THE INN, RESTAURANT AND TAVERN BUSINESS IN ANCIENT POMPEII

by

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Title of Thesis: The Inn, Restaurant and Tavern Business in Ancient Pompeii

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ABSTRACT

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Sharon Marie Ruddell, Master of Arts, 1964

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The number of public establishments in ancient Pompeii indicates that the inn, restaurant and tavern business was one of the most extensive in the town. This thesis endeavors to study each public inn and eating house in Pompeii, and to observe the general characteristics of ancient inns, restaurants and taverns as exemplified by the excavations of the city. The first chapter discusses the various types of ancient inns, restaurants and taverns, using the Pompeian establishments as specific examples. The general features of the inns and taverns are described and illustrated. Various aspects of tavern life are discussed in the second chapter. The epigraphical evidence yielded by the excavations at Pompeii provides vivid testimony to the life in the taverns of antiquity. This information, combined with the writings of the ancient authors, portrays much of the activity in the Pompeian inns and eating houses.

In the third chapter, the role of the public establishments in Pompeii's city life is discussed. Their locations and areas of concentration, as well as their commercial and social importance are considered. In the Appendix, each inn, restaurant and tavern that has been excavated and identified is described. A bibliography follows each description. Wherever possible, plans of various Pompeian establishments have been included throughout the paper.
PREFACE

The ancient city of Pompeii was a busy seaport and business town. One of the most extensive businesses was that of the inns, restaurants and taverns. Tönnies Kleberg, in his work Hôtels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans l'Antiquité Romaine, made a general study of the inns, restaurants and taverns of antiquity. He listed those known at Pompeii and elsewhere in the ancient Roman world. In this thesis, I have made a detailed study of the public establishments of Pompeii. Kleberg's identifications of the Pompeian inns and taverns offered a starting point for this paper, and I have added a few places to his list. In the Appendix, I have provided a description and bibliography for each establishment so far excavated at Pompeii. The plans used in this paper are taken from the source which is cited in the proper entry in the Appendix. I took the photographs during a six week stay in Pompeii in the summer of 1961.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. BASIC FEATURES OF POMPEIAN INNS, RESTAURANTS AND TAVERNS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. INSCRIPTIONS AND WALL PAINTINGS: WITNESSES TO TAVERN LIFE</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE ROLE OF INNS, RESTAURANTS AND TAVERNS IN CITY LIFE</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX. THE INNS, RESTAURANTS AND TAVERNS OF POMPEII</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>VII. i. 44/45.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>VII. i. 44/45.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>VI. i. 1.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>VI. ix. 1.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>VI. ii. 4/5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>VI. ii. 5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>VI. ii. 4/5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>I. i. 6/9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>I. i. 6/9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>I. viii. 12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>I. vii. 8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>I. vii. 8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>IX. vii. 13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>IX. vii. 13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>V. i. 1/32</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>VI. Ins. Occ. 4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>I. vi. 8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>I. vi. 8/9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>I. iii. 22</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>VI. i. 1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>VI. i. 2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>VI. i. 2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>V. iv. 6/8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>V. iv. 7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>V. iv. 6/8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>V. i. 13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>I. vii. 8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>IX. vii. 13</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>VI. vii. 8</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>I. ix. 4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>VII. ii. 32/33</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>VI. ii. 1/31</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>VI. iv. 8/9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>VI. i. 5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>I. ii. 7/8</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>II. ii. 1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>II. ii. 1 &amp; 3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>VI. xvi. 33</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>VI. xvi. 32/33</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>VI. xvi. 33</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>I. x. 2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>II. iv. 7</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>II. iv. 7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>II. iv. 7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Herculaneum, V. 6/7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Herculaneum, V. 6/7</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Herculaneum, V. 6/7</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Herculaneum, V. 6/7</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Excavations at Herculaneum</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>VI. x. 1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>VI. x. 1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>VI. x. 1.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>I. vi. 5.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>VI. x. 1.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Aesernia, Tomb Relief</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>VI. x. 1.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>VI. xiv. 35/36.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>VI. xiv. 35/36.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>VII. xv. 4/5.</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>VI. x. 1.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>VI. xiv. 35/36.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>VI. xiv. 35/36.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>IX. xi. 2.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>IX. xi. 2.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>IX. xi. 2.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>IX. i. 15/16.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>VI. viii. 8.</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>VI. viii. 9.</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>IX. vii. 22, 23, 24/25 &amp; 26.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>V. ii. 3/4 &amp; 10/11.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.</td>
<td>VI. ii. 5.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td>II. i. 1.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73.</td>
<td>Modern trattoria in the Pompeian excavations</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74.</td>
<td>Chiave d'Oro restaurant in Rome</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75.</td>
<td>Excavations at Pompeii</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76.</td>
<td>VI. xv. 15 &amp; 16.</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77.</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>VI. xvi. 20/24. Plan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78.</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>VI. xvi. 40. Plan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79.</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>VII. vii. 9. Plan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82.</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>VII. xii. 34/35. Plan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>VII. xv. 4/5 &amp; 6. Plan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>VIII. iv. 45. Plan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87.</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>IX. ix. 1. Plan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

BASIC FEATURES OF POMPEIAN INNS, RESTAURANTS AND TAVERNS

A visitor to the excavations at Pompeii cannot fail to notice as he walks down the streets of the ancient city that one of the most widespread businesses of the town was that of the public establishments -- taverns, restaurants and inns. A number of different terms were used to indicate the various types of eating places and inns of antiquity.\(^1\) Since most of this terminology is found in ancient literature, it is, of course, quite possible that it is not an accurate gauge of the terms used in the spoken language.

The term hospitium originally had an abstract meaning connoting the relationship between a host and his guest. Its concrete meaning became 'guest room' or a place where a traveler could find shelter for the night.\(^2\) Hospitium gradually came to mean a place which offered rooms and refreshments to paying over-night guests.

It is fortunate that at Pompeii there are two inns that had signs which proclaimed the fact that they were hospitia. The Hospitium of Sittius at VII. i. 44/45 (Figs. 1 & 2. App. 84), had a sign which advertised a triclinium with three couches (f).

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\(^1\)See Tönnies Kleberg, Hôtels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans l'Antiquité Romaine (Uppsala, 1957), for a detailed study of the Latin terminology of the ancient inns, restaurants and taverns.

\(^2\)It is used in this sense in Apuleius Metamorphoses 1. 7. See Kleberg, pp. 11-14.
"Hospitium hic locatur, triclinium cum tribus lectis."\(^1\)

The other hospitium that had a sign is at IX. viii. 2 (App. 137). The sign, which was posted to one side of the entrance, stated: "Hospitium C. Hygini Firmi."\(^2\)

The term caupona referred to a place which furnished food, drink and lodgings also.\(^3\) The capo, or as appears most often in the graffiti -- the copo, was the innkeeper.\(^4\) Caupona gradually assumed a derogatory meaning and the copo's reputation was no better than that of his establishment.\(^5\)

Deversorium was another term which connoted public lodgings,

\(^1\)CIL IV 807. \(^2\)CIL IV 3779.

\(^3\)Pliny Natural History 9. 154: cauponarum. See Kleberg, pp. 1-6.

\(^4\)In one graffito, a Pompeian sign painter added his thanks to the innkeeper for allowing him to borrow his chair: "Sei, copo, probe fecisti, quod sella(m) commodasti." CIL IV 3502. Cf. CIL IV 3943, p. 40 and CIL IX 2689, p. 41 below.

\(^5\)Kleberg, p. 6.
but it was also used to indicate the guest apartments in some of the larger Roman houses.¹

A typical Pompeian inn consisted of several bedrooms, usually rather small, for lodgers. These were sometimes grouped around an open area, a court or an atrium. The size of a Pompeian inn varies considerably. There was a very small inn just inside the Herculaneum Gate at VI. i. 1 (Fig. 3. App. 51) which was built adjacent to the inside of the city wall. It perhaps had no more than three rooms for rent, but it did have a triclinium in the garden (n. 9 on plan).

Fig. 3. VI. i. 1.

At the end of Mercury Street, at VI. ix. 1 (App. 68), was a large hospitium composed of three houses combined to form one establishment. The photograph (Fig. 4), taken from the Mercury Tower, shows the two houses on Mercury Street at entrance n. 1. The third house which made up the hotel is on the other side of the insula, at n. 14, and is not visible in the photograph.

¹Horace Epistles I 15. 10. See Kleberg, pp. 37-38.
Many 

hospitium were provided with dining facilities, consisting
of a kitchen area and one or two rooms where the customers could be served. Many inns also had a tavern connected to them, equipped with the usual front counter. This, of course, was convenient for those who were staying overnight at the inn. However, much of the business probably came from people other than those registered at the hospitium. The same situation exists today in that most large hotels open their dining rooms and cocktail lounges to the public. They are not there exclusively for the use of those who are guests at the hotel.

The large inn, called the House of Sallust, at VI. ii. 4/5 (App. 57), had a counter room and a triclinium available for food service. This is one of the largest inns in Pompeii (Fig. 5, plan) and had at one time been a private home. It was perhaps owned by A. Coss(ius) Liban(us) who, according to Della Corte, may have
been of remote Judaic origin. At entrance n. 5 (Fig. 6) is a room with a counter which is accessible not only from the street, but also from the entranceway to the house (n. 1 on plan). There are several bedrooms grouped around the atrium. The rooms to the right of the atrium, which can be entered through room n. 29, may have been the innkeeper's private apartment. The rest of the establishment provided ample space for dormitories and additional dining rooms. The rooms on the second floor could be reached by the stairway in room n. 18.

Fig. 5. VI. ii. 4/5.

In the garden (24) was a shaded triclinium (Fig. 7. n. 25 on plan). A hearth (p) was built nearby in the colonnade to insure that the food served to guests in the triclinium was hot.

\[1\] Matteo Della Corte, Case ed abitanti di Pompei (2d ed.; Roma, 1954), p. 30. This work will be referred to hereafter as Della Corte, Case, followed by the page number.
Fig. 6. VI. ii. 5.

From atrium (10) into room with counter (3).

Fig. 7. VI. ii. 4/5.
This garden triclinium in the House of Sallust is reminiscent of some of the lines in the poem, the *Cupa.*

Here a garden you will find,
Cool retreat, with cups and roses,
Lute and pipe, for mirth designed,
Bower that mask of reeds encloses.

Come, weary traveller, lie and rest
'Neath the shade of vines o'er-spreading,
Wreath of roses freshly pressed
On your head its fragrance shedding.

The term *stabulum* denoted an *hospitium* that had the facilities to shelter the travelers' animals. It was the ancient equivalent of the modern day motel. A *stabulum* can be recognized by its sloping entrance to allow for the passage of carts. At the Inn of Hermes at I. i. 6/9 (Figs. 8 & 9. App. 4), the *stabulum* entrance is at n. 8. It leads from the street, across the sidewalk to the interior of the

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inn. At the back of the inner court (f) is a row of stalls (k). There are bedrooms on the first floor (e, g & h) as well as on the second. The inn also has a connecting room with a counter (b) with a separate entrance on the street at n. 9.

Another Pompeian stabulum is located at I. viii. 12 (Fig. 10. App. 24). This establishment is only partially excavated.

Fig. 10. I. viii. 12.

There are also several terms which denoted public establishments that did not offer lodgings. A popina apparently limited its service to that of food and drink. It is a term often used by the ancient writers when referring to the public eating houses.1 The reputation of the popinæ, as seen in the ancient authors, was very low indeed. Supposedly the meat that was served in the popinæ was that of the animals killed in the sacrificial celebrations. This idea of the popinæ's menu arose from the fact that the popa was the man who

knocked the sacrifice victim down with a mallet or with the back of an axe-head. Kleberg contends that the proprietor of the popina was a popinerius and not a popa. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the popina was a place where people met for eating and drinking.

Taberna is a term which meant both 'shop' and 'tavern.' According to Kleberg, its meaning grew more and more to be 'tavern.' It seems likely that the two meanings were used interchangeably. When it was used to denote a shop, it was usually modified with a descriptive adjective which identified the shop specifically; such as, taberna vinaria or taberna vasaria.

The term thermopolium is used by modern writers more extensively than it was by the writers in antiquity. It indicated a small shop which sold hot drinks to passers-by, but it does not appear in the literature any later than Plautus.

The original meaning of genea, or geneum, is not known. It came to denote a tavern-restaurant which was also a brothel (lupanar). Another term, gurgustium, meant essentially the same type of establishment as genea.

The Pompeian tavern usually has a front room with a wide entrance opening onto the street. This room is furnished with a stone or brick counter in the shape of a right angle (Above, Figs. 1-6).

1Kleberg, pp. 17 & 128, n. 47.

2Kleberg, pp. 19-23. On p. 20, Kleberg includes a table of literary references to taberna showing the gradual shift in its meaning.

3Plautus Curculio 292; Rudens 529; Trinumus 1013. Kleberg mentions that the reference in Pseudolus 742 is uncertain. See Kleberg, pp. 24-25.

4These terms are discussed by Kleberg, pp. 8-11.
One side of the counter faces the street, to allow for the sale of food to people on the sidewalk, just as today some restaurants offer curb service (Figs. 11 & 12).

There was often a step up to the counter from the sidewalk so that the customers standing at the counter would not be in the way of the other pedestrians passing by (Figs. 13, 14 & 15).
Fig. 14. V. 1. 1/32 (App. 44).

Fig. 15. VI. Ins. Occ. 4 (App. 83).
In one of the restaurants on the Via dell'Abbondanza, I. vi. 8 (App. 19), the counter was made of wood, and although it has been destroyed, the imprint of it still remains (Figs. 16 & 17). This restaurant had been a private home and was remodeled into a restaurant. There is a kitchen area behind the counter room (b) and a stairway (c) which led to rooms on the second floor. The rooms at the back of the establishment (f, g & h) were perhaps the private quarters of the proprietor.

Fig. 16. I. vi. 8.

Against the wall at one end of the counter, there was often a series of shelves built in the form of steps. Here, near the counter attendant, the dishes could be kept conveniently ready for use (Figs. 18 & 19).
Fig. 18. I. iii. 22 (App. 14).

Fig. 19. VI. x. 1 (App. 69).
Most counters of Pompeian taverns and restaurants were equipped for heating food. The Pompeians generally cooked over charcoal, with the dish containing the food to be cooked resting on a metal tripod over the fire.¹ There was usually a hearth-like platform or a small stove built into the end of the counter which extended into the center of the room. This would be sufficient to heat simple dishes or water for the wine. At the end of the counter at VI. i. 2 (Fig. 20. App. 52) was a small stove with an opening on the side through which the small fire could be tended. The cooking dish on its tripod could be placed over another opening on the top.

