

Pompeii Forum Project: Excavation and Urbanistic Reappraisals of the Sanctuary of Apollo, Basilica, and Via della Fortuna Neighborhood

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Recent fieldwork and study by the Pompeii Forum Project allows us to expand and refine our understanding of the urbanistic development in the area of the Pompeii Forum, in the context of our previous interpretation of the overall state of Pompeii Forum studies (*AJA* 117 [2013] 461–92). In 2001, we conducted four excavations in the forum area, addressing questions raised by our excavations in 1997 (*AJA* 102 [1998] 739–56). Two trenches focused on the Sanctuary of Apollo. These rendered scant information and are treated here only briefly. More important, Archer Martin completed his analysis of all excavation pottery from our 1997 and 2001 seasons. This supports urbanistic reappraisal in key areas, including a substantial Augustan phase in the Sanctuary of Apollo. Our other two 2001 trenches were more successful. The one next to the Basilica clarified its construction practices, and the other, in the Via della Fortuna sidewalk across from the Temple of Fortuna Augusta, amplified our understanding of the impact of the construction of the temple on its immediate neighborhood. For both, we can better evaluate the urbanistic repercussions of inserting such large, public buildings into neighborhoods that had not previously made provision for such structures.¹

INTRODUCTION

The Pompeii Forum Project has made considerable recent progress. We have completed the analysis of our 2001 excavation campaign; Archer Martin has completed his comprehensive study of the pottery from both our 1997 and our 2001 excavation seasons; and, armed with those, we have made a profound reappraisal of our urbanistic understanding of the Pompeii Forum area. The last is the focus of this article.²

¹We thank the Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei (since reorganized and renamed the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo—Soprintendenza Pompei), especially Pietro Giovanni Guzzo, and the Direzione degli Scavi and its staff, especially Antonio D'Ambrosio, for permission to conduct our research and publish the illustrations, as well as for their support and assistance throughout our work. The excavations in 2001 were conducted by the authors and by Kevin Cole, Stephen L. Gavel, and Eric E. Poehler. Special thanks are extended to Gilbert and Judy Shelton for their generous support and to Rick Jones for allowing us to use tools belonging to the Anglo-American Pompeii Project and work areas in the Casa delle Vestali. We thank the three anonymous reviewers for the *AJA* and Editor-in-Chief Jane B. Carter for offering detailed critiques and suggestions.

²A final stratigraphic report for our 2001 season and Martin's final publication of the pottery will be published elsewhere. All references herein to pottery identifications, typologies, and chronology derive from Martin's study. Pottery sources in the list of works cited and references to them come from Martin as well. References to Pompeii Forum Project pottery appear in several of his recent articles, specifically Martin 2012, 2016a, 2016b.

The 2001 excavation campaign of the Pompeii Forum Project initially focused on the Sanctuary of Apollo, pursuing issues of Sullan- and Augustan-period urban change that we raised in 1997 and searching for more evidence from those eras.³ We hoped, too, to find additional evidence for the parallel developments within the sanctuary and the adjacent neighborhood, including the forum to the east. Figure 1 indicates the Pompeii Forum Project's identifications for buildings around the forum,⁴ but it is important to note that the plan shows the city in 79 C.E., which means that the configuration of the Sanctuary of Apollo is quite different from the phases we discuss here. Similarly, the Northwest Building did not yet exist. Our initial research design called for two trenches within the Sanctuary of Apollo, but installation of electrical cables during the fall and winter of 2000–2001 forced us to relocate one trench just outside the sanctuary, to the north. The numbering of our trenches in 2001 refers only to the order in which we started each excavation. The two trenches in the Sanctuary of Apollo were initially our primary focus, but they were also the last excavations started; these are trench 2001-3, just north of the *temenos* wall, and trench 2001-4, just south of the *mensa ponderaria* enclosure (fig. 2).

When we arrived for our 2001 excavation season, there was an ongoing project to lay electrical cables in Vicolo di Championnet, next to the Basilica. This created a fortuitous opportunity to place a trench along the Basilica's southern flank. While this excavation had not been part of our initial plan, the excellent opportunity made it worth postponing excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo, so the Basilica excavation was trench 2001-2. This ultimately provided some of the most important evidence from the 2001 excavations.

Trench 2001-1 was located a block north of the forum. It was across Via della Fortuna from the north flank of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta, in the sidewalk at the south end of Insula VI.10. This trench addressed

an urban condition parallel to the one investigated in our 1997 excavations at the northwest corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo, in which a large, new public building was inserted into a neighborhood not previously home to a structure of that sort.⁵ In both locations excavation was not necessary to recognize what had happened urbanistically, which was already clear from the urban plan.⁶ Rather, trench 2001-1 solidified the chronology of the urban changes and enhanced our understanding of the construction practices involved.

BOMB DAMAGE

Modern damage and intrusions bedeviled all four trenches; nevertheless, trenches 2001-1 and 2001-2 yielded important information. Trenches 2001-3 and 2001-4 were more seriously compromised, especially by damage from the Allied bombing of Pompeii during World War II, as well as cleanup and reconstruction subsequently. Two waves of bombing, on 24 August and 20 September 1943, dropped 160–163 bombs on the site. The war damage in Pompeii is well known, and the Soprintendenza keeps records documenting the destruction and recovery. Plans have been published with dots marking where bombs had fallen, but the perimeter and depth of the craters were not recorded before reconstruction obscured them.⁷ Comparison of prewar photographs and inspection of standing remains gave us a confidence that our 1997 excavations were not in bomb-damaged areas, but for the areas we planned to excavate in 2001, the question of bomb damage and reconstruction was more problematic. Photographic comparison demonstrated that the masonry of the *mensa ponderaria* enclosure and of the unnamed rooms at the northeast corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo no longer matched the prewar configuration, so we knew that at least above ground level there was damage in those areas. Whether we had to contend with more than that would only be known once we conducted our excavations; as we were preparing for excavation

³Dobbins et al. (1998) elucidate the chronological issues and original hypotheses that were the basis for the 1997 excavation campaign.

⁴Here and throughout the article, we use conventional street names, in Italian, as listed in Richardson 1988. The *mensa ponderaria* enclosure is not labeled on any of our figures. It is in the northernmost of the line of piers forming the boundary between the Sanctuary of Apollo and the forum; the pier was made into a room for the table of standard measures (the *mensa ponderaria* itself).

⁵Dobbins et al. 1998 (trenches 1997-1 and 1997-2).

⁶Descœudres (2007, 12) lists the city plan as an important source of archaeological evidence. Evaluation of the evolution of the large-scale built environment has been part of our team's methodologies since before we came together as the Pompeii Forum Project (see, e.g., Dobbins 1994; Dobbins et al. 1998, esp. 739–43).

⁷Descœudres 1994 (esp. fig. 32, which is a city plan marking bomb impact sites). Similar information appears in two websites cited in Foss 2007, 41 n. 52.

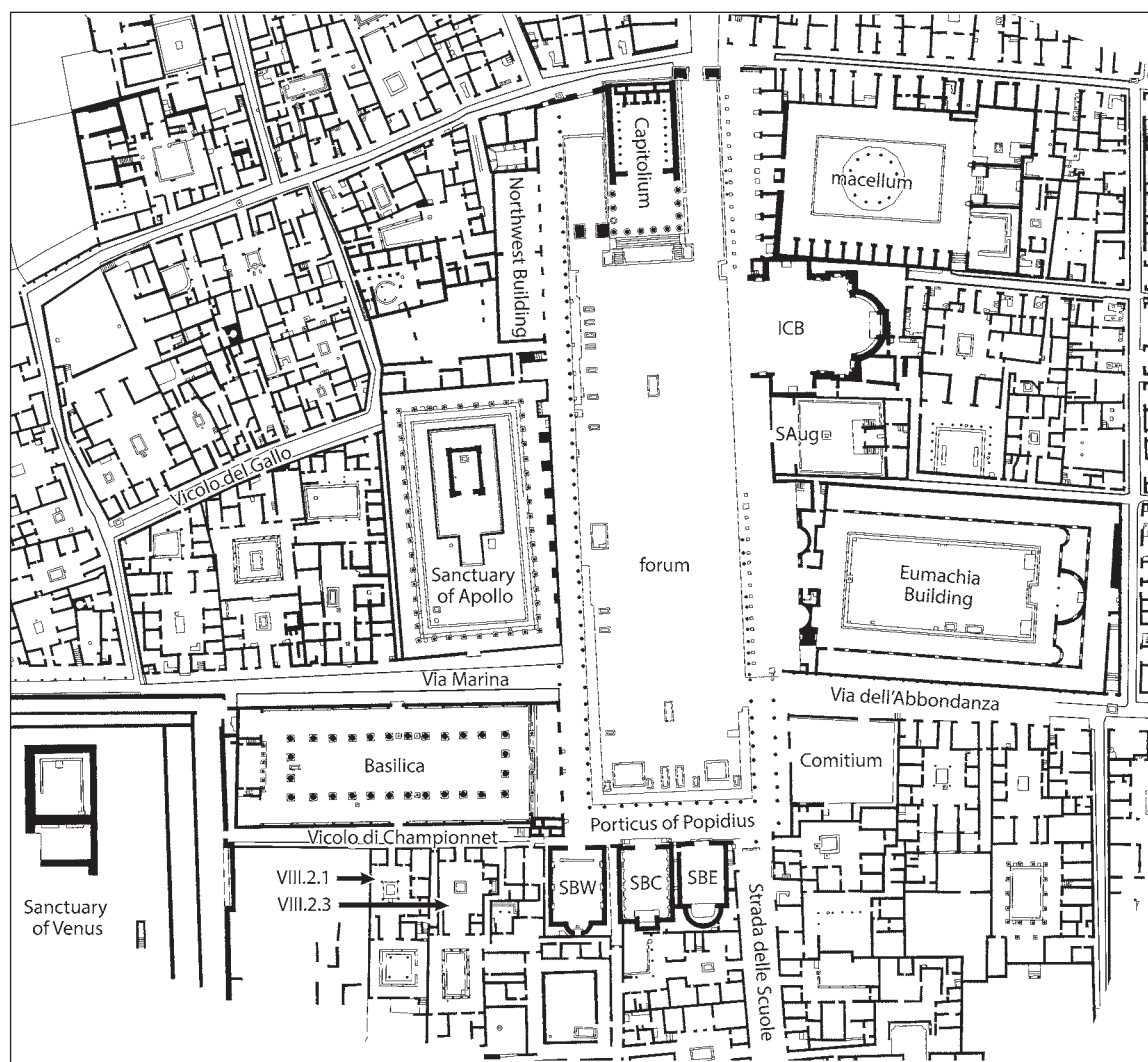


FIG. 1. Pompeii Forum plan with principal buildings and streets labeled. Local north is at the top (ICB = Imperial Cult Building; SAug = Sanctuary of Augustus; SBC = South Building Center; SBE = South Building East; SBW = South Building West) (adapted from Eschbach and Eschbach 1995; Dobbins and Foss 2007).

in 2000–2001, there was no comprehensive study of the damage caused by the bombardment.⁸

We were fortunate, therefore, that a previously unrecognized photograph of the bomb damage near our excavation sites became available. Damage to the buildings in the image and to the photograph itself made the image nearly unrecognizable (see fig. 3, in which detail and contrast have been enhanced). It was to be discarded at another library when Grete Stefani of the Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei recognized what

it was and saved it. It was transferred to the archive of the Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei in 2001 and registered as photograph A335. We are especially grateful to Stefani for realizing its value to us and calling it to our attention at the time.⁹ Photograph A335 vividly documents the damaged remains at the south end of the Northwest Building (now the *deposito*), just north of trench 2001-3. Rubble from fallen buildings remained where it fell, but there is no evidence for an actual bomb crater in the photograph. The widespread

⁸ Published since then, García y García's (2006) *Danni di guerra a Pompei* is a broad discussion of the topic of damage and repair throughout the city.

⁹ The photograph is also reproduced in García y García 2006, fig. 271.3. See also García y García's (2006) fig. 266, in which the room to the left of the stairs is the location of trench 2001-3.

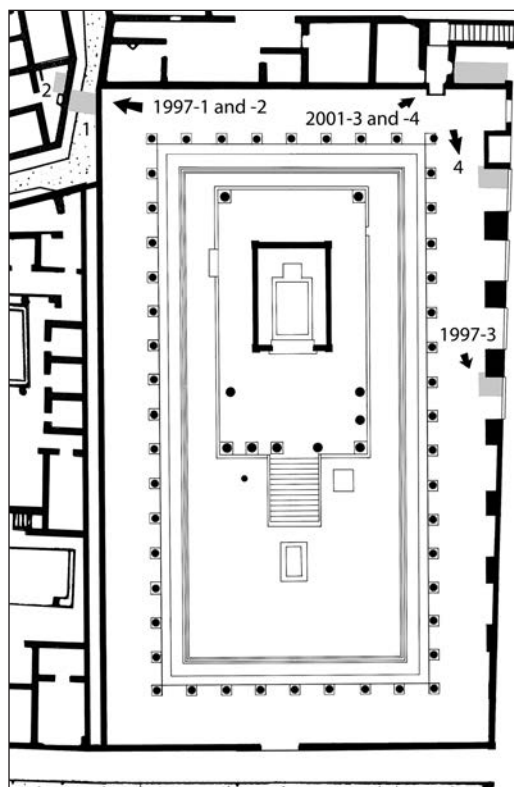


FIG. 2. Plan of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, showing the locations of five Pompeii Forum Project excavations from 1997 and 2001. Local north is at the top (adapted from Eschebach and Eschebach 1995; Dobbins and Foss 2007; Cooper and Dobbins 2015).

structural damage is obvious, however. Today, one can spot the seams in the restored masonry of the *deposito* that correspond with the exposed damaged surfaces visible in the photograph. At the left edge of the photograph it is clear that the unnamed rooms north of the Sanctuary of Apollo, where trench 2001-3 was to be placed, were obliterated. These rooms were reconstructed in the postwar period.

The evidence of bomb damage raised concerns, but also it raised some intriguing questions about what we might expect to find in a bomb-damaged area. We thought there were two main ways a bomb could destroy archaeological remains. First, and most obviously, a bomb crater would obliterate everything, both the architecture above ground and the entire stratigraphic record below ground level. While the concentration of damage around this area is substantial, photograph A335 proves that we did not have to contend with a bomb crater in the specific location that we wanted to excavate. Second, blast damage can destroy architecture

above ground without destroying stratigraphic evidence below ground. The latter seemed to be the case for us; photographs demonstrated that the architecture above ground level had been devastated throughout the area from the *mensa ponderaria* enclosure to the south half of the Northwest Building, but there was some hope that informative stratigraphy below ground level remained intact. At least in part, that is what we found.

There is, however, a third kind of bomb damage that we did not anticipate, which complicated our excavations considerably. The shock below ground level had pulverized the soil without displacing it. The soil particles remained where they were, with the stratigraphy essentially intact, but the texture became soft, friable, and sandy. This was especially true for strata in more exposed locations, near the surface all across the trench and, especially, at the west end of trench 2001-3, where pulverized texture in deeper strata suggests that the nearest crater was in that direction. Strata became progressively firmer farther below the surface and farther away from the blast. In sandy, pulverized soil, texture ceases to be a useful tool in telling one stratum from another. Soft, pulverized soil is also susceptible to percolation and penetration of anachronistic materials, especially if additional human disturbance occurs. In our two trenches, subsequent disturbance consisted of postwar reconstruction. In trench 2001-3, there were shallow modern foundations associated with rebuilt features of the sanctuary temenos wall and the unnamed rooms to the north. Much worse, the *mensa ponderaria* enclosure was reconstructed comprehensively, from the bottom of the foundation on up. The disturbance from that project penetrated the entire stratigraphy of trench 2001-4. These factors seriously complicated our studies in the area of the Sanctuary of Apollo, as the following discussion makes plain.

SANCTUARY OF APOLLO

The pre-Augustan history of the Sanctuary of Apollo is understood in its broadest terms, as we have laid out elsewhere.¹⁰ The larger original temenos boundary was marked with a ditch, in the area that later became the west portico of the forum.¹¹ The sanctuary was reduced in size in the second century B.C.E.¹² That perimeter

¹⁰ Ball and Dobbins 2013, 468–70.

¹¹ Arthur 1986, 34–5. A conjectural reconstruction of this phase appears in Ball and Dobbins 2013, fig. 1.

¹² Arthur 1986, 37. We discovered traces of the new eastern



FIG. 3. Photograph A335 from the archive of the Soprintendenza Pompei, showing the 1943 bomb damage (enhanced for contrast and clarity). This is a view into the Northwest Building from the southeast. The large shaded wall right of center is the back wall of the Northwest Building, while one of the surviving piers between it and the forum area is at the right edge of the photograph. The area of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-3 is at the left edge (courtesy Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo–Soprintendenza Pompei).

was then robbed out and superseded by the current eastern pier wall. There is no evidence of any phase intervening between the robbing out and the construction of the pier wall. The second-century B.C.E. perimeter wall appears to include an *opus incertum* fragment Maiuri excavated just to the south.¹³ The conventional interpretation of the pier wall had been to include it in the so-called Tufa period of the standard Pompeian

creation myth, therefore dating it to the second century B.C.E. That is improbable, of course.¹⁴ Our initial hypothesis had been to interpret the pier wall as the next construction phase after the sanctuary perimeter was reduced in the second century B.C.E. That would have made it part of the great Sullan Tuff Ensemble to the south, dating to ca. 89–80 B.C.E.¹⁵ That is where we

boundary in our 1997 excavations (Dobbins et al. 1998, 753–56). The wall was at most 0.40 m wide. The height of the wall cannot be reconstructed. A conjectural reconstruction of this phase appears in Ball and Dobbins 2013, fig. 2. The pottery evidence for dating the construction of the new small perimeter wall is also vaguely second century B.C.E.; i.e., the soil that the foundation trench was cut into had the usual kinds of third- to second-century B.C.E. sherds one commonly finds in Samnite contexts in Pompeii. This accords with Arthur's evidence, which dates the abandonment of the earlier, larger perimeter to the second century B.C.E.

