trench was dug for the construction of a latrine in the southeast corner of the room; this was sunk down to the surface of Phase 1c, which provided a level and secure foundation for the toilet's superstructure (fig. 9). The trench was dug farther down at the corner of the room, cutting through the bedrock nearly 1m in order to create a cesspit. The superstructure was made with wooden shuttering over which mortar was poured. The result is similar to that of a half dome, rising about 1.1m

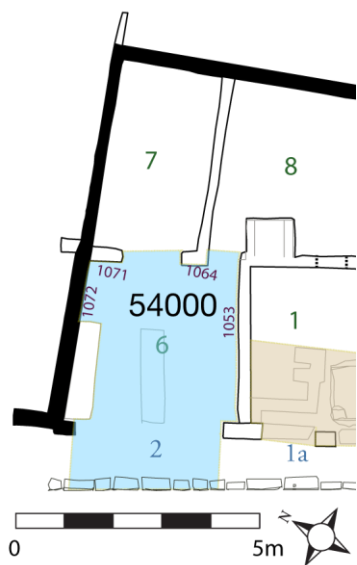


Fig. 11. Plan of Trench 54000.

the architecture and drainage¹⁸. The replacement of a downpipe, now running down the exterior of a wall as opposed to within it, suggests more urgent construction and repair than was normal.

TRENCH 54000

Trench 54000 comprised the entire front room (Room 6) inside doorway 2 of property I.1.1-2/10 (fig. 11)¹⁹. Although I.1.2 clearly was separate from I.1.1/10 by 79 CE, the two properties were originally a single building with their separation being a very late development (see Phase 8, below); as such, the two properties are often referred to as one. Given that the division of the two properties was detectable only in the standing architecture, the aims of our 2011 field season were to determine the phased development for Room 6 and to stratigraphically connect these phases to the known developments in I.1.1/10 (excavated in Trench 50000 in the 2010 season and Trench 53000 in 2011)²⁰. Beyond untangling the structural and social developments and relationships between the two properties, further aims included developing a clearer understanding of the commercial activities, detectable in at least its final phase by the presence of a masonry bar counter, and determining whether these may have developed in similar or contrasting ways to other retail outlets in this neighbourhood²¹. Additionally, any information preceding the built environment – which dates only from the mid 2nd century BCE in this area – would prove invaluable for charting the earliest topographic developments at Pompeii; the nearby Trench 51000 from our 2010 field season uncovered 4th century BCE foundations and road surfaces²², which we expected to encounter within the bounds of Trench 54000.

Phase 1: Early road or sidewalk surface

As with the intentional deposition seen in Phase 1 of Trench 51000²³ and Phase 1 of Trench 55000 (see below), the first phase in Trench 54000 was represented by a terracing fill deposited throughout the area, presumably to level out the extant paleosols; this leveling seems to have been mostly limited to the central region of the (later) *insula*, its northern limit being uncovered within Trench 55000. Explored in three different window trenches, in all instances this fill came down upon the Mercato ash layer that is prevalent in the area. Although this terracing fill was devoid of artefacts, the recovery of it elsewhere with associated datable materials places this event somewhere in the 4th century BCE²⁴. Overlying this fill layer was a mottled, hard-packed earthen surface with visible lapilli inclusions (fig. 12). Variably interpreted as an early thoroughfare (road) or sidewalk surface, this type of material was also seen, in similar forms, in other areas of the *insula* to the south in Phase 1 of Trench 50000 and to the north in Phase 1 of Trench 51000, Phase 1 of Trench 55000, Phase 2 of Trench 52000, and Phase 2 of Trench 56000²⁵.



Fig. 12. The Phase 1 surface to the left, overlain by the Phase 2 cobblestone surface (at right).

¹⁸ For more on earthquake damage in the properties excavated by PARP: PS, see DEVORE and ELLIS 2008: 4; ELLIS and DEVORE 2009: 5, 17; 2010: 8, 18.

¹⁹ Gina Tibbott (Temple) supervised the excavations of Trench 54000.

²⁰ See ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011.

²¹ See, especially, ELLIS 2011b.

²² See ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 3, 7, 12.

²³ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 7.

²⁴ Found in Phase 1 of all trenches. ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 3, 7.

²⁵ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 3, 7, 11.

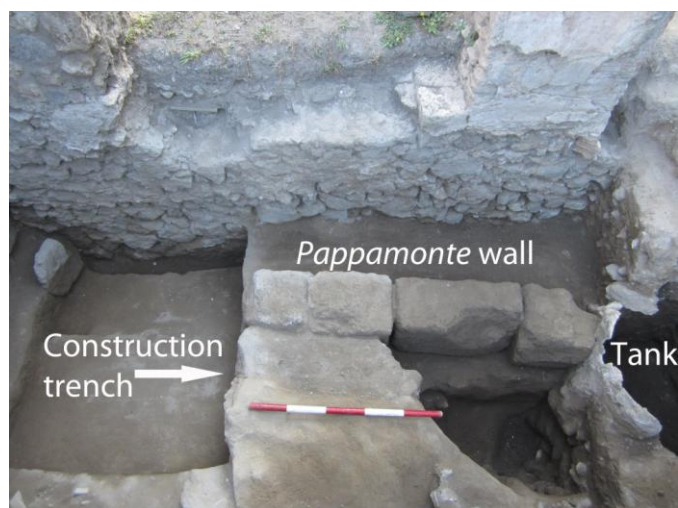


Fig. 13. Foundations for the Phase 2 pappamonte wall. Note also the partial, circular remains of the Phase 3 tank, at right.

Phase 2: Building with pappamonte foundations

In the northeast of the trench, the foundations of a pappamonte wall were recovered (fig. 13). Extending about 2m, and of three distinguishable blocks (each measuring approximately 40cm high, 36cm wide, and 75cm long; the third block was cut short by later activities), this foundation course represents one of the better examples of 4th century BCE architecture that has ever been found in this area of Pompeii²⁶. These foundations were laid within a construction trench that was cut running N-S into the road or sidewalk surface from Phase 1. A second, but mostly lost, section of pappamonte foundations was uncovered just to the north of the first, but little more can be known of its alignment or trajectory due to its poorly preserved state.

The regularity in the construction of these pappamonte foundations is worth detailing. The regularly-sized blocks (approx. 36cm x 40cm x 75cm) were laid into a neatly cut construction trench with surprisingly straight sides and a flat base (fig. 14). Rather than being surrounded by fill on all sides, the blocks occupied approximately one half of the construction trench, braced against the cut's eastern edge, with loose packing material filling just along the western side of the foundations. This fill contained many off-cut chips of pappamonte, as well as a handful of artefacts, all of which dated to the 4th century BCE or earlier.

The southern foundation yields good insights into the earliest structural history for this area, and naturally prompts still more questions. Its location and relationship to the road surface, as well as the fact that no other early architecture has been found further west (and thus closer to the, albeit later, *via Stabiana*) suggests it may have served as the street-side façade wall of a building. The alignment and location of the façade is thus of considerable significance for delineating a 4th century BCE urban topography for this area of Pompeii, and one that is of a different alignment to the more monumentalized street-front system of the 2nd century BCE; this earlier street-frontage is at least 3-4m further east and on a more true-north alignment than the more regularly NW-SE walls of the later buildings. This seems to support the idea suggested in an earlier report that the street system originally had two separate thoroughfares running up each side of a central, seasonal stream that would later become paved as the *via Stabiana*²⁷. This is a topic we hope to shed more light on from our excavations in the future.

In addition to the pappamonte foundations, a newer (road/sidewalk?) surface was laid over the first in Phase 2. It was represented by a flat, hard-packed earthen surface that was sealed by tightly arranged rounded river (cobble) stones of about 7cm in width (see fig. 12). This surface was recovered in just one small sondage in the south portion of Trench 54000, but its construction directly on top of the Phase 1 surface and its destruction by the



Fig. 14. Detail, in cross-section, of the construction trench for the pappamonte wall and its construction fill (at right).

²⁶ On pappamonte foundations uncovered throughout Pompeii see, especially, ESPOSITO, KASTENMEIER and IMPERATORE 2011; and HOLAPPA and VIITANEN 2011.

²⁷ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 16.



Fig. 15. The remains of the Phase 3 circular tank, viewed from above. Note how the architecture from Phase 4, at left, cuts through part of the tank.

construction of a tank in Phase 3 place it comfortably within the confines of this particular phase. Such surfaces have been recovered elsewhere in Pompeii, and typically date to the 4th-2nd centuries BCE²⁸.