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¹See the article "Roman Kitchens and Cooking Utensils" by Joan Liversidge in Apicius: The Roman Cookery Book as translated by Barbara Flower and Elisabeth Rosenbaum (London, 1958), pp. 30-37.
working surface near the fire. Some of the specialties of this
tavern may have been heated on a grate which was placed over the
fire on the beveled edge of the fire pit, thus making the tripod
apparatus unnecessary.

Fig. 21. I. iv. 27.

Fig. 22. I. iv. 27.
In some establishments, another larger stove is separate from the small one in the counter. In the restaurant at V. iv. 6/8 (Figs. 23, 24 & 25. App. 50), there is one across from the counter, to the left of the entrance n. 7. This establishment also had an ample kitchen (H) and a wine room (E).
The stove to the left of the entrance (Fig. 25) had a platform on which a fire could be built. There was a hollowed out area underneath in which fuel could be stored.
In the usual tavern counter were one or more cavities in which were placed terra cotta dolia where the food or drink could be kept ready to serve to the customers (Figs. 26, 27 & 28).

Fig. 26. I. vii. 13 (App. 45).

Fig. 27. I. vii. 8 (App. 20).
In some restaurants, as in the one at VI. viii. 8 (Fig. 29), there were several dolia built along the wall, apart from the counter itself.
Although most of the tavern counters were in the shape of a right angle, there were various other forms. The most common variation was the U-shaped counter (Figs. 30 & 31).

Fig. 30. I. ix. 4 (App. 26).

Fig. 31. VII. ii. 32/33 (App. 86).
The counter at VI. ii. 1/31 (Fig. 32. App. 56) was J-shaped (Fig. 5, plan).

There was no bend at all in the counter at VI. iv. 8/9 (Fig. 33. App. 64). It merely projects straight out from the wall.
The shape of the counter at the tavern at VI. i. 5 (Fig. 34. App. 53) is unique in that the stove at the end faces inward to the area behind the counter. As seen in the other taverns, the stove usually extends into the middle of the room. Also seen in the photograph is the counter of another tavern across the street at VI. Ins. Occ. 4.

In the tavern at I. ii. 7/8 (Fig. 35. App. 6) there is a counter which has the customary shape of a right angle. However, along the wall, there is another counter in which the dolia have been placed.
The Pompeian taverns are sometimes connected to houses.\textsuperscript{1} It is difficult to discern how much of the house was utilized as a part of the business. The kitchen equipment was often set further inside the house from the counter room, but in most cases it is doubtful that the customers were actually served in the house itself. Most of the tavern's clientele was served in the front room and, in some places, in the few rooms set aside for this purpose. Taverns connected to the more elaborate houses probably confined the business to the counter room and sometimes to a room above it also. This was perhaps true of the two taverns connected to the House of Loreius Tiburtinus at II. ii. 1 and 3 (Figs. 36 & 37. App. 37 & 38). Both shops are connected directly to the atrium and were probably closed off from the rest of the house by doors. According to Della Corte, these two establishments were managed by tavern keepers to whom the

\textsuperscript{1}Kleberg lists some of these taverns on pp. 78 & 79.
shops were rented. Their names, Astylus, Pardalus and Athictus, are mentioned in four political notices.¹ Many of the taverns connected to houses were probably managed by the slaves of the owner rather than by the master himself.

¹Della Corte, Case, pp. 308 & 315. CIL IV 7525; 7528; 7523; 7545. At election time in ancient Pompeii, the practice was to paint political notices, supporting various candidates, on the walls along the streets. Often the individuals, or groups, that were responsible for the political notices would record their names along with their recommendations. In this way it is possible to identify the owners of some of the houses and shops. For example, a tavern at VI. i. 18 (App. 55) was managed by Phoebus, according to a political notice outside his door. In it, Phoebus and his customers announce their support for M. Holconius Priscus and C. Gavius Rufus for the two leading magistrates of the city, the duoviri. "M(arcum) Holconium Priscum / C(alum) Gavium Rufum (duo) vir(os) / Phoebus cum emptoribus / suis rogat." CIL IV 103.
Another small tavern, connected to a much less elaborate house than that of Loreius Tiburtinus, is found at VI. xvi. 33 (Fig. 39. App. 80). The photograph of the counter (Fig. 38) is taken from the doorway of the atrium (B) which leads into the tavern (C).

Fig. 38. VI. xvi. 33.

There is a stove (c) in the atrium which was probably meant for the use of the tavern (Fig. 40).

Fig. 40. VI. xvi. 33.
The tavern at I. x. 2 (Fig. 41. App. 28) was originally a bedroom of the connecting house at n. 3.

Behind the counter room of many Pompeian taverns there were often several rooms furnished with tables and benches or stools. One of the taverns connected to the House of Julia Felix, II. iv. 7 (Fig. 42. App. 41), has the usual counter facing the street. There is a
room to the side of the counter room in which there is a masonry triclinium with a table (Fig. 43).

Fig. 43. II. iv. 7.

On the other side of the room, opposite the triclinium, there is an unusual structure built along the wall (Fig. 44). It is possible that this served the same purpose as benches and tables. There seem to be

Fig. 44. II. iv. 7.
two tables, each with a bench on three sides. According to Della Corte, this house was a meeting place of the youth of the town, the Iuvenes. It is possible that this well-furnished party room, unique in the town, was used as a type of private club.

The excavations at Herculaneum help us form a complete picture of the Pompeian public establishments. This is due largely to the preservation of the food and wood which resulted when rain combined with the volcanic ash to cover Herculaneum during the eruption in A.D. 79. One tavern (Fig. 45), which is connected to the House of

Fig. 45. V. 6/7.

the Mosaic of Neptune and Aphrodite at V. 6 is, according to Maiuri, the best preserved shop of antiquity.¹ At the north end of the counter there is a stove (f) and in the southeast corner of the room there is a kitchen area with a larger stove (f¹). A third platform with a hearth is in the room behind the shop (r²). Carbonized vegetables were found in the dolia which had been set into the counter. Along the wall behind the counter is a loft which has a wooden railing in a criss-cross pattern. Many amphoras were found in this upper storage area (Fig. 46). The area underneath the loft, closed off from the rest of the shop by wooden doors, may also have been a storage place. Maiuri suggests that this could have been a place where the tavern keeper might rest but, at the same time, keep an eye on the shop during the periods of the day when business was slow.

¹Amedeo Maiuri, Ercolano, i nuovi scavi, Vol. I (Roma, 1958), p. 402; Plan, p. 394. See Fig. 48 for a cross section drawing from Vol. II, Tav. XXXIV.
On the south wall, there hangs a double-tiered wine rack in which amphoras of the various kinds of wine sold in the shop were kept (Fig. 47). This wine rack is similar to another found also in Herculaneum in the Insula Orientalis II. 9. This shop has no remains of a counter, but along the back wall there is suspended a single tier of a wooden wine rack.¹

In another well-preserved place in Herculaneum (IV. 15/16) there were found carbonized grain, cereals and vegetables. Maiuri states that wine was perhaps served here because of the display shelves at one end of the counter.² This shop had three serving rooms and a kitchen in which there were traces of a hearth. Next door there is another tavern in which carbonized nuts were found. This tavern, which offered a triclinium to its clientele, is

¹Ibid., pp. 462-463, Fig. 419. ²Ibid., p. 434, Plan p. 433.
connected to the house at n. 18.\textsuperscript{1}

A survey of the general composition of the public establishments in Pompeii and Herculaneum demonstrates their similarity to one another. However, no two are exactly alike. The variations that do exist, no matter how insignificant, contribute to the individual character of each establishment.

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., pp. 436-437, Plan p. 437. See Fig. 49 below for a plan of the excavations at Herculaneum and indication of other public establishments there. The plan is taken from Maiuri, Ercolano, \textit{i nuovi scavi}, Vol. II, Tav. V.
Fig. 48. Tavern in House of the Mosaic of Neptune and Aphrodite.

Herculaneum (V. 6).
CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS AND WALL PAINTINGS: WITNESSES TO TAVERN LIFE

The archaeological and epigraphical information from Pompeii illustrates and expands the picture of tavern life that is found in the writings of the classical authors. More often than not, the adjectives used in ancient literature to describe the public eating places were derogatory. The taverns and restaurants were "dirty" or "greasy."¹ Cicero, in his oration against Piso, painted a disparaging picture of the public establishments.²

Do you remember . . . how when from your malodorous lips you had exhaled upon us the fumes of that disgusting tavern, you pleaded your enfeebled health, and alleged that you were in the habit of taking some sort of vinous remedies to support it? And how, when we had accepted your explanation -- for what else could we do? -- we stood for a while in the reek and fume of your stewhouses until at length you drove us thence. . . .

The ancient authors provided their readers with descriptions of the atmosphere surrounding the taverns and restaurants, and probably accurately. At Pompeii, so rich in paintings, inscriptions and graffiti, it is possible to meet some of the people involved in the public establishments and to see a part of their tavern life.

One tavern on Mercury Street, VI. x. 1 (Figs. 50 & 51. App. 69), is particularly well-furnished with wall paintings which portray scenes in the ancient taverns. Most of the paintings

¹Horace Satires 2. 4. 62: immundis popinis; Epistles, 1. 15. 10: uncta popina.
²Cicero In Pisonem 6. 13.
were found in a room behind the counter room (b).

One of the paintings (Fig. 52 is a reconstructed drawing\textsuperscript{1} of the original painting on the right in Fig. 54) shows a group of people sitting around a table on stools. Two of them are wearing the hooded cloak of a traveler which is also portrayed in a painting from a house at I. vi. 15 (Fig. 53). The young serving boy, \textit{puer cauponius}, stands to the right of the group. There are also various types of foods hanging on a rack on the wall behind them.

A relief from a tomb at Aesernia portrays a man leading his horse, being greeted by a young girl. He, too, is wearing the customary hooded garment of the traveler (Fig. 55).\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1}Drawing from Helen Tanzer, \textit{The Common People of Pompeii: A Study of the Graffiti} (Baltimore, 1939), p. 48.

\textsuperscript{2}Drawing from Kleberg, p. 154.
Fig. 52.

Painting of traveler in
I. vi. 15.

Fig. 53.

Fig. 54. Paintings in VI. x. 1.
The serving of wine was perhaps one of the most important aspects of the tavern business. Some of the finest wines of the ancient world were available in Pompeian taverns. In a painting from the tavern at VI. x. 1, a customer is asking a serving boy for a cup of Setian (Fig. 54, painting on the left). At another tavern, VII. ii. 44/45 (App. 88), there was a sign which stated: "You can get a drink here for an as, a better drink for two, and Falernian for four."2

Most of the wine consumed in the public establishments of Pompeii was that from the local vineyards. Another painting from the tavern at VI. x. 1 portrays the method by which wine was distributed to the various wineshops. The wine was carried in a large animal skin on a cart. It was poured into empty amphorae by means of a spout which was made from one of the legs of the animal skin (Fig. 56).

1CIL IV 1292: "Adde calicem Setinum."

There are several other paintings depicting tavern life in the tavern at VI. xiv. 35/36 (App. 74). In one of them (Fig. 57), two people are greeting each other with a caption written above them: "Nolo cum Myrtale."\(^2\) In another painting (Fig. 58), two people are seated on stools, facing a woman who is about to serve them some wine. The person on the left is saying "Hoc" and his companion says "Non mia est." The serving woman states: "Qui vol(t), sumat; Oceane, veni, bibe."\(^3\)

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\(^1\)Drawing from Tanzer, p. 39. \(^2\)CIL IV 3494a. \(^3\)CIL IV 3494b-d. For a discussion of these inscriptions see F. A. Todd, "Three Pompeian Wall-Inscriptions and Petronius" Classical Review LIII (1939), pp. 5-9. See also Della Corte, Case, p. 65.
Fig. 57.
Painting from VI. xiv. 35/36.

Fig. 58.1
Painting from VI. xiv. 35/36.

¹Figs. 57 & 58 from Kleberg, p. 161.
Wine was mixed with water according to individual taste. Pliny the Elder remarked that Falernian was so strong that it could start a fire.\(^1\) One of the paintings found at VI. x. 1 shows a customer asking the server for a drop of cold water to put in his wine.\(^2\) Apparently the tavern keepers had a reputation for frequently diluting the wine much more than the customer desired. One disgruntled patron of a tavern not far from the Stabian Gate, I. ii. 24 (App. 10), wrote to his host: "Curses on you, copo, you sell water (for wine) and drink unmixed wine yourself."\(^3\) Another graffito states: "Most cordial greetings, traveller, you can eat bread at Pompeii, but at Nuceria you will drink."\(^4\) Petronius stated that innkeepers were born under the sign of Aquarius, along with men with water on the brain, when he was speaking of the human characteristics as revealed by the sign under which certain individuals were born.\(^5\) Martial, in one of his epigrams, chided the copo who could not bring himself to sell pure wine. "The vineyard drips, lashed by continued rains. Copo, you can't, though you would, sell undiluted wine."\(^6\)

The food served in the public restaurants and inns was no doubt very simple. Few of the dishes found in the gourmet cookbook

\(^1\)Pliny Natural History 14. 8.
\(^2\)CIL IV 1291: "Da fridam pusillum."
\(^3\)CIL IV 3948: "Talia te fallant, utinam, me(n)dacia, copo! Tu ve(n)dis aquam, et bibes ipse merum!" Translation from Tanzer, p. 48.
\(^4\)CIL IV 8903: "Viator, Pompeii panem gustas, Nuceriae bibes! Nuc(eriae)!" Translation from Tanzer, p. 51.
\(^5\)Petronius Satyricon 39.
\(^6\)Martial 1. 56: "Continuis vexata madet vindemia nimbis: non potes, ut cupias, vendere, copo, merum." It is interesting to note that Martial used the spelling copo, the form popularly used, rather than the correct form, caupo.
of Apicius would have found their way to the public table. The
main dish served out of the dolia in the counters was perhaps some
sort of stew. This, with the addition of bread and wine, constituted
the whole meal. Fruits and nuts were also available, especially in
fertile Campania. The Copa cites cheeses, plums, chestnuts, sweet red
apples, red mulberries, grapes and cucumbers. An inscription which
accompanies a tomb relief from Aesernia (See above, Fig. 55) includes
some information with regard to a customer's bill. It mentions a pint
of wine, bread, one as; pulmentarium, two asses; a girl, eight asses;
hay for the mule, two asses. This is presented in the form of a
dialogue between the customer and the copo.