¹³De Caro 1986, 18, pl. 1b.

¹⁴Concerning the creation myth and Tufa period, see Ball and Dobbins 2013, 462–64. The chronology of the pier wall could not be nailed down until Archer Martin completed the pottery study from all our excavations, but as early as 1997 (Dobbins et al. 1998, 752–56, esp. 753) it was certain that the pier wall must be later than the Samnite era.

¹⁵Ball and Dobbins 2013, 469–70. The Sullan Tuff Ensemble consisted, most saliently, of the Porticus of Popidius, Basilica, and Comitium (see fig. 1). “Comitium” is capitalized, as a conventional proper name, since it is not known what function the building actually served. At least two of the three South Buildings also stood as part of the Sullan Ensemble, but their chronology is more complicated. We will publish an explication of them elsewhere.

stood when we published our initial findings in 1998, a preliminary report following closely on the 1997 excavations. Its stratigraphic presentation was definitive, but the pottery had not been studied fully.¹⁶

Since 1998, important new sources of information have improved our understanding of the overall chronology of the Sanctuary of Apollo, forcing us to revise our thinking. First, our trenches 2001-3 and 2001-4 were associated with the sanctuary to augment the evidence from 1997. Those excavations made some useful contributions but were ultimately not as informative as the 1997 campaign. Much more important was Archer Martin's completed study of the pottery from both of our excavation seasons, which has added considerable chronological solidity to the stratigraphic and architectural findings from the excavations. The pottery, however, revealed a chronology that we had not anticipated. That is, the Sanctuary of Apollo never had a colonnade in either the Samnite or the Republican era; rather, the colonnade's initial construction was Augustan. Furthermore, the Sullan tuff colonnade project at the south end of the forum (the Porticus of Popidius) was not extended northward along the west side of the forum beyond the first two piers at the southeast corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo. The revisions to the Sanctuary of Apollo, including its internal colonnade, the pier wall, and the west colonnade of the forum, were all of Augustan date, with no Sullan contribution.¹⁷ Finally, from 2010 to 2012, John Dobbins, Pompeii Forum Project architect James Cooper, and Cooper's assistant Zachery Jones conducted a detailed study of the architecture of the Sanctuary of Apollo overall and of the Temple of Apollo specifically. This study identified a previously overlooked intermediate phase in the Temple of Apollo itself. The date for this phase is not yet certain, but it is most likely Augustan, clearly earlier than the final version. The features of this earlier phase are also more compatible with the Augustan-era design of the rest of the sanctuary, especially the pier wall. The temple was then enlarged later in the Imperial period,

obscuring much of the evidence for the more cohesive Augustan design for the whole sanctuary.¹⁸

Trench 2001-3

Trench 2001-3 was located in the small unnamed group of utilitarian rooms just north of the Sanctuary of Apollo (see fig. 2).¹⁹ A small *taberna*-like room, opening east onto the forum through a typical shop door, shares a party wall with the sanctuary. Trench 2001-3 occupied the southern half of this room, adjacent to the party wall.

The placement of trench 2001-3 derived from our study of the Vicolo del Gallo area in 1997 (trenches 1997-1 and 1997-2).²⁰ We had theorized that the Samnite-era street grid included an east–west extension of Vicolo del Gallo to the forum, in the area now occupied by the north end of the sanctuary (labeled “North Sanctuary Street” on fig. 4). This street, then, might have been displaced during the Augustan-era expansion of the sanctuary into the Vicolo del Gallo area. Our excavations of 1997 confirmed that the expansion into the Vicolo del Gallo area had taken place in the Augustan era, but none of our trenches was in a position to find evidence for the putative “North Sanctuary Street,” so we were searching for that in 2001.

Similarly, we noted that there is a small unnamed alley now behind the Northwest Building (see fig. 1). The Northwest Building is the latest feature in the area, most likely constructed after the earthquake of 62 C.E., and it cuts the alley off. So the alley originally ran farther southeast than it currently does, but we do not know the rest of its course. If it had originally extended southeast the full length of that block, all the way down to the Sanctuary of Apollo, it would have intersected the putative “North Sanctuary Street” at a right angle at the edge of the forum. Figure 4 reconstructs this

¹⁶ Dobbins et al. 1998, esp. 756. Our hypothesis at the time was that the pier wall was most likely Sullan. We did not include that in our stratigraphic report, however, because until we had an explicit pottery analysis, we could be certain only that it was later than the Samnite era. That caution has turned out to be wise.

¹⁷ The context pottery for both the pier wall and the sills associated with it gives those features a terminus post quem no earlier than 40 B.C.E.

¹⁸ The architectural evidence is not, itself, the topic of this article. Cooper and Dobbins' (2015) article is a preliminary notice. They will publish a more detailed explication elsewhere. The pace of progress in the Sanctuary of Apollo can be seen in the fact that our previous reconstruction of the forum area in the Augustan era (Ball and Dobbins 2013, fig. 8) is already obsolete; it was laid out before the Augustan-era design for the Temple of Apollo was discovered.

¹⁹ The north side of this unnamed group is the south wall of the Northwest Building. The utilitarian rooms that include trench 2001-3 are different from the Northwest Building in design, material, and probably original date (although most masonry now is post-1945).

²⁰ Dobbins et al. 1998, 739–52.

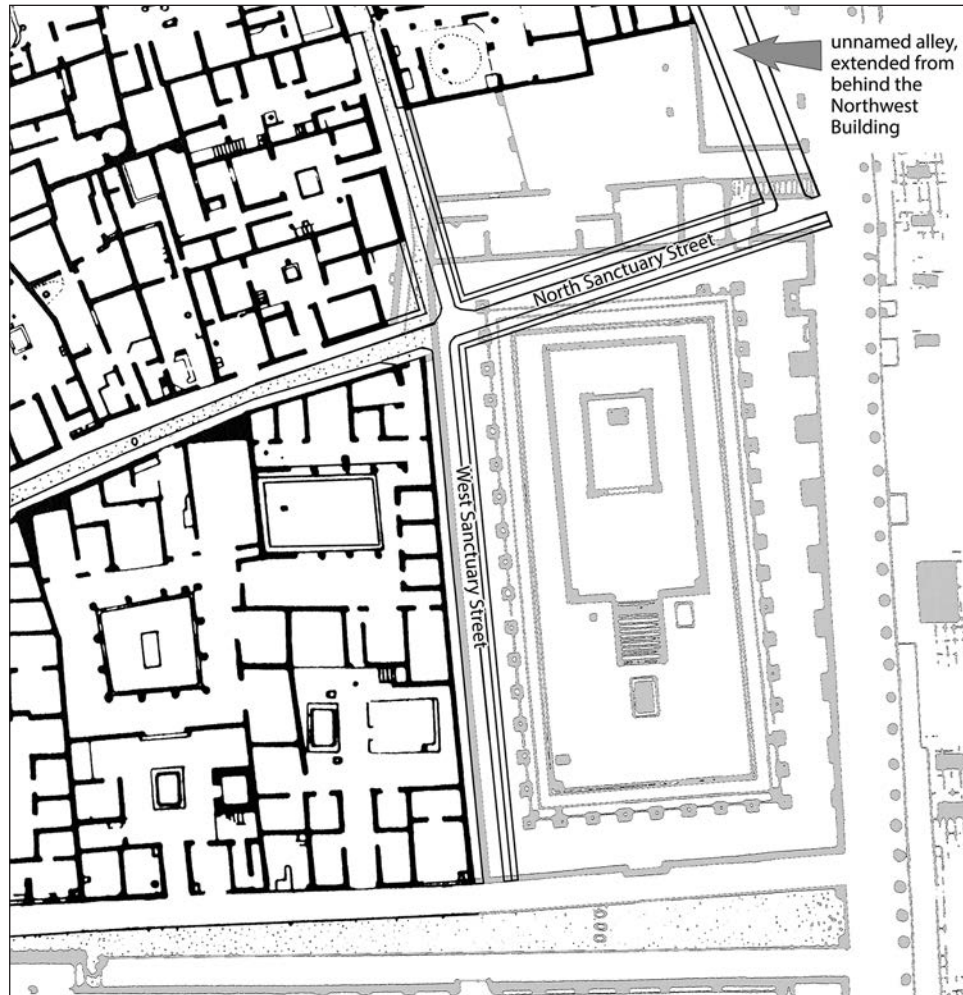


FIG. 4. The Pompeii Forum Project's hypothetical Samnite-period streets superimposed over the plan of the Sanctuary of Apollo. Local north is at the top (adapted from Eschebach and Eschebach 1995).

configuration, with the extension of the alley labeled at the upper right corner. Trench 2001-3, therefore, was placed in the area of that putative intersection, just outside the northeast corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo (see fig. 2). There we hoped to find evidence for either of those projected earlier roads.

Ultimately, we found no such evidence; trench 2001-3 did not disprove any of our theories, but it had very little useful evidence. That is especially true for the periods of greatest interest to us: Samnite, Sullan, and Augustan. Bomb damage and modern reconstruction after the war had eliminated nearly all evidence from those periods. There was no remaining trace of an occupation level from any Roman phase (republican or imperial), whereas evidence for earlier Samnite-era occupation later than the third century B.C.E. consisted exclusively of strata of fill. Detailed stratigraphic

treatment of trench 2001-3 is therefore unnecessary, but one discovery is worthy of brief notice: two clearly pre-Roman blocks that had been carefully laid into a foundation trench.²¹

²¹ Soil contexts in the Pompeii Forum Project's 2001 trenches are identified with "stratigraphic unit" numbers (e.g., "SU 23"). SUs are an expansion of the stratigraphic sequence of soil strata, incorporating other features that can be put into chronological order along with the soil strata. These include pits, trenches, cuttings, and habitation surfaces, providing a more detailed chronology than soil contexts alone. "SU" does not refer specifically to just one kind of thing. Since we do need to refer to soil contexts specifically, a clarification is in order. Here, an SU number used in isolation always refers to a soil context. Other kinds of SUs are named specifically (e.g., "pit," "cutting," or "trench") to clarify that they are not soil contexts.

A brief explanation will suffice to indicate the kinds of information we were able to extract from the scant uncontaminated ancient levels we found. Figures 5 and 6 are, respectively, a plan and a longitudinal section of the trench at the end of excavation. Prominent in both are two large pits, probably cisterns, which were apparently both dug in antiquity. The one on the right (west) was heavily involved in war damage and cleanup; it was used in the postwar era as a dump for clearing war-damaged rubble. Probably that end of the trench was closer to the bomb blast, pulverizing more of the soil and making the top of that pit collapse. The resulting complication in the stratigraphy is obvious in figure 6.²² The pit on the left (east) was damaged much less, and its tapered top configuration (most visible in fig. 6) indicates that ancient occupation levels had not been very high above the existing mouth. Modern artifacts were found in all strata down to the mouths of the pits, so clearly there was no surviving evidence of actual ancient use.

The fill around the pits was ancient, however, and lower strata around the east (left) pit were firmer and more credibly sealed, despite the bomb damage. These contained pottery (albeit very little) of the late Samnite era (third and second centuries B.C.E.) and nothing Roman. As the irregular configuration of the soil strata indicates (see fig. 6), this was simply soil fill to bring the ground level up to the later occupation surface that was swept away by bomb damage. As we excavated these strata, which had scant datable context material and showed no sign of actual use, we could not tell to what chronological or urbanistic era this fill belonged.

²² The stippled SUs in fig. 6 contained modern context material, including SUs 12, 14, and 34 to the west (right) of the right pit. SUs 17, 21, and 25, to the east (left) of the right pit, are more problematic. The fact that none of these contained modern material suggests that the only disturbance they experienced was the pulverization of the soil from the blast. The complexity of the strata, however, especially in comparison with the simpler, undoubtedly ancient stratigraphy in the east (left) end of the trench, suggests that they may have been disturbed during postwar reconstruction, especially if the stones lining the rim of the west (right) pit were laid to solidify the pit as it was incorporated into the restoration of the 79 C.E. ground level. This could have serious consequences for pottery analysis, but because these problematic strata are isolated, clearly different from the polluted modern strata above and to the west and equally separate from the indubitably undisturbed ancient strata to the east, the question hanging over these intermediate strata affects only them.

We were therefore astonished at what we did find, when we finally came to the bottom of the fill: two roughly squared blocks laid carefully in a foundation trench (see figs. 5–7). These blocks are just to the right (west) of the left (east) pit, recognizable in the cross section because their top surface matches the corresponding occupation surface, SU 43 (see fig. 6). The fill in the foundation trench (stippled in the center of fig. 5 and labeled SU 46 on fig. 6; the excavated trench appears in fig. 7) proves that these blocks were deliberately set into place and were not backfill from postwar restoration. The north block is hard and dense, like fine limestone, but it has a distinctive yellowish color unlike any of the common stone types found in Pompeii. The south block is unmistakable, however; it is *pappamonte*.

The paltry context material associated with these blocks gives a vague sense that the earliest datable activity in the forum area was roughly third or second century B.C.E.²³ Nothing in the stratigraphy or finds suggested a date any earlier than that. Here, however, is a roughly squared *pappamonte* foundation block still in its original foundation trench. This distinctive technique was used only early in Pompeii's history, usually in the Archaic period.²⁴ After that, *pappamonte* foundations were abandoned entirely, replaced by superior materials and methods. It turns out, therefore, that our excavations have revealed a chronological anomaly also found at other modern excavations throughout Pompeii: the so-called Hiatus.²⁵ The Hiatus came after the well-documented archaic occupation of the site. It was a period of two or three centuries during which there was little or no habitation in Pompeii. The Hiatus ended at different times in different parts of Pompeii,

²³ The datable pottery in the strata overlying the *pappamonte* and limestone blocks consisted of body sherds of Calene and Campana A black gloss, which provide a terminus post quem of the third or second century B.C.E., but not the first. SU 46, which is the fill in the foundation trench itself, and therefore potentially informative, contained just four nondescript body sherds.

²⁴ See Ball and Dobbins (2013, 465) for a brief synopsis of the chronology of *pappamonte*. As a primary construction technique, *pappamonte* foundations are an Archaic-period phenomenon. The use of *pappamonte* after that is extremely rare, usually as crude work where the *pappamonte* pieces are not carefully shaped or fitted together. No examples dating later than the fourth century B.C.E. are known, other than as pieces of rubble.

²⁵ Ball and Dobbins 2013, 464, 469.

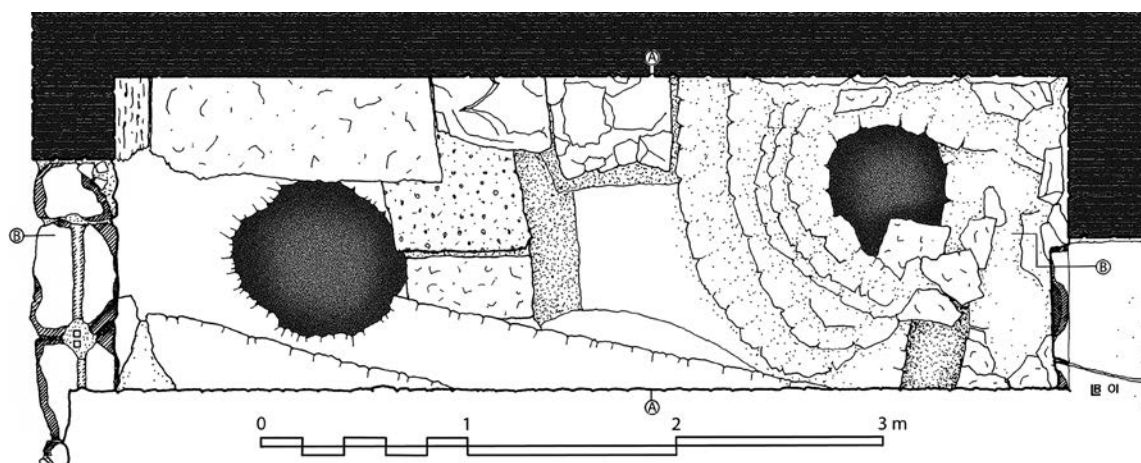


FIG. 5. Plan of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-3 at the end of excavation. South is at the top (drawing by L. Ball).

