

Sacred Architecture and Imperial Cult at the Forum of Pompeii: The Sanctuary of the Public Lares Reconsidered

Pompeii Forumu'nda Kutsal Mimari ve İmparatorluk Kültü: Lares Publici Kutsal Alanı'nın Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi

Giacomo Casa*

Abstract

This paper is part of a broader investigation into the public monuments of the Forum of Pompeii. The contribution offers a comprehensive reassessment of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares, one of the most architecturally distinctive and sophisticated monuments in the Forum of Pompeii, characterized by the presence of an apse, exedras, and aediculae hosting a rich statuary programme. Following a detailed analysis of the preserved architectural remains, the discussion turns to the topographic, stratigraphic, and epigraphic evidence, advancing an Augustan-Tiberian date for the sanctuary. This chronology is supported by the building's alignment with earlier Forum structures, its physical junctions with adjacent monuments, and the evidence provided by stamped bricks and wall decoration. Particular attention is dedicated to the function of the sanctuary and its connection with the imperial cult, based on a critical re-evaluation of the controversial inscription of Mamia and the relief from the house of L. Caecilius Iucundus. These sources lend support to the hypothesis that the Sanctuary, rather than the later Temple of the Genius Augusti, originally housed the public cult of the Genius and Lares Augusti.


Keywords: Pompeii, Sanctuary of the Public Lares, inscription of Mamia, relief of Iucundus, imperial cult

Öz

Bu makale, Pompeii Forumu'ndaki kamusal anıtlar üzerine yürütülen daha geniş kapsamlı bir araştırmanın parçasıdır. Çalışma, Forum'un mimari açıdan en özgün ve karmaşık yapılarından biri olan Public Lares Kutsal Alanı'nı kapsamlı bir şekilde yeniden değerlendirmektedir. Apsis, eksedralar ve zengin bir heykel programına ev sahipliği yapan aediculae ile karakterize edilen bu yapı, detaylı bir mimari kalıntı analizinin ardından; topografik, stratigrafik ve epigrafik veriler ışığında ele alınmakta ve yapının Augustus-Tiberius dönemine tarihlendirilmesi gerektiği öne sürülmektedir. Bu kronoloji, yapının Forum'daki daha erken tarihli yapılarla uyumlu eksensel konumlanışı, komşu anıtlarla olan fiziksel birleşim noktaları ve damgalı tuğlalar ile duvar bezemeleri gibi maddi kanıtlarla desteklenmektedir. Makalenin odak noktalarından biri, kutsal alanın işlevi ve imparatorluk kültürüyle olan ilişkisine yöneliktir. Bu bağlamda, tartışmalı Mamia yazıtı ve L. Caecilius Iucundus'un evinden çıkan rölyefin eleştirel yeniden değerlendirmesi yapılmaktadır. Bu belgeler, söz konusu kamu kültürünün başlangıçta Genius ve Lares Augusti'ye ait olup, sonradan inşa edilen Temple of the Genius Augusti yerine Public Lares Kutsal Alanı'nda icra edilmiş olabileceği yönündeki hipotezi desteklemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pompeii, Halk Lares'i Kutsal Alanı, Mamia'nın yazıtı, Iucundus rölyefi, İmparatorluk kültürü

* Research Fellow at Sapienza University of Rome; associated researcher at CNR-ISPC, Florence.

 0009-0008-5873-0627 | giacomo.casa@uniroma1.it

This paper is part of the research project “Ancient architectural restoration in Pompeii. A multidisciplinary approach” of the PhD course in Archaeological, Historical, Architectural, Landscape, Mediterranean Heritage, promoted by the University of Bari Aldo Moro in collaboration with the Polytechnic University and the CNR. I would like to thank the Pompeii Archaeological Park and, in particular, the General Director, G. Zuchtriegel, and the functionaries A. Russo, G. Scarpati, V. Amoretti for supporting the on-field research. Finally, I would like to thank M. Galli and T. Ismaelli for their advice and support in the elaboration of this contribution.

Introduction

This paper examines the Sanctuary of the Public Lares on the east side of the Forum of Pompeii. Its innovative design and spatial treatment, as well as the richness of its decorative and statuary apparatus render the building the most distinctive structure within the Forum's public architecture (Figs. 1a-b), as already recognized by A. Maiuri¹, and one of the most important buildings for Roman architectural history (Figs. 2-3). Because of this special status, the monument assumed a prominent position within the historiographical debate, both for its identification and its chronology. Despite its conventional designation, the building is rightly included among the structures associated with the imperial cult, as examined in further detail in the following sections². The monument's dating, however, remains contested: proposed chronologies range from the Augustan-Tiberian age³, through the Claudian era⁴, to the Neronian-Flavian period⁵. The last of these, favoured in recent scholarship, rests mainly on the structure's sophisticated architectural configuration, alluding, for some scholars, to the achievements of Neronian and Flavian architecture⁶ and implying public funding and patronage⁷.

Within a comprehensive re-examination of the public buildings surrounding the Forum of Pompeii, this paper focuses on two central issues: the Augustan-Tiberian dating of the monument and a new identification of its patronage. This revision draws upon a new analysis of the archaeological and architectural record, an examination of some unpublished findings from the building, and a critical re-evaluation of the epigraphic and iconographic records relating to the Forum of Pompeii.

¹ Maiuri 1942, 50.

² Initially *Senaculum*/Curia (Mazois 1829, 51; Breton 1869, 131; Fiorelli 1875, 262-263), then Sanctuary of the Public Lares (first Mau 1896, 300-301; Maiuri 1942, 49-53; Eschebach 1978, 292; De Franciscis 1978-1979, 50-51; Descoeudres 1994, 29) and finally Imperial Cult Building (already Nissen 1877, 305; Taylor 1931, 217; La Rocca *et al.* 1976, 128; Zanker 1987, 28-29; Dobbins 1994, 688; Coarelli 2000, 90; Pesando – Guidobaldi 2006, 50; Guzzo 2007, 163; Torelli 2017, 206-207). The identification proposed in Richardson 1977, 401-402 as a public library remains isolated and