There is a price list in the hotel at IX. vii. 24/25
(App. 135) which enumerates some of the commodities offered by the
management along with the price of each. The number at the beginning
of each series refers to a day of the month. The prices are asses
unless the denarius is specified.

6th: cheese 1, bread 8, oil 3, wine 3
7th: bread 8, oil 5, onions 5, bowl 1, bread for the slave (?) 2,
wine 2
8th: bread 8, bread for the slave (?) 4, grits 3
9th: wine for the winner 1 denarius, bread 8, wine 2, cheese 2
10th: ... 1 denarius, bread 2, for women 8, wheat 1 denarius,
cucumber 1, dates 1, incense 1, cheese 2, sausage 1, soft
cheese 4, oil 7

It is unfortunate that these price lists do not include the quantities
on which they are based.

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\(^1\)Copa 17;18; 19; 21: caseoli, pruna, castaneae nuces, suave
rubentia mala, mora cruenta, uva, cucumis.

\(^2\)CIL IX 2689: "Copo, computemus. -- Habes vini sextarium unum,
pane(m), assem unum. Pulmentar(ium), asses duos. -- Convenit. --
Puell(amat), asses octo. -- Et hoc convenit. -- Faenum mulo, asses duos.
-- Iste mulus me ad factum dabit."

\(^3\)CIL IV 5380. Translation from Lewis and Reinhold, p. 359.
At Herculaneum, a price list was found in a banquet room of the Suburban or Marine Baths. One of the guests at a party there was Primigenia, "the fair lady of Nuceria." The graffito has been transcribed as follows:

Nuc(es) Biber XIIII/ Singa II
   Panem III / Orrellas III IIII XII
   Thymatla - IIIII VIII LI

Della Corte comments on the difficulty of interpreting this graffito. He suspects that singa may have represented axungia, meaning ham or bacon fat. Orrellas perhaps stood for offellas which, Della Corte suggests, were similar to the Neapolitan cakes of today. The word thymatla is not clear and Della Corte speculates that it may have been a form of the word tomacula, meaning sausage.

Della Corte also suggests that of the two numbers following the items orrellas and thymatla, the first one represents the quantity of the item and the second number constitutes the price.2

1For a discussion of Primigenia see M. Della Corte, Loves and Lovers in Ancient Pompeii, trans. A. W. Van Buren (Cava dei Tirreni, 1960), pp. 101-120. She is described as "a lady . . . not only most beautiful but fascinating, bursting with femininity, . . . a real enchanting 'intellectual'. . . ."


"Tranne le noci e i pani, tutte le voci elencate offrono difficoltà d'interpretazione. Sono vini e bevande compresi nella voce biber(ia)?; singa sta per axungia (= lardo?) cfr. C. IV, 2070. Le orrellas della seconda linea non possono essere, a parer mio, che offellas cioè placentae, o torte variamente condite, o "pizze alla Napoletana", con evidente scambio della doppia rr in luogo della doppia ff; e i thymatla della terza linea (= salami) quanto mai divergono dalla forma normale tomacula! Circa i numeri affiancati alle voci, secondo me, quando sono singoli indicano il prezzo in assi, ma quando sono due, il primo forse registra la quantità della porzione e il secondo il prezzo. Sta da solo infine all'estrema destra il numero LI (51) comprensivo forse di altre prestazioni fornite dall'oste."
Gambling was an important part of life in Pompeian taverns and restaurants. There is a gambling house at VII. xv. 4/5 (Fig. 59. App. 113) in which several dice were found. The counter is set back inside the front room and away from the sidewalk. Apparently, curb service was not the primary source of income of this establishment.

Fig. 59. VII. xv. 4/5.

A painting in the tavern at VI. x. 1 (Fig. 60, painting on the left) depicts four people in a tavern, two of whom are playing at a dice table. The player on the right has just completed his throw of the dice. The most common dice game was played with the four sided talus. Usually four tali were used and the highest throw, called the Venus, consisted of all four dice showing different numbers.\(^1\)

\(^1\)Plautus Asinaria 906; Suetonius Augustus 71; Martial 14. 14.
The low score consisted of four aces and was called Canis\textsuperscript{1} or quattuor vulturii.\textsuperscript{2} The dice were thrown from a box.\textsuperscript{3} Gambling was forbidden by law, but the ban was lifted during the Saturnalia.\textsuperscript{4} With so many places in Pompeii where the public could partake in dice games, it seems doubtful that the law was very strictly enforced there.

In the tavern at VI. xiv. 35/36, there are two pictures, painted in the style of cartoons, which depict a quarrel over the gaming board. In the first picture (Fig. 61), the two players are shown sitting on stools and balancing a dice-board on their knees. They seem to be disagreeing as to the score on the board.\textsuperscript{5} In the second picture, (Fig. 62), they are both standing, apparently about to come to blows.

\textsuperscript{1}Suetonius \textit{Ibid.}  \textsuperscript{2}Plautus \textit{Curculio} 358.
\textsuperscript{3}Horace \textit{Satires} 2. 7. 17; Martial 14. 16.
\textsuperscript{4}Martial 4. 14; 5. 84; Suetonius \textit{Augustus} 71.
\textsuperscript{5}CIL IV 3494e-f: "Exsi." "Non tria(s), duas est."
The tavern keeper is shown pushing one of the arguing gamblers, and saying to them: "Go! fight outside."¹

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² Figs. 61 & 62 from Kleberg, p. 162.
The reputation of ancient inns as seen in the writings of the classical authors is no better than that of the taverns and restaurants. In his *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius described some of the dangers a traveler might encounter in the public inns.¹ Pliny, when discussing animal growth in the sea, mentioned that "even the creatures found in inns in the summer-time, -- those that plague us with a quick jump or those that hide chiefly in the hair . . ." were present in the water.² Petronius describes a brawl which took place at an inn that started between two people and ended up involving other lodgers and even the cooks.³

At one Pompeian inn, VII. xii. 34/35 (App. 110), there were many graffiti found. Most of them were names of the people who had stayed there composing the inn's register. One group of men who stayed at this inn wrote: "Greetings! we are most valiant drinking men! . . . When you came we paid the reckoning."⁴ Another lodger at the same inn recorded a sentiment in a much different mood. "Vibius Restitutus slept here alone, his heart filled with longings for his Urbana."⁵

Many public establishments combined the food and drink business with that of prostitution. As seen above in two inscriptions (p. 41), the price of the prostitute was included in the customer's bill. It is interesting to note that there are four inns and one

tavern near the big lupanar at VII. xii. 18/20. Within two blocks of it there are six taverns and another inn. There is a cella meretricia adjacent to the large hotel at VII. xi. 11 (App. 107). Drusus, the proprietor of the tavern next to it at n. 13, posted a sign forbidding loitering around his bar. Not far from this area is insula xiv (formerly xiii) of Region VII which has three cellae meretriciae on the north side, just around the corner from a restaurant at VII. xiv. 20/21 (App. 111). Next to the gambling house at VI. xiv. 28 (App. 73) there is another cella meretricia at n. 29. Della Corte suggests that the tavern at VII. vii. 18 (App. 102) was a sort of annex to the lupanar of Venus across the street.

The tavern of Asellina, on the Via dell'Abbondanza, IX. xi. 2 (Figs. 63 & 64. App. 140), is famous today for the tavern paraphernalia found in the counter room (Fig. 65). The tavern was more famous in antiquity because of its girls: Asellina, Smyrna from Asia Minor, Aegle from Greece, and the Hebrew Maria. Only the front

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1A cella meretricia was a prostitute's room which was very small with a bed built into one wall. There was usually a doorway that led directly to the street. See below VII. xi. 12 in Fig. 81.

2CIL IV 813: "Otiosus locus hic non est; discede morator."

3Della Corte, Case, p. 142.

4CIL IV 7862; 7863; 7864; 7866; 7873. See Della Corte, Case, pp. 256-257.
room has so far been excavated. Della Corte remarks that a tavern with such an international atmosphere as was offered by this one, would certainly have been a welcome sight for travelers from all over the Mediterranean.\footnote{Ibid.}
One of Pompeii's tavern girls was the subject of an interesting series of remarks made between two rival admirers of hers.¹

Successus, the weaver, loves Iris, the pretty maid of Coponia, but she does not care for him! Rather, he implores all the more that she should take pity on him. Claims so his rival (Severus). Vale.

Successus replied:

You envious man, because you are split with jealousy, do not attack a better looking man than you, and valiant and handsome.

To which Severus replied:

I confirm what I had said and written: You love Iris, who does not care for you. As in my previous letter. Severus to Successus. Severus.

The girl, Iris, apparently worked in the tavern at I. x. 2 (App. 28) and Severus and Successus worked at the textrina at n. 8.

The dancing girls in ancient Pompeii were probably very much like those seen in the countries of the Mediterranean today. A dancer was probably accompanied by a flute and a drum. She may have used little finger cymbals or a tambourine such as those seen in the mosaic found in the House of the Faun depicting street musicians.² A Syrian dancing girl is described in the poem, the Copa. The musical instruments which accompanied her were reed and

¹CIL IV 8258; 8259: "Successus textor amat Coponiaes ancillam nomine Iridem, quae quidem illum non curat, sed ille rogat, illa commiseretur. Scribit rivalis (Severus). Vale!" "Invidiose quia rumperis, sectari noli formonsiorem et qui est homo pravissimus et bellus." "Dixi, scripsi: amas Hridem, quae te non curat.... Ut supra Se(vers) Successo. Severus."


²For a reproduction of this mosaic see Bianca Maiuri, The National Museum (Novara, 1959), pp. 118-119.
flute-type instruments, as well as a stringed instrument.¹

The writers of antiquity painted a gloomy picture of the type of life in the public establishments of their time. It is true that many of the inns, restaurants and taverns were probably not the most ideal places. However, recent research on the gardens of Pompeii shows that several of the public establishments of that ancient city were well decorated and furnished with pleasant gardens. It is possible that some of the public eating houses and inns were not nearly as undesirable as the writings of the ancient authors indicate.²

¹Copā 4; 7; 10: tibia, calamos, fistula and chordae. For a discussion of the ancient musical instruments see Curt Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments (New York, 1940), pp. 128-150.

²For a discussion of the gardens in the inns and taverns of Pompeii see the article "A Pompeian Copā" by Wilhelmina Jashemski in the forthcoming issue of the Classical Journal (May, 1964), pp. 337-349.
CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF INNS, RESTAURANTS AND TAVERNS IN CITY LIFE

A study of the locations of the inns, restaurants and taverns in Pompeii helps us to understand the role of these establishments in the life of the city. Many were located on street corners (See plan of the city below, Fig. 75). Almost half the total number of places are at intersections. This attests to the astuteness of the businessmen who recognized the value of attracting their customers from two different directions. One such tavern, IX. i. 15/16 (Fig. 66. App. 125), is situated in the extremely busy location of the intersection.

Fig. 66. IX. i. 15/16.
of the Via Stabiana and the Via dell'Abbondanza. The entrance in
the foreground is n. 15 on the Via Stabiana, and the one in the
background, on the Via dell'Abbondanza, is n. 16.

The inns, restaurants and taverns are well distributed
throughout Pompeii. Of the completely excavated insulas which are
not wholly dedicated to one purpose, as are those of the Forum and
the Amphitheatre, there are only seven which lack public establishments.
Four of these are in Region VI where many of the older and larger
houses are located. Region VIII has relatively few places. Of the
four insulas containing public establishments, three of them have
only one each.

Although the public establishments are found throughout the
town, there are certain areas of concentration that can be noted.
It is obvious that there would be more of these places in the areas
of the town which were largely devoted to public life. Almost every
insula on the south side of the Via dell'Abbondanza has at least one
tavern. This seems appropriate for the busy commercial street.

Two of the most noticeable areas of concentration are those
around the Stabian and Forum Baths. The back door of the Stabian
Baths leads into the Vico del Lupanare on which there are three inns
and one tavern, with several other places not far away. The insula
across the Via dell'Abbondanza from the front of the Baths contains
three taverns, as does the insula across the Via Stabiana to the east
of the Baths. The insula to the east of the Forum Baths (VI. vi)
contains four taverns and one inn. Across from the Forum Baths to
the north (VI. viii) there are two quite large establishments, VI. viii, 8
and 9 (App. 66 & 67). In the photograph of VI. viii. 8 (Fig. 67), one
of the doorways leading into the Baths can be seen in the background.
The restaurant next door at n. 9 (Fig. 68) is directly across from that same entrance to the Baths. These two places were conveniently located for the trade from those who frequented the Baths. Slaves were sent, by their masters, to buy food which was prepared in the neighboring restaurants and taverns.

Fig. 67. VI. viii. 8.

Fig. 68. VI. viii. 9.
The restaurant next door at n. 9 (Fig. 68) is directly across from that same entrance to the Baths. These two places were conveniently located for the trade from those who frequented the Baths. Slaves were sent, by their masters, to buy food which was prepared in the neighboring restaurants and taverns.

Fig. 67. VI. viii. 8.

Fig. 68. VI. viii. 9.
Around the Stabian, Forum and Central Baths at Pompeii, there are various shops, the income of which perhaps helped pay for the maintenance of the Baths themselves. At Herculaneum, one such place at the Baths was an inn (See Fig. 49 above for plan). The inn has two entrances on Cardo III at nn. 2 and 3. Maiuri states that the inn surely belonged to the Baths and that the income from it contributed to their maintenance.\(^1\) He also refers to a report by Ruggiero which mentioned graffiti found near one of the entrances to the inn. These graffiti, not visible today, consisted of the accounts of the innkeeper.\(^2\) Maiuri mentions that such a hotel is in accord with the practice of utilizing some of the space of public buildings for commercial purposes, thus insuring a certain amount of income to help with the business expenses of the building.