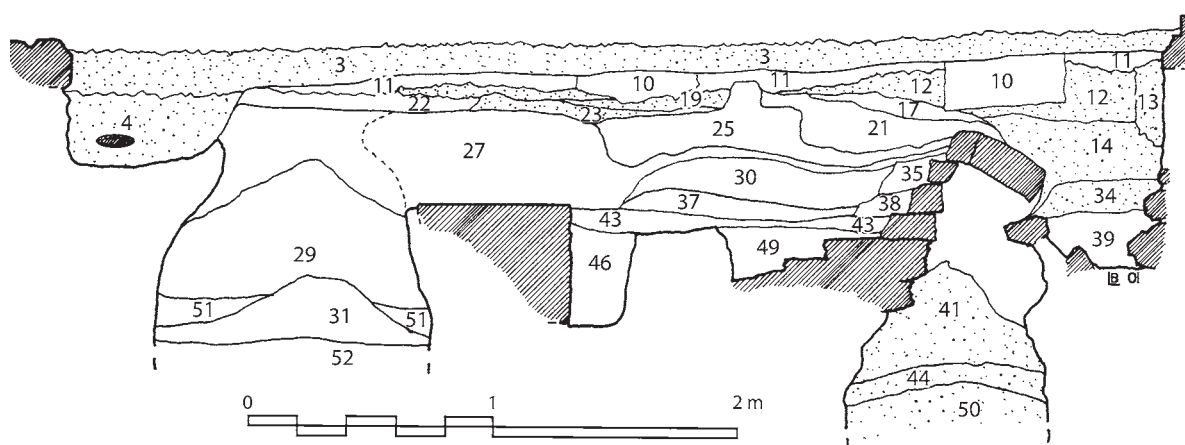


FIG. 6. East-west stratigraphic section of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-3, looking south. Soil strata are marked with their SU numbers. Stippled strata contained modern artifacts; hatching indicates stone cut by the section line (drawing by L. Ball).

as small areas of the city were reinhabited and built up again. In a few instances, the Hiatus ended in the fourth century B.C.E., but more commonly it ended in the third. Matching the Hiatus elsewhere in the city, the fill strata in trench 2001-3 contained no occupation levels or any other trace of human activity in the third, fourth, or fifth century B.C.E. Lower still—that is, stratigraphically earlier—we found this distinctive *pappamonte* foundation block apparently from the Archaic period. It is a pity we found scant context materials in the foundation trench fill (SU 46), because in the Archaic period the area of trench 2001-3 was either within the Sanctuary of Apollo or adjacent to it. This was one of the few, small areas inside the pomerium that had considerable human activity during the

Archaic period, so archaic context material would not have been out of the question. The two squared blocks seem to be oriented parallel with the axis of the Sanctuary of Apollo, which was the only significant structure in this area in the Archaic period. The orientation of these two blocks is also not inconsistent with the little unnamed alley behind the Northwest Building. That unnamed alley is not archaic, of course, but part of the Samnite street grid. It is centuries later than the apparently archaic *pappamonte* foundation.

In sum, in the Archaic period (or just after), something was built here, either next to or just inside the Sanctuary of Apollo. Then there was no activity during the two or three centuries of the Hiatus. Most of the fill in trench 2001-3 was laid down apparently in the



FIG. 7. The eastern half of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-3, view from the west, after the excavation of SUs 46 and 49. The end of the meter stick in the foreground rests on SU 36. SU 46 had filled the foundation trench shared by SU 36 and the two roughly squared blocks in the center (J. Dobbins).

second century B.C.E. Then, probably in the second or first century B.C.E., the left (east) pit was dug, impinging on the *pappamonte* block but not displacing it. The pit was backfilled, but we cannot say by whom (Samnites or Romans).²⁶ Evidence for the Hiatus in trench 2001-3 therefore fits the recently developed chronology for the whole city of Pompeii, but the trench did not answer any of our questions about the Sanctuary of Apollo during the second and first centuries B.C.E.

²⁶ The fill in the pit was ancient, from the first century B.C.E. or later. To our disappointment, this is also much later than the material Arthur (1986, 35) found in the refuse pits used to discard obsolete votives when the Sanctuary of Apollo was reduced in perimeter in the second century B.C.E. In trench 2001-3, we found no votives in either pit.

Trench 2001-4

Trench 2001-4 was placed within the Sanctuary of Apollo, next to the south side of the *mensa ponderaria* enclosure and extending slightly around its west side (see fig. 2). This location is analogous to that of trench 1997-3.²⁷ It was chosen to determine whether the earlier robbed-out sanctuary perimeter wall from trench 1997-3 continued farther north.²⁸ If so, we also sought additional dating information both for the cutting of the robber trench and for its subsequent abandonment and filling. The site was chosen because it had not been disturbed by Maiuri's excavations.²⁹

The area of trench 2001-4, like that of trench 2001-3, was subject to World War II bomb damage and postwar restoration but also to more recent revisions, including the emplacement of a buried electrical cable. Much of our work in trench 2001-4 was therefore the stratigraphic excavation of modern backfill. Authentically ancient levels were reached as well, revealing two significant ancient features: the north-south robber trench that we sought, whose form and orientation were the same as in trench 1997-3, and a deeper architectural feature (wall or foundation?) under the *mensa ponderaria* enclosure. Our excavations confirmed that the present *mensa ponderaria* enclosure is a completely rebuilt structure dating to the period after World War II.³⁰

SUs 1-12, 15, 28, and 29 were modern, either covering the entire trench or descending deep into a foundation trench of the reconstructed *mensa ponderaria* enclosure (fig. 8). Unfortunately, modern SUs penetrated deep into the main area of the trench, with

²⁷ Dobbins et al. 1998, 739-56.

²⁸ See the report by Dobbins et al. (1998, 752-56), in which fig. 15 shows the plan of trench 1997-3 and fig. 18 shows this robber trench after the backfill was excavated.

²⁹ De Caro (1986) does not discuss the area specifically, but his pl. 2 shows all the areas in the Sanctuary of Apollo where he could find evidence that Maiuri had excavated. Nothing is marked where we placed trench 2001-4. In spite of the bomb damage, it is clear that Maiuri did not excavate in this location.

³⁰ Fig. 3 documents the bomb damage in the area but does not show the *mensa ponderaria* enclosure. Today one can see that the construction of the *mensa ponderaria* enclosure is different from that of the other piers, and it includes modern cement. The same modern construction continues underground. Moreover, the wall structure in prewar photographs showing the original *mensa ponderaria* enclosure reveals obvious masonry differences from the current enclosure, indicating that the two are not the same. The *mensa ponderaria* enclosure was reconstructed in a large modern foundation trench that obliterated considerable ancient stratigraphy.

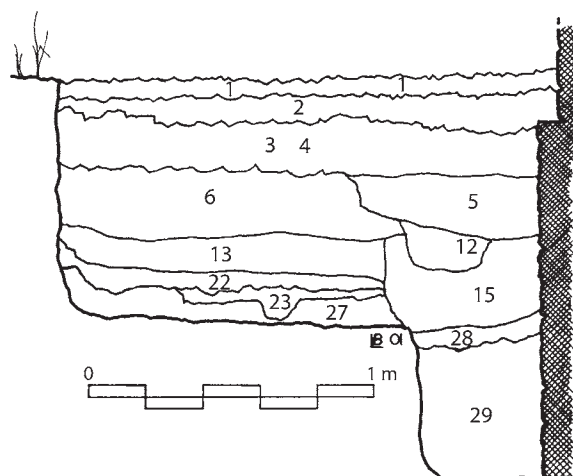


FIG. 8. North-south stratigraphic section of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-4, looking west. Soil strata are marked with their SU numbers (drawing by J. Dobbins and L. Ball).

negative stratigraphic consequences, including contamination by later pottery of ancient layers that had been deeply buried and well sealed until the bomb damage. Those once deeply buried layers were partially sheared off and exposed to later contamination after 1943. Recognizing this unfortunate process of site formation allows the contamination to be explained and the significance of the ancient SUs to be recovered.

The most important ancient SUs are those pertaining to the sanctuary's early precinct wall and its foundation trench. SU 13 was the backfill put into the foundation trench when its stones were removed to make way for the pier wall (figs. 9, 10; the cut for the trench is SU 14). The pier wall was both the next and the final eastern boundary of the sanctuary. The vestige of SU 13 that we recovered contained no datable material.

The SUs cut by the foundation trench were SUs 16, 17, and 18 (see fig. 10, but note that the section line [A-A], indicated on fig. 10, is north of SU 16; SU 16 therefore does not appear on fig. 9). SU 18 on the west side of the foundation trench was straightforward, although its cut edge was ragged as if it had been damaged during the removal of rocks for reuse. It contained no datable material. On the east side, the foundation trench was cut into two adjacent and different soils, SUs 16 and 17. This condition was unusual because the two soils were next to each other, not stratified. The foundation trench cut through them, so it is clear that they were ancient and stratigraphically earlier than

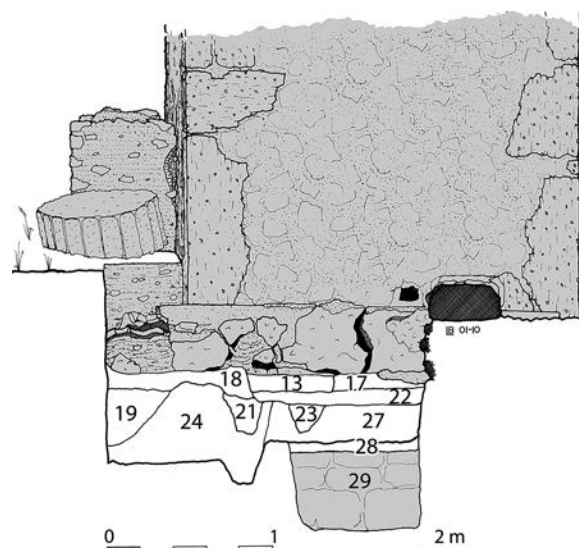


FIG. 9. East-west stratigraphic section of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-4, looking north. Soil strata are marked with their SU numbers. The modern strata at the top have been left out; gray-shaded areas are in elevation at the north end of the trench, behind the section line (drawing by J. Dobbins and L. Ball).

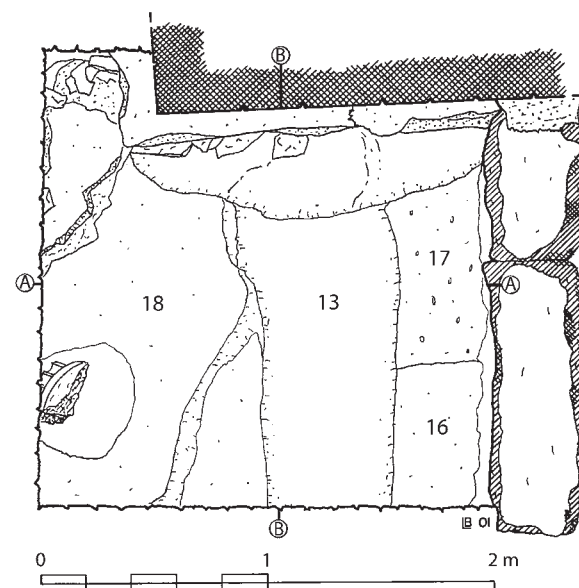


FIG. 10. Plan of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-4 after SUs 6, 7, and 10 (i.e., after the removal of the modern top strata but not the modern fill in the *mensa ponderaria* foundation trench). The dark hatching at the top is the *mensa ponderaria* enclosure. SU 13 is the filled-in robber trench from the second-century B.C.E. temenos wall. Local north is at the top (drawing by J. Dobbins and L. Ball).

the foundation trench. A sherd of Eastern Sigillata A in SU 17 provided a terminus post quem of the second century B.C.E. for the foundation trench. SU 16, however, contained an Augustan-period sherd; as SU 16 cannot be Augustan or later in date, the sherd is clearly intrusive, but it is not likely to have been introduced when the temenos boundary wall was robbed out.³¹

Unfortunately, the ancient upper surfaces of SUs 16, 17, and 18 were destroyed in the bombing; the foundation trench originally opened at a higher level. The remaining upper surfaces of SUs 16, 17, and 18 were also exposed during the laying of an electrical cable and the backfilling of the entire area, so the intrusive sherd may have been embedded into SU 16 at that time. As the preserved upper surface of SU 16 was deeply buried until 1943, it is unlikely that percolation took place in antiquity. If Augustan spoliation and backfill are not the culprits, then bomb damage and postwar disturbance probably are. Explaining away an intrusion is not a satisfying archaeological exercise, but if this explanation is correct, the date provided by SU 17 can be salvaged. In a bomb-damaged trench, this explanation of an anomaly may constitute a small victory for careful excavation.

A substantial architectural feature made of roughly cut blocks in three courses appeared under the *mensa ponderaria* enclosure (SU 29 on fig. 9). It is below and therefore earlier than the robbed-out north-south boundary wall. Unfortunately, this feature was revealed by the removal of modern backfill in the postwar foundation trench for the *mensa ponderaria* enclosure, so there are no SUs of ancient date associated with it. The feature angles somewhat to the northeast. It is attractive to speculate that it is related to our projected eastward extension of Vicolo del Gallo, but at this point any interpretation is pure speculation.

THE CERAMIC EVIDENCE FROM TRENCH 1997-3

The better stratigraphy and completed appraisal of ceramic evidence from trench 1997-3 become crucial at this point (fig. 11).³² An Italian sigillata sherd

was found in deposit 9, the backfill of the foundation trench/robber trench below the pier. This dates the dismantling of the earlier temenos wall and the construction of the pier wall to no earlier than 40 B.C.E. Similarly, Campanian Orange Ware in deposit 6, the backfill associated with the installation of the sill, dates the sill to the Augustan period as well.³³ Evidence from trench 1997-3 demonstrated that the sill is associated with the colonnade and that both are stratigraphically later than the pier wall.³⁴

The revelation that the pier wall is also Augustan requires that we discard the hypothesis that the pier wall is Sullan and recognize that the Augustan revisions to the sanctuary were comprehensive, including most of the pier wall itself and the colonnade in the sanctuary, along with its raised surface and new sill. These were all individual steps in one larger project.

The date for the pier wall based on ceramic and stratigraphic evidence is also consistent with new architectural evidence derived from study within the sanctuary from 2010 to 2012.³⁵ Our understanding of the overall chronology of the Sanctuary of Apollo is considerably strengthened as a result. Together, all these sources bespeak a cohesive and comprehensive Augustan-era reconfiguration of the whole Sanctuary of Apollo, including the temple itself. These issues are not treated in this article.³⁶

TRENCH 2001-2 (BASILICA)

During the winter and spring of 2000–2001, installation of electrical equipment required extensive cleaning and weed removal in Vicolo di Championnet, along the south flank of the Basilica. This cleaning exposed what appeared to be the foundation trench in which the Basilica was constructed (figs. 12, 13). A stratigraphic rescue excavation had already been conducted at the east end of the “foundation trench,” where a large equipment case had been installed. That reached a depth of approximately 1.2 m.³⁷ The excavator identified this

³¹ Because of the obvious evidence of disturbance and contamination, Archer Martin and the excavators agree that the pottery from trench 2001-4 is not sufficiently trustworthy to be included in the overall statistical analyses of Pompeii Forum Project pottery. Within the context of trench 2001-4's stratigraphy, however, the identification of specific sherds from specific stratigraphic contexts is informative, albeit carefully accompanied by necessary caveats.

³² In our 1997 excavations, we had not yet initiated the use of the SU system, so conventional soil strata were our main chron-

ological armature, referred to as “deposits.”

³³ Martin (2014) elucidates current thinking on the chronology of Campanian Orange Ware and Italian sigillata.

³⁴ Dobbins et al. 1998, 753–56, esp. 754.

³⁵ The 2010–2012 study within the Sanctuary of Apollo was undertaken by James G. Cooper and John J. Dobbins with the assistance of Zachery Jones (Cooper and Dobbins 2015).

³⁶ Supra n. 16.

³⁷ The rescue excavation was supervised by Laura Ficuciello on behalf of the Soprintendenza. We thank Antonio D'Ambrosio, Direttore degli Scavi, for granting us permission to excavate

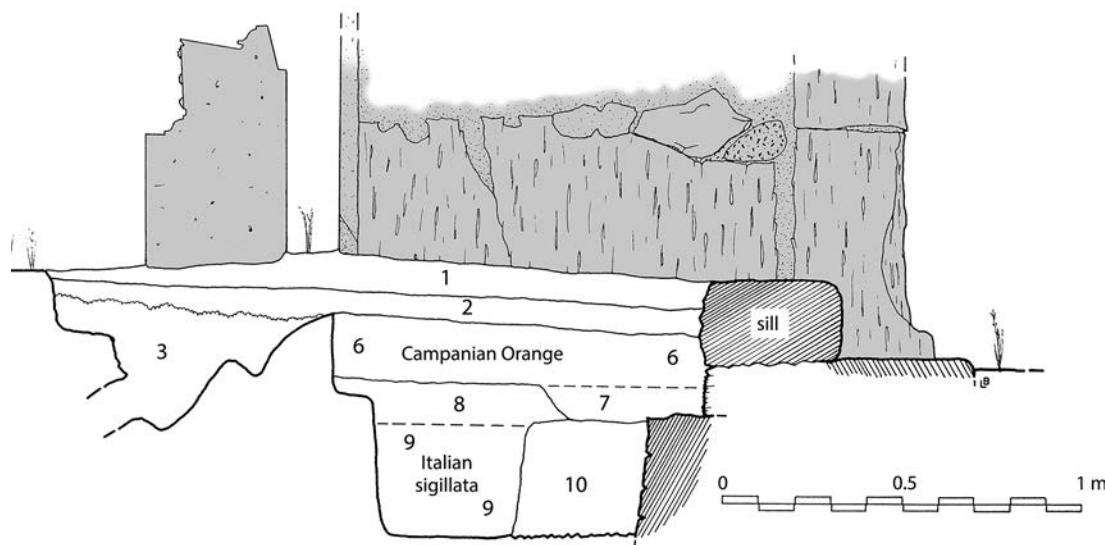


FIG. 11. East-west stratigraphic section of Pompeii Forum Project trench 1997-3, looking north, with key dating sherds indicated in the contexts where they were found. The numbers refer to deposits (our nomenclature in 1997 for soil strata), not stratigraphic units. Gray-shaded areas are in elevation at the north end of the trench, behind the section line (drawing by L. Ball).

area as a foundation trench, but, as laid out below, our excavations determined that it was not a conventional foundation trench. The newly exposed area is about 0.7 m wide, from the Basilica's foundation to the straight northern edge of the paving slabs of Vicolo di Championnet. Excavation for the cable had already begun when we arrived on-site in 2001, and several meters of the area had already been excavated to a depth of approximately 0.4 m below pavement level, the intended depth for the cables.³⁸ Consultations with Assistente Gallo (the Soprintendenza's supervisor of the cable in-

stallation) and the crew chief for the project confirmed that the entire length of the "foundation trench," from the stairway at the south-central door to the stairway at the southeastern corner of the building, had been excavated to this depth. Cable installation was delayed to allow us to excavate.