Phase 3: Reorganisation of space

Two tanks of varying dimensions, and perhaps functions, were installed during this phase. As both were heavily damaged by later events, it was impossible to determine which tank was built before the other, or how they might have co-existed; no connecting surface survived between them. Either way, each feature demonstrates a profound change to the organization of space in this phase, as each seemingly ignored the property delineation of Phase 2; one tank was built into the (now defunct) *pappamonte* wall, the other to the west of it – where the potential road had been – and thus eliminated the original division between thoroughfare and building. Whatever

their function, their use was limited to this phase only.

The more western of the tanks was a plaster-lined, rectangular structure. The installation of foundations in the following phase (Phase 4) destroyed the structure's 'front' wall running NW-SE, while activities from Phase 5 apparently cut into the tank's northern wall; thus all of its original dimensions are lost. Even so, its construction is telling. The walls of the tank were formed simply by the application of plaster against the edge of the cut made to install it. A clay-like deposit was recovered from the small, remaining section of tank floor; otherwise, little can be said of its purpose.

The more eastern tank is potentially more interesting, if only because of its location (fig. 15; see also fig. 13). As with the first, however, little can be described of its morphology; the events of Phase 4 having destroyed much of this structure as well. It was at least differently shaped from the first tank, much more rounded and potentially entirely circular. It therefore has some obvious similarities to the shapes of typical well structures, but could just as equally have served as a waste pit. Our inability to reach the bottom of the tank (issues of safety limited our excavation of it to about 1m in depth) prevented a more certain identification, and its fill was associated with the leveling of the space for construction events in the following phase. What is significant about the tank is that its construction cut through the *pappamonte* foundations of Phase 2, which required a certain effort. While we cannot know the reasons for placing the tank in this specific location, the fact that it cut through a wall opens questions as to whether that wall was still (partly, or otherwise) standing, or whether it had been dismantled/destroyed – and ultimately buried – long enough for its existence to be unknown when this feature from Phase 3 was constructed. If the latter scenario were the case, then it may point toward a period of hiatus that has generally been recognized for the 3rd century BCE in both *insulae* VIII.7 and I.1; in this case, however, and as with several others, the paucity of evidence makes the cause and precise chronology of the hiatus difficult to ascertain.

Phase 4: Standing architecture and evidence of terracing (2nd century BCE)

Phase 4 witnessed the creation of all of the standing architecture for Room 6 and of the property itself (see Phase 2 of Trench 50000²⁹ and Phase 2 of 53000, above, for the related construction across the entire property); all of these walls in Trench 54000, at least, shared the same type of foundation construction (see below). While these walls would be altered in subsequent phases, the overall shape of space – including a wide entrance from the street – remained the same throughout the subsequent phases. The creation of this space was first achieved by leveling and terracing the area, which destroyed much of the Phase 3 remains. The leveling fill raised the floor surface – which was still of beaten earth – by roughly 30cm. This material – which contained many datable elements that point to the event occurring in the 2nd century BCE – appears to have been retained by a street-side wall to separate (and terrace) the space from the street; a similar circumstance was recognized further south along the frontage of the

²⁸ A similar cobblestone surface, likely contemporary, was seen across the street in Phase 1 of Trench 29000 in *insula* VII.7.11; see ELLIS and DEVORE 2010: 16. See also ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 3.

²⁹ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 3-4.

property, in our excavations in 2010 of Trench 50000. It was into this terracing and leveling fill that the walls were constructed; the construction trenches were not only cut into this fill, but the nature of that fill conditioned the somewhat unusual (for this neighbourhood) architectural foundations. Once the construction trenches were laid out, a slurry containing pieces of terracotta and mortar was poured to create a solid foundation for the first course of large Sarno stones used to found the walls³⁰.

Several features were installed either at this point or shortly thereafter. In the north of the room, a large Sarno stone was installed to brace a large, flat-bottomed vessel that had been partially sunken into the floor. The Sarno stone may have served as a work surface for whatever use was given to the vessel; much of the feature was destroyed, however, by the later construction of a bar counter (see Phase 6). A heavily damaged soak-away, fashioned out of a single repurposed amphora, was to the southeast of the vessel and work surface. It seems apparent that these features operated in conjunction with each other.

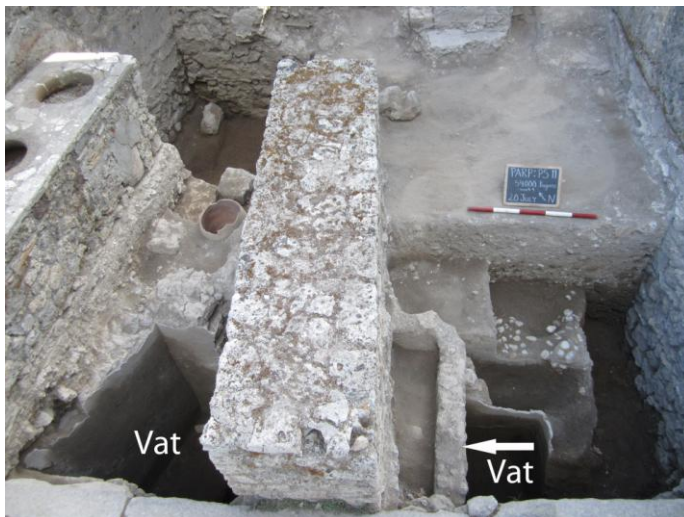


Fig. 16. Fish-salting vat in the foreground, beneath the later (Phase 7) counter.

Phase 5: Introduction of the fish-salting industry

A major renovation to the space occurred in Phase 5. A leveling fill, approximately 20cm in depth, raised the floor. During this process, four coins – the latest being an Augustan-period As – were placed on the very bottom of the Phase 4 storage vessel, perhaps deliberately as some kind of ritualistic measure(?); their arrangement suggests intentionality. Just inside the threshold from the street a large, well-built subterranean vat was constructed into this new sequence (fig. 16); it recalled the several other fish-salting vats (Lat. *cetariae*) of this neighbourhood³¹. It is noteworthy that this vat was most likely in operation at the same time as the vat uncovered in the neighbouring room to the south (while I.1.1/10 and I.1.2 were still a single property)³²; both vats were destroyed by the subsequent phase in each trench (Phase 5 in Trench 50000 and Phase 6 in Trench 54000). This vat destroyed much of the previous archaeological sequences in this western side of the trench. The flat-bottomed storage vessel of the previous phase, for example, was filled in with large rubble and sealed with the plaster that made up the vat's walls.

The installation of the vat very likely signaled a new use of space: salted fish production. This particular vat, however, was remarkable for its size. Measuring 2.4m long on its western edge, 1m wide, and with a minimum depth of 1.6m, its volume (min. 3.87m³) is more than double the average size of 1.76m³ for the fish-salting vats of the neighbourhood³³. In terms of construction, the western (street-side) wall of the vat was braced directly against the Phase 4 retaining wall installed along the property's frontage; the vat in Trench 50000 was equally constructed against the remains of pre-existing walls³⁴. The construction of the rest of the vat was less opportunistic, consisting of densely-mortared stones and large, reused pieces of terracotta. The structure was then faced with a very hard plaster. The vat's footprint, too, is worth noting; while such structures are often rectangular in shape, this one was more of a trapezoid due to the longer west wall being joined with the shorter east wall by an angled northwest wall.

Phase 6: Abandonment of the fish-salting activities

The vat would ultimately be partly destroyed and filled with debris for the activities associated with Phase 6. Such an event is common among all of the fish-salting vats. But for most of the others, however, the debris appears to have filled a completely empty – and likely cleaned-out – vat. In this case, that same kind of leveling debris overlaid a thin (c. 2cm), silty deposit over the base of the vat. Within this leveling layer was uncovered a variety of

³⁰ A similar construction style is noted for the creation of the façade for I.1.3-5 – see Phase 3a of Trench 55000, below; and for the northern wall of room 32 at entrance I.1.9 – see Phase 9 of Trench 56000, below. Other examples are known across VIII.7 and I.1 (if not referred to specifically in publication), for example: Phase 2 of Trench 51000 in I.1.3-5; and Phases 4 and 5 of Trench 28000 in VIII.7.14-15.

³¹ ELLIS 2011b.

³² For the vat at I.1.1/10, see Phase 4 in Trench 50000: ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 4-5; ELLIS 2011b: 61-67.