Of the insulas which are furnished with public establishments, the majority have more than one (See city plan, Fig. 75). The entire north side that has so far been excavated of one insula (IX. vii) was devoted to the restaurant and inn business. The largest of the four establishments here, nn. 24/25 (App. 135), was an inn. The place at n. 22 (App. 133) was large enough to have possibly offered lodgings to overnight guests. The other two, nn. 23 and 26 (App. 134 & 136), were rather small taverns. In the following plan (Fig. 69), the four neighboring establishments can be seen in relation to some of the other buildings in the insula. The competition in this area of town must have been strong, as there are two taverns across the


\(^2\)Maiuri refers to the work by M. Ruggiero, Storia degli scavi di Ercolano ricomposta sui documenti superstiti (Napoli, 1885). The graffiti are quoted on pp. xlix-xlx. See also Kleberg, p. 119.
street at IX. vi. 2 and 5 (App. 130 & 131), as well as three more a mere block away at IX. ii. 24 and 25 and IX. iii. 13 (App. 126, 127 & 128).

Fig. 69. IX. vii. 22, 23, 24/25 & 26.

Public establishments, especially inns, are also concentrated in the vicinity of the city gates. This is particularly true of the Stabian and Herculaneum Gates. Just inside the Stabian Gate there are two restaurants and two inns in the first insula to the right, and an inn to the left. In the second insula on the right (i. ii), there are seven establishments -- six taverns and restaurants and one inn. This is the largest number in any one insula. Mrs. Warsher describes the area inside the Stabian Gate as "a quarter of taverns and cheap inns
for carters and teamsters. . . . " She observes a parallel between the ancient town and Pompeii of the 1930s. In the summertime, the carters traveled during the night, bringing their products from the country to the people of the city. "All night through we heard the neighing of horses, the sounds of hoofs, the . . . shouts and singing of the carters. And I imagined that the same was 2000 years ago. . . . " She continues by saying that by 1954, the horse drawn wagons had been replaced by trucks. The mechanization of transportation made it possible for the carters to return home the same day without having to find a place to stay in the city.¹

Three inns and four restaurants and taverns are on the Via Consolare just inside the Herculaneum Gate. The inns at this gate served as meeting places for the carters.² Inns and taverns were also outside the city gates. Along the Street of Tombs, beyond the Herculaneum Gate, there is a row of porticoed shops on the north side of the street. One of them, n. 16, is a small tavern with the usual counter and dolia (App. 143). Entrance n. 15 leads into a building behind the row of shops which may have been an inn. Mau states that there was a similar building and group of shops across the street also.³ According to Della Corte, there were two luxurious inns on either side of the Porta Marina outside the city walls (App. 144). These establishments overlooked the Bay.⁴

The area behind the buildings on the eastern side of the Forum was also the site of several inns. In three insulas

²CTL IV 97; 113. Della Corte, Case, p. 23.
(VII. i, xi and xii) there are five inns, one of which is the largest one in town, VII. xi. 11/14 (App. 107). The proximity of the Forum made this a particularly convenient area in which to stay.

Of the many peddlers who conducted their business in the Forum, some sold hot food to the shoppers. In one of his epigrams, Martial referred to the cry of a vendor. One such vendor is depicted among the other peddlers in a series of paintings showing life in the Forum. Magaldi, in his article on the street vendors of Pompeii, mentions the parallel between the noises of the vendors in the ancient town and those of the peddlers of modern Naples.

Another painting, depicting the riot between the Pompeians and the Nucerians in the Amphitheatre in A.D. 59, shows vendors with their portable stalls stationed around the outside of the Amphitheatre.

In the insula across from the Amphitheatre (II. v) there may have been an outdoor eating place. A triclinium was found at the southern entrance. Della Corte states that perhaps an unknown copo managed this place in much the same fashion as a similar garden-restaurant up the street across from the Palaestra at II. iii. 7 (App. 39).

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1Martial 1. 41. 9-10.

2These paintings were found in the House of Julia Felix. For a reproduction of the painting of the food vendor see Pio Ciprotti, Conoscere Pompei (Roma, 1959), p. 33; Tanzer, p. 29.

3Emilio Magaldi, "Il commercio ambulante a Pompei" Atti della Academia Pontaniana, LX (1930), pp. 61-88.

4This painting is reproduced in Ciprotti, p. 8; Mau-Kelsey, p. 221; Tanzer, p. 72.

5Della Corte, Case, p. 330.
Della Corte suggests that it is possible that the people who came to Pompeii from neighboring towns for the games camped in the Palaestra for the duration of the spectacles. Vehicles could have been parked in the wide area between the Amphitheatre and the Palaestra.\(^1\)

Several election notices attest to the fact that some public establishments served as meeting places for certain professional groups. We see the copyists (librari) at I. ii. 24 (App. 10);\(^2\) the mule drivers (muliones) near the Herculanum Gate (App. 52 & 82);\(^3\) the grape gatherers (vindemites) near the Vesuvius Gate at VI. xvi. 20/24 (App. 79).\(^4\) It is possible that the bakers (pistores) had a meeting place in or above a large tavern on the Via dell'Abbondanza at I. viii. 7/8 (App. 22),\(^5\) and we have already seen above (p. 28) that the House of Julia Felix served as the headquarters of the Juvenes. According to a series of graffiti, the fullers (fullones) had a large banquet in a spacious hotel on Nola Street at V. ii. 3/4 (Fig. 70. App. 47).\(^6\) In another tavern in the same insula (nn. 3/4 on the west side - nn. 10/11 on plan. App. 46) were found some trumpets of the type used in the games in the Amphitheatre. It is possible that this was one of the favorite taverns of some of the people connected with the spectacles. To the left of the entrance of a tavern just up the street from the big lupanar at VII. ii. 44 (App. 88), there was a humorous political notice in which a group calling themselves "late drinkers" (seri bibi) back a candidate.\(^7\)

\(^{1}\text{Ibid., p. 337.}\quad ^{2}\text{CIL IV 3376.}\quad ^{3}\text{CIL IV 97; 113.}\)  
\(^{4}\text{CIL IV 6672.}\quad ^{5}\text{CIL IV 7273.}\quad ^{6}\text{CIL IV 4107; 4118.}\quad ^{7}\text{CIL IV 581.}\)
At a tavern on the Via dell'Abbondanza at IX. xii. 7 (App. 141), an election notice was posted by Purpurio, the corpo, and a group of admirers of the actor Paris (Paridianis).  

![Diagram of a building layout](image)

Fig. 70. V. ii. 3/4 and 10/11.

It is obvious from these inscriptions that people with similar interests, business or social, identified themselves with a group. It is doubtful that they were organized formally as guild but it is definitely apparent that they united and often acted as a group, particularly in supporting a candidate for public office. Public establishments offered convenient meeting places for such groups.

Several of the early emperors placed restrictions on taverns and restaurants. Tiberius gave instructions to the aediles "to:

1CIL IV 7919.
such restrictions on cook-shops and eating-houses as not to allow
even pastry to be exposed for sale. These restrictions were later
lifted, for, according to Suetonius, when Claudius became emperor,
he "took from the aediles the regulations of the cook-shops." However, Dio Cassius reported that he later "abolished the taverns
where they [the populace] were wont to gather and drink, and
commanded that no boiled meat or hot water should be sold." Suetonius tells us that under Nero "the sale of any kind of cooked
viands in the taverns was forbidden, with the exception of pulse and
vegetables, whereas before every sort of dainty was exposed for
sale." In spite of his own restrictions, Nero availed himself of
the pleasures of the taverns, for Suetonius also reported that as soon
as the sun went down he would be off to make the rounds of the taverns. When writing of Nero, Dio Cassius stated that "though he spent practically
his whole existence amid the tavern life, he forbade others to sell
in taverns anything boiled save vegetables and pea-soup."

It is difficult to be sure of the motives behind the
emperors' restrictive measures on the public eating places.
Suetonius was concerned with Tiberius' measure when he discussed
the general reform of reducing expenditures. Here the emperor's
action was mentioned along with the reduction of the cost of games
and the limitation of actors' pay. Suetonius spoke of Nero's
restrictive measure by introducing it with a statement that during
Nero's reign many abuses were severely punished. Again the emperor's
action was included with limits set on expenditures. When Dio Cassius

1Suetonius Tiberius 34. 2Suetonius Claudius 38.
3Dio Cassius 60. 6. 7. 4Suetonius Nero 16. 5Ibid. 26.
spoke of Nero's restrictions on public establishments, it was in a description of the inconsistencies in the emperor's character. The action taken by Claudius, as reported by Dio Cassius, was at the same time that the emperor disbanded clubs. His move against the taverns seems to have been prompted by a desire to restrict the opportunities of the populace to meet and discuss their grievances. Dio Cassius preceded his reference to the tavern restrictions by saying that the Jews had grown in number in the city and that to ban them would have caused trouble. As a result, Claudius merely prohibited them from holding meetings. Thus it would seem that the motive this time was to check any possible insubordination resulting from clandestine meetings which would most likely be held in the public eating houses.

A theory advanced by Kleberg explains the emperors' restrictions by connecting them with the public welfare programs which provided housing and recreational facilities to the people living in the city. Kleberg suggests that the restrictions were placed on the public establishments, the usual meeting places of the populace, in an effort to oblige the people to take advantage of the opportunities extended to them by the government. 1 Whatever the reason for the restrictions placed on the public eating houses by the early emperors, it is doubtful that they had much effect on the tavern life of Pompeii. The measures were probably applicable only to Rome. If the regulatory measures applied to Pompeii, they were either unknown or ignored. A look at the plan of the city will show that one of the most widespread businesses in Pompeii had little or no limitations placed on its growth.

1Kleberg, pp. 105-107.
One explanation of the large number of public establishments at Pompeii is that the poor people had no kitchen facilities, particularly after the earthquake of A.D. 62. It is difficult to gauge the availability of cooking equipment, but it is possible that many of the people who lived in rented rooms had portable stoves which were used as hot plates are today. Certainly a large part of the clientele of Pompeii's public eating houses was composed of local people, but whether or not this was because they had no other way to obtain their food is questionable.

It is difficult to determine which of the inns and taverns in Pompeii were built after the earthquake for the extensive repairs that were necessary to correct the damage often changed the original character of the buildings. In most cases, a study of the types of construction will show that there are examples from several building periods existing side by side. As seen above (p. 4), the House of Sallust was transformed into a hotel, probably after the earthquake. The private apartment off to the right of the atrium is decorated in the fourth style of painting, while the rest of the house is in the first style. The entrance to the counter room at VI. ii. 5 (Fig. 71) is composed of tufa used in pre-Roman construction. The counter is decorated with fragments of marble which was not introduced until the Imperial period.

A large tavern at V. iv. 6/8 (Above, Fig. 24) has old limestone construction at entrance n. 7, and the counter is decorated in a design composed of pieces of colored marble. The counter at VI. iv. 8/9 (Above, Fig. 33) was built, or rebuilt, 

1 Ibid., pp. 101-105.  2 Mau-Kelsey, pp. 35-44.
after the earthquake using marble fragments. However, there is pre-Roman construction to the left of the entrance. The tavern on the Via dell'Abbondanza at I. ix. 4 (Above, Fig. 30) has old limestone construction to the right of the entrance, and opus mixtum, which consists of alternating layers of brick and stone, to the left. The counter contains pieces of inlaid marble.

There are many instances of the hurried repair work that took place in the city after the earthquake. In the back room of a tavern at II. i. 1 (App. 35), one of the walls was rebuilt by using amphoras in the reconstruction (Fig. 72). Two other taverns which illustrate the brickwork construction of the later period are those at V. i. 1/32 (Above, Fig. 14) and at VI. Ins. Occ. 4 (Above, Fig. 15).
The side by side existence of various types of construction from different building periods makes precise dating of many buildings almost impossible. Thus, it is difficult to ascertain the effect, if any, that the earthquake had on the tavern and inn business in Pompeii. Perhaps one of the main reasons that Pompeii was so well equipped with taverns is that Campania was a wine center. Campanian wines, especially Falernian, were famous in antiquity and many were exported. Martial wrote of the wine produced on the slopes of Vesuvius before the eruption in A.D. 79. "This is Vesbius, green yesterday with viny shades; here had the noble grape loaded the dripping vats; these ridges Bacchus loved more than the hills of Nysa." In its capacity as a seaport, Pompeii was an

1See the article "Agriculture in the Life of Pompeii" by John Day in Yale Classical Studies III (1932), pp. 167-208.

2Martial 4. 44. 1-3.
important commercial center in Campania. Many of the taverns in
the town may have been retail outlets for the vineyards in the area.

Pompeii was, then, a busy trade center from two aspects --
the surrounding countryside and the sea. The transient population
of such a commercial center must have been considerable. The games
at Pompeii also contributed to attracting visitors who would frequent
the inns, restaurants and taverns of the town.

There are many similarities between the ancient and modern
restaurants in Italy. The Italian trattoria of today has its
predecessor in the garden triclinium of antiquity. In the excavations
at Pompeii, there is a restaurant for the tourists. Behind the
main building, there is a trattoria, next to a place where there
had been a tavern in antiquity (VII. vi. 23/25. App. 100). The
atmosphere of this vine covered dining area (Fig. 73) is not unlike
that of the triclinium in the garden of the House of Sallust (Above,
Fig. 7).

Fig. 73. Modern trattoria.
The practice of displaying food as seen in the Pompeian wall painting (Above, Figs. 52 & 54) is still evident in Italian restaurants today. In one modern restaurant in Rome (Fig. 74), the kinds of food which are seen hanging from the ceiling would be quite familiar to the Pompeian of antiquity. The grapes, sausages, cheeses and onions are all found in the price list of the ancient inn at IX. vii. 24/25 (Above, p. 41).

Fig. 74. Chiave d'Oro restaurant in Rome.

It is true, as Martial said, that after the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 "all lies drowned in fire and melancholy ash."¹ Nevertheless, despite the disaster that befell the ancient Pompeians, their spirit has endured and can be detected often in the Italy of today.

¹Martial 4. 44. 7.
Fig. 75. Plan of the excavations at Pompeii.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Cited</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BI</td>
<td><a href="#">Bullettino dell'instituto di corrispondenza archeologica</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyce</td>
<td>G. Boyce, <em>Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIL</td>
<td><em>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Pompeii: The New Excavations.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fiorelli, Descr.</td>
<td>G. Fiorelli, <em>Descrizione di Pompei.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Gli Scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kleberg</td>
<td>T. Kleberg, <em>Hôtels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans l'Antiquité Romaine.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td><em>Real Museo Borbonico.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td><em>Notizie degli scavi di antichità.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheffold</td>
<td>K. Scheffold, <em>Die Wände Pompejis.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinazzola</td>
<td>V. Spinazzola, <em>Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di via dell'Abbondanza (anni 1910-1923).</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsher</td>
<td>T. Warsher, <em>Codex Topographicus Pompeianus.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX

THE INNS, RESTAURANTS AND TAVERNS OF POMPEII.