The opportunity to conduct a stratigraphic investigation of the Basilica was of keen interest to the Pompeii Forum Project because of our hypothesis that the Samnite-era forum was of irregular shape, lacking any attempt at monumentality.³⁹ We posit that the Samnite-era forum existed at the time of the Roman conquest under Sulla in 89 B.C.E. and that the Sullan-period development of the forum was the first time the space was conceived of in monumentally aggrandized terms. That included the newly added Basilica, Porticus of Popidius, Comitium, south end of the Sanctuary of Apollo, and somewhat aggrandized entrances into the forum at Via Marina, Via dell'Abbondanza, and Strada delle Scuole, all as part of the Roman colony. Obtaining datable material from a foundation trench for the Basilica was therefore of great interest.

and for providing a photocopy of Ficuciello's unpublished report. Ficuciello's results are similar to ours, albeit more broadly described. Both her excavation and ours were carried to the base of the Basilica foundation. Ficuciello treated the fill layers (our SUs 3–13) together as one single unit and identified it collectively as fill in a proper foundation trench. Ficuciello stopped at what she identified as bedrock, but which is, in fact, the heavily compacted soil of our SU 14 (we can confirm that this soil was so thoroughly compacted that it truly felt like bedrock when struck with a pick). In probing SU 14—i.e., the level on which the Basilica was constructed—our excavation has the benefit of bringing a clearly pre-Basilica stratum into the discussion.

³⁸ In our discussion, the word "pavement" refers exclusively to the masonry-solidified top surface of a passage, be it roadbed or sidewalk. We never use "pavement" in the colloquial British sense, meaning "sidewalk."

³⁹ This hypothesis was initially presented in Dobbins and Ball 2001; see also Dobbins and Ball 2005, 60–72; Dobbins 2007, 171–72; esp. Ball and Dobbins 2013, 468–86.

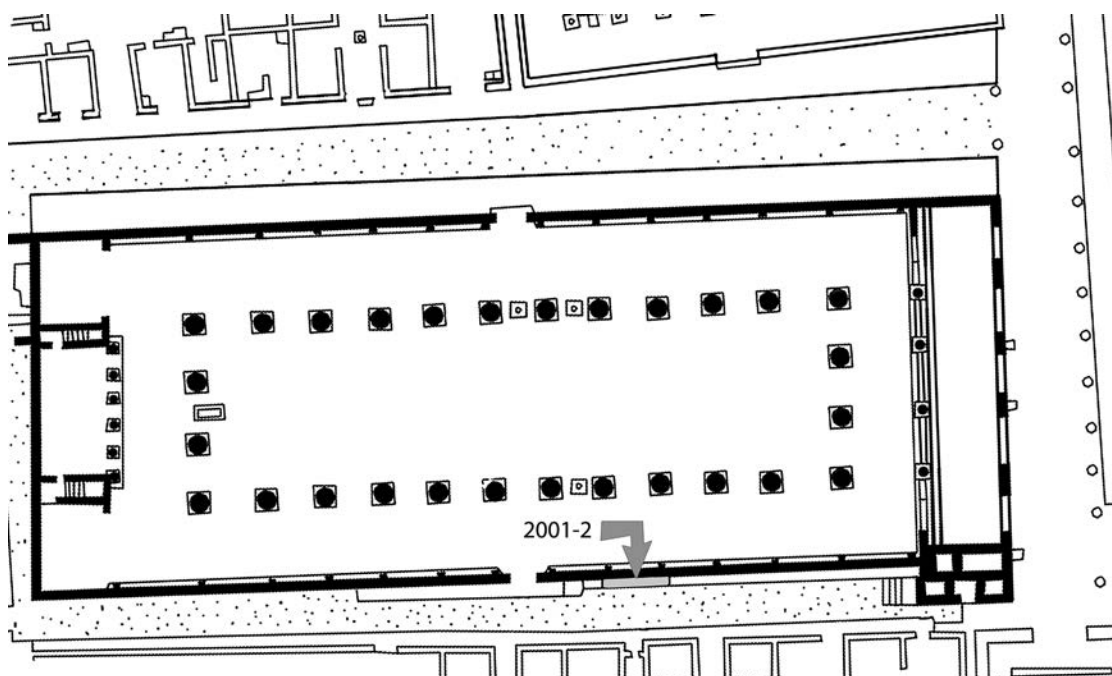


FIG. 12. Plan of the Pompeii Basilica, showing the location of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-2. Local north is at the top (adapted from Dobbins and Foss 2007).

The south entrance of the Basilica has a small staircase leading up to it from Vicolo di Championnet. Trench 2001-2 started at the eastern edge of this staircase and extended 5 m eastward from there (see figs. 12–15). The width of the trench was the entire available space between the Basilica foundation and the street pavers, approximately 0.7 m. After 12 stratigraphic units, the excavation area was reduced to the eastern 2.5 m of the trench to accelerate our work, in order to accommodate the conduit-installation team. For the same reason, the final stratum, SU 14, was further restricted to just 0.7 m, as shown in figure 14.

Excavation of trench 2001-2 was challenging, but the stratigraphy is so easy to understand that there is no need for a plan or plan-view photographs. Except for a few strata with a lot of nonarchitectural rubble, all SUs in the trench consisted exclusively of fill soil. Figures 12, 13, and 15 illustrate the setting relative to Vicolo di Championnet, whereas figure 14 shows the strata. SUs 3–13 are all dense, hard-packed fill layers. There were no occupation levels or architectural associations, other than the fact that all of these SUs abutted the Basilica foundation and are therefore later than the Basilica. In figure 14, the irregular surfaces between some of the SUs indicate where the heavier concentrations of large rubble were. They were obviously dumped in a



FIG. 13. Vicolo di Championnet, looking west, with Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-2 next to the Basilica foundation at right, foreground (L. Ball).

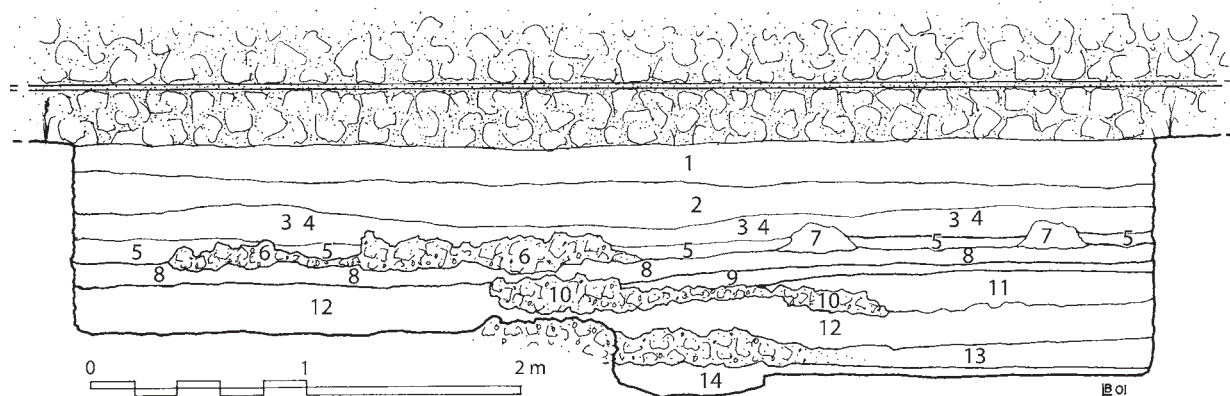


FIG. 14. East-west stratigraphic section of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-2, looking north. Soil strata are marked with their SU numbers (drawing by L. Ball).



FIG. 15. Plan view of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-2. South is at the top. The wheelbarrow gives a sense of the notably tall curb on the south side of Vicolo di Championnet (L. Ball).

jumbled fashion, not forming part of any deliberate structure such as a floor or wall. Together, SUs 3–13 represent one phase of activity, layer upon layer of back-fill all dumped next to the Basilica foundation after its completion.

SUs 3–13 do not end at the south scarp of trench 2001-2, however, but continue past the south scarp under Vicolo di Championnet. So, for instance, a

mirror image of figure 14 could serve as an elevation drawing of the south scarp. The only reason this area appeared to be a foundation trench in the first place was that a curb and small sidewalk had been intended here (we cannot tell whether they were ever installed). The roadbed pavers of Vicolo di Championnet therefore end at a consistent, straight line where the curb-stones would have been (see figs. 13, 15). That leaves a

long, narrow shape of exposed soil surface between the pavers and the Basilica foundation, which looked like the top of a foundation trench for the Basilica. But because SUs 3–13 extend under the street, they are backfill in a much wider excavation than a conventional foundation trench for the Basilica. Instead, a broader working area was excavated, more than was needed for the Basilica alone. This apparently encompassed much or all of the area of Vicolo di Championnet and probably much of the area of the Basilica itself. Because the pavement of Vicolo di Championnet is laid on top of these backfill layers, the pavement is later than the completion of the Basilica. There is no evidence to suggest the repaving was *much* later, however; rather, it seems that once the Basilica was completed the whole area of Vicolo di Championnet had to be filled, graded, and paved, each step following immediately upon the previous. The restoration of Vicolo di Championnet is therefore essentially the final cleanup at the end of the Basilica project, dating to just after the Basilica itself.

The fill was well laden with numerous fragmented refuse items: roof tile, painted architectural plaster (including column flutes and a First Style cornice), cemented flooring, decayed mortar, tuff with finish-coat plaster, a mosaic tessera, bones, teeth, shell, and hundreds of pottery sherds. In contrast to trenches 2001-3 and 2001-4, it is a large, well-sealed sample of the conventional debris in Pompeii at the time the fill was laid in. The pottery included black-gloss, coarse, and cooking wares, amphora handles and body sherds, and a lamp. The evidence is consistent with a single project wherein multiple loads of refuse were piled in to refill this area at the end of the Basilica's construction.

The Bedding for the Basilica Foundation (SU 14)

The excavation of SU 13 revealed the bottom of the Basilica foundation, approximately 1.02 m below the pavement of Vicolo di Championnet. The soil consistency changed dramatically at that point, indicating that we had come to the bottom of the backfill. The next context, SU 14, is the only other phase of activity in trench 2001-2, being the soil stratum on which the Basilica foundation was laid. SU 14 was an extremely hard-packed, cement-like, dark soil.⁴⁰ Bits of refuse

similar to those in SUs 3–13 also appeared in SU 14, albeit in much smaller quantities, including mortar, roof tile, bone, marble, and ground-up pottery.

The configuration for SU 14 was similar to the fill layers above it, but with two key exceptions. First, the top surface had been graded to a fairly flat level. This makes sense insofar as this was the man-made, prepared surface on which the Basilica foundations were then laid. Second, and accordingly, SU 14 did not abut the Basilica foundation but ran under it, so SU 14 is the last step before the construction of the Basilica, whereas SUs 3–13 were the next steps after its completion.

Equally important, SU 14 continued under the roadbed of Vicolo di Championnet, just like the post-construction backfill layers. This is not trivial; it demonstrates a clear link between the area of Vicolo di Championnet and the Basilica construction project. SU 14 predates the Basilica, which means that, before the Basilica project was started, Vicolo di Championnet was removed and its space used as part of the construction pit into which the Basilica foundations were then set. By the same token, this also means that from the moment the Basilica project started, there was an abiding requirement to replace the street once the Basilica was completed.

Given its small size, SU 14 produced a much smaller sample of context materials than the fill layers above it. It was all ancient, of course, and although none of it was very closely datable, its chronological indications are intriguing. SU 14 differs from the fill layers above it in that its context materials are earlier, different from SUs 3–13; none of their somewhat later components appears in it. Ground up black-gloss, coarse, and cooking wares were present. The black-gloss sherds give the only chronological hint, giving the Basilica a terminus post quem of Samnite or later. That, obviously, says very little. We would have liked something more precise than that, naturally, because the crux of current debate is whether the Basilica dates to the late second century B.C.E., and is therefore Samnite, or to the early first century B.C.E., and is therefore Sullan. The pottery from SU 14 is not informative enough to

⁴⁰ The extreme solidity of the soil is certainly purposeful. It is not mere compaction of a working surface in the construction pit. The well-known and highly effective rammed-earth (or pounded-earth) technique was undoubtedly used. As noted above (cf. fig. 14), the area of SU 14 was deliberately reduced,

primarily because we were under pressure from the electricians who wanted to get on with their work but also because the purpose of SU 14, as a substratum for the Basilica foundation, was unambiguous. Our goal was to obtain a sample of the materials in the soil.

distinguish between those two options for the initiation of the Basilica project; it is consistent with both, refuting neither.⁴¹

Our description of the pottery evidence for SU 14 may appear to concede that the Basilica project could have begun in the Samnite period, but it does not. It is exclusively a statement of the chronological termini provided by the pottery sample. The fact that the small pottery sample from SU 14 could not make the 11-year distinction between 100 B.C.E. and 89 B.C.E. does not imply a Samnite origin for the building. We explicate the broader body of evidence associated with the Basilica below, which is solidly and consistently in favor of a republican Roman origin. Our trench 2001-2 pottery evidence does not disprove a Samnite date, but it offers no evidence in support of a Samnite date either. Anyone wanting to argue a Samnite date for the Basilica still bears a burden of proof—including finding any actual evidence at all.

Context Materials from the Backfill Strata (SUs 3–13)

The pottery from the backfill layers, SUs 3–13, is somewhat more informative. There are two key chronological features. First, the pottery suggests a terminus post quem of somewhere in the middle of the first century B.C.E., possibly toward the end of it. These include a Marabini X beaker of the second or third quarter of the first century B.C.E. and an Ephesian micaceous jar whose earliest examples are from the later first century B.C.E.⁴² Just how late in the first

century B.C.E. is uncertain. We could hope for greater precision, but this dating is useful in broad terms.

Second, there is the complete absence of terra sigillata in trench 2001-2. Terra sigillata sherds are ubiquitous in later levels of Pompeii, so their absence in our trench may be of some chronological benefit. We must be cautious in this regard, however, because we do not know the source of the soil, rubble, and rubbish that was used in the backfill. Certainly it did not contain any terra sigillata, so somehow it had never come in contact with later soil from approximately the Augustan era or later. The greatest likelihood is that this soil simply represents the time that it came from, and if that is true then the lack of terra sigillata would mean something significant. Then again, there are other possibilities, such as earlier soil excavated elsewhere and brought here for backfill, without contamination with later material. So the lack of terra sigillata suggests a possible terminus chronologically parallel with the termini provided by the Marabini and Ephesian micaceous sherds, but it does not solidly establish a terminus in its own right.

If, however, the lack of terra sigillata truly represents a chronological terminus, it is of an interesting sort, the inverse of how pottery information usually functions. That is, the presence of terra sigillata would have created a terminus post quem. But it is not present. Conversely, the absence of terra sigillata may be the opposite, a terminus ante quem. The pottery assemblage in SUs 3–13 therefore gives us reasonably precise dates for the backfilling in Vicolo di Championnet. We know that it was later than the Marabini X beaker (i.e., later than ca. 75 B.C.E.) and later than the advent of the Ephesian micaceous ware (less certain: ca. 25 B.C.E., but possibly earlier than that). If, then, the absence of terra sigillata is meaningful, it hints at clarifying that range somewhat, suggesting the fill was laid in just before the Augustan era. We cannot prove that, of course. Even if it were certainly true, it would be only a minor improvement in the chronological window we already have for SUs 3–13, but it is at least worth noting. Since SUs 3–13 abut the Basilica foundations and are therefore later than the Basilica, refining the time frame of the fill would also refine the time frame of the Basilica itself.

In sum, the pottery evidence for the backfilling and repaving of Vicolo di Championnet precludes a Samnite

⁴¹ See Ball and Dobbins (2013, 482, esp. nn. 116, 117) concerning Kockel's excavations in other areas adjacent to the Basilica foundations, as laid out in his brief preliminary reports (Kockel 2008, 2009, 2010). His preliminary pottery assessment identifies types similar to those found in our SU 14, with the same chronological implications. So, while our sample for SU 14 is small, Kockel's pottery finds may ultimately be, in effect, an expansion of our SU 14 sample. His preliminary notices are brief, however, so it is not yet clear whether he has made the specific stratigraphic distinction between backfill next to the foundations and the surfaces on which foundations were bedded. Naturally, additional excavations around the Basilica might clarify the interpretation further, but what we have found so far is at least consistent and reasonably meaningful.

⁴² See Marabini Moevs (1973, 71–3) for the Marabini X sherd (Archer Martin's citation). Scholarship on the Ephesian micaceous ware is more complex, as Martin will explain in his final publication. This ware was certainly in production in the final quarter of the first century B.C.E., but its inception prior to that is unknown. The characterizations of it and the standard scholarly explanations of its chronology given here derive from Martin's study. He cites Peacock and Williams 1986, 188–90;

Sciallano and Sibella 1991, 102; Piéri 2005, 94–101; Bertoldi 2012, 136; Bezeczky 2013, 65–71.

date for the conclusion of the Basilica project and the replacement of the street. Those activities must have taken place later than ca. 75 B.C.E. and must have been completed before the Augustan era.

It is significant that the Basilica project started with the removal of Vicolo di Championnet, whereas the replacement of Vicolo di Championnet was completed well into the first century B.C.E. Collectively, the context evidence from trench 2001-2 suggests the Basilica was purely a Late Republican Roman project. While the evidence is not vast, it is certainly a valid sample, and all chronological indications that it provides indicate that the Basilica was Sullan, not Samnite.