³³ On the average size of fish-salting vats at Pompeii, see ELLIS 2011b: 66.

³⁴ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 5.



Fig. 17. The two I-shaped counters (reconstructed in 1986).



Fig. 18. The repagulum – door-stop – set within the Phase 7 floor surface. Note also the niche built within the brick quoin (WF 1064) at rear.

artefacts, including coins, glass beads, a bronze make-up spatula, and a lead amphora-shaped weight. It of course cannot be known with certainty if this assemblage was part of the leveling debris, or if they were items that had collected over time prior to that event; the question here lies in whether these artefacts were deposited as part of the use-phase or during its in-filling, or in the time between its abandonment and its in-filling. Either way, they are unusual in this context.

The in-filling of the vat served to also raise the level of the floor once more. A new and solid mortar floor – averaging 8-10cm thick – now covered the space. A shallow sluice was built into it, leading to a drainage hole along the property's southern boundary, disappearing into WF 1053. Our preliminary analysis of the deposits within this drainage feature revealed minimal counts of mammal, fish, and bird bone fragments; the overall quantities point toward non-industrial waste. Two square post-holes were also sunk into the floor, each measuring about 10cm x 10cm, and a large, flat stone was placed into a purposely cut void. Together, these features suggest some sort of brace for a support beam, although the specific structure and dimensions of such a system are difficult to reconstruct.

While little else can be said of this phase within this trench itself, it does, however, connect to the sweeping changes that have been registered across *insulae* I.1 and VIII.7: namely the abandonment of the fish-salting activities, which typically were replaced by retail activities in this neighbourhood during the Augustan period³⁵.

Phase 7: Construction of the shop counter/s

A yet more distinct change toward retail space for this room becomes apparent in Phase 7 by the construction of two masonry counters (figs 16-17). In the first instance a new mortar floor was laid over the last. Although this new floor was only visible in small fragments, this was enough to demonstrate that the replacement surface was of a seemingly poorer quality than the preceding surface. About 5cm of fill was covered with a few cm of mortar, and the counters were built directly on top of this new surface. The two structures were I-shaped, which is itself unusual (see Phase 11 of Trench 56000, below, which also had an I-shaped counter)³⁶. One ran parallel against the northern wall (WF 1072), measuring 0.92m wide x 2.97m long with a height of 0.82m. The other was almost parallel to the first (0.7m wide x 2.83m long x 0.76m high), providing a 1.4m gap in between each at the street-side end, and a 1.1m gap at the eastern (interior) end; it is possible that some kind of wooden partition was built between each along the front of the property to resemble the more common U-shaped counter, but this cannot be known. Three large ceramic vessels were built into the northern arm³⁷. Also built into the floor at this time was a *repagulum* (door stop) behind the swinging 'night door' (fig. 18)³⁸.

³⁵ ELLIS 2011b: 76-84.

³⁶ On the various types of counters, see ELLIS 2005: 43-46; and ELLIS 2008.

³⁷ ELLIS 2005: 212-213.

³⁸ See ELLIS 2011c on 'night doors' in Roman commercial architecture.

Some architectural modifications can be registered at this time. The doorway from Room 6 into Room 7 (between WFs 1064 and 1071) was widened by approximately 20cm, based on an examination of the foundations that ran through the threshold; this was achieved by dismantling the original wall and replacing it with the brick pillar with inset niche that is still visible (see fig. 18). This widening of the doorway might have been necessitated by the construction of the counters, which now dominated much of Room 6. Of special importance in this phase was the architectural change in the southern wall (WF 1053). This wall had contained, from as early as its construction in Phase 4, a doorway from Room 6 into Room 1 to the south. That communication and access between the two spaces was reorganized now with a blocking of this doorway at the eastern end of the wall and a (probably) simultaneous opening of a (short-lived) doorway at the western end of the wall and a (probably) simultaneous opening of a (short-lived) doorway at the western end (see Phase 8, below) (fig. 19).

Phase 8: Property division and renovation (early 1st century CE)

It was in this final phase that one of the more significant structural and social developments occurred. This was the blocking of the western doorway in the southern wall (WF 1053; see fig. 19). This was a major change, for it effectively caused the division of one building into the two separate properties (I.1.1/10 and I.1.2) that remained until 79 CE. A bar counter was built against the southern side of the blocked doorway, in Room 1 of the newly separated property at I.1.1 (see Phase 6 of Trench 50000)³⁹. It is noteworthy that a food and drink outlet was installed in that newly separated property, given that one had been in existence for at least one phase prior in Room 6.

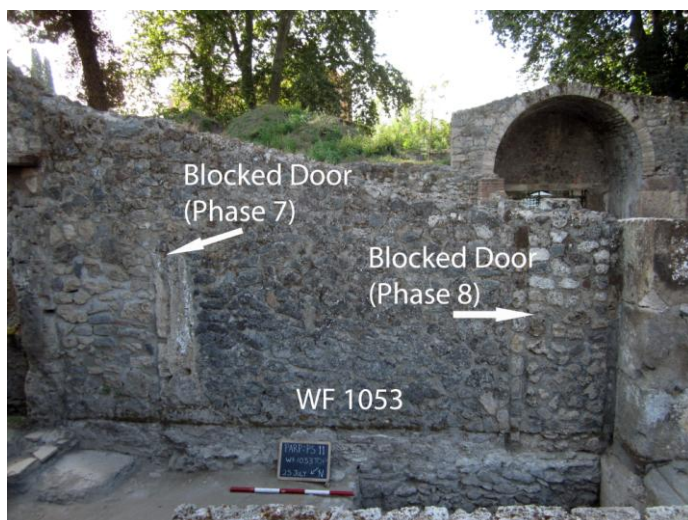


Fig. 19. Partition wall (WF 1053) between Rooms 1 and 6, with two blocked doorways; that on the left was blocked in Phase 7, the other on the right was probably opened in this phase and then blocked in Phase 8.

These changes brought about some renovation in Room 6 itself. A new layer of plaster was applied to the walls, itself lipping over – and thus confirming the stratified sequence of – the counter from Phase 7 that ran against the northern wall (WF 1072). While little else can be said of this latest wall-plastering event, at least some of it was painted red. In addition, the brick niche that separates Room 6 from Rooms 7 and 8 was further modified. Its northern face was cut back to further widen the entrance to Room 7. Nothing of the floor surface associated with this final phase survived.

Trench 55000

Trench 55000 was excavated in the street-side room (Room 20) of property I.1.3-5, as well as in the sidewalk of the *via Stabiana* immediately west of it (fig. 20)⁴⁰. Our research objectives were to continue exploring the development and use of this, the central and largest property of the *insula*, while re-examining its structural (and social) relationship to the neighbouring property at I.1.6-9, building

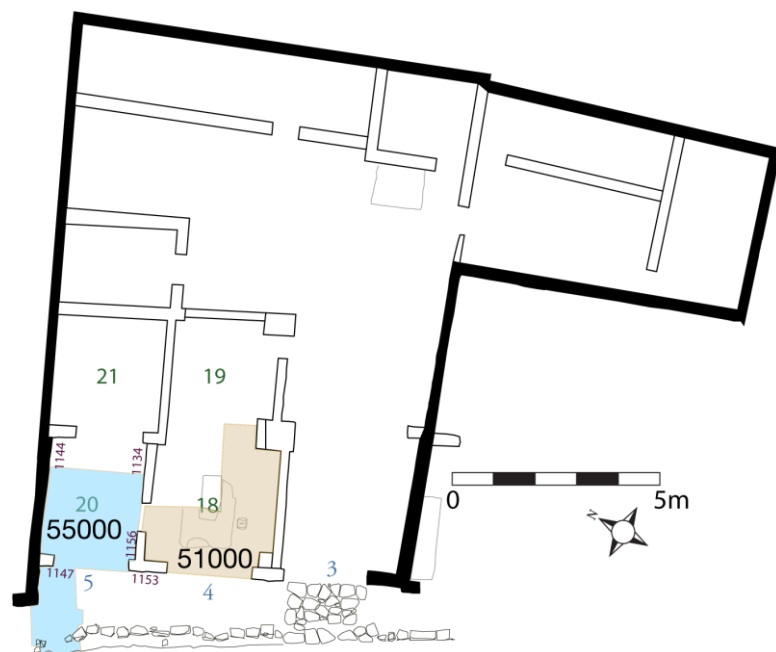


Fig. 20. Plan of Trench 55000.

³⁹ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 5.