1.
I. i. 1.

The first entrance to the right of the Stabian Gate is a tavern having a narrow counter with a small stove. There is a side entrance on the pomerium at n. 10 and three back rooms to accommodate customers. A storage room is to the right of the entrance. The tavern keeper was Epagatus (CIL IV 1015).


2.
I. i. 2.

This three room tavern has a counter with three dolia built along the north wall of the shop. In the center of the room, there is a long rectangular marble counter which perhaps served as an eating table. To the right of the back of this room, there are a large kitchen containing a stove, a latrine and a staircase leading to the living quarters above. The dining room is to the left.


3.
I. i. 3/5.

A stabulum entrance is at n. 3 of this inn. The entranceway is connected to the following two shops, nn. 4 and 5, which perhaps served as a restaurant. The courtyard had stalls along the back wall. In the NW corner of the court, there is a stable which had a roof. The stalls along the back were covered by a dormitory
on the second floor. There were a watering trough, a kitchen, and

two separate rooms in the back, as well as a stairway to the upper

floor and a latrine.

BL, 1875, pp. 27-29. Fiorelli, Descr., p. 33. Warsher, Reel 8,

Plan. Della Corte, Case, p. 221.

4.

I. i. 6/9. Photo, Fig. 8; Plan, Fig. 9.

The Inn of Hermes is so called because of a picture on the left

wall of the entrance depicting an innkeeper, labeled Hermes, in the

act of emptying an amphora of wine into a dolium (CIL IV 3355). The

stabulum entrance, at n. 8, leads into the inner courtyard (f) and a

row of stalls (k) along the rear wall. The tavern at n. 9 (b) has

the usual counter with a stove and a back room (c) connected to

the counter room. There is another room (d) for eating and drinking

at n. 6. A flight of stairs going to rooms above the front part of

the establishment is at n. 7. There are three sleeping rooms on the

first floor (e, g & h). Other rooms, above the stalls, could be

reached by the stairs at the north wall of the courtyard.

BL, 1875, pp. 30-32. Fiorelli, Descr., pp. 33-34. Mau-Kelsey,


5.

I. ii. 1.

The principal entrance to this tavern is at n. 1 on the Via Stabiana.

The front room has the usual counter, this time with one dolium.

There is a stove to the right of the doorway near the side entrance,

n. 32. Two of the back rooms have their own entrances from the side

street, nn. 31 and 30. There is a latrine near the door at n. 30.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 36. Warsher, Reel 1, Plan.
Entrance n. 7 leads to a two room shop connected with the tavern at n. 8. The two rooms at n. 7 may have been dining rooms. The room at n. 8 has the usual counter, with one dolium. There is another counter, along the north wall, with three dolia in it. There are places for two beds in a back room, as well as traces of a staircase leading to an upper floor. The proprietors were C. Hostilius and Hirtia Psacas (CIL IV 3905).

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 41. Warsher, Reel 1, Plan. Della Corte, Case, p. 221.

The counter of this tavern, at entrance n. 18, has six dolia and a stove. To the right of the counter is a small room which had another one above it. Fiorelli suggested that it was reached by means of a ladder. There are two other rooms behind the counter room, with a latrine in the one on the left. The side entrance n. 19 led into this room. Along the east wall there is evidence that there were two wooden stairways leading to the upper rooms. According to Della Corte, this tavern was also a brothel which was owned by a Greek, Demetrius, and a woman named Helpis (CIL IV 2993; 3359; 3200).


This rather large establishment apparently was a combination restaurant and brothel. The usual counter is at entrance n. 21 and a stove is to the right of the door. The first room to the right of entrance n. 20 was perhaps the room of the proprietor. The
kitchen, the latrine and a small storeroom are to the left. In
the back there are two dining rooms, a staircase leading to the
rooms on the upper floor, and a viriderarium where a biclinium with
its table was found. Two people mentioned in political notices
may have been the proprietors, Papilione and Innulus (CIL IV 3366;
3367). The names of some of the girls, as well as those of some
of the regular customers are recorded in several graffiti (CIL IV
3910-3943).

BI, 1873, p. 246. Fiorelli, Descr., pp. 45-46. Boyce, pp. 22-
23. Warsher, Reel 1, Plan. Della Corte, Case, pp. 228-229. Kleberg,

9.
I. ii. 22.

This restaurant has a kitchen to the left of the entrance and
several back rooms to accommodate customers. There are traces of
a staircase leading to upper dining rooms to the right of the
entrance.

BI, 1874, p. 263. Fiorelli, Descr., p. 46. Boyce, p. 23. Warsher,
Reel 1, Plan.

10.
I. ii. 24.

The entranceway of this large restaurant leads to a covered area
with its roof supported by two columns on either side of an
impluvium which is built into the wall opposite the entrance. At
the end of the entranceway, to the right, is a small storage space
under a stairway. On the east side of the atrium is a garden with
a portico on the southern and western sides. A masonry triclinium
with three couches and a table was found in the garden. At the
north end of the portico is a bedroom. A triclinium, a lavatory,
a storeroom and the kitchen with a stove and a latrine are along
the south wall. There is a large room opening from the north end of the atrium followed by another staircase leading to the upper floor. Behind this are two more rooms which were probably dormitories. To the left of the atrium are two rooms, one having a door to the connecting shop at entrance n. 25. According to an inscription, this was a meeting place of the copyists, the librari (CIL IV 3376). Fiorelli identified this place as an officina libraria, whereas Mau called it a caupona.


11. I. ii. 29.

This one room tavern has the usual counter, with a stove. The wall near the counter has traces of shelves. The room is connected directly to the atrium of the house at n. 28. Here there lived Polybius (CIL IV 3379) who was probably the proprietor of the tavern.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 49. Warsher, Reel 1, Plan. Della Corte, Case, p. 230.

12. I. iii. 2.

The counter of this one room tavern has four dolia and three display shelves against the north wall. To the right of the entrance there was a staircase.


13. I. iii. 11.

This place has a U-shaped counter with eight dolia. To the right of the entrance there may have been a stove. Another room is
connected along the south side of the counter room, which perhaps was used to serve food to the customers. This establishment, which is not listed in Kleberg's study, may have been a tavern. Both Fiorelli and Warsher refer to it as a shop.

Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, p. 72, Plan Tav. XII; Descr., p. 53. Warsher, Reel 1.

14. I. iii. 22. Photo, Fig. 18.

The counter of this one room tavern has one dolium, a small stove and two display shelves against the north wall. In the back of the counter room there is a doorway leading to the house at n. 20. Separate living quarters above the tavern could be reached by the staircase at n. 21.


15. I. iii. 28.

This tavern consists of one room which has the usual counter, this time with three dolia. A large stove is to the right of the entrance and a smaller one is at the back of the room under the stairway.


16. I. iv. 3.

This one room tavern is connected to the atrium of the house at n. 2. It has the usual counter, with three dolia in it. There is a window opening into the shop at n. 4. Fiorelli suggested that perhaps they were both owned by the same person.

Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, p. 65, Plan Tav. XII; Descr., p. 61.
17. I. iv. 11.

According to Fiorelli, this tavern had a counter with one dolium. Nothing remains of it now. Inside the shop was a stove, and two rooms to accommodate customers. Behind these were a small garden and a latrine. The proprietor had a political notice outside his door (CIL IV 939: "Copiosus rogat.").


18. I. iv. 27. Photos, Figs. 21 & 22.

This small tavern on the Via dell'Abbondanza has a counter with two dolia and a stove. Along the back wall there was a stairway leading to the upper rooms. A latrine was under the stairway and near this was a small back room perhaps for the use of customers.

Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, p. 69, Plan Tav. XII; Descr., p. 68. Schefold, p. 17.

19. I. vi. 8. Photo, Fig. 16; Plan, Fig. 17.

Entrances nn. 8 & 9 lead to a house and a restaurant. The restaurant (A) was originally the fauces of the house, but after the transformation into a place of business, the atrium became part of the restaurant. The imprint of what once was a wooden counter can be seen at n. 8. There is a storeroom (a) in the NW corner of the atrium. On the opposite side, there is a kitchen (b) and, further back, a stairway to the upper dining rooms (c). The tablinum (d) may have been used as a triclinium. There is a latrine in the back (e'). The three back rooms (f, g & h) may have been the copo's living quarters.

20.  
I. vii. 8.  Photos, Figs. 11 & 27; Plan, Fig. 12.

This corner tavern was originally connected to the house at n. 7.
At entrance n. 8, on the Via dell'Abbondanza, there is the usual counter, with two dolia and a stove. Behind the counter is another room (A), perhaps available to the customers. To the left of this room is a smaller one (b) which was a storeroom or a latrine. A staircase leading to the upper floor was to the left of the entrance on the side street, n. 9.

NS, 1912, p. 185; 1927, p. 32, Plan p. 4. Della Corte, New Excav., p. 32; Case, p. 262.

21.  
I. vii. 13/14.

This tavern has the usual counter facing the street. Many amphoras were found in the rooms on the second floor. This place was owned by Masculus, who is mentioned in three electoral notices and in a graffito on the counter (CIL IV 7238; 7239; 7240; 8165).

NS, 1946, pp. 84-87. Della Corte, Case, pp. 265-266. Schefold, p. 34.

22.  
I. viii. 7/8.

The restaurant of L. Betutius Placidus and his wife Ascula has a large counter, roughly U-shaped, with seven dolia at entrance n. 8. On the south wall of the counter room is an impressive lararium painting depicting the genius familiaris, the Lares, Bacchus and Mercury. A door from the counter room leads to the atrium of the house. It is possible that the bakers had a meeting place here, perhaps on the upper floor (CIL IV 7273). The tavern keeper, L. Betutius Placidus, recorded his name on several political notices (CIL IV 7275; 7278; 7279; 7280; 7284; 7290). His name and initials also appear on three amphoras (CIL IV 9614b; 9615;
Ascula's name appears on three electoral notices (CIL IV 7288; 7291; 7295) and in a graffito from the triclinium inside the house (CIL IV 8194a).


This establishment is called the Hospitium of Pulcinella because of a painting which depicts Mercury and a group of men posing in the manner of Pulcinella. Many amphorae were found in a semi-subterranean kitchen here.


The entrance to this place has a sloping entrance characteristic of a stabulum. The courtyard and a few rooms on the west side of it have been excavated. A large number of amphorae were found in the NW corner of the courtyard.


On the SW corner of the insula, there is a tavern having the usual counter, with five dolia and a stove. There are several rooms for the accommodation of the customers. The counter differs from most in that it is set back from the sidewalk, enough to allow for a doorway between the outside wall and the counter. This door leads into a connecting paintshop which may have been under the same management as the tavern.

26.
I. ix. 4. Photo, Fig. 30.
This tavern is connected to the "house of Successus" on the Via dell'Abbondanza. The U-shaped counter has four dolia and three display shelves.
Della Corte, Case, p. 283.

27.  
I. ix. 11.
Della Corte identified this place as a caupona. It has a counter with display shelves, but no dolia. According to a political notice, the tavern keeper was Amarantus (NS, 1958, p. 79: "Amarantus Pompeianus rog(at)."
Della Corte, Case, p. 284. NS, 1958, p. 79.

28.  
I. xi. 2. Plan, Fig. 41.
The counter of this tavern has two dolia and a stove. The tavern was originally a bedroom off the entrance of the connecting house of Poppaeus at n. 3. There is an interesting exchange between two rival lovers, Severus and Successus, who both worked at the textrina at n. 8 (CIL IV 8258;8259: See above, p. 49). The girl, Iris, whom they both admired worked at this tavern along with Capella Bacchis (CIL IV 8238; 8246) and Prima (CIL IV 8241; 8248).
NS, 1933, pp. 279-280; 1934, pp. 271-275, Plan p. 266 & Tav. IX. Della Corte, Case, pp. 243-244. Schefold, p. 38.

29.
I. x. 13.
This one room tavern has the usual counter, with two dolia and a stove. In the SW corner there is a staircase leading to the upper floor. No amphoras were found in the tavern, but many were found at the posticum of the house next to it at n. 14.
NS, 1934, pp. 340-341, Plan Tav. IX. Della Corte, Case, p. 252.
30. I. xi. 1. (II. i. 1).
The counter of this tavern has display shelves and five dolia built against the west wall. There is a room to the east of the counter which has a window opening into the counter room. This room was perhaps for customers.


31. I. xi. 10/12.
This large establishment, recently excavated, has several large rooms besides that of the front counter room. To the east of the counter room is a large garden which perhaps was incorporated into the business as an outside dining area. A sign with an elaborately painted Phoenix has given this restaurant its name.

NS, 1958, p. 84.

32. I. xii. 3. (II. ii. 3).
This establishment has a sales counter decorated in a reticulate floral design. There is a figure of Mercury at the entrance, and two large busts of Roma with the attributes of Minerva and of Alexander. According to Della Corte, this confirms again the extent of the commercial activity between Pompeii and the Roman world with the eastern Mediterranean. This place is large enough to have possibly rented rooms to lodgers.


33. I. xii. 5. (II. ii. 5).
This tavern has the usual counter, but of unusual shape. The side that faces the street has an indentation so the right end of the
counter is set further back than the left. The display shelves, built against the east wall, are not connected to the counter.


34. I. xix. 1/2. (I. xi. 1/2).

This tavern has the usual counter in the front room and a small room adjoining. According to several graffiti, it seems that Stabilio was the *capo* here (*CIL* IV 8419; 8423a-b).

Della Corte, *Case*, p. 254.

35. II. i. 1. (II. iv. 1). Photo, Fig. 72.

The front room of this tavern has the customary counter, with one dolium and two wide display shelves. Along the west wall is a passage leading to a series of back rooms. The first room has a window opening into the counter room. The upper dining rooms had a balcony which protruded over the sidewalk. According to a political notice, the proprietor of this establishment was Hermes (*CIL* IV 7489) and one of the girls who worked here was Palmyra (*CIL* IV 8475).


36. II. i. 6. (II. iv. 6).

One step up from the sidewalk is a counter with two dolia and a stove. This room is connected to nn. 3, 4 & 5. This is such an extensive place that it may have been the business of a very successful wine merchant.

*NS*, 1917, p. 254.
Connected to the atrium of the House of Loreius Tiburtinus is this corner tavern having the usual counter, with two dolia. In the long narrow room at the back of the counter room is a staircase which led to the upper floor. There is another entrance from the street on the east side of the insula. Two political notices reveal the names of the two managers of the tavern, Astylus and Pardalus (CIL IV 7525; 7528).