The Basilica's Construction and Chronological Context

Trench 2001-2 revealed that the Basilica was built in a large excavated construction site like a modern construction pit. The bottom of this construction pit was brought down to the level of SU 14. We do not know how far north the pit extended inside the Basilica, but it certainly encompassed the area of the Basilica's foundations and much, or all, of the area of Vicolo di Championnet. There is no doubt that the northern sidewalk and roadbed of Vicolo di Championnet were removed for the initial foundation work for the Basilica. Apparently, however, the original southern sidewalk was left in place during construction. At that time it would have been the only paved access to the houses on Vicolo di Championnet. As noted, SU 14 proves that the removal and eventual replacement of Vicolo di Championnet were included in the overall plan from the outset. Once construction started on the Basilica itself, the steps are clear, and, equally important, there is no evidence that any other steps intervened. SU 14 was laid down and densely compacted as a base for construction. Second, the Basilica foundations were laid onto that solid surface. Third, the building itself was constructed on the foundations. Fourth, the work site was backfilled (SUs 3–13) and completed with the restored pavement of Vicolo di Championnet.

When Vicolo di Championnet was rebuilt, it was designed to harmonize as well as possible with everything that stood around it: the Basilica, the forum, the Sanctuary of Venus, and the irregular original topography of this area. The overall topography of this area was considerably tamed by the Basilica itself and by the post-Basilican form of Vicolo di Championnet, but the original, irregular topography remained in the form of the standing houses on the south side of the street, Houses VIII.2.1 and VIII.2.3 (see fig. 1). These are both

of moderate size and relatively humble initial design.⁴³

The new Vicolo di Championnet was given a simple, efficient design obviously responding to the needs of the Basilica more than to the needs of these houses. Its east end is level with the forum. From there it descends, on an even grade, to the Sanctuary of Venus at the west.⁴⁴ The even grade of descent does not match the preexisting topography, however, as demonstrated by Houses VIII.2.1 and VIII.2.3. They stand at their original, much higher elevation, at different levels from each other, with the street sinking ever farther below them as it descends to the west. The southern sidewalk between the street and the houses takes an intermediate course, probably indicating the path of Vicolo di Championnet before the Basilica project changed the whole neighborhood. The sidewalk descends less steeply than does Vicolo di Championnet, staying closer to the levels of the houses' fauces. It is a cumbersome compromise that works poorly both for the houses and for the street, but it makes the best of their incompatible positions. The floors of the fauces slope steeply down to reach the sidewalk, while the sidewalk is far above the street, atop extraordinarily high, inconvenient curbstones (the latter appear in fig. 15). On this tiny side street, the awkwardness was acceptable, especially from the point of view of the public good. In contrast, the much more important Via Marina on the north side of the Basilica descends from the forum much more gradually, at least until it reaches the Sanctuary of Venus. As a result, the doorway on the north side of the Basilica

⁴³ Their initial design can still be seen in the plan. In the original Samnite street grid, house lots came in standardized sizes according to the grandeur of the house. The largest size, 100 (Oscan) ft. wide, was common in the houses facing the forum or major thoroughfares. The two lots on Vicolo di Championnet are the next standard lot size down from that: 80 ft. Their atria did not have symmetrical groups of cubacula and *alae* on both sides, and, instead of two or four *tabernae* flanking the fauces, they had just two cubacula facing into the atrium. Subsequently, both were splendidly decorated, including small peristyles, but as they stood before the Basilica was built they were conventional, intermediate-sized, fairly simple Pompeian atrium houses.

⁴⁴ The conventional dating for the Sanctuary of Venus is Sullan. See, e.g., Curti's (2008) publication, although, as Curti notes (68), this has never been investigated scientifically. Given how the slope of the revised Vicolo di Championnet harmonizes with the level of the Sanctuary of Venus, the Sullan dating is credible. In addition, part of the terrace on which the temple is built is supported by the vaulting of Porta Marina, whose zigzag quoining, identical to that of the Theatrum Tectum and the Forum Baths, assigns it to the Sullan period.

is just one step up from the sidewalk. The sidewalk, in turn, is just one step above the roadbed of Via Marina, with a low, convenient, conventional curb.

The urbanistic implications of Vicolo di Championnet are remarkably informative. The insertion of a vast public amenity created some inconvenience for families in two private houses. The great public building clearly had priority. The private houses were perched at different levels on the irregular topography, but the Basilica required a large flat work surface (SU 14), cutting right across the existing topography. It was also well served by the evenly graded new configuration of Vicolo di Championnet, which also ignores the irregular earlier topography.

The Basilica in Its Larger Urban Context

Our conclusions, based on stratigraphic excavation, may appear radical, primarily because our Sullan dating for the Basilica is different from the traditional creation myth for Pompeii, in which the Basilica was seen as part of the imagined second-century B.C.E. hellenized Samnite floruit of the city. In our previous article, we discussed how uncritically this creation myth has been accepted and how little scholarly attention has actually been focused on the dating evidence for the Basilica, which comes into play here.⁴⁵ It is not feasible to argue systematically against every existing scholarly interpretation of Pompeii based on the Tufa period, so one object lesson can serve. This is Lauter,⁴⁶ whose analysis of the chronology of the Pompeii Forum is well informed,

⁴⁵ Ball and Dobbins 2013, 462–64, 482.

⁴⁶ See Lauter's (1979, esp. 417–22) discussion of the Basilica itself. Lauter's text is old, but it cannot be dismissed on that basis. The primary goal of the Pompeii Forum Project is to develop a clearer conception of the chronology of the Pompeii Forum area based on evidence and modern techniques rather than august tradition (Ball and Dobbins [2013] is devoted to this topic). For most buildings around the forum, Lauter articulated the conventional thinking, in detail, as it stood in the 1970s. Subsequent scholars who accept the conventional interpretation generally take Lauter's explanation for it as beyond dispute. By doing so, they do not actually make arguments of their own. E.g., Richardson (1988, pt. 2, esp. 95–9), D'Alessio (2009, 15–19), and Carafa (2011, 104–6) simply include the Basilica as a "given" in the Samnite era, without argument or explanation. In some cases, even less recent sources than Lauter are cited as the rationale. We argue that modern study requires a new interpretation, which in turn requires that we explain our differences with the old one. Lauter is the most recent scholar who made an actual case for the conventional interpretation; that makes him our foil.

detailed, and widely cited, but also convoluted. Lauter takes as given the conventional wisdom concerning the Tufa period, specifying that construction in tuff is always Samnite, whereas limestone is Roman.⁴⁷ His thesis, predictably, is that the regularized forum at Pompeii—initially executed in tuff—was a Late Hellenistic phenomenon in both date and inspiration. Conversely, Lauter also accepts the evidence of the Popidian inscription and its association with the tuff colonnade.⁴⁸ That is problematic for his argument, because of the disparity between the date of the Popidian inscription (Sullan) and the Hellenistic date to which Lauter attributed the whole ensemble of tuff architecture. To reconcile the problem, Lauter needed to argue that the Porticus of Popidius and the rest of the Tuff Ensemble date before 89 B.C.E., so that he could claim they are not Roman.

This does not work. Lauter argued that there must have been an undocumented period of Roman cultural domination prior to the military and political occupation of Pompeii in 89 B.C.E.⁴⁹ He invented the concept of Roman cultural domination to explain the Latin language of the Popidian inscription and thereby claim that the inscription can be moved into the pre-Roman era. This is implausible, not least because Pompeii is well documented as being an enemy of Rome in the Social War. The lack of Roman influence before the conquest can be seen in the fact that Latin does not appear in any Pompeian inscription prior to the Roman conquest in 89 B.C.E.⁵⁰ The Latin language of the Popidian inscription of 89–80 B.C.E. was a completely new phenomenon. Furthermore, even if a period of Roman cultural domination were plausible, with that argument Lauter was unable to push the date of the Popidius inscription any earlier than ca. 95 B.C.E., a date that he admitted was arbitrary.

Indeed. The problem, of course, is that Lauter's thesis of a Samnite Hellenistic date for the Tuff Ensemble is

⁴⁷ Lauter 1979, 416 (calling the limestone "travertine").

⁴⁸ Lauter 1979, 422. The Popidian inscription is discussed in Ball and Dobbins 2013, 485–86. It is *CIL* 10 794: "V[ibius] Popidius Ep[idi] f[ilius] q[uaestor] porticus faciendas coeravit" (Vibius Popidius, son of Epidius, Quaestor, had the colonnades made). This is traditionally dated to the early Sullan period, 89–80 B.C.E., following Onorato 1957, 115–56.

⁴⁹ Lauter 1979, 422–23.

⁵⁰ Onorato 1957, 130. This is a component of his arguments concerning the porticus and inscription of Vibius Popidius, about which see Ball and Dobbins 2013, 483–86, esp. 485.

incorrect. The chronological evidence points in a different direction, to a Sullan date for the Tuff Ensemble. Lauter's arguments for a Hellenistic date for the Basilica were more for the purpose of protecting the idea of the Tufa period than for making sense of the available evidence. Finally, even if Lauter's date of ca. 95 B.C.E. for the Popidian inscription were convincing, it would still not be early enough to make any difference: a date of ca. 95 B.C.E. "under Roman cultural domination" is still Roman anyway, and it is much later than the traditional Tufa period and the hellenized Samnite image of Pompeii in the old creation myth. Lauter was not alone in trying to retain the Tufa period. Prior to the current generation of archaeological fieldwork, the idea had seemed too well established and was apparently too useful for scholars to let go of it easily, but his untenable argument is a good illustration of what a mistaken notion it is.

A more specific terminus ante quem, 78 B.C.E., is provided by a famous graffito scratched in the Basilica's wall plaster.⁵¹ Clearly the Basilica itself stood and was decorated by this year. Ohr lists numerous scholars, going back to Mau, who cite this graffito as evidence that the Basilica dates to 150–100 B.C.E.⁵² Citation of authority is a logical fallacy, of course, and this is a perfect example. Regardless of who says otherwise, this inscription is not evidence for the second century B.C.E. It is, specifically, a terminus ante quem of 78 B.C.E. That is later than both the initial occupation of Pompeii by Sulla's soldiers in 89 B.C.E., when Pompeii was also granted Roman municipium status, and the political foundation of the Sullan *colonia* in 80 B.C.E. So while our pottery termini include the end of the second century B.C.E., the most important specifically datable evidence in the Basilica is later than that, written in Latin. And then the latest context materials from trench 2001-2 date the completion of the Basilica project to ca. 75–30 B.C.E.

None of this chronological information bespeaks a Samnite date for the building. A date for the Basilica in the Sullan period reflects the available data and should be a chronological "default setting" until any

actual evidence for a Samnite date can be found. The fact that the Basilica, like the Comitium, was designed using the Roman foot adds considerable weight to our Roman dating for it.⁵³

As noted above, the Basilica is part of what was, by Pompeian standards, a project of gigantic proportions, also including the Comitium, the Porticus of Popidius, the Temple of Jupiter (Capitolium), and the aggrandized entranceways into the forum for Via Marina, Via dell'Abbondanza, and Strada delle Scuole.⁵⁴ These are all integral with one another, using a Roman-foot module. In this grandiose company, it is easy to overlook the corroborating evidence from the area of Vicolo di Championnet. Our excavations make it clear that building the Basilica and repaving the street afterward were intended as parts of one overall project. We cannot assign explicit dates to every step in the process, and there are several decades available from the earliest it could have been started to the latest that it must have been finished. Whether there were pauses within the execution or, conversely, whether it all happened promptly and in short order cannot be determined from the available evidence. But there is no doubt that all steps were part of one chronologically integral project and that everything was completed during the first century B.C.E., before the ubiquitous terra sigillata entered the Pompeian archaeological record.

Finally, basilicas are, of course, emblematic of Roman architecture,⁵⁵ so the appearance of this design

⁵¹ CIL 4 1842: "C. Pumidius Dipilus heic fuit a.d. V. Nonas Octobreis M. Lepid. Q. Catul. Cos." (C[aius] Pumidius Dipilus was here on Fifth Nones October in the Consulships of M[arcus] Lepid[us] and Q[uintus] Catul[us]). Fifth Nones is the ninth of the month. Naming the two consuls specifies the year 78 B.C.E.

⁵² Ohr and Rasch 1991, 69.

⁵³ Ohr and Rasch 1991, 34 n. 142, 61–2. Ohr calculated the foot used throughout the Basilica as 0.2935 m, matching the Roman foot (0.295 m). He insisted this foot was used with great precision, claiming on that basis to exclude the Roman foot from consideration. He is wrong about this, not least because the Basilica is much less precisely measured than would be needed to exclude the discrepancy of just 1.5 mm. For instance, Ohr says two 6 ft. features measure 1.76 m and 1.775 m, corresponding to feet of 0.293 m and 0.296 m, respectively (Ohr and Rasch 1991, 61). We dwell on this only because of Ohr's conclusions about the foot. Adhering to the Tufa-period creation myth, Ohr cannot accept a Roman foot for the Basilica and struggles to argue that it is something else. No other foot is possible, however. The Oscan foot used by the Samnites in Pompeii (0.275 m) is much shorter, and no other non-Roman foot close to 0.295 m was used anywhere in south Italy within centuries of the Sullan or Samnite periods. Seeking a foot of similar length anywhere else, Ohr suggests that the foot used in the Basilica was an old Attic foot of 0.2942 m. He admits that this matches the Roman foot but simply cannot accept that it is Roman. It is indeed.

⁵⁴ The original South Buildings may have been part of this project, too, but that is harder to demonstrate.

⁵⁵ See, e.g., Boëthius 1987, 152; Trachtenberg and Hyman

in a republican Roman context creates no discrepancy. Basilicas are not a conventional feature of non-Roman cultures. That includes the Samnites, so a pre-Roman basilica in a Samnite city is, a priori, unlikely and is not credible without a great deal of evidence. The Basilica in Pompeii has no such associated evidence, and none appeared in trench 2001-2. Instead, trench 2001-2 provided even more evidence centering the Basilica's chronological termini in the first century B.C.E.

TRENCH 2001-1 IN VIA DELLA FORTUNA

Urbanistic Questions and Hypotheses

Trench 2001-1 was located in the sidewalk on the north side of Via della Fortuna, at the south end of Insula VI.10 (fig. 16). It is across Via della Fortuna from the north flank of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta. The identification of the temple, its patron, and its date are provided by epigraphic evidence. *CIL* 10 820 provides the identification of the temple (thereby pointing to an Augustan date) and the patron (Marcus Tullius).⁵⁶ *CIL* 10 824, inscribed on a base within the cella of the temple, cites the Roman consuls and thereby provides a precise date for the year (3 C.E.) in which the chief magistrates at Pompeii authorized the appointment of the first *ministri* (officials) of the cult of Fortuna Augusta.

It is evident on-site, as well as in plans and photographs, that the Temple of Fortuna Augusta is significantly askew relative to the buildings around it, intruding into the streets that border it. Indeed, the design of the temple itself is somewhat unconventional, in ways that emphasize the intrusions. As figure 16 (bottom) indicates, the temple has two sets of west-facing front steps, creating a double podium. The lower podium, where the altar is located, is limestone, with just three steps up from Via del Foro at its west end. Because of the nature of the site, the Temple of Fortuna Augusta is not located within a traditional temenos. Rather, the lower steps and the podium with the altar serve as an abbreviated temenos for the temple. The temple has its own front steps ascending its own much higher

podium of *opus incertum*. The lower podium projects dramatically into Via del Foro, setting the altar well into the street itself (see figs. 16, top; 17). Both podia block the east sidewalk of Via del Foro, abruptly interrupting the Porticus of Marcus Tullius, as figure 17 indicates. The intruding portions are visually prominent, obvious both from the south end of Via del Foro and from within the forum.

Similarly, on the north side the oblique orientation of the temple makes it jut well into Via della Fortuna, apparently deflecting an otherwise straight street (the orientation of Via della Fortuna east of the temple is marked in gray on fig. 16, top). The configuration is especially clear at the intersection at the northwest corner of the temple, where Via della Fortuna, Via del Foro, Via di Mercurio, and Via delle Terme meet. Figure 18 shows this intersection, viewed from Via delle Terme, looking east along Via della Fortuna. In the distance, it is clear that Via della Fortuna approaches straight west from Strada Stabiana until it reaches the Temple of Fortuna Augusta. At that point, the street has an obvious kink to the north (left in fig. 18) where it is displaced by the northward projection of the temple. If Via della Fortuna continued straight west, without that kink, the intersection would be nearly square, as reconstructed in figure 19. Instead, because of the angle of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta, Via della Fortuna enters the intersection too far north (left in fig. 18), no longer facing Via delle Terme. This gives the intersection an awkward jog that is obvious in the photograph. When viewed from the east, along Via della Fortuna, the north flank of the temple stood out, nearly centered in the view down Via della Fortuna and distinctive because of the fine white limestone lower podium and presumably marble revetment on the upper podium and north cella wall.

Obviously the temple is much more prominent because of its incursion into adjacent streets. That was appropriate for a grand building, but also prominence mattered to the patron, Marcus Tullius, as demonstrated by his self-aggrandizing dedicatory inscription. Incursion into public space was undoubtedly intentional. For example, had Marcus Tullius wanted the temple to fit harmoniously and unobtrusively into the available space, it would have been easy to achieve this while also regularizing or eliminating the awkward spandrels around the temple and making the streets line up neatly at the adjacent intersection. Figure 19 shows two simple schemes for regularizing the neighborhood in this way. Clearly this was not the goal.

2002, 142; Kleiner 2010, 22–3; 2016, 186–87.

⁵⁶ *CIL* 10 820 (translation by Cooley and Cooley 2004, 93): “M TVLLIVS M F DV ID TERT QVINQAVGVR TR MIL A POP AEDEM FORTVNAE AVGUST SOLO ET PEQ SUA” (Marcus Tullius, son of Marcus, duumvir with judicial power three times, quinquennial, augur, military tribune by popular demand, (built) the Temple of Augustan Fortune on his own land and at his own expense).