⁴⁰ Allison Emmerson (Cincinnati) supervised the excavations of Trench 55000.



Fig. 21. The earliest surface in Trench 55000 (cut by later pits from Phases 4a and 5a).

from the findings of Trench 52000, which was excavated in 2010 on the northern side of the wall separating these two properties⁴¹. The trench was excavated down to the prehistoric volcanic deposits observed previously both in *insula* VIII.7 as well as in I.1. Here, natural deposits came from two phases of volcanic activity. The earliest layer encountered was grey lava with many white inclusions, the first 20-30cm of which was quite friable (the so called 'lava crust'), before the lava turned extremely hard. It was likely deposited by a Late Pleistocene (ca. 12000 BP) eruption of the Pompeii volcano. This was overlain by yellow sandy silt with white lapilli inclusions (the Mercato ash), probably deposited by an eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in the Mesolithic period (ca. 7070-6770 BCE)⁴². Both deposits inclined steeply from north to south.

Phase 1: Earliest road and first building

The earliest discernible human activity in Trench 55000 came with the construction of a surface and a building. The surface was laid directly onto the natural yellow sandy silt in the north side of the trench, but on 20-30cm of terracing fill in the south (fig. 21). The fill lessened the steep inclination of the natural deposits, but the surface maintained a gradual slope downwards from north to south. The surface itself was encountered both in (what would become) Room 20 and under the (later) sidewalk outside. It was constructed of extremely hard-packed earth, and topped by a thin, fragile deposit of water-lain grey sand and grit, very similar to the modern run-off found on the 79 CE paving of the *via Stabiana*⁴³. The surface seems to have been a continuation of that found previously in Trenches 50000 Phase 1, 51000 Phase 1, and 52000 Phase 2⁴⁴, as well as that uncovered this season in Phase 1 of Trench 54000, and likely represents a street or sidewalk running through the area, analogous to the later *via Stabiana*. A black gloss bowl found in the terracing fill under the contiguous surface in Trench 51000, opened in Room 18 immediately to the south during the 2010 field season, suggests a 4th century BCE date for the surface⁴⁵.



Fig. 22. The remains of a collapsed wall and/or its foundation (in pappamonte).

To the east of the surface, in the southeast corner of the trench, were found the remains of a collapsed wall or the foundation course for a wall, constructed of *pappamonte*, tuff, lava stone, and Sarno limestone (fig. 22). It sat within and above the terracing associated with

the surface, with no recognizable construction trench. It was generally aligned with the course of *pappamonte* stones found in Phase 2 of Trench 54000, and likely represents the façade line of the buildings in use with the early surfaces. Immediately below the feature was found an intact black gloss votive bowl, tentatively dated

⁴¹ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 11-16.

⁴² ROBINSON 2011: 20. Cf. ELLIS and DEVORE 2010: 2, 5; ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 2, 7.

⁴³ See also Phase 1 of Trench 29000 in ELLIS and DEVORE 2010: 16.

⁴⁴ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 2-3, 7, 12.

⁴⁵ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 7.



Fig. 23. Footholds cut into the northeast side of the well.

pozzolan soil for use during construction, a habit we have recognized elsewhere⁴⁷. While the pit was still open, foundation material for the façade made of soil mixed with a small amount of mortar was poured into the construction trench and ran down the side of the pit (this was a similar process to that seen for the construction of the property at I.1.1-2 – see Phase 4 of Trench 54000, above; and Phase 9 of Trench 56000, below). Later the pit was filled, followed by the filling of the entire construction trench in a single event. Based on two Roman Republican Quadrans coins found within the fill, these events can be dated from the early to the mid-2nd century BCE.

The façade wall (WFs 1147, 1153) and north wall (Cf. WF 1172 in Phase 5 of Trench 52000, excavated in Room 22 to the north) represent the only architectural definition of the space in this phase. The doorway in the façade was narrower at this time (see Phase 4a, below), or perhaps entirely non-existent. During the equivalent phase in Trench 51000 (Phase 2), excavated in the 2010 season immediately to the south of Trench 55000, Room 18 was smaller than its final shape, defined to the north and east by walls that were later destroyed⁴⁸. It is likely that Room 20 in this period was part of an unroofed, semi-outdoor space surrounding Room 18. It was perhaps a service area associated with the industrial activities taking place inside Room 18.

No floor surface was found associated with this phase; if an intentional surface existed, it was removed by later building activity. Outside of the building at I.1.3-5, the abandonment deposit of Phase 2 was packed down, either intentionally or unintentionally, and used as a sidewalk surface throughout Phase 3.

Phase 3b: Well construction initiated and abandoned (late 2nd – early 1st century BCE)

Construction of a well was begun on the northern side of Room 20 during Phase 3b. The well was circular, ca. 75cm in diameter, and cut through the natural yellow sandy silt into the grey and white lava layer. It had three footholds on the northeast side and two on the southwest side (a third was perhaps lost during our excavation) to enable access (fig. 23). The footholds were reinforced with a thin layer of plaster applied over the yellow sandy silt into which they were cut.

To the south of the circular well itself, the cut was extended into a long channel, ca. 2m long and rounded at the south end. The channel led down into the well via two large steps cut into the yellow sandy silt, in which the ancient shovel marks were still visible. It seems that this channel was dug during the construction of the well, to make both access and the construction process easier. The final step in the construction was probably intended to

to the 4th century BCE. It contained a large piece of wood charcoal, perhaps a votive deposit made upon initiating the construction of the building⁴⁶.

Phase 2: Terracing activity

As has been observed elsewhere in *insulae* I.1 and VIII.7, a period of abandonment followed the earliest activity in Trench 55000. Following this period, a thick fill layer (ca. 50cm) was deposited over the Phase 1 surface to raise the elevation of the space. This was then cut and partially removed for the construction activity undertaken in Phase 3a, suggesting that it was not laid down as a fill associated with that activity.

Phase 3a: 2nd century BCE reoccupation

In Phase 3a, a construction trench was dug into the terracing deposit of Phase 2, and the façade wall (WFs 1147, 1153) for the property at I.1.3-5 was erected. The construction trench was narrow in the north, ca. 25cm wide, but widened significantly (covering the extent of the trench) towards the south, perhaps due to the necessity of dismantling and/or spoliating the Phase 1 wall found on the southeast side of the trench. The construction trench was dug down to the level of the Phase 1 surface. Before it was filled, a pit was cut in its southwest corner, through the early surface into the natural yellow sandy silt. This was likely done to retrieve the

⁴⁶ A more elaborate 4th century BCE votive deposit was found associated with the construction of a *pappamonte* wall under property VIII.7.5-6 during the 2008 excavation season (ELLIS and DEVORE 2009: 2-3).

⁴⁷ ELLIS and DEVORE 2009: 5, 14; ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 8. See also ROBINSON 2005.

⁴⁸ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 8.

have closed the open edge with masonry and to line the entire well in hydraulic plaster before back-filling the construction channel. The well cut down through the natural yellow sandy silt and the friable crust of the grey and white lava. When it hit the extremely hard grey lava, however, it stopped. For whatever reason - perhaps difficulty (?) – the construction of the well appears to have been abandoned at this point. The entire cut - including both the rounded well proper and the construction channel - was filled as part of the same filling event. Two pseudo-Massalia coins found within the fill suggest a date in the late 2nd or early 1st century BCE.

Phase 4a: Reconstruction of the space (early-mid 1st century BCE)

A massive pit (ca. 2.35m x 2m) was cut across the trench, removing most of the earlier archaeology from the central and northern area. The pit cut down through the early surface to the natural yellow sandy silt to retrieve soil to be used as *pozzolana*. At the same time, a construction trench was cut for the southwest wall (WF 1156). Coins found in both the trench and the pit (a Zecca of Rhegium coin in the large pit, and a pseudo-Ebusus coin in the smaller) date these activities to the early or mid-1st century BCE.

This phase also saw the reconstruction of the façade (WFs 1147, 1153). One or more stones were robbed out from the original façade wall, and a doorway was either inserted or widened to give the façade its final shape. As part of this reconstruction activity, one of the ashlar blocks of Sarno limestone used in the original façade was cut down and used to support a threshold stone. Another stone from the original ashlar façade seems to have been deposited within the fill of the large construction pit just discussed.

In this phase, Room 20 remained open to Room 18 in the southeast, perhaps with a wide doorway between the two. After the construction of the north and southwest walls (WFs 1144, 1156), the floor level of Room 20 was raised ca. 30-40cm and a packed earthen surface was laid down.