This one room tavern is also connected to the House of Loreius Tiburtinus. The counter was made of wood and only the imprint of it remains. In the SW corner there is a small room which was perhaps for the tavern keeper. To the left of the doorway into the atrium of the large house, there is a staircase. According to two political notices, the tavern keeper here was Athictus (CIL IV 7523; 7545). A number of graffiti were found inside the tavern (CIL IV 8489-8494).


This place was at one time part of the garden areas of the houses on the north side of the insula. Apparently, in the last days, a copo served at portable tables under the trees here. The crowds from the Amphitheatre no doubt made this a busy restaurant during the games. Only a triclinium remains visible today.

Della Corte, Case, p. 322.
This one room tavern is connected to the House of Julia Felix. It has the usual counter, with one dolium. There is a stove in the SW corner of the room.

Della Corte, New Excav., Plan p. 103; Case, p. 324.

This is another tavern that is connected to the House of Julia Felix. The counter has one dolium, a stove and four display shelves. In a room to the east of the counter room, there is a masonry triclinium along the north wall. Across from it, there are three masonry benches with tables built into the south wall.

Della Corte, Case, pp. 324 & 328.

Only the front room of this tavern is excavated. It has a U-shaped counter with six dolia and a stove. There are two doorways at the back which lead to places not yet excavated. The tavern was managed by Pherusa (CIL IV 7749) and is highly decorated with paintings. Admirers of the gladiator Crescens recorded their feelings toward him here (CIL IV 4318; 4353; 4356).

NS, 1936, pp. 310-316. Della Corte, Case, p. 318.

This small place was identified as a caupona by Della Corte. According to an inscription found here, the proprietor was Statius (CIL IV 7767).

Della Corte, Case, p. 320.
Strategically located on the corner of Via di Nola and Via Stabiana is this tavern that has an entrance on each street. The customary counter is at entrance n. 1, having four dolia and a stove. There are three back rooms to accommodate customers. The tavern keeper was Fortunatus who posted his political notice near entrance n. 32 (CIL IV 831).

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 419. Della Corte, Case, p. 102.

This tavern has a counter that is placed a bit more inside the doorway than usual. It has six dolia and a place in the corner for the display shelves. A stove is in the corner to the right of the entrance. There are rooms in the back to accommodate customers, as well as a kitchen with a large stove. Also at the back, against the north wall, is a stairway with a latrine under it.


The counter of this tavern is at entrance n. 3. A passage at n. 4 (a) leads into the back room (b) that is also connected to the counter room. A large stove is in the middle of this room, and in the SW corner was a staircase leading to the upper rooms. Back of this room was the kitchen (c) which has a latrine in the SW corner and a bedroom (d). It was in this tavern that several trumpets of the sort used in amphitheatres were found.

The principal entrance of this large inn on Nola Street is at n. 4. Entrance n. 3 leads into a shop which has a back room with a staircase. Along the east wall of the atrium (b) are several rooms. A small room (m) may have been at one time a staircase. It is followed by a bedroom (l), a storeroom (k) which had shelves on three walls, another bedroom (i), and a room (h) which may have been another storeroom. On the west side of the atrium is a bedroom (d) which is next to a large storeroom (e). The tablinum (g) opened onto a peristyle (o) which had a walkway (p) around its three sides. Apparently there was a walkway on the upper level also, accessible by the stairs in the kitchen (v) or perhaps by the stairs in the SE corner of the walkway (q). The hall (t) had its counterpart above, which led to a room above the back bedroom (u). The kitchen could be reached either through the hall (t) or by the small portico in the NE corner of the colonnade. Here there was a stove and, nearby, a latrine. At the back wall of the kitchen was a staircase leading to a room over a small back room (s) and to the upper hall. According to several graffiti found in the portico, this establishment was the scene of a banquet given by the fullers (CIL IV 4100; 4102; 4106; 4107; 4109; 4118; 4120. See Walter Moeller, "The Woolen Industry at Pompeii." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1962, pp. 145-146). The host for the celebration was L. Quintilius Crescens (CIL IV 4107). NS, 1884, pp. 47-51. BI, 1885, pp. 177-181, 202-207, 222-224. Plan p. 157. Boyce, p. 34. Della Corte, Case, pp. 104-105. Schefold, pp. 70-71.
48. 
V. ii. 13.

This tavern has a counter with four dolia which is set further back from the sidewalk than usual. There is a small stove in the right corner inside the entrance and a staircase leading to the upper floor. A room to accommodate customers is at the back of the counter room, and a passageway leads to the latrine.


49. 
V. ii. 17/20.

This large restaurant consisted of a shop with two back rooms at entrance n. 17, a staircase with its separate entrance on the street at n. 18, and a tavern at n. 19. The house at the back has a separate entrance on the side street at n. 20. The U-shaped counter at n. 19 has four dolia. In the back there is a room, perhaps for the use of the customers, followed by a passage into the house. To the left of the entrance n. 17 was found a political notice which recorded the proprietor's name, Pollia (CIL IV 368).


50. 
V. iv. 6/8. Photos, Figs. 24 & 25; Plan, Fig. 23.

The first of three entrances to this restaurant on Nola Street, n. 6, is a room which is connected to a counter room at entrance n. 7. An entrance from the street on the eastern side of the insula, n. 8, leads into the back rooms. The counter has one dolium, five wide display shelves against the east wall, and a small stove. Against the west wall, across from the counter, is a larger stove with a hollowed out area underneath, perhaps for fuel storage. A staircase
(B) leads to the rooms on the second floor. In the NW corner of the establishment is a wine room (E). Here eight large dolia were found half buried in the ground. To the right at the end of the passageway which leads in from entrance n. 8, there is a room (H) with a small stove and a latrine to the side of it. Because of a seal found in this restaurant, Della Corte suggested that this large establishment was managed by Spatalus, a servant of Cornelius Zosimus, who may have been the owner of the building (S. 32).


51.

VI. i. 1. Plan, Fig. 3.

This small inn near the city wall at the Herculaneum Gate was furnished with a garden triclinium (9). A staircase (3) led to the two or three upper rooms that were rented to lodgers.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 76. Boyce, p. 43. Della Corte, Case, p. 22.


52.

VI. i. 2/4. Photo, Fig. 20.

This large establishment has a restaurant at entrance n. 2 with the usual counter having a stove and display shelves. There are three rooms off the counter room to accommodate customers, and a passage going to the latrine. This restaurant is connected to the following inn at n. 4 by way of a passage under the stairs at n. 3. The inn has two rooms and a triclinium in the front. Along the north wall, in the back, there were a watering trough and three bedrooms. A covered area for housing carriages and the stall were along the back wall. This was a meeting place for the carters as was the hotel across the street (CIL IV 97; 113).

Fiorelli, Descr., pp. 76-77. Della Corte, Case, p. 22.
53. VI. i. 5. Photo, Fig. 34.

The unusually shaped counter of this restaurant has a stove and four display shelves. There are four rooms in the back: three small and one large. To the right of the entrance, was a storage room with a built-in wash basin.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 77.

54. VI. i. 17.

The counter of this tavern has one dolium and display shelves. In the back, to the left, is a room for customers and, to the right, is a passage which leads to a small area containing a stove and a latrine. According to a political notice, the tavern keeper was Acisculus (CIL IV 102).

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 81. Della Corte, Case, p. 29.

55. VI. i. 18.

This corner tavern has the usual counter and a stove to the right of the entrance. The storage room and the latrine are in the back. There is a back door opening onto the street on the eastern side of the insula at n. 20. This place was managed by Phoebus (CIL IV 103).

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 82. Della Corte, Case, p. 29.

56. VI. ii. 1/31. Photo, Fig. 32; Plan, Fig. 5.

Another tavern located on a corner has a J-shaped counter with six dolia and a stove at entrance n. 1. Behind the counter room there is another room which has its own entrance at n. 31, with a latrine near it. There follows a room which contained a staircase leading to the rooms above the front part of the tavern.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 83.
Entrance n. 5 leads to one of the oldest houses in the city. The counter room, at n. 4, is connected to the atrium of the house. Apparently the house was changed into a hotel and restaurant. The counter has six dolia and a stove. There is a large marble block behind it that may have been a table. At the time of remodeling, a second story was added to the house which was accessible from the stairs at the end of room n. 18. The rooms around the atrium were all utilized as bedrooms. In the corner of the garden (24) is a triclinium (25) which was covered by a pergola on two pilasters. A hearth (p) was conveniently installed in the colonnade for the preparation of food intended to be served in the triclinium. At the south end of the garden walkway were a storage room, a second stairway (o), and a vestibule of the posticum at n. 30. The purpose of the large room at n. 26 is not clear. Perhaps it was a kitchen area. The private apartment, entered through room n. 29, was perhaps reserved for the proprietor and his family. It consists of a garden, two bedrooms, a triclinium and a kitchen with a stairway at the back. Fiorelli suggested that the connecting room at entrance n. 3 served as a lobby or vestibule for the hotel. This establishment is known as the House of Sallust, but according to a seal found here, it perhaps belonged to A. Coss(ius) Liban(us) (S. 33).


The main entrance to this establishment is at n. 19 on the eastern side of the insula. According to Fiorelli, this was a house that
was transformed into a stabulum. It has a large stable with rooms, perhaps dormitories, above. A covered passage led back into the garden, from which opened the posticum, n. 18, onto the street on the western side of the insula.

Fiorelli, Descr., pp. 88-89.

59. VI. ii. 20.

Fiorelli suggested that this may have been an hospitium. A kitchen is located to the right of the entrance. Further back are entrances to a triclinium and two smaller rooms. Not far from this there are two other rooms which may have been used for sleeping or dining rooms.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 89.

60. VI. iii. 18/20.

A woman named Fortunata managed this tavern (CIL IV lll). The first entrance, n. 18, leads to a triangular room in which there is evidence of a staircase, and also where many amphoras were found. The following two doors, nn. 19 and 20, lead into the room containing the usual counter, with four dolia and a stove. There is a shelf that runs along the east wall at the counter which perhaps took the place of display shelves that are usually connected to the counter. Behind this counter room, there are two other rooms, perhaps to accommodate customers.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 94. Boyce, p. 45. Della Corte, Case, p. 32.

61. VI. iii. 24.

This tavern has the usual counter and two sets of shelves on the north wall of the front room. To the left are two small rooms and,
Fiorelli, Descr., p. 94. Boyce, p. 45.

VI. iv. 1.

Fiorelli identified this place as a tavern, but also stated that in the older bibliography, it was identified as a pharmacy because of the remains of what was thought to have been some sort of chemicals in small bottles and pill boxes. It has the usual counter with a stove connected to it. There are two back rooms, and at the end of a narrow passage there is a latrine. The entrance at n. 2 is a staircase leading to an upper apartment.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 95. Della Corte, Case, p. 32.

VI. iv. 3/4.

This place was identified by Fiorelli as a possible hospitium. There is a counter room at entrance n. 3 with a back room and traces of a staircase. The main part of the hospitium, at n. 4, has a large center room and a passage in the back containing a kitchen and a stairway leading to rooms on the second floor. Also in the back are three small rooms and a latrine.


VI. iv. 8/9. Photo, Fig. 33.

The counter of this corner tavern is at entrance n. 8. It is built straight out from the north wall and is furnished with three dolia and three shelves. Entrance n. 9 leads into the back of this same room where tables may have been set up. At the back there is a small storage place. Entrance n. 10 leads to an apartment above.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 96.
VI. v. 12.
The house at n. 13 has this one room tavern connected to its atrium. The usual counter has display shelves at one end and a stove at the other.
Fiorelli, Descr., p. 99.

VI. viii. 8. Photos, Figs. 29 & 67.
Across from the Forum Baths is a restaurant with a large U-shaped counter having six dolia and a stove. Near the counter, half buried in the ground, is a large terra cotta dolium. Along the west wall of this front room, under the staircase at n. 7, is another counter with five dolia in it. A small room in the back of the counter may have been the bedroom of the proprietor. Behind the counter room were two rooms for customers, the kitchen, the latrine and a large triclinium. This establishment seems to be connected to the House of the Tragic Poet next door.

VI. viii. 9. Photo, Fig. 68.
Another tavern across from the Forum Baths is at n. 9. It has a narrow counter with one small dolium and a stove. There are four dolia embedded in the ground near the east wall. One back room is relatively shut off from the rest of the place behind the counter, but the other larger one in the NW corner is almost completely open to the counter room. There are two steps leading from the back of this room to the three rooms in the rear of the shop at nn. 12/13 on Mercury Street. Perhaps these rooms were the living quarters of the proprietor and his family. The
stairway at n. 10 led to upper dining rooms.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 121. Warsher, Reel 5.

68.
VI. ix. 1. Photo, Fig. 4.

At the end of Mercury Street, on the east side, there are three houses that were combined to make an hospitium. At n. 1 there is an entranceway which is closed in by two rooms on either side which open onto the atrium. To the left of the atrium are the kitchen and the latrine, as well as a stairway leading to the upper dining rooms. Another room with a very wide entrance is next to the kitchen. To the right of the atrium is a large triclinium with windows looking into the garden. On the west and south sides were five bedrooms. Three doors open to the east from the atrium. The one on the left goes into a second triclinium followed by four rooms, the last of which was a bedroom. The second and third doors lead to the walkway around the garden. There follows a passage, with two rooms on either side, leading into the third house, which perhaps was the home of the owner of the establishment. It has its own entrance on the street on the east side of the insula at n. 14. According to a graffito in the entranceway at n. 1, the hotel keeper was Gabinius (CIL IV 1314).


69.
VI. x. 1. Photos, Figs. 19 & 50; Plan, Fig. 51; Paintings, Figs. 52, 54, 56 & 60.

This tavern has the usual counter, with three dolia and display shelves. To the right of the entrance, in the corner, is a stove with fuel storage space underneath. Two small rooms are behind the counter room, to the right. The first one (c) has access to
the house at n. 2 and a stairway to the upper floor. The room behind it (d) has a window looking into the triclinium of the house next door. A third room (b), which was decorated with many paintings, has an entrance on the street on the north side of the insula. This tavern has been identified as a *lupanar* on the basis of the nature of some of the paintings.


70. VI. x. 3/4.

The house at n. 4 has this annexed one room tavern with the usual counter, having three dolia and a stove. There is another larger stove in the atrium of the house. To the right of the entranceway of the house was a stairway which led to the rooms on the second floor. According to an inscription found on the pilaster between nn. 3 and 4, the managers of this business were Caprasia and Nymphus (*CIL IV 171*).