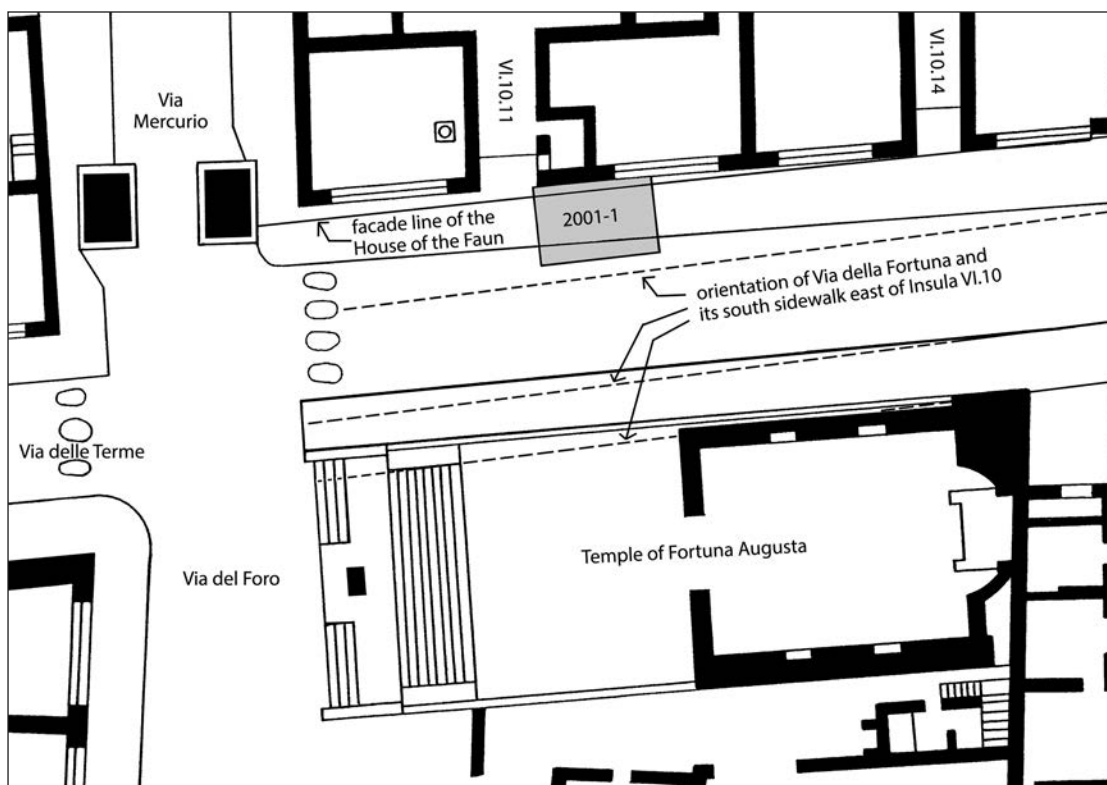
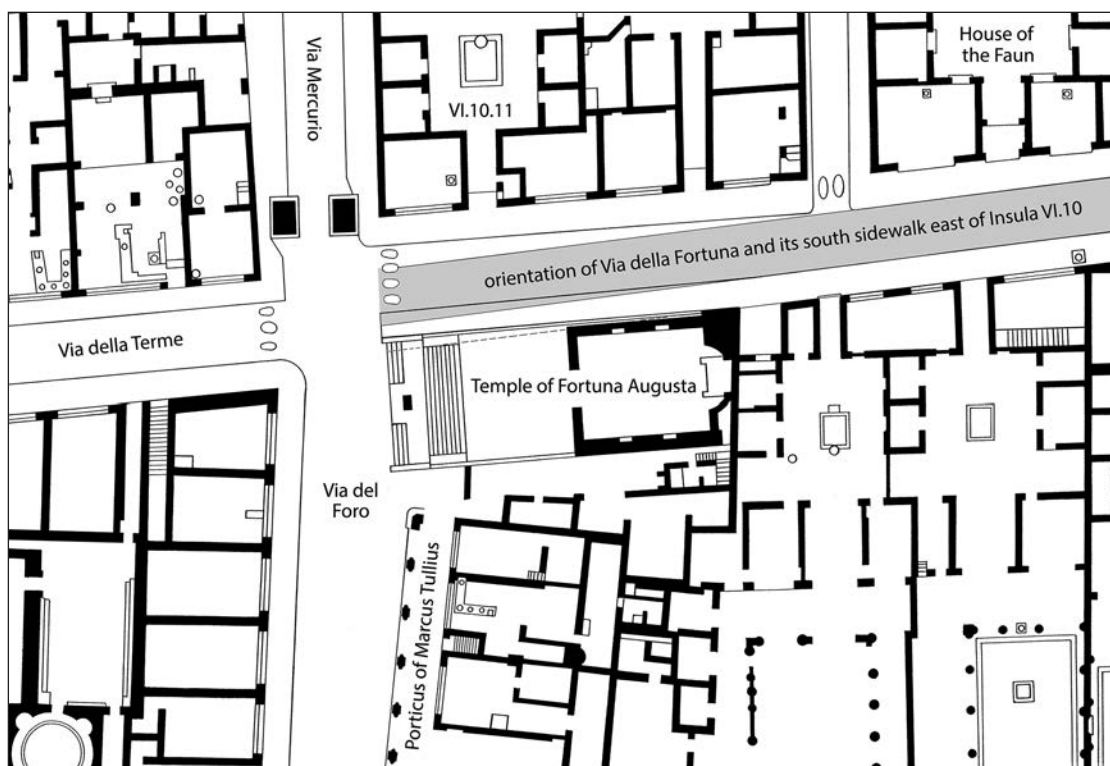


FIG. 16. The area of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta, Via del Foro, and Via della Fortuna: *top*, plan showing the course of Via della Fortuna (in gray) to the east of this area, extrapolated to Via del Foro; *bottom*, detail with the location of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-1 indicated in gray. Local north is at the top in both plans (adapted from Dobbins and Foss 2007).



FIG. 17. Via del Foro (*left*) and the Porticus of Marcus Tullius (*center and right*), looking north. The white limestone in the distance is the lower podium of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta (J. Dobbins).

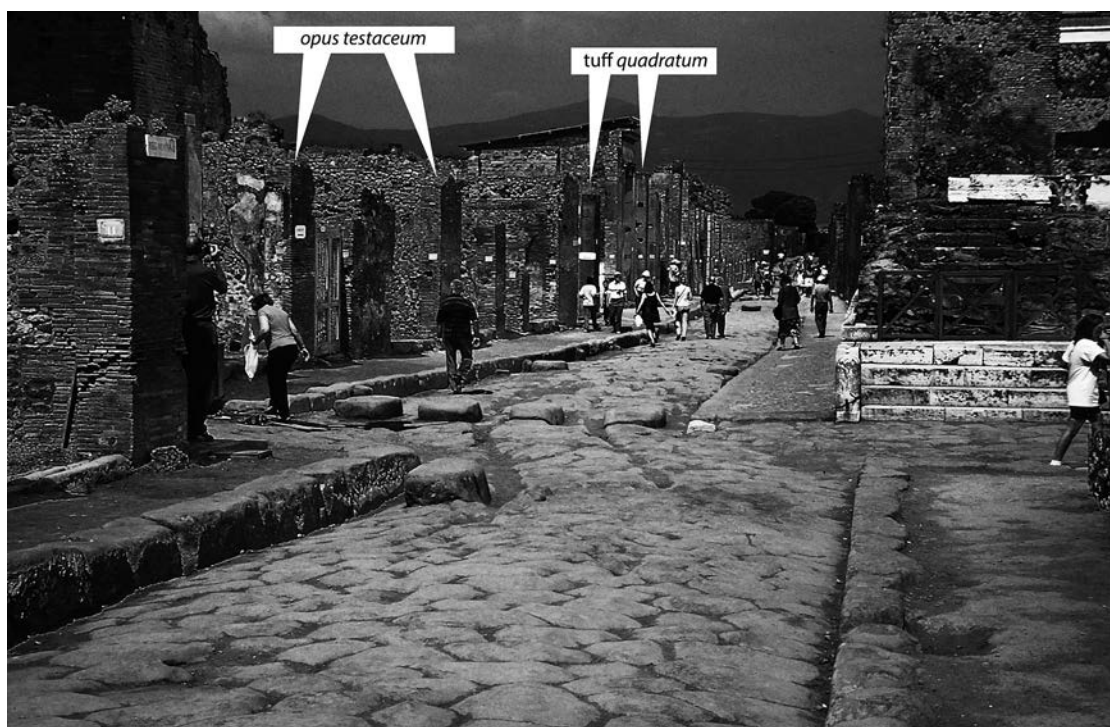


FIG. 18. Pompeii, view looking east from Via delle Terme to the intersection with Via del Foro (coming in from the right/south) and Via della Fortuna (ahead). The podium and north anta of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta appear at the right. The tuff *quadratum* facade protected by a modern roof (*center*) is the House of the Faun (L. Ball).

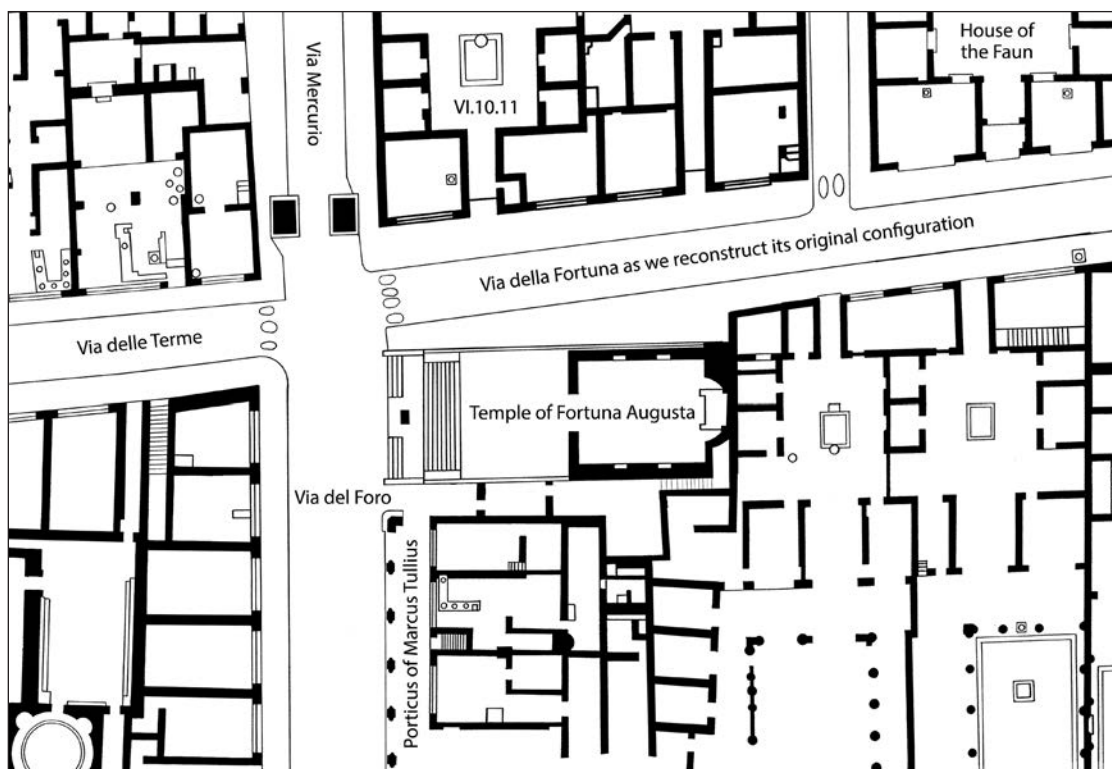


FIG. 19. Two simple schemes to make the Temple of Fortuna Augusta fit harmoniously into the surrounding neighborhood: *top*, plan showing the temple aligned with the existing axis of Via della Fortuna, with irregular spandrels to the south of the temple; *bottom*, plan showing the temple aligned with existing buildings in its own block, leaving an irregularity in the sidewalk along the north side of the temple but not deflecting Via della Fortuna or projecting into Via del Foro. Local north is at the top in both plans (adapted from Dobbins and Foss 2007).

Marcus Tullius obviously intended exactly the opposite, making the temple assert itself so emphatically in the public spaces of Via del Foro and Via della Fortuna that it could not be ignored. Building the temple in this configuration required specific design decisions, extra effort and cost, and presumably an easement from the *ordo decurionum*, as is implied by the inscription cited above. Setting the altar out into Via del Foro turned the temple project into a public entity that was no longer exclusively the project of Marcus Tullius. Corresponding expansion and other urban revisions in Via della Fortuna to the north can be seen as part of the same process.

The brick columns of the Porticus of Marcus Tullius (see fig. 16, top) offer further proof that the Temple of Fortuna Augusta was inserted, grandiosely, into an area where it did not actually fit. The colonnade predates the temple, originally continuing up to Via della Fortuna. When the temple was inserted into the space, the colonnade was truncated to make way for it. This is clear from evidence in the colonnade's northernmost existing pier, which stands next to the temple steps. This pier mirrors the southernmost pier only in design, not in construction. The southernmost pier was made in an L-shaped configuration to close off the colonnade. It was made of integral, solid masonry, as is obvious in its flat south face in the center of figure 17. The northernmost pier was initially constructed not as a pier but rather as a regular, freestanding cylindrical column. It was not the original northern terminus of the colonnade, which had been next to Via della Fortuna, in the area later occupied by the temple. When the temple was added, the original northern pier and the two northernmost columns were razed to make way for it. At that point, the third column from the original north pier became the new northern terminus for the colonnade. Accordingly, the cylindrical column was reconfigured as an L-shaped pier, to mirror the southern pier.⁵⁷ For that purpose, two nonbonding brick wings were applied to the column, making it L-shaped. The phases in the colonnade make clear that the Temple of Fortuna Augusta represented a new and substantial change of design, requiring modification of the existing neighborhood.⁵⁸

⁵⁷In a third phase, presumably after the earthquake of 62 C.E., several of the original columns were replaced by more elaborate compound piers.

⁵⁸Van Andringa (2012, 19 December, paras. 8–12, figs. 2, 3) largely overlooks the evidence from this portico, treating it as an

Making a new building impinge on surrounding streets always causes some urbanistic ripple effects, one displacement causing another. We see this in the way Via della Fortuna and its sidewalks have been deflected to the north, so that the incursion of the temple would not narrow the street. But then, deflecting the street could be done only by taking over space from existing houses across from the temple. We therefore hypothesized that the house facades at the south end of Insula VI.10 were replaced with new facades farther north, to accommodate the newly oriented street (indicated on fig. 16).

This phenomenon would mirror the process that our 1997 excavations documented in Vicolo del Gallo. There, the Augustan expansion of the Sanctuary of Apollo diverted Vicolo del Gallo to the north and west, nudging it into the area of the house across the street. The southeast corner of the house was trimmed off to make way for it.⁵⁹ Similarly, the Temple of Fortuna Augusta intruded into Via della Fortuna for its own grand reasons, precipitating its own cascade of urbanistic reverberations, this time at the expense of Houses VI.10.11 and VI.10.14. Trench 2001-1 was designed to test this hypothesis.

The question is relevant to our work in the forum because Via del Foro is visually and urbanistically an extension of the forum. The altar of the Temple of Fortuna, set out into Via del Foro, makes a noteworthy contribution to the appearance of the forum (fig. 20). A viewer at the core of the forum (the broad central area in front of the Capitolium, where the forum axis crosses Via Marina and Via dell'Abbondanza) would have seen the altar as a bright white focal point centered in the archway leading out of the northeast corner of the forum.⁶⁰

Moreover, *a priori* it appears that both of these cascades of urbanistic revisions—that is, those in Vicolo del Gallo relative to the Sanctuary of Apollo and those in Via della Fortuna relative to the Temple of Fortuna Augusta—were of Augustan date. That makes the Temple of Fortuna Augusta an interesting comparison.

afterthought added later than the temple. The Pompeii Forum Project has not previously published these observations, but it gave Craver (2004) permission to include this information in his M.A. thesis.

⁵⁹Dobbins et al. 1998, 739–41.

⁶⁰The altar is no longer white, however, having had its fine stone revetment spoliated. Only the tuff core remains, which is much less prominent in fig. 20.



FIG. 20. Pompeii, view to the north from the central area of the forum. The Julio-Claudian arch frames the view up Via del Foro, with the altar of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta as a focal point (J. Dobbins).

The Augustan-period architects apparently intended to exploit and manipulate the setting for the needs of the new building and its patron, even if this was at the expense of the private buildings already there. If trench 2001-1 could prove our hypothesis, it would nicely amplify and confirm our understanding of the ensemble of urban changes made during the Augustan aggrandizement of Pompeii.⁶¹

The Augustan date for the Temple of Fortuna Augusta raises one final urbanistic question: Is this actually the first temple in this location? Or could an earlier temple have been here, which was then opportunistically replaced in the Augustan era by a wealthy Pompeian trying to curry favor with Augustus? This is a valid concern for several reasons. The urbanistic implications of placing a temple in this location are unambiguous, but they would be valid for a temple of any date trying to stand out prominently at this intersection. The sequence of urbanistic repercussions would

date only to the first temple built here; any subsequent temple would find the urbanistic adjustments had already been made by the previous temple and could simply fit into the space already revised. So we must consider whether a Samnite temple might have been here previously. If so, then the deflection of Via della Fortuna would date to the Samnite era.