The large-scale reconstruction in Room 20 during Phase 4a was stratigraphically related to changes that happened in Room 18 to the south, observed in Phase 4 of Trench 51000 during the 2010 season. There, a large cistern was constructed in the centre of Room 18, brick buttressing and a brick pillar were introduced to support an upper storey, and the floor level of the room was also raised⁴⁹.

The level of the sidewalk was also raised in this phase (ca. 40-50cm), and given a new packed earthen surface with a mortar smear. Perhaps this change reflects a repaving of the *via Stabiana* in this period, to which the extensive alterations inside property I.1.3-5 responded. To the west of the sidewalk, a ramp made of large blocks of tuff with smaller Sarno and lava stones ran up from the *via Stabiana*. It is possible that this ramp continued into Room 20, but more likely that it led only to the sidewalk, where the triangular 'piazza' formed by the projecting façade wall of property I.1.6-9 might have served as a small pull-off area on the side of the road.

Phase 4b: Addition of a soak-away

In Phase 4b a soak-away was cut through the Phase 4a packed earth floor. The soak-away consisted of an amphora with holes punched in the sides, set upside down into a small pit, ca. 60cm deep. Soil flotation of the soak-away fill revealed wood charcoal, fish bone, fish scale, sea urchin, marine shell, and mammal bone fragments. It was likely used for food preparation and disposal, probably associated with the activities surrounding the cistern located in Room 18 to the south.

Phase 5a: Augustan period changes

Room 20 took on its final architectural form in Phase 5a with the construction of the southeast wall (WF 1134). At this time, three pits were dug through the Phase 4 packed earthen surface, likely in search of natural volcanic soils to use as *pozzolana*. Another large cut was made along the façade wall (WFs 1147, 1153), which removed much of the soak-away. Given its location, this cut was likely associated with another reconstruction of the façade wall.

Following this activity, the entire room was raised ca. 20cm and a new packed earthen surface, topped by a mortar smear for greater durability, was laid down. Coins within the fill (7 Pseudo-Ebusus coins, a Roman Republican Half As, and an As Unciale) date the reconstruction to the late 1st century BCE or early 1st century CE. There were no features preserved within Room 20 to indicate its use in this period, but based on its wide doorway to the *via Stabiana*, the space was likely dedicated to retail activities.

Major changes were made in the sidewalk during Phase 5. The Phase 4 ramp from the *via Stabiana* was put out of use by a thick mortar sidewalk surface. Additionally, along the entire front of property I.1.3-5, the curbstones were moved eastward ca. 40cm, away from the paving stones of the road. This partly widened the *via Stabiana* at this point and equally replaced the jarring angle created by the projecting façade of property I.1.6-9 with a clearer

⁴⁹ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK, and DICUS 2011: 9-10.



Fig. 24. The low-walled masonry structure built into projecting façade of I.1.6-9.

viewshed leading up from the gate. The sidewalk seems to have been in heavy use in Phase 5, since it was patched and resurfaced several times. The extensive changes to the sidewalk in this period suggest that the *via Stabiana* received its final paving during or just before this phase.

Phase 5b: Construction of an exterior feature

In Phase 5b, a small masonry structure was built in the triangular 'piazzetta' formed by the projecting façade of property I.1.6-9 (fig. 24). The feature consisted of two small walls framing a rectangular space (140cm x 40cm) against the partition wall between properties I.1.3-5 and I.1.6-9. Although it is of the common dimensions of a bench, which is indeed how it was originally described⁵⁰, it seems to have instead been hollow in the centre and so quite unlike the typical bench form seen throughout the city⁵¹; it might have, of course, supported a wooden bench-top. Other interpretations are not limited to a shelf for the display of goods sold within Room 20, a cage for animals⁵², a small garden area, or even some form of street-side shrine. Three holes running along the wall above the feature might have originally been associated with it; perhaps they served as supports for some kind of wooden framework.

The feature seems to have been well-decorated with painted plaster. Red wall plaster survived on the western side, and matching plaster was found in the surrounding fill, along with coordinating striped red and black plaster, and a few pieces painted to imitate marble.

Phase 6: Final reconstruction

The final observable ancient activity in Trench 55000 was a raise in floor level, indicated only by a cut for a threshold stone that survived in the southeastern façade wall (WF 1153) of Room 20. All other traces of this phase were removed by modern activity.

Post-79 CE activity

Sometime after the eruption of 79 CE, the fill of the partially constructed well belonging to Phase 3b compacted. This created a void that pulled later stratigraphy, including pumice from the 79 CE eruption, down into the collapse pit. The process disturbed the later archaeology in the northeastern corner of the trench (and thus provides a *terminus post quem* of 79 CE for the event). Given the presence of pumice within the collapse, it seems to have also occurred before the area was cleared of eruption material.

Beyond the collapse, the modern period has been extremely destructive to the later levels of archaeology in Trench 55000. Early excavations and bioturbation appear to have removed nearly all traces of Phase 6, and most of the packed earthen floor of Phase 5 was also largely disturbed. More recently, power lines were cut through the southeast corner of the trench, and drainage pipes were inserted through the sidewalk. All of the walls surrounding Room 20 have been heavily reconstructed.

⁵⁰ *BdI* 1875: 29-30; FIORELLI 1875: 33.

⁵¹ On benches, see HARTNETT 2008.

⁵² A similar structure, originally in front of a shop counter at III.6.1, was interpreted as a cage for animals by the first excavators; the structure no longer exists. See *NSc* 1936, 311.

Trench 56000

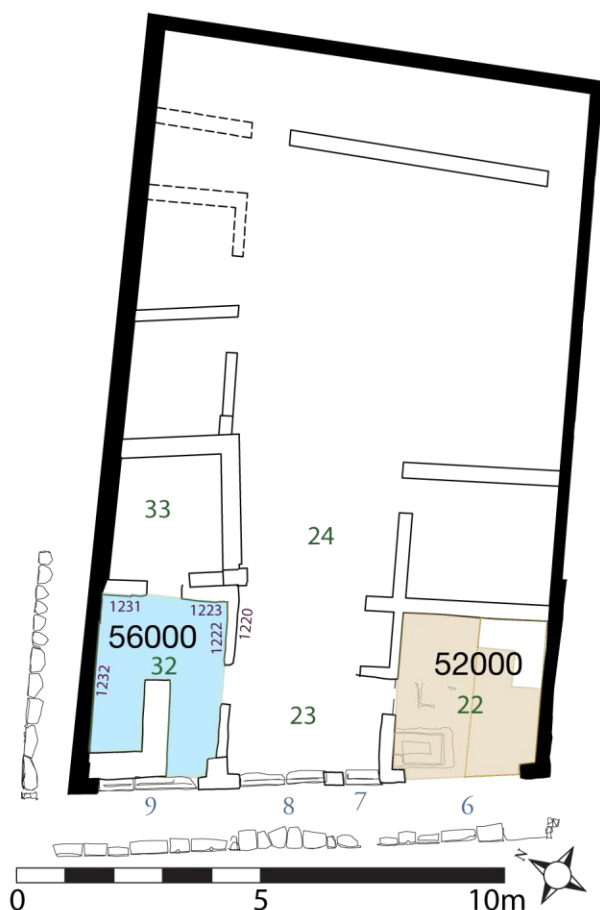


Fig. 25. Plan of Trench 56000.

1.5m window trench was excavated in this corner. Excavation exposed the lava bedrock, which showed signs of abrasion rather than weathering, indicating that this portion of the bedrock was worn down by human activities, potentially even foot traffic. This bedrock was perhaps used as an early road or thoroughfare.

Phase 2: Laying of a thoroughfare

Overlaying the abraded bedrock from Phase 1 was a layer of heavily compacted earth. This portion of compacted earth was exposed in only a 75cm x 75cm section, having been cut on the west by later activity and the remainder running into the eastern baulk of this window trench; therefore, little can be said about its further extent. Due to the durability of this surface and its stratigraphic sequence – lying directly over what appears to have been a roadway (Phase 1) and beneath another road surface which has been seen in 5 trenches throughout *insula* I.1⁵⁶ – it seems most likely that this Phase 2 surface served to level the surface from the previous phase, while equally serving as the first instance of a purposely laid, man-made thoroughfare found in Trench 56000.