71. VI. xiii. 17.

This tavern has a counter with one dolium and a stove. There are two doorways in the north wall of the counter room that connect the shop to the house which has its main entrance on the street on the eastern side of the insula at n. 16. According to Mau, it is possible that some of the rooms of the house were incorporated into the tavern's business. The garden, and the four rooms on the north side of the passageway that connected the shop with the rest of the house, as well as the triclinium could have been used.
in the business. A political notice at n. 16 contains the name of P. Gavius Proculus who probably was the owner of the house and the tavern (CIL IV 3460). 


72. VI. xiv. 1/44.

This is a corner shop with no indication of having had a counter. It is referred to as a "taberna" by Fiorelli and Warsher. There is a bedroom and another room in the back, and an indication of a stairway. Kleberg includes it is his list, but there seems to be no evidence for identifying it as a tavern.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 426. Warsher, Reel 2, Plan.

73. VI. xiv. 28.

Mau identified this establishment connected to the House of Laocoon as a caupona and Della Corte called it a gambling house on the basis of a sign depicting four phalli and a dice box, and because of the subject matter of several interior paintings. The place consisted of two rooms on the ground floor, the main one at the entrance n. 28 and a small one to the south of it. In the NW corner there is a doorway which opens into the atrium of the connecting house. There was also a second story. Della Corte suggested that although it was not a tavern as such, it is possible that wine, and perhaps pastries from the bakery across the street, were served here. The proprietor was Faustilla (CIL IV 4528a-b).


74. VI. xiv. 35/36. Paintings, Figs. 57, 58, 61 & 62.

The usual counter is at n. 36 of this corner tavern and it is
furnished with two dolia and three display shelves. A large room for serving is at the back of the counter room. A kitchen with a stove and a stairway are next to it. A storage area is underneath the stairs. Salvius was the tavern keeper (CIL IV 3493). There were four famous paintings, in cartoon style, which depicted tavern life uncovered here (See above, pp. 38-39; 44-45).


75.
VI. xv. 15. Plan, Fig. 76.

This small tavern has the usual counter, with three dolia and a stove. Behind the counter room is a back room for customers. To the side of each of the two rooms are doorways to the passage that connects the tavern to the house at entrance n. 14.


76.
VI. xv. 16. Plan, Fig. 76.

This another two room tavern furnished with the usual counter, having one dolium. The room behind the counter room was probably for the accommodation of customers.


77.
VI. xvi. 1/2.

The entrance to the counter room is at n. 2 of this tavern. The counter has three dolia and, across from it, it the SW corner, is a stove. There are several small rooms for serving in the back,
and in one, at the west end of the long room, there is another stove.


78. VI. xvi. 12.

This tavern has the usual counter with a stove to the right of the street entrance. There are three back rooms connected by a long corridor for the accommodation of customers.


79. VI. xvi. 20/24. Plan, Fig. 77.

On the piazza at the Vesuvius Gate there is a tavern which has five entrances. One room (D) perhaps served as a vestibule for the tavern. Just inside entrance n. 21 was a counter (b), very little of which now remains. Across from the counter was a stove (c). A small dolium was in the ground (e) to the right of the entrance at n. 24. In another room (C), there are traces of a staircase (f). According to an inscription found between the entrances nn. 22 and 23, this was the meeting place of the grape gatherers (CIL IV 6672).


80. VI. xvi. 33. Photos, Figs. 38 & 40; Plan, Fig. 39.

This one room tavern has the usual counter, with four display shelves. Directly behind the counter room, in the connecting house at entrance n. 32, is a large stove, apparently for the use of the business. The proprietor may have been L. Aurunculeius
Secundus, according to a seal found here (S. 8).


81. VI. xvi. 40. Plan, Fig. 78.

The counter in this tavern is furnished with three display shelves and an unusual triple stove (a).

There are three back rooms for serving (C, D & F) and, at the end of the corridor (G), there is a latrine (b). Entrance n. 39 is a staircase (A) which leads to the upper floor of the tavern.


82. VI. Ins. Occ. 1/2.

The stabulum entrance of this inn at n. 1 leads into an area that has a kitchen, a stall, a latrine and a large room with a passage descending to the cellar, on the north side. An area between the Herculaneum Gate and the city wall was accessible through the cellar. To the south and opposite the entrance were bedrooms and dining rooms. This was a meeting place of the carters (CIL IV 97;113), and the innkeeper was Albinus (CIL IV 112). The tavern next door at n. 2 has the usual counter, with a stove. The room behind the counter room contains the doorway leading into the inn at n. 1.


83. VI. Ins. Occ. 3/4. Photo, Fig. 15.

This tavern has the usual counter, with a stove and display shelves at entrance n. 4. Inside, to one side of the entrance hall, are the storeroom, the triclinium, two small rooms, followed by
another triclinium and a bedroom. In the back there are three large rooms also for the use of customers.

Fiorelli, Descr., pp. 431-432.

84.
VII. i. 44/45. Photo, Fig. 1; Plan, Fig. 2.

This hospitium, managed by Sittius (CIL IV 806), has a counter with a stove at entrance n. 44. The room behind the counter room (f) was the triclinium which Sittius had advertised in front of his inn (CIL IV 807). There are two rooms at n. 45 which were perhaps rented to overnight guests (b & c). At the back, there were a lavatory with a water basin and a latrine (d).


85.
VII. ii. 15.

This tavern has a front room with a counter and a stove, followed by two back rooms. The second, larger one is connected to the atrium of the house at n. 14. The proprietor of this place was Optatio (CIL IV 849).

Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, p. 31, Plan Tav. IX; Descr., pp. 185-186. Della Corte, Case, p. 128.

86.
VII. ii. 32/33. Photo, Fig. 31.

The large U-shaped counter of this one room corner tavern has seven dolia and a stove. According to an election notice, Philippus was the proprietor of this establishment (CIL IV 567).


87.
VII. ii. 41.

Fiorelli, followed by Kleberg, identified this place as a wineshop
because of the many amphoras discovered here. However, it actually seems to have been a small fullonica, as identified by Della Corte and Moeller, because of the treading stalls.


88.
VII. ii. 44/45.

This tavern at n. 44 had an upper floor accessible from the stairway at the back near the north wall. It is connected to the House of the Bear or Colepius at n. 45. A Greek girl, Hedone, may have been a copa here, according to an inscription found in the atrium of the house (CIL IV 1679. See above, p. 37).

89.
VII. iii. 1/40.

The usual counter with display shelves of this restaurant is at entrance n. 1. Behind the counter room is another room to accommodate customers. To the right is another entrance from the street to the west at n. 40. Near this door is a stove, followed by a passage leading to another small room and a triclinium. Opposite this is the kitchen with its stove and the latrine. There are two other entrances from the west street at nn. 39 and 38.


90.
VII. iii. 4.

The counter of this tavern has three dolia. There is a small room behind the counter, perhaps for customers. A passage, with a stairway to the west of it, leads into an area which has two other rooms
to the east. Two doors connect the tavern to the house at n. 6.
On the west side there are a small stove, a basin and a latrine.
Two other rooms, perhaps dining rooms, a kitchen and a storeroom are at the back.


91.
VII. iii. 9.
This establishment has a counter in the front room. Also in the counter room, against the west wall, is a stove behind which was a triclinium. Along the east side was a small room and a latrine.

92.
VII. iii. 26/28.
This tavern has two rooms on the ground floor with an upper story accessible by the stairs at entrance n. 27. A J-shaped counter is at n. 28, having display shelves, three dolia and a stove.
There is a passage under the stairs which leads into the room at n. 26. The names of some of the men and women who frequented this place are recorded in several graffiti (CIL IV 2310c-l). The proprietor of this tavern, which may also have been a lupanar, was Phoebus (CIL IV 2949).

93.
VII. iv. 4.
Across from the Forum Baths is this restaurant with the usual counter, having four dolia and a stove. Behind the counter is a room for customers, and, next to it, a storage area. There follow a kitchen and a latrine. Entrance n. 5. leads to rooms on the

...
upper level.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 213. NS, 1886, pp. 132-133. Warsher, Reel 2. 94.

VII. iv. 15/16.

Fiorelli and Mau, followed by Kleberg, identified this place as a wineshop on the basis of the sign to the left of the entrance at n. 16. It depicts two porters carrying an amphora on a pole. Apparently, this place was a meeting place of the porters (saccari: CIL IV 497; 274). There is no indication that it was a wineshop or a tavern and should be considered a shop whose purpose is not known.


VII. v. 17.

Nothing of the original form of this place remains, as it is now part of the modern restaurant at the excavations. According to Fiorelli, the shop did have a counter with a kitchen behind it. This was followed by a triclinium. The unidentified copo posted an electoral notice outside his door (CIL IV 537: "?...nnius caupo rog(at)").


VII. vi. 1/2.

This small tavern has the usual counter, with one dolium, at entrance n. 2. A small kitchen is behind the stairs, at n. 1. NS, 1910, p. 439, Plan Tav. I. 97.

VII. vi. 11/16.

This establishment at n. 11 has a door leading from the entrance-way to the shop at n. 10. The atrium has a storeroom in the NW
corner and, in the SE corner, a stove. The door on the right, at the south wall of the atrium, leads to a tablinum. The one on the left enters into a passage leading to a back room on the side to the south. Fiorelli suggested that this was either a caupona or an hospitium.


98.
VII. vi. 13/15.

Entrance n. 13 of this corner restaurant led to rooms on the upper floor. The large room at n. 14 has three large dolia embedded in the ground. This room is followed by a back room to the right, and, to the left, is a door leading into the counter room at n. 15 on the street to the east. The counter has one dolium and, in the SW corner at the back of the room, is a masonry bench. To the left is a long room to accommodate customers.


99.
VII. vi. 20.

Another tavern across from the Forum Baths has the usual counter, with three dolia. There are three back rooms for the customers and a stove in the passageway which connects them. The shop is connected to entrance n. 19 which leads into a paintshop.


100.
VII. vi. 23/25.

This corner tavern has a counter at entrance n. 24 with three small dolia. Around the corner, to the right of entrance n. 23, was a stove. Another room, at n. 25, had a back room with a door leading
to the preceding shop at n. 22. The proprietor was Novicius
(CIL IV 494a).

Corte, Case, p. 143.

101.
VII. vii. 9. Plan, Fig. 79.
The usual counter of this small tavern has two
dolia. A stove is to the right of the entrance
and, in the back, is a room for the customers
(a). Entrance n. 8 is a stairway leading
to the room above.

Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, p. 45, Plan Tav. X; Descr., pp. 245-246.

102.
VII. vii. 18.
Across the street from the lupanar of Venus is this tavern having
the usual counter, with a small stove. A large stove, separated
from the counter, is to the left of the entrance. At the back of
the front room was a staircase leading to upper dining rooms, and
behind it are two more rooms. Della Corte suggested that this
may have been a kind of annex to the brothel across the street.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 248. Della Corte, Case, p. 142.

103.
VII. ix. 30/31.
The usual counter of this tavern is at entrance n. 30 and it has
four display shelves. Further inside is another room with a stove
and an exit to the street to the east at n. 31. Near this door
was a stairway. Entrance n. 32 is a separate staircase leading
directly from the street to the room above the tavern. The place
is also connected to the shop at n. 29.

To the right of the entrance of this restaurant are three rooms, perhaps for service to customers. To the left is a passage which connects the tavern to the shop at n. 34. Behind this, to the left, are a dormitory, a latrine, a stairway leading to the upper floor and the kitchen.


The U-shaped counter of this corner tavern has five dolia and display shelves. There is a small back room with a latrine underneath the stairway at n. 53. A door from this tavern connects it to the following shop.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 271.

According to Fiorelli, this was an old house which was destroyed in the earthquake and rebuilt as an hospitium. To the left of its atrium (a) are two small rooms (b & c) and a staircase (d) with a storeroom next to it (g). A triclinium is to the right (e). Opposite the entrance is what was once a tablinum (f) which leads into a garden (h). At the south end of the garden are three connecting rooms (i, k & l). On
the north side is a bedroom (n) and another room (o) connecting with the shop at n. 7, which has a counter with a stove. The upper floor could be reached from a separate entrance at n. 8.


107. VII. xi. 11/14. Plan, Fig. 81.

This large hospitium has its main entrance at n. 11. The entranceway is flanked by two bedrooms on either side (c & d), with doors opening onto the atrium (b). To the left of the atrium are a kitchen (e), another bedroom (f) and a staircase (g) to the upper floor. The space under the stairs provides for the cella meretricia at n. 12. Along the back wall of the atrium there are three rooms; a triclinium (h), a storeroom (i) and a tablinum (k) which leads into a walkway (l) surrounding a small garden (m). The latrine (n) and a dining room (o) are to the right of the walkway as one enters from the tablinum. Off the walkway to the left, are two rooms (p & q), one of which was a storeroom (p). On the east side was another entrance from the street at n. 14 (r) followed by another room (s). An entrance from the garden led to a large area (t), with a room connected to it (u), which opens onto a
large kitchen-garden (v). It is possible that the customers dined here in the garden as there are three alcoves on the N side (y). Della Corte estimated that there were fifty rooms altogether in this hotel, thus making it the largest in town.

It was in the atrium that a graffito with the word "Christianos" was found (CIL IV 679).


108. VII. xi. 13. Plan, Fig. 81.

The small tavern next to the large hotel had a main room (a) and a connecting smaller one (b) with a latrine in the back (c).

One of the signs in the front attests to the fine wine served here (CIL IV 815: "lympha Romanensis"). The tavern keeper was Drusus (CIL IV 814) who posted a sign in front of his bar which forbade loitering (CIL IV 813. See above p. 47).


109. VII. xii. 15/16.

Entrance n. 15 has the usual counter, with a stove. A side room is to the right and, to the left, is a door leading to the latrine and the small area under the staircase. The stairs, which are accessible from the street at n. 16, led to the second floor which had a balcony. It is possible that the rooms on the upper level were rented to overnight guests. The proprietor of this place was Paris (CIL IV 821).

The shop at entrance n. 34 was connected to the following inn and perhaps was a restaurant which served food to the guests. There are traces of a stove and a stairway leading to upper rooms. At the back is a room to accommodate customers (o) and, next to it, a passage to the latrine (p). The *hospitium*, at entrance n. 35, has an *atrium* (a) with three bedrooms (c, d & e) on the left side. To the right was the kitchen (h) and, at the back, two more bedrooms (f & g). A passage led back to the latrine (l) and to an area that may have been the stall (k). According to Fiorelli, the small room to the left of the entrance (b) was the innkeeper's room. Mau stated that the area immediately to the left of the entrance (m) was perhaps where the carts were parked. Several graffiti were found here (*CIL IV* 2144-2164; See above p. 46).