The answer is no, which the archaeological and epigraphical evidence demonstrates unequivocally. Since the Porticus of Marcus Tullius existed in the area before the temple, there was no encroaching prior temple on this site in the first century B.C.E. However, that fact does not prove that some earlier temple had not already diverted Via della Fortuna. To make that determination, excavation is required. Van Andringa has done this, excavating inside the Temple of Fortuna Augusta down to the rustic, preurban level corresponding to the Hiatus.⁶² His excavations revealed no earlier phase in the temple itself and demonstrated unambiguously that there was never an Archaic-era temple here, either. More important, not only did Van Andringa *not* discover a temple, but also he *did* discover that there had been something else here instead. Underlying the

⁶¹ "Augustan" refers only to the period, not to the patronage of the emperor himself, which is something our archaeological data cannot demonstrate. It is worth recalling the pride Augustus himself felt in finding Rome a city of mudbrick and leaving it a city of marble (Suet., *Aug.* 28). Pompeii seems to have undergone a small-scale version of that process.

⁶² Van Andringa 2012, 19 December, paras. 2, 3, 6, 7. For the rustic, preurban Hiatus, see Ball and Dobbins 2013, 464.

Augustan temple he found the standard rustic architecture from the Hiatus—that is, lowly nonurban structures consisting of posts in postholes and an earthen floor.⁶³ This parallels the rustic preurban architecture found by Carafa under House VII.9.47, just two blocks to the south.⁶⁴ It is certainly not a temple.

The archaeological evidence thus supports the conclusions drawn from the dedicatory inscription in which Marcus Tullius emphasizes that the temple was constructed on his land and with his money.⁶⁵ Further confirmation comes from a double-faced cippus of rough lava located between the southwest corner of the temple and the north pier of the Porticus of Marcus Tullius.⁶⁶ The two identical inscriptions read “M TVLLI M F AREA PRIVATA” and further confirm the private nature of the remaining property after the construction of the temple. While the extent of the Tullian property within that space is unclear, the point is that the cippus reinforces our understanding that this part of the block was privately owned until M. Tullius ceded part of it to the city.

In sum, prior to Marcus Tullius, this was not an established sacred place like the Sanctuary of Apollo or the Doric Temple in the Triangular Forum. The Temple of Fortuna Augusta, obviously of the Augustan era, is both the earliest and the only temple in this location for which we have any evidence. The urbanistic repercussions must date to that era, too.

The Masonry of House VI.10.11

The masonry of the house facades at the south end of Insula VI.10 supports our hypothesis. There are two large atrium houses filling the block, VI.10.11 and VI.10.14. We concentrate on VI.10.11, to the west, next to which we placed trench 2001-1 (see fig. 16, bottom). These houses are notably large and grand, which is appropriate for this neighborhood. Via della Fortuna, and its continuation as Via delle Terme west of Via del Foro, has most of the grandest houses in Pompeii opening onto it, including the House of the Faun next door to VI.10.14 on the east (labeled on figs. 16, top; 19) and the House of Pansa a few doors away to the west. These grand houses initially date to the late second century B.C.E., as is indicated by their earliest

decoration in First Style frescoes. Undoubtedly, too, these houses conformed to the Samnite street grid as it stood when they were first constructed.

Their masonry is a consistent ensemble of types found throughout all of these grand houses on Via della Fortuna. Most of the original walls are *opus incertum*, including nearly all the walls initially covered with First Style frescoes. In contrast, the grandest, most prominent elements were executed in tuff *quadratum*, with classical orders and moldings integrally carved. Tuff *quadratum* formed all the facades as well as most of the colonnades for atria and peristyle gardens.

In this context, one extremely anomalous exception stands out: the facades of Houses VI.10.11 and VI.10.14 across from the Temple of Fortuna Augusta (see fig. 16, bottom) are made of *opus mixtum*, consisting mostly of *opus testaceum*. This can even be detected in figure 18, where there is a contrast between the concrete of the two house facades across from the Temple of Fortuna Augusta and the tuff *quadratum* of the House of the Faun in the next block to the east. Whereas the other grand houses in the neighborhood had expensive *quadratum* facades with architectonic decoration integrally carved, our two houses had concrete forming only the most minimal typical atrium-house features—fauces, *tabernae*, and short wall segments between them, forming their doorjambs. If they had any decoration, it would have been some other material attached to the simple concrete forms.

In contrast to tuff *quadratum*, the simple practicality of *opus mixtum* is obvious (see figs. 16, bottom; 21). Concrete works well for the very short wall segments, and *opus testaceum* specifically is ideal for forming the squared doorjambs. The doorjambs make up most of the facade architecture, but there is just one longer span of flat wall, east of the fauces of VI.10.11, corresponding to a small doorman's booth (see fig. 16, bottom). In this one location, the core of the wall was executed in *opus incertum* quoined irregularly into the *opus testaceum* that forms the doorjambs at either end (see fig. 21). This one patch of *opus incertum* is the only part of the *opus mixtum* facade that would have needed formwork during construction. As figures 16 (bottom) and 21 indicate, trench 2001-1 was placed in the Via della Fortuna sidewalk next to this segment of *opus mixtum*, overlapping both facing types in the wall.

The *opus mixtum* of the facades is an anomaly clearly at odds with the fine ashlar masonry in the rest of the exterior of the house. The best evidence does not appear in Via della Fortuna itself, however, but around

⁶³Van Andringa 2012, 19 December, para. 12.

⁶⁴Carafa 1997.

⁶⁵Supra n. 56.

⁶⁶*CIL* 10 821.



FIG. 21. Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-1, overview from the south at the end of the season. The *opus mixtum* facade wall of House VI.10.11 is in the background, with the meter stick resting on the offset at the top of the foundation. The fauces are at the left, and one *taberna* opening is at the right (J. Dobbins).

the corner to the west, in Via di Mercurio. One distinctive feature shared by several houses on the east side of Via di Mercurio is the use of extraordinarily large Sarno limestone ashlar blocks of conspicuously high quality. House VI.10.11 has these large limestone blocks forming its entire west side on Via di Mercurio.

At the south end, however, where the west wall meets and turns into the facade on Via della Fortuna, the monumental ashlar blocks end abruptly and roughly. Just the southernmost bit (1.15 m) was replaced by the *opus testaceum* integral with the west end of the new facade. The disjunction between the extremely high-quality sidewall and the much more workaday material of the facade is obvious and unusual. A patron capable of building such a grand house would never economize in this fashion, especially not for the facade, the place where everyone in the neighborhood would see it.

Our hypothesis, therefore, is that the *opus mixtum* makes no sense as the original facade of House VI.10.11. Originally, the facade must have been ashlar, probably tuff but also maybe even limestone, bonding with the monumental limestone blocks at the west end. Later, we posit, the original facade had to be razed

and replaced farther north by an entirely new facade, in response to the deflection of Via della Fortuna. Given that House VI.10.11 was initially built when First Style frescoes were current, and given the Augustan date for the Temple of Fortuna Augusta, the basic chronology of those two steps seems certain.

Stratigraphic Evidence from Trench 2001-1

We laid out trench 2001-1 where we thought there might be foundation remnants or robber trenches from the putative earlier facade (see figs. 16, bottom; 21–5). We also wanted trench 2001-1 to overlap the fauces of VI.10.11, since the location of the fauces would have remained constant throughout the house's history. That might have resulted in evidence for the original fauces' sidewalls continuing to the south. The trench was 3.25 m long (east–west) and 2 m wide (north–south, the full width of the sidewalk), wide enough to encompass the putative original facade walls.

Trench 2001-1 was helpful, with evidence reasonably consistent with our initial hypotheses, but it was not everything we had expected or hoped for. The nature of the stratigraphy was clear, and its chronological

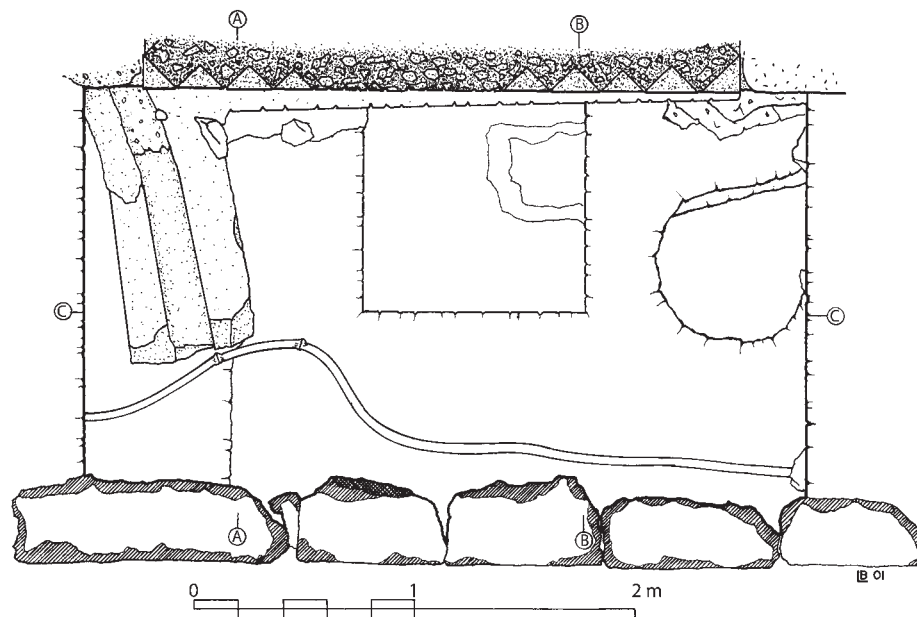


FIG. 22. Plan of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-1 at the end of excavation. Local north is at the top (drawing by L. Ball).

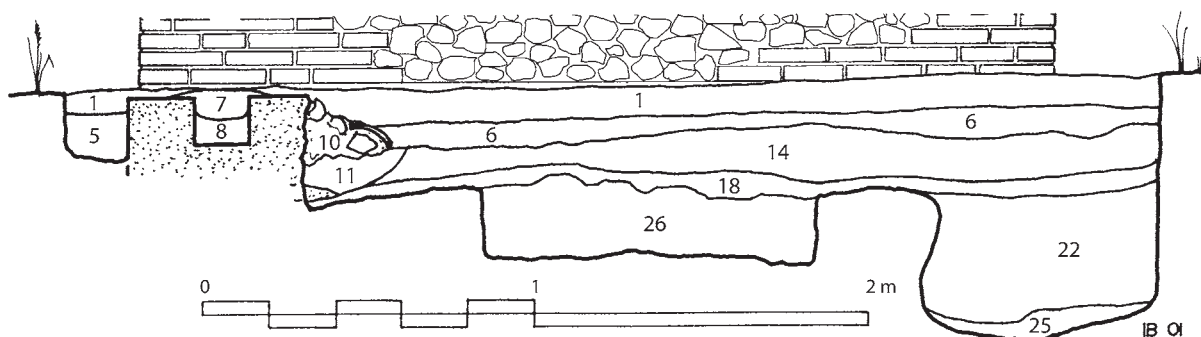


FIG. 23. East-west stratigraphic section of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-1, looking north. Soil strata are marked with their SU numbers (drawing by L. Ball).

and urbanistic implications were easy to sort out, but it did not reveal the foundations for the putative original house facade. The evidence was comprehensively removed and replaced in the Augustan period, when Via della Fortuna and its sidewalks were rebuilt from scratch. The road engineers simply did too good a job, grading down their work site to a low level (at least 1 m below the current pavement) and removing all architecture or other remnants in the process. They then built their entire roadbed, in conventional layers of fill, with few informative inclusions. In sum, trench 2001-1 confirmed the chronological component of our hypothesis and did not disprove any other component of it, but

trench 2001-1 failed to reveal the most specific evidence we sought, which was obliterated in antiquity.⁶⁷

⁶⁷Van Andringa (2012, 19 December, paras. 2, 3, 6, 7) found a similar situation inside the Temple of Fortuna. Unfortunately, Van Andringa found no evidence for whatever had been built in the Samnite street grid before the temple, from the third through first centuries B.C.E. That is the kind of archaeological evidence needed to evaluate the urbanistic implications of inserting the temple into an existing neighborhood. Apparently the temple foundations were set deeper than the foundations of previous houses, obliterating them. The interior of the cella was also disturbed by excavation in 1910, as Van Andringa (2012, 19 December, para. 11) notes.



FIG. 24. Overview of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-1 from the east, showing the angled hole in SU 14 with a document tube set in it (J. Dobbins).



FIG. 25. Overview of Pompeii Forum Project trench 2001-1, looking west, after SUs 18 (whole trench), 22 (in the rectangular *saggio*), and 26 (in the round, dolium-shaped pit) (J. Dobbins).

Figures 21–3 appear more complicated than the stratigraphy actually was, however. Both ancient and modern disturbances invaded the soil strata, two of which are especially prominent. First, there is a modern lead pipe that was installed in a deep trench running west–east the entire length of trench 2001-1 (see figs. 21, 22). Second, there is an apparently ancient masonry drainage channel associated with the fauces of VI.10.11; it is prominent at the west end of the trench (at the left in figs. 21–3 and farthest from the camera in figs. 24, 25). This channel was set into a shallow foundation trench dug through, and therefore later than, the backfill strata forming most of the stratigraphy in trench 2001-1. As these disturbances stand out visually, they were easy to identify and isolate from the rest of the stratigraphy, creating no interpretational challenges.

The rest of the stratigraphy, then, relates to the phase of urbanistic changes that we expected to find in this area. The stratigraphic crux of trench 2001-1 is a group of closely related soil strata that we call the

Core Group, primarily SUs 6, 14, 17, 18, and 21. Most of these appear in figure 23. Core Group soil was reasonably consistent: a dark, fairly dense brown material with numerous rubble chunks. The strata varied somewhat in their degree of sandiness, requiring discrete SU numbers. SUs 17 and 21 were loads of the same fill soil but with more rubble than the others. Most of these strata were layers of backfill, laid in and roughly leveled. Figure 24 shows a typical example: SU 6, which had covered all of the trench not disturbed by the drain or modern pipe, had just been removed, revealing SU 14, which also covered the whole trench except for those two disturbed areas. All Core Group strata except SU 21 abutted the foundation of VI.10.11's new facade, demonstrating that the Core Group was all bedding fill for the new sidewalk. The facade must have been executed at least up to the top of its foundation by the time the fill was banked in against it.

No Core Group stratum was graded to a flat top surface, as an intentional occupation surface, but several

Core Group strata were left exposed for some time after they were laid down, with their uneven top surfaces trodden and compacted. Some strata even included fairly substantial modifications of obvious human origin. Despite the human origin of these features, they are not associated with a long-term occupation level, both because the surfaces were never leveled or smoothed and because more Core Group strata were laid over them once the activities they represent were completed.

The most distinctive man-made feature was a dolium-shaped pit whose top opening was revealed by the removal of SU 18. This pit is prominent at the right in figures 21–3 and closest to the camera in figure 25. We found no evidence for its purpose.

Another man-made feature was a small hole cut into SU 14, angled toward the VI.10.11 facade wall. Figure 24 shows this hole with a document tube set in it, revealing the angle of the hole and explaining why we interpret the hole as an anchor for a diagonal support that propped something against the wall. It is interesting to note that this hole faces the only passage of *opus incertum* in the *opus mixtum* facade wall, the only part of the facade wall that would have needed formwork during construction. We cannot prove that this hole was dug specifically to anchor a strut to hold up the formwork, but its configuration and location certainly make that a plausible suggestion.

The fact that these holes were dug through the compacted top surfaces of individual fill layers demonstrates that more was going on here than just adding layers of fill. The backfilling project paused for some time when those layers were exposed, during which people walked around on them and did things other than adding to the backfill. These other activities and the stratigraphic features they created were certainly purposeful, and they required some effort. They also relate to activities inconsistent with backfill in a sidewalk project. Most likely, therefore, the pit and hole had to do with work on something besides the sidewalk, something under construction at the same time. The roadbed and the house facade are the only possibilities in this area. We think the construction of the house facade is the more likely possibility. It was apparently executed at the same time that the fill under the sidewalk was being banked in next to the facade foundation. The construction of the facade and the sidewalk in front of it were closely associated. The archaeological evidence does not reveal every detail of the construction project, but it is consistent with a new facade being added to a house whose earlier facade was farther to the south.

The fact that the stratigraphy did not include the expected foundation trench may be explained by the nature of the construction project overall. Building the Temple of Fortuna Augusta was the primary project, and for it to be built the street had to be shifted and the house facades had to be replaced. All these changes are directly associated with one another. Accordingly, they were apparently all executed together, as part of one overall project. We did not predict that in our hypothesis, but it does seem to be what happened. It also makes sense; digging separate foundation pits for the Temple of Fortuna Augusta, Via della Fortuna, and the new house facades would have been possible but inefficient. Instead, it appears that a single large foundation area was excavated for the whole construction site, including both the roadbed and the house facade. This excavation swept away all earlier strata in the process. Since the Temple of Fortuna Augusta was treated similarly, it is possible just one construction site was excavated for the entire project.

Chronological Data from Trench 2001-1

The Core Group is fairly well dated, even though the dating evidence was not voluminous. The pottery assemblage was mostly nondescript and of preimperial date, but several strata had sherds that can be no earlier than the late first century B.C.E.⁶⁸ That date is refined somewhat by the fact that the Core Group strata also abutted an *opus testaceum* wall. The Core Group is therefore later than the advent of *opus testaceum*. That does not provide a precise date for the Core Group, but *opus testaceum* can be no earlier than first century B.C.E., and it is more likely from the second half of the century. That fits well with an approximately Augustan date for the Core Group, commensurate with the Augustan date for the Temple of Fortuna Augusta.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Pottery of this era appeared in several Core Group strata, including the earliest, lowest level, providing a terminus for all higher strata. The examples include sherds from micaceous one-handled jars from Asia Minor dating to the late first century B.C.E. or later and a Late Republican Roman moldmade lamp fragment.

⁶⁹ This date might have been further confirmed by the pottery evidence from the dolium-shaped pit. That contained one red-slip sherd that may have been terra sigillata, indicating a Late Republican or Augustan terminus post quem for the Core Group strata that sealed the pit. Unfortunately, this sherd was lost when an overnight storm blew it off the drying table. Archer Martin never had a chance to study it, and he notes that misfired black gloss can look similar to terra sigillata; we cannot use this sherd for context evidence.