Phase 3: Resurfacing of the thoroughfare

Phase 3 was represented by a small portion of a grey volcanic ash surface found in the southwestern window. This surface had the same matrix as that uncovered in 5 trenches during the 2010 and 2011 seasons⁵⁷ in *insula* I.1. In Trench 56000, this surface, which was cut in the west by Phase 7 activity, was preserved only in a ca. 20cm-wide section. It was easily recognizable, however, by comparison to examples in those other trenches: a hard-

Trench 56000 was opened in the street-side room (Room 32) accessed by doorway I.1.9 (fig. 25)⁵³. The primary aim of this trench was to establish the earliest construction date of the northern boundary of this northernmost property (I.1.6-9, commonly referred to as the *Hospitium Hermetis*), expanding upon our exploration (Trench 52000) of the southern property wall which was carried out in the 2010 season⁵⁴. Additionally, excavation in this room sought to examine the developmental phasing of (what would become) the retail space, as represented by the L-shaped masonry counter by 79 CE⁵⁵, as well as the relationship of this retail space with the remainder of the property.

Owing to various practicalities in the excavation of this trench, the deepest excavations were principally carried out in four window trenches in each corner of the room. Not all of the events in these window trenches could be associated, physically or stratigraphically, with those of the other window trenches. So while some of these events are labelled as distinct, separate phases, in reality some may have been directly associated with others (for example, Phases 5-7, below). In any case, the first seven phases of discernible activity in Trench 56000 were located only in the two southern window trenches because of two quarrying events (Phase 8 in the north-eastern window trench and Phase 9 in the north-western window trench) that removed all earlier archaeological material in the northern area of the trench.

Phase 1: Earliest activity (prior to the 4th century BCE)

The earliest human activity within Trench 56000 was located only in the south-west corner of the trench; a 1.5m x

⁵³ Amanda Pavlick (Cincinnati) supervised the excavations of Trench 56000.

⁵⁴ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 11-16.

⁵⁵ On bar counters at Pompeii, see ELLIS 2004; 2005; 2008; 2011c; 2012.

⁵⁶ See n. 25, above.

⁵⁷ Phase 1 of Trench 50000; Phase 1 of Trench 51000; Phase 2 of Trench 52000 (for these see ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 3, 7, and 12 respectively); for those in Phase 1 of Trenches 54000 and 55000, see above.

packed grey volcanic ash surface, which had been laid with leveling or terracing fills where necessary, found in the westernmost areas of trenches ranging from this northernmost extent of *insula* I.1 (Trench 56000) to the southernmost (Trench 50000, located at doorway I.1.1-1a). This grey volcanic ash was the product of early volcanic activity predating human occupation in Pompeii, which was later quarried for use in road construction due in part to the durability of the material⁵⁸. While no dateable artefacts were found relating to this surface in Trench 56000, material found in the related surface in Trench 51000 in the 2010 season dates the creation of this surface to the 4th century BCE⁵⁹.

Phase 4: Mortar skim surface – potential sidewalk?

The construction work for Phase 4 began with the laying of a ca. 10cm-deep earth subsurface over the Phase 3 thoroughfare, which itself was sealed by a layer of grey mortar and a subsequent layer of light yellow mortar. As with the previous surfaces in this trench, this surface was cut in several places by later activity, and thus was only recovered in a ca. 30cm x 40cm area found in the southwestern window. This surface remained exposed and unchanged through the following two phases (5-6) of activity; it was not until Phase 7 that a fill layer would put this out of use. Because the three previous phases in this trench seem most likely to have been thoroughfares, it is possible that this surface served the same purpose. On the other hand, the surface was far less durable than the road surfaces we have seen in this area. In any case, the surface seems to have been part of an exterior space. A roughly-hewn Sarno block, ca. 50cm x 25cm, was placed in association with this mortar surface and may have served as a curbstone.

Phase 5: Silt surface

A small portion of a medium-grey silty surface makes up the entirety of surviving evidence for Phase 5. This surface was found in the southeastern window of the trench and was preserved only in a ca. 60cm x 40cm portion. Little can be said for this surface, owing to the small size of its extent; even so, our environmental sampling of it revealed wood charcoal and low concentrations of mammal bone and marine shell.

Phase 6: Raising of the surface for a mortar floor

Phase 6 began with a resurfacing event that was only detected in the southeastern area of the trench; a ca. 6cm fill layer was placed over the surface from Phase 5, and sealed by a grey mortar floor. At least three postholes were then made, running E-W across the southern extent of the trench. The total span was 3.6m, though we cannot be certain if this was the full extent of the line. Only two postholes were found directly next to each other (15cm apart) – those in this southeastern window, and the third found in the southwestern window. The line of postholes ended ca. 0.4m directly east of the Sarno block installed in Phase 4, and still in use through this phase. The easternmost posthole had a rich, dark red-brown soil around it, likely the degraded remains of a wooden post.

Phase 7: Instillation of a soak-away

A soak-away was installed in the southern portion of the trench, representing the beginning of Phase 7. A nearly 2m-deep cut was made through the mortar floor installed in the previous phase. This depth is remarkable because 1.5m of this cut was through the lava crust, the friable portion on top of the lava flow that created the topography of this area ca. 8,000-7,000 BP. This lava crust was very shallow to the Phase 6 ground surface (less than 50cm) in the area where the cut for the soak-away was made. Within the void created by the cut, three amphorae were placed upside-down, one on top of the other and each with their necks and feet cut off to create the downward channel for the soak-away. None of these amphorae were perforated on their sides, indicating the primary drainage took place solely at the bottom of the soak-away, where a ca. 10cm-high void was left between the lowest amphora and the bedrock. A packed earth surface completed the activities of this phase.

The sediment found within these amphorae contained wood charcoal, moderate concentrations of fish bone and scale, and some mammal bone fragments. The proportions of these contents were not unlike others from known or suspected domestic contexts recovered from within *insulae* VIII.7 and I.1; this soak-away may have thus served a domestic context. There is no identifiable architecture within the trench, however, to connect the soak-away to any known (use of) space. A Pseudo-Ebusus coin found within the fill for the soak-away dates this phase to 120-80 BCE.

⁵⁸ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 12, n. 27.

⁵⁹ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 7.

Phase 8: Construction of the earliest architecture

Quarrying activity, carried out apparently to extract the volcanic bedrock for construction purposes, took place in the northern area of Trench 56000 in two separate events – one at the beginning of Phase 8 (and visible only in the northeastern corner of the trench), and the other at the beginning of Phase 9 (and visible only in the northwestern corner of the trench). These events destroyed all of the earlier stratified deposits in this area. None of the previous phases in the northern side of the trench can therefore be accounted for.

Evidence of this first quarrying event was located in the 1m x 1m window trench excavated in the northeastern corner of Room 32. The quarried southern side of the bedrock in this window trench preserved three separate depressions that may have been chisel marks. In addition, the section of this bedrock demonstrated the kind of weathering that is caused by prolonged exposure to rain and other natural elements.

After this quarrying was completed, an *opus incertum* wall was built directly on top of the bedrock, running approximately N-S and perpendicular to the quarrying activity. This wall formed part of the earliest detectable architecture within Trench 56000, even if we still do not yet have a room; a southern wall was built with it in this phase to form a space that had no detectable northern or western limit within the bounds of Trench 56000. The eastern wall originally ran at least 2.3m south, terminating just below the northern face of later WF 1223. Three stacked Sarno orthostats placed 1m further south formed the other side of a doorway, indicating that whatever space this wall delineated, it was built to communicate with the space (identified as Room 33, at least for 79 CE) to the east.

A wall running E-W was also built in this phase. Both of these Phase 8 walls were short lived, however, being destroyed down to their foundations in the next phase (9). This phase was completed by the installation of a fill layer and packed earth surface, which raised the surface ca. 20cm from the level of the previous surface.

Phase 9: Creation of Room 32

Significant architectural alterations took place in Phase 9 for the creation of Room 32; this is the first delineation of the room that is still standing today. It began with the second of the two ancient quarrying events in the north of Trench 56000, which was seen in the northwestern window; this activity had a dual purpose, however, for apart from providing quarried material it would also serve to create a construction trench for a northern wall. This construction trench removed all cultural material down to the level of bedrock, which, as we noted when it was encountered in the southwest window, was flattened and heavily abraded. During this event, the bedrock was quarried further to a depth of at least 60cm, but the full scale of the quarried trench could not be identified since it extended beyond Trench 56000. Within this quarried trench a compacted bedding of soil and cultural material mixed with lime was laid⁶⁰, backfilling the trench in the bedrock completely. The foundation for the northern wall (WF 1232) was placed on top of this fill. The installation of this wall represents the earliest definition of a northern boundary within this trench. Built of *opus incertum*, the original structure of the wall survives to an average 2m in height above the 79 CE floor level⁶¹. In 1978 James Packer recorded a narrow window in this section of the wall, although no such window survives today⁶². It was likely originally placed high up the wall, partially for security reasons as well as for light and air circulation, in a section that has since been reconstructed as a solid wall.