The tavern at n. 20 has the usual counter, with four dolia and a small stove. There is a recess in the back for customers with a storage area nearby. To the left of the entrance is a stove.

The shop at n. 21 has a counter with a stove built into the middle of the south wall. There is a small room in the back which was originally part of the house at n. 4.

Fiorelli, *Descr.*, p. 299.
The counter of this small tavern has display shelves and a small stove. At the back of the counter room is a stairway leading to the rooms above. A long narrow room to accommodate customers is to the left of the counter.

Fiorelli, Descr., p. 299.

The first entrance to this restaurant and gambling house, at n. 4, has a storeroom to the left of it (b) and a room with a stove to the right (c). Following this is an open area (d) with a small covered room (e). Off the left side is the kitchen (f) and three large inner rooms (h, i & k). Near the last one was the hall (l) which went under the stairs to the latrine. The counter at n. 5 had display shelves and, to the left of it, a stove. This room is followed by an atrium (b) into which the rooms upstairs looked. At the back of the atrium was a triclinium (c) and, to the right, a passage (d) which passed by a bedroom (e) to a small garden (f). To the left of the garden was a latrine (g) in the NW corner. The place was frequented by several profligates who left their names: Chryseros, Successus, Auctus and Quintio (CIL IV 4815-4818).

114.
VII. xv. 6. Plan, Fig. 83.

Many amphoras were found in this tavern which had a staircase leading to the upper floor to the left of the entrance. In the back was a long narrow room (a) with a window which looked into the following house at n. 7.


115.
VII. xv. 9/10. Plan, Fig. 84.

This restaurant at n. 9 had a shop at n. 10 which, according to Fiorelli, sold foodstuffs. The restaurant itself consisted of a passage leading in from the street (a) with a kitchen and a latrine to the left of it (b). The atrium (c) had, to the right, a tablinum (d) with bedrooms on either side (e & f). Behind these was a triclinium (g) with a storage room (h) to the left. Along the south wall of the atrium were two staircases leading in opposite directions. The one in the SE corner went up to the rooms above the front part of the atrium and the one in the SW corner led to the rooms above the back of the establishment.

Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, pp. 48-49; Plan Tav. X; Descr., pp. 311-312.

116.
VII. Ins. Occ. 7.

The usual counter of this small tavern has two dolia and display shelves. To the right of the entrance is a stove. A back room for the accommodation of customers has a separate entrance at n. 8 on the street to the east.

This tavern is connected to the house at n. 25 and has the usual counter, with display shelves against the wall. To the left of the counter room is a small kitchen with a hearth and a cistern. Another room is in the SE corner where food was served to the customers.


According to Fiorelli, this unusual place was changed in later times into a caupona. To the left of the door was a latrine and a stove. Following this there are four doors leading into the triclinium. In the middle of an area which may have been shaded by a pergola, there is a triclinium couch, unusual in that it was semicircular. Across from this there were two other rooms, one perhaps for storage and the other, a dining room.

Fiorelli, Descr., pp. 326-327.

Across from the Stabian Baths is rather a large establishment which has been identified by Della Corte and Fiorelli as a restaurant-brothel. The entrance room leads into an atrium (b) with two small rooms to the left (c & d). To the right of these two rooms is the stairway (e) which led to the upper rooms. There follows a wide passageway (f) with a kitchen (g) to the right.
and a storeroom (h) to the left. This leads to a porticoed area (i), in the middle of which (k) are seven dolia buried in the ground. Also covered by the portico are two other small rooms (l & m), a storeroom (n) and another small room (o).

Along the south wall are two large tricliniums (p & q). At n. 13 was a barber shop (CIL IV 743).


120. 
VIII. iv. 25.

All that remains of the counter of this small tavern is a series of shelves to the left of the entrance. There is a small back room and a room on the second story.


121. 
VIII. iv. 45. Plan, Fig. 86.

Fiorelli suggested that this was a wineshop because of paintings of wine jugs, vine leaves and grapes that were found here. It has two back rooms (a & b), possibly for customers.

Alongside the two back rooms is a passage (c) which contained a stove, a latrine and a stairway (d).

Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, p. 9, Plan Tav. V; Descr., p. 346.

122. 
VIII. viii. 1.

The first building to the left inside the Stabian Gate is a stabulum. The front room is large enough to shelter carts. Along the north wall is a watering trough and to the south is a stall with a manger. A garden with a walkway is in the back, as well as a small room
perhaps a bedroom, and a lavatory. The stairway to the upper rooms
has a separate entrance from the street at n. 2.

BI, 1875, pp. 126-128. Fiorelli, Descr., p. 348. Della Corte,

123.
IX. i. 6.

This tavern has the usual counter, with a stove. To the right of
the entrance is another larger stove and a staircase leading to
the upper rooms. The latrine is underneath the stairs. A large
room for the accommodation of customers is at the back.
Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, p. 61, Plan Tav. XI; Descr., p. 368.

124.
IX. i. 8.

The U-shaped counter of this tavern has five dolia, three display
shelves and a stove. The area behind the counter is divided into
two rooms. The one on the right is the larger of the two and was
perhaps meant for customers. The narrower room, to the left,
had a stairway to the rooms above and a latrine.
Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, p. 61, Plan Tav. XI; Descr., p. 369. Boyce,

125.
IX. i. 15/16. Photo, Fig. 66.

On the corner of the Via dell'Abbondanza and the Via Stabiana is
a tavern with the usual counter, having one dolium and a stove.
There is a small back room on the ground floor and a dining room
on the upper floor. The proprietor of this place was Primus
(CIL IV 953; 966).
Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, p. 62, Plan Tav. XI; Descr., p. 370. Boyce,
p. 79. Warsher, Reel 3. Della Corte, Case, p. 175.

126.
IX. ii. 24.

This hospitium has a stabulum entrance. The upper story was
supported by three columns across the middle of the front room.

There is a stairway near the column against the east wall. This
is followed by a large passageway with a latrine to the left and
a triclinium to the right. A small door opens onto an area which
contains a sink and a cistern, a stairway to the upper rooms,
and a kitchen.

BI, 1871, pp. 179-180. Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, p. 58, Plan Tav. XI;
Descr., pp. 387-388. Boyce, p. 82. Warsher, Reel 3. Schefold,
p. 245.

127.
IX. ii. 25.

This tavern was perhaps owned by Casellius who lived at n. 26.
It had a wooden counter and a stove supported by a tripod. A
small room for the customers is in the back. The manager of the
place was Thyrsus (CIL IV 3640).

Warsher, Reel 3. Della Corte, Case, p. 163.

128.
IX. iii. 13. (IX. iii. 3 in Gli Scavi).

In the front room of this restaurant, there is a stairway which
leads to the upper floor. The atrium has two stoves, an impluvium
and another staircase. In the back, a door to the left leads
into a triclinium. Another doorway, to the right, leads into
a passageway which connects with the kitchen, a storeroom and a
latrine. There is a door in the back which leads to the house of
M. Lucretius. The manager of this restaurant was Fabius Celer
(CIL IV 3659).

Fiorelli, Gli Scavi, p. 52, Plan Tav. XI; Descr., p. 395. Boyce,
p. 83. Warsher, Reel 9. Della Corte, Case, p. 158. Schefold,
pp. 250-251.
129.
 IX. v. 16.

This restaurant is connected to a house which has two entrances, nn. 14 and 15, on the eastern side of the insula. Entrance n. 16, on the street to the south, is the restaurant. The kitchen, with a latrine in the SE corner, is to the left of the entrance. There are three small rooms around the atrium, as well as a large triclinium. At the north end of the atrium is a doorway leading to the connecting house.


130.
 IX. vi. 2 (from SW corner). (IX. vi. 13 in EI).

The front room of this tavern, having the customary counter with a stove, is followed by a kitchen and a room to accommodate customers. In the kitchen were a stove, a cistern, a latrine and a stairway leading to the rooms on the upper floor.


131.
 IX. vi. 5 (from SW corner). (IX. vi. 10 in EI).

It was stated in EI that this house appeared to have been a caupona. The shop at n. 5 is connected to the atrium of the house at n. 4 (n. 11 in EI). A room on the east side of the atrium has a window looking into the shop. North of this are a bedroom and a kitchen, with a stove in the NE corner. At the back of the atrium is a triclinium which opens onto an open court behind it.


132.

This small tavern has the usual counter, with five dolia and a
stove. There seems to be a back room behind it, but the place has not yet been excavated completely.

NS, 1881, pp. 121, 141.

133.
IX. vii. 22. Plan, Fig. 69.

This caupona, with another entrance at n. 9 around the corner on the west side of the insula, has its counter in the front room (a) with three display shelves against the west wall. Next to the counter room is a serving room for customers (b). The atrium (c), having a stove in the NW corner, and two other rooms (d & k) were perhaps used for serving also. There were rooms at the upper level above the counter room, the west part of the atrium and the serving room at 'd'. These upper rooms were perhaps available to the customers, possibly as dormitories for overnight guests.

There is a corridor (f) which leads to another one running perpendicular to it (h). At the west end of 'h' is a small latrine (g) and, at the east end, is a storeroom (l). There is a garden (i) which may also have been used as a dining area. The proprietor of this large place was Tertius (CIL IV 3831).


134.
IX. vii. 23. Plan, Fig. 69.

No counter was found in this tavern, but there was a marble platform which may have been used as a stand for a wooden table top. To the left of the entrance is a small latrine and evidence of a stairway leading to upper rooms. There was found here the seal of a well-known wine producer of the area: Ti. C(laudius) Ep(aphroditus) (s. 27).

This rather large establishment was perhaps an hospitium with a connecting tavern. The room at n. 24 (a) has the usual counter, with three dolia. The stove for the tavern was in the atrium and was accessible through a niche in the wall behind the counter. To the right of the entrance n. 25 was a bedroom (b). The ala (l) served as a dining room, for here were found traces of three couches and a table. At 'm' was another bedroom. In the back and to the right of the tablinum (c) was a storeroom (n). The tablinum and the atrium could have been used for serving. Along the east wall of the atrium are several small rooms. The kitchen (f) has a connecting latrine (e), a side room (g) and a storeroom (i). There was another bedroom at 'q'. A corridor (p) leads to a few back rooms, perhaps reserved for the proprietor and his family. There are two bedrooms (r & v) and a small garden (u). Another corridor (s) and a room (t) had formerly been combined as a triclinium. The whole place seems to have undergone a remodeling at one time. The rooms reached through the corridor 'p' (r, s, t, u & v) were formerly a part of the peristyle (g) of the house at n. 8.


This tavern had at one time been connected to the hotel next door at nn. 24/25. The front rooms (c & d) were meant for serving customers. Behind these rooms is a small corridor leading to another room (h) where many amphoras were found. An open court (k) used to have a door leading to 'i' and a window opening onto
'r' of the inn next door. There is no kitchen in this tavern, but it is possible that a portable stove was used, or that the tavern keeper served only cold dishes and wine. It was managed by Fabius (CIL IV 3481).


137.
IX. viii. 2 (W side, counting from the N).

An inscription identifies this place as the Hospitium of C. Hyginius Firmus (CIL IV 3779: "Hospitium C. Hygini Firmi"). The kitchen is to the left of the entrance and has a hearth, a latrine and a stairway leading to the upper dining rooms. To the right of the entrance is a small room. On the north side of the atrium is a tablinum having a storeroom on the right and a bedroom on the left. Perhaps this room, along with the atrium, was used to serve food to the customers. There are two rooms on the east side of the atrium, one of which was a bedroom. There is a second stairway in the SE corner of the atrium.


138.
IX. ix. 1. Plan, Fig. 87.

The counter of this one room tavern has four dolia, a stove and display shelves. Near the SW corner there is a space which may have been a place for a larger stove. The tavern is connected to the house at n. 2.


138.
IX. ix. 1. Plan, Fig. 87.

The counter of this one room tavern has four dolia, a stove and display shelves. Near the SW corner there is a space which may have been a place for a larger stove. The tavern is connected to the house at n. 2.

This tavern has the customary counter, without dolia, in the front room (a) with a serving room behind it (b). In a passageway behind the counter room is a small kitchen (c). There are several rooms in the back which can be entered through the posticum n. 9. Along the east wall is a storeroom (e), and a stairway in the corridor (d) led to upper rooms. Further back are another room for customers (f), a small courtyard (g) and another back room (h).


Only the front room of this tavern on the Via dell'Abbondanza has been excavated. The counter has four dolia and a stove. In the NW corner was a staircase which led to upper rooms. Many tavern furnishings were uncovered here. Several girls are named in the political notices outside the entrance. Asellina was perhaps the hostess, and there were at least three other girls: Smyrna, Aegle and Maria (CIL IV 7863; 7864; 7873; 7862; 7866; 7221).


A large balcony was over this tavern, which is not completely excavated. The tavern keeper was Purpurio, who posted his political notice along with a group of admirers of the famous
actor, Paris (CIL IV 7919).


142.
NE corner across from IV. iii.

This tavern is not completely excavated. It is a rectangular room with the usual counter, having one dolium and a stove.

NS, 1905, pp. 273-278.

143.
Street of Tombs outside Herculaneum Gate, E. side, n. 16.

This small tavern is one of a group of shops under a portico which extends down the street to n. 28. It has the usual counter, with three dolia and a room behind the front room. There was a stairway going to the second floor to the right of the entrance.

Mau suggested that the house at n. 15 was an inn, and that the shops were rented by the manager of the inn. However, there is no evidence to support this.


144.
Inns outside the Porta Marina.

On either side of the Porta Marina, just outside the city wall, were two rather elegant inns which overlooked the Bay. Three frequenters of these places recorded their names in graffiti: Successus, Rarus and Saturnus (CIL IV 1740-1741). Two graffiti introduce us to an egotistic gladiator named Scamander (CIL IV 1748 & 1750: "Scamander victimas (fecit puellas)"). A courtesan, Attica, is also mentioned in a graffito, along with the price of her favors (CIL IV 1751: "Atticen quaerat a(ssibus) XVI"). The proprietor of the inn on the north side of the Gate was Faustius (CIL IV 9146a-b).

Della Corte, Case, pp. 366-368.
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