The temple is dated to the Augustan era by its inscription, which means that the rest of the project should be Augustan, too. That, in turn, was the stratigraphic dating that we expected in trench 2001-1, and it is exactly what we found.

In just one season, we did not have time to excavate all the way to the bottom of the Augustan fill.⁷⁰ To speed the investigation, we concentrated on a smaller *saggio*, 1 m², whose soil is SU 26 (in the middle of the trench in figs. 21–3 and 25). The sides of the dolium-shaped pit had already revealed that typical Core Group fill continued at least 0.5 m below SU 21 (a Core Group stratum level with SU 18 on fig. 23 but not reaching the section line), with no distinctive features or changes and little prospect of greater concentrations of datable finds. The small *saggio* let us determine that the relationship between the facade foundation and the sidewalk fill in front of it continued much deeper. We found no foundation trench for the wall, which indicates that the foundation predated the fill, with the fill laid in next to it.

The cemented rubble fabric of the foundation is very similar to the foundations in trenches 1997-1 and 1997-2 in the area of Vicolo del Gallo, by the northwest corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo (see fig. 2 [trenches 1997-1 and 1997-2]).⁷¹ Those foundation trenches had unambiguously Augustan context materials in their backfill, so their date is certain. It is therefore not surprising to find the same construction technique in the new facade for House VI.10.11 associated with context material from the same era, and under apparently similar urbanistic circumstances.

⁷⁰ Had we done so, we might have encountered evidence for the original facade wall that we had sought from the beginning. But we had already established the contemporaneity of the current facade of Insula VI.10 and the Temple of Fortuna Augusta, and we were required to excavate at the Basilica at once or relinquish that opportunity.

⁷¹ Dobbins et al. 1998, 744–52. The material called “cemented rubble” is *opus caementicium* in its simplest form. This is a common occurrence in Pompeii, consisting of unworked fieldstones and rubble held together with high-quality mortar. We prefer the simpler terminology, instead of *opus incertum*, because “incertum” usually refers to the distinctive, tightly fitted external facing that is different from the less regular concrete core fabric. Cemented rubble is the same rubble throughout the wall. The Augustan walls in Vicolo del Gallo continued as cemented rubble above ground level, whereas House VI.10.11 has cemented rubble only for the foundation, and then the fabric changes to *opus testaceum* above ground level.

The whole Via della Fortuna project involved a substantial amount of fill, presuming that the entire width of Via della Fortuna was included (trench 2001-1 extended only to the curbstones, not into the street itself). The Core Group appears to be approximately the top half of this fill in the sidewalk area, which must have been approximately 1 m deep overall. The fill probably extended across Via della Fortuna, supporting both the thoroughfare and its sidewalks. The sidewalk stratigraphy also indicates that as the fill was added in discrete levels, some were apparently used by the masons working on the facade wall, so the greatest likelihood is that the wall and sidewalk were built at the same time.

Conclusions from Trench 2001-1

In sum, trench 2001-1 points to one large, comprehensive urban project. We were expecting a less substantial project, with individual parts executed separately, as we found in 1997 with the Augustan revisions in Vicolo del Gallo.⁷² Vicolo del Gallo is a lesser neighborhood, however, with smaller houses on a small backstreet, whereas Via della Fortuna and the Temple of Fortuna Augusta were large, prominent projects, in the grandest neighborhood in the city. The revisions in Via della Fortuna were apparently executed with more attention, organization, and expense. They also appear to have been done all at once, creating the least possible inconvenience for the aristocratic homeowners. Our original hypothesis did not “think big” enough; it was not just a matter of pulling down one house facade and building another, but rather the house facade revision was one facet of a large, cohesive urbanistic project. We also did not anticipate that Via della Fortuna and its north sidewalk had been completely reengineered, from comprehensive deep foundations, and repaved entirely. But that is what happened, and now that the stratigraphy forces us to recognize that fact, it does make sense.⁷³

⁷² Dobbins et al. 1998, 739–52, 756.

⁷³ It turns out, in fact, that Vicolo di Championnet, next to the Basilica, is a closer parallel, with the grand public construction project essentially sweeping away the adjacent street during construction. Then, after the large public building was complete, the replacement of the little street was executed using substantial and expensive techniques more commensurate with the Basilica than with the little *vicolo*. We did not recognize it as a paradigm for Via della Fortuna because the Basilica did not divert Vicolo di Championnet, nor did it require revisions in the houses across the street.

Trench 2001-1 demonstrates a few key things. First, it demonstrates an Augustan date for the sidewalk and curb in front of House VI.10.11. Second, it proves that the project to build the facade and sidewalk was a high-quality job, with a deep, solid fill layer under the sidewalk (and presumably the street, too). It would have been necessary to excavate trench 2001-1 much deeper to determine whether the facade of VI.10.11 was founded at the same level as the fill for the sidewalk, as seems likely given the apparently Augustan date for all parts of the ensemble. Several levels in the fill were left exposed long enough for construction activity to take place on them (activity of a sort that cannot have been for the sidewalk foundation itself), which seems to indicate that all parts of this project are linked. While we did not find everything we had hoped for, we found enough evidence to remain confident about our hypothesis concerning Augustan-era revisions resulting from the new Temple of Fortuna Augusta.

TWO READINGS, TWO METHODOLOGIES: A CLASH OF APPROACHES IN POMPEIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

The south facade of Insula VI.10 and its interpretation by two separate teams at Pompeii provide a fortuitous and a useful case study of different methodologies and their implications for the interpretation of Pompeii's urban form. Coarelli and Pesando studied Insula VI.10 in detail and conducted a large project of excavation and analysis. Their reading of the south end of the insula is quite different from that of the Pompeii Forum Project.⁷⁴ From the Pompeii Forum Project point of view, the construction of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta and its northward intrusion into Via della Fortuna resulted in an alteration of the south facade of Insula VI.10. Had the temple accepted the preexisting urban grid (as shown in fig. 19), no ripple effect would have taken place, and the south end of Insula VI.10 would have retained both its *opus quadratum* masonry and its alignment with houses in the blocks to the east on Via della Fortuna (fig. 16 is an overview of this area). The urban plan thus points a priori to an Augustan date for the new facade.

As discussed above, we regard the current south facade of VI.10.11 as a secondary feature constructed when the original facade was replaced as part of the

Temple of Fortuna Augusta project. The Pompeii Forum Project excavation documents a massive Augustan-era reconstruction in this area. The wall in question is an integral wall of a single building project. It is an *opus mixtum* construction consisting mainly of *opus testaceum* but also including a passage of *opus incertum* masonry.

A critical observation is that the *opus testaceum* brickwork does not abut the *opus incertum*, as would be the case if it were a later addition to an already-standing wall. On the contrary, the *opus testaceum* bonds with the *opus incertum* by means of rough quoining. Quoins in Pompeii tend to be more regular, but irregular examples like this do appear—for instance, in South Building East (see fig. 1), from both before and after the earthquake of 62 C.E. The quoining in VI.10.11 is integral, remaining solidly bonded through the numerous earthquakes since the Augustan era.

More important, just atop the foundation are three courses of brickwork that extend far in from the eastern quoined end, well under the *opus incertum* component. Two courses of this brickwork are visible, without excavation, above sidewalk level. The *opus incertum* is bedded on top of this brickwork, as is clear in figure 21. This configuration establishes the contemporaneity between the two materials and techniques; the *opus incertum* cannot possibly be earlier than the *opus testaceum* on which it was built. That is, this wall is made of *opus mixtum*, constructed in one phase; it is not two phases of different masonry types. The fact that the *opus incertum* and *opus testaceum* are bedded on the same foundation is clinching evidence.⁷⁵

Like most large atrium houses, the south facade of Insula VI.10 is less a wall than a series of apertures with small spur walls of *opus testaceum* forming doorjambs between them. *Opus testaceum* is especially well suited for corners and doorjambs, a fact that explains its usage here. As already noted, the *opus incertum* is employed just once, in the only short stretch of curtain wall throughout the facade where brick-faced concrete was not required. These technical facts explain the presence of both facing techniques in a wall that would otherwise be entirely *opus testaceum*.

In contrast, Coarelli and Pesando see the different facing materials as evidence for two phases in the facade.

⁷⁴ Cassetta and Costantino 2006, 252, 253, 313, 319, 320; Coarelli and Pesando 2006b, 21, 25, 26.

⁷⁵ Furthermore, there is bonding at the southeast corner of the insula as the wall turns to the north, forming the entire east side of House VI.10.14 and one of its east-west interior walls.

They consider the *opus incertum* (their USM4) to be Samnite, from the late second century B.C.E., and the *opus testaceum* (their USM118) to be post-earthquake (post-62 C.E.) repair.⁷⁶ The passage of *opus incertum* is seen as an anomaly within the wall. The authors take this to be a vestige of an earlier phase of the house, which they refer to as “late Samnite.” Coarelli and Pesando interpret the change in masonry as post-62 C.E. earthquake repair and identify the long stretch of the insula’s eastern wall, which is integral with the insula’s southern wall (as they recognize it), as a major post-62 C.E. intervention.⁷⁷

To summarize, Coarelli and Pesando identify two phases for the south wall: (1) an original late Samnite phase in *opus incertum* whose potential interface with the *opus quadratum* west wall is not explored, and (2) a post-62 C.E. phase that repaired the south wall (along its original orientation) and included a long section of the block’s east wall. This is fundamentally different from the two phases identified by the Pompeii Forum Project: (1) The original late Samnite south facade of the insula was constructed of tuff *opus quadratum*—as are the house facades to the east, including the House of the Faun—and along the same alignment. This would have bonded with the *opus quadratum* of the long west side of the house. (2) A new facade constructed of *opus mixtum* replaced the original that had been eliminated during major Augustan-period urban changes. This masonry endured until 79 C.E.; there was no post-62 C.E. repair.

The two significantly different readings of the south wall of Insula VI.10 (both employing the methodologies of masonry chronology and stratigraphic excavation) reveal a systemic gulf between two methodologies. One significant difference is the role that urban context plays in the Pompeii Forum Project approaches. A contextual approach exploits as many factors within the urban environment as possible. That is the quintessential methodological approach of the Pompeii Forum Project, the core of our research strategy. The field practices that support our larger strategy

employ masonry chronology and, when necessary, stratigraphic excavation. In both areas we gather and interpret the evidence that the buildings themselves, or the stratigraphic data, provide, always under the larger umbrella of urban context.

As discussed above, our excavation at the south end of Insula VI.10 derived from urban issues addressed in our 1997 excavations associated with the Sanctuary of Apollo.⁷⁸ In terms of dynamic urban change, we saw a parallel between the expansion of the Sanctuary of Apollo and the installation of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta, both Augustan-era projects. We dug at the south end of Insula VI.10 to address specific questions already discussed, and at the same time we examined the south wall’s masonry chronology.

In contrast, Coarelli and Pesando used an insular methodology that did not include urban context. This was quite purposeful, as laid out in their publication’s introduction.⁷⁹ The authors systematically reject all modern forms of scholarship, and they cling explicitly to what they refer to as the “tradizione pompeianistica”—that is, the outdated system in which masonry types are assigned to specific chronological phases. This method built an intellectual and methodological wall around the insula. The authors did not look across the street to the south to see that the incursion of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta into the urban environment might have had an impact on the south end of Insula VI.10, and they did not look down Via della Fortuna to the east to recognize that the houses there would help establish the original alignment of the south end of Insula VI.10. Such observations also might have assisted in reading the masonry of the south wall of the insula. Instead, Coarelli and Pesando regarded the traditional chronological identification of masonry types as authoritative, merely citing older authorities in preference to on-site examination.⁸⁰

Illustrative problems with the methodology of Coarelli and Pesando appear in one of the project’s

⁷⁶ The abbreviations are from the nomenclature used in Coarelli and Pesando 2006a. US = “unità stratigrafica” (stratigraphic unit); USM = “unità stratigrafica muraria” (stratigraphic wall unit). This is the current standard Italian nomenclature of strata and walls.

⁷⁷ Cassetta and Costantino 2006, 252, 253, 255, 313, 320; Coarelli and Pesando 2006b, 26. The reasons for assigning the *opus testaceum* to the post-earthquake period are not presented.

⁷⁸ Dobbins et al. 1998.

⁷⁹ Coarelli and Pesando 2006b, 15–18 (under the heading “Finalità e metodologia della ricerca”).

⁸⁰ Coarelli and Pesando 2006b, 15. The authors cite Lugli, Adam, Maiuri, and Carrington, among others, albeit without annotation. Mau, the 19th-century originator of this school of thought, is inexplicably left out. One of the clearest exegeses is that of La Rocca et al. (1976, 31–61), under the heading “Periodi, forme e materiali di costruzione; decorazioni pavimentali e parietali,” edited by Coarelli himself.

trenches, *saggio* A 2001. This is located within Bottega 1a, the shop at the southwest corner of House VI.10.11. The excavators placed the trench against the west and south walls of the house to search for the original south facade wall. The trench placement was based on the fact that the *opus quadratum* of the west side of the house comes to a rough end 1.15 m north of the current *opus mixtum* southwest corner of the insula. The brickwork clearly abuts the south end of the *quadratum* and is therefore a later phase, displacing the original facade. From the south end of the *quadratum*, then, *opus testaceum* further extends the west side the rest of the way to the current facade location. That naturally raises the question of where the original facade was, as well as what its material and technique were. Both the Pompeii Forum Project and the Insula VI.10 project hypothesize that the original facade was *quadratum*, bonding with the *quadratum* west side wall. Where we disagree is explained by our different methodologies. The Pompeii Forum Project exploits the urbanistic setting to hypothesize that the original facade was farther south than the current one, whereas the Insula VI.10 project considers only the masonry within VI.10.11. As a result, Coarelli and Pesando hypothesize that the current rough end of the west wall's *quadratum* must indicate the location of the original south facade, approximately 1 m farther north than the current facade. Given that hypothesis, *saggio* A 2001 was correctly located to look for a facade wall in that location. Coarelli and Pesando expected to find either foundation remnants of their hypothetical earlier facade or else the robbed-out foundation trench for it.

Conversely, if the Pompeii Forum Project hypothesis is correct—that is, that the original facade was to the south of the current facade—then it was also well south of *saggio* A 2001. In that case, evidence for the original facade should not appear in *saggio* A 2001. That proved to be the case; no trace of the earlier facade appeared in the trench.

That is obviously informative, but *saggio* A 2001 is critical for other methodological reasons as well. Throughout their publication, Coarelli, Pesando, and their coauthors promise excavation data (*dati di scavo*) for the dating of USM4 and USM118, respectively the *opus incertum* and *opus testaceum* components of the southern wall of the insula.⁸¹ USM4 and USM118

are important, of course, because in the scenario of Coarelli and Pesando, these components of the wall bracket the history of Insula VI.10 from the late Samnite period to the post-earthquake period, essentially 200 years. As it turns out, the publication does not provide excavation data for the walls, although Adam is cited for the post-earthquake date.⁸²

However, the discovery of Augustan-era pottery in *saggio* A 2001 may bear fruit. Against the *opus testaceum* wall that the Pompeii Forum Project considers to be Augustan is bedded a deep fill layer (US2) that allegedly contained materials from the fourth century B.C.E. to the last building phase of Pompeii. What is the evidence for the “last building phase of Pompeii”—that is, the post-62 C.E. period? Nothing is provided, but a list of the kinds of materials found appears in the text, and it stops chronologically with two cups of thin-walled ware (Augustan period) and terra sigillata (beginning in the Augustan period).⁸³ In the list of ceramics found in US2, those two thin-walled cups (*coppetta di ceramica a pareti sottili*) are listed and illustrated as plates 92.1c and d.⁸⁴ Nothing is mentioned of the terra sigillata. It seems to us, although we cannot be definitive, that the Insula VI.10 project has provided stratigraphic evidence for dating the current south facade to the Augustan era. This supports the Pompeii Forum Project's conclusion that the *opus mixtum* is of one phase and that it is Augustan.

In the end, the two projects offer two totally different interpretations of Insula VI.10, its architectural and urban history, and its relationship to Marcus Tullius, the patron of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta. In discussing House VI.10.14, located at the southeast corner of the insula, Coarelli and Pesando observe that there were no significant interventions from the late second century B.C.E. to the post-earthquake period, a span of nearly 200 years. The Pompeii Forum Project's identification of an Augustan phase in Houses VI.10.11 and VI.10.14 not only modifies the historical understanding of these two houses but also adds a considerable dimension to the dynamic evolution of this zone within the city, as discussed above. It also changes fundamentally our understanding of the two

⁸¹ Cassetta and Costantino 2006, 252 (for USM4), 253, 313, 320 (for USM118).

⁸² Adam (1984, 153), from Coarelli and Pesando 2006b, 21. This is the Italian edition of Adam's volume, cited throughout Coarelli and Pesando 2006a.

⁸³ Cassetta and Costantino 2006, 325.

⁸⁴ Cassetta and Costantino 2006, 326.

houses in the post-62 C.E. period. They were not the ruins that Coarelli and Pesando depict. Finally, no preserved record tells us who paid for the modifications to Insula VI.10, but the likely person is Marcus Tullius. His influence in Pompeii and the immense wealth that supported his ambitions are reflected in the urban changes seen in this zone.

In sum, from the beginning, the overarching goal of the Pompeii Forum Project has been to understand the dynamics of urban evolution in the forum area. While the fundamental chronology of individual buildings and phases is essential, we seek to transcend that level of investigation in order to identify and understand the various forces, such as influence from Rome, local patronage, ambition and competition, and a severe earthquake, that worked independently and in concert to shape and reshape a dynamic urban environment. Our methodology has been designed to identify and assess those larger urban issues, but it works well on the microscale, too, as in the case study just presented.

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