The eastern and southern walls from Phase 8 were dismantled for the construction activities of Phase 9; a Phase 9 floor surface of white mortar overlaid the remnants of both walls. The eastern boundary of the room, however, was maintained by the installation of two new N-S aligned walls at each side of the room; one of these projected southward from the new construction of the northern wall (WF 1232), while the other was built in the southeastern corner of the trench and projected northward. These constructions created a wider doorway to Room 33 than had existed in Phase 9, enlarging the opening from ca. 1m to ca. 2.5m.

Finally, an *opus mixtum* quoin was also built in the southwestern corner of this room (fig. 26). Although the wall itself was undetectable within the area of our excavations, the presence of this quoin and the newly created eastern wall suggest some kind of wide opening into this space from the south (Room 23), as well as there likely being a wide entrance from the street.

⁶⁰ See also Phase 4 of Trench 54000, above, and Phase 3a of Trench 55000, above, for other instances of this same construction style.

⁶¹ Above the ancient construction is approx. 1m of modern consolidation, giving the overall appearance of a wall that stands 3m.

⁶² PACKER 1978: 6, fig. 1. For the placement of windows in exterior walls, see ELLIS 2004: 74-75. On their legal implications, see RODGER 1972: 38-39.



Fig. 26. Quoin of opus mixtum, looking west. Note the later additions of the brick quoin to the right and the opus incertum wall at left (Phase 11).



Fig. 27. Phase 11 drain with cover-tiles. Note that its construction and trajectory respects the pre-existing counter.

Phase 10: Laying of a mortar floor (later 1st c. BCE)

The floor level was raised by ca. 20cm in Phase 10 for the laying of an orange-coloured mortar floor containing heavy inclusions of small, water-worn pebbles; this event likely occurred in the later half of the 1st century BCE, owing to the presence of lamp fragments of *Bildlampen* style and some *terra sigillata*. A lava block was also installed in this phase, placed in the southeastern corner of the trench and visible only in a ca. 20cm x 20cm section before running underneath a later wall (WF 1222; see Phase 11). Similar lava blocks have been identified elsewhere in the property – such as the two examples in the courtyard (Room 23) –

and may have served as the structural supports for pillars or the pivot points for doors; their location also supports this suggestion of a structural support. It is likely that this cut lava block was thus installed in this phase for use with a door that acted as the (otherwise unseen) southern entrance to the room.

Phase 11: Conversion to a dedicated retail space (Augustan period?)

A series of major changes occurred in Phase 11, in which we see Room 32 converted to a retail space. First, a channel was cut through the floor and fill of Phase 10 for the installation of a drain (figs 27-28). The location and trajectory of the drain was highly unusual. Its origin was found just inside, and midway along, the street-side threshold to the room. From there it ran *into* the property toward the centre of the room where it turned southward with a nearly 90-degree angle before continuing beneath the south wall (WF 1222); its destination from there is unknown. Just before the drain's exit from the room, a vertical terracotta pipe entered the drain's structure (figs 28-29). This appears to have been a secondary inlet, or perhaps a vent. Even though the drain's unorthodox path is in close proximity to a cistern that survives within the courtyard of the property (Room 23, unexcavated) it is highly unlikely that it channelled rainwater to the cistern; such a system whereby rainwater was collected midway

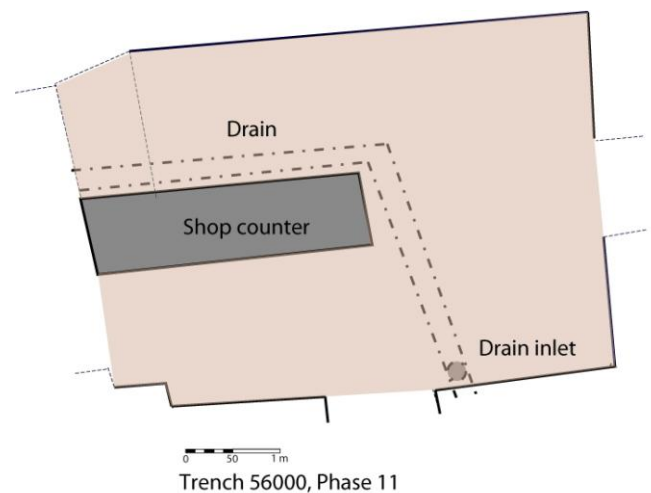


Fig. 28. Trajectory of the Phase 11 drain, running from left (west) to right (east).



Fig. 29. Inlet to the Phase 11 drain.



Fig. 30. The counter at I.1.6-9, looking west toward the via Stabiana.

along the street-side frontage of a property is as difficult to imagine as it is to find *comparanda*. Rather, the drain probably connected to another once it entered the entrance corridor so as to drain waste and other liquids westward through the main entrance of the property (I.1.8) and onto the street; unfortunately, the curbstones fronting this entrance are too disturbed to confirm the presence of such a drain without further excavation. Additionally, our analysis of the sediment within the drain was inconclusive, as it was too heavily contaminated by ant activity to determine the contents that once passed through it⁶³.

Concurrent with the construction of the drain, new walls were built along the eastern and southern boundaries of Room 32, replacing the wide doorways of the previous phase (see fig. 26); this new architectural configuration is that which stands today. The room thus communicated via doorways with the *via Stabiana*, with the back room (Room 33), and with the principal entrance (Room 23) of the property.

A masonry bar counter was also constructed in Phase 11 (figs 28, 30). This counter was originally I-shaped, devoid of any inset containers, and ran E-W through the centre of the room, flush with the threshold stones in the west (cf. Phase 7 of Trench 54000 above for two equally unusual I-shaped counters); the L-shaped version that survives today is based on an alteration to its shape in the following phase and is largely a modern reconstruction.



Fig. 31. Remnant of surviving *opus signinum* surface and painted wall plaster from Phase 11.

Following the installation of the bar counter, an *opus signinum* floor was laid to cover the extent of the room (fig. 31). The inclusions in this *opus signinum* were unusual compared with other such floors found in *insulae* VIII.7 and I.1; about 70% of the inclusions were chunks of tile and 30% were large and variously shaped (and doubtless

⁶³ Such results are fairly typical for soil samples taken from close to the origination point of a drain; better results may come from a more distant, lower-lying section. On the differences in drain-fill assemblages from one part of a drain to another, see ELLIS and DEVORE 2010: 4-5.

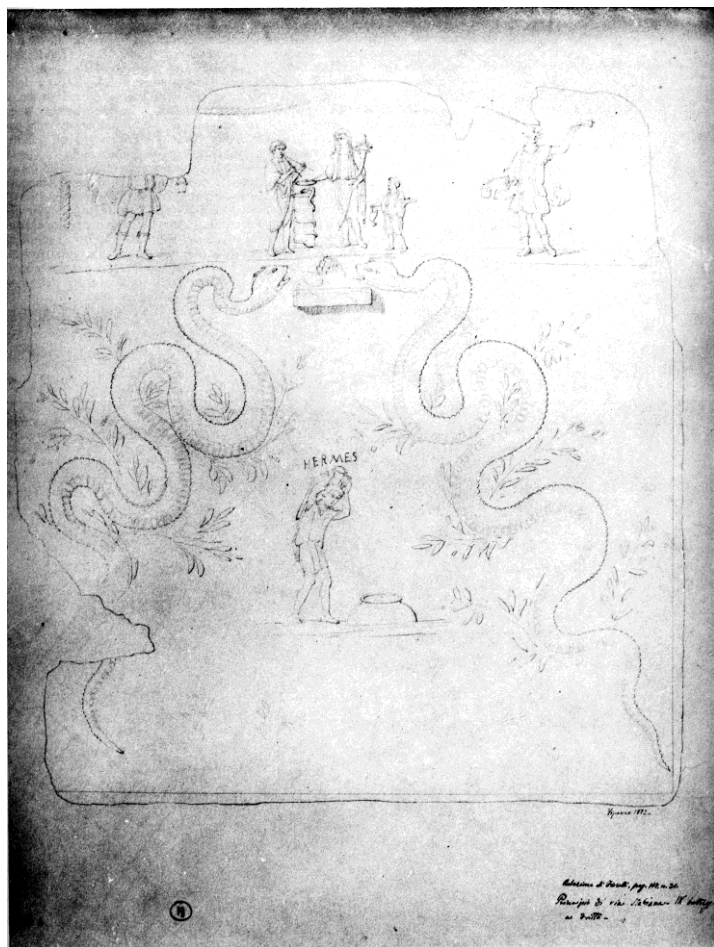


Fig. 32. Sketch of the shrine painting from I.1.6-9 (after PPM I, 7, fig. 4. The drawing is by Discanno in 1872).

guration of this counter also put the drain from Phase 11 out of use; the new section was built over the main inlet to the drain. Although much of the counter is reconstructed, a clear delineation exists between the ancient and the modern iterations; a clear separation between the ancient light brown mortar and the modern cement is still visible, at a height of ca. 35cm from ground level. In spite of the heavy reconstruction of the counter, the inset vessel – a *dolium* – is evidently associated with the original construction. Missing in the reconstruction, however, is the inset hearth that was once at the eastern end of the inner arm.

The wall plaster from Phase 11 remained in use through this final phase. The *opus signinum* surface from Phase 11, however, was covered by a grey mortar surface, the remainder of which was seen only in two small portions lipping up onto the bar counter. The highly degraded condition of this mortar surface is fairly typical for final-phase floor surfaces at Pompeii, particularly given their exposure since the 19th century excavations, but it also speaks to a pattern we have witnessed in our excavations of *insulae* VIII.7 and I.1. Across both *insulae*, the penultimate-phase floor surfaces can be of a higher quality than the very latest, perhaps due to rapid and economical post-earthquake reconstruction of middle-class buildings⁶⁶.

Finally, records from the 19th century excavations of this property described a painted shrine on the north wall of the ‘first room’; it is unclear which of the three street-side rooms of the property is the ‘first room’⁶⁷. Only a sketch remains (fig. 32), which depicts an upper and lower register of decoration with various figures. The lower register of the shrine’s decoration depicted a man carrying an amphora, ready to pour its contents into a *dolium*; he was labelled HERMES⁶⁸ and this is the reason the property has traditionally been named the *Hospitium Hermetis*.

⁶⁴ On semi-geometric patterns in *opus signinum*, see VASSAL 2006: 48-53.

⁶⁵ By 79 CE, 71% (or 112) of the 158 counters were L-shaped, whereas 11% (or 18) were U-shaped and just 8% (or 12) were I-shaped. On these numbers and their significance, see ELLIS 2005: 43-46; ELLIS 2008.

⁶⁶ For the clearest example, see Phase 6 of Trench 25000 in VIII.7.5-6 (ELLIS and DEVORE 2010: 8).

⁶⁷ FIORELLI 1875: 34; BOYCE 1937: 21; FRÖHLICH 1991: 249-250.

⁶⁸ CIL IV, 3355.

offcut) pieces of white marble, ca. 2-4cm in width and 4-8cm in length. In some sections these marble inclusions were placed in line to create a pseudo-herringbone decorative effect⁶⁴.

Finally, a layer of wall plaster was applied (see fig. 31). This survives only in the northeastern corner of the room, at the eastern base of the northern wall (WF 1232) and cornering onto the face of the eastern wall (WF 1231). This plaster featured a white background with red rectangular panels and a single black vertical border preserved in the northeastern corner. These additions of newly-decorated wall plaster, unusually styled *opus signinum* flooring with marble inclusions, as well as the bar counter itself point toward significant changes in the use of this space during Phase 11. These events likely occurred in the Augustan period or shortly thereafter; while we await the final results of the analysis of the pottery assemblages from these contexts, the similarities to the many wholesale changes elsewhere in this area in the Augustan period, and the relative relationship to the previous (dated) phase, points to that period.

Phase 12: Renovation of the retail space (until 79 CE)

This final phase for Room 32 is characterized by the reconfiguration of the bar counter, as well as the laying of a new floor surface. A new section was added to the counter, running N-S along the northern side of the threshold and thus converting it into a more common L-shaped structure (see fig. 29)⁶⁵. The new section included a large inset vessel for the storage of foodstuffs. The reconfi-

Flanking Hermes were two coiled serpents, rearing up toward an altar that was topped by a pinecone. The upper register of the shrine's decoration depicted a togate *genius* with cornucopia and *patera* next to a shrine with a snake coiled around it. To the right of the *genius* was the *camillus* holding a *patera* and perhaps a rooster⁶⁹, and to the left of the *genius* and altar was a *tibicen*. This scene was flanked by the twin *Lares*, and a garland or ribbon crowned the scene.

Nothing of the painted shrine survives. Even so, we were able to recognise its precise location based on the sketches themselves more than on the earliest written descriptions. Because the altar appears in the sketch to have been three-dimensional, with a tile jutting out from the wall face upon which to place offerings, our analysis of the standing architecture for Trench 56000 and its surrounds revealed what may be the remnants of that tile: on WF 1220 (the southern face of WF 1222, and thus facing into the entrance to the courtyard, in Room 23), a heavily damaged tile projecting from the wall is preserved. On the top of this tile are traces of plaster, and mortar can be seen on its under-side – this served to level the tile within the uneven wall construction. If this was indeed the same tile as shown in the sketches of the shrine, then we are able to place it with some precision to the east of the southern door from Room 23 into Room 32, and thus on the northern wall of the property's courtyard; here it would have been visible from the street⁷⁰.

Conclusion

The results from our 2011 field season have contributed significantly toward our understanding of the development of each property in *insula* I.1 and how these histories might relate to those already outlined for the properties on the western side of the *via Stabiana* at VIII.7. With research on the artefactual records not yet complete, these interpretations are still clearly in a preliminary stage. Even so, some general statements can already be made based on the recognisable similarities in the structural outlines and broader phases of each property and on their connections to the more fully understood history of *insula* VIII.7 to the west.

The geological sequence encountered in each of the trenches (naturally) conformed to that which we had uncovered in the 2010 season. We are now able to recognise more clearly, however, how the undulating topographic sequence shaped the earliest wholesale developments in the area. These first activities date to the 4th century BCE and were focussed upon the deposition of significant levelling fills – particularly in the central area of what would become *insula* I.1 – so that a thoroughfare could be laid. As we began to notice in our 2010 season, this thoroughfare seems to have flanked the (later paved) course of the *via Stabiana*; a similar thoroughfare, also of the 4th century BCE, appears to have done the same on the western side beneath the later buildings of VIII.7. The two thoroughfares could have formed an earlier, and extraordinarily broad, version of the *via Stabiana*. What might be more likely, however, is that these were two distinct thoroughfares, perhaps somewhat parallel to each other, that aligned a seasonal stream that ran between them in the 4th century BCE under what would later become the paved *via Stabiana*; not only does the trajectory follow the lowest natural valley in the city, at parts less than 10m asl, but traces of water-lain grit and other sediments were recovered overlying the thoroughfares⁷¹. The paving of the *via Stabiana* in the 2nd century BCE monumentalised, or at least channelled, this passage, with the seasonality of the water-runoff continuing as necessary on top of the paving (as it continues to do so today).

Some buildings with *pappamonte* foundations were built alongside these roads in the 4th century BCE, as well as a sanctuary at the very south of the area just inside the *Porta Stabia*. The major constructions of the 2nd century BCE put an end to these, if they had not been abandoned sooner (as early as the late 4th century BCE), after which point the activities of these buildings centred on industry and production. The next wholesale change came in the Augustan period, when the industrial activities were mostly abandoned, a pattern also well known in our excavations at VIII.7, with retailing activities dominating at least the frontages of these properties until their final destruction in 79 CE⁷². Future excavations and continued processing of the artefactual and ecofactual records will add much clarity to these preliminary understandings, and help us to understand how these buildings developed over time and how the families within them responded to economic and socio-cultural currents at a local and regional scale.

⁶⁹ Boyce records the *camillus* as holding a 'shallow dish in one hand and cock (or some such bird) in the other' (BOYCE 1937: 21). Boyce does not note if he saw the shrine in person or just this sketch of the shrine.

⁷⁰ On the visibility of Pompeian shrines, particularly between the street and an interior shrine, see HERRING-HARRINGTON 2011: 104ff.

⁷¹ ELLIS, EMMERSON, PAVLICK and DICUS 2011: 16.

⁷² ELLIS 2011b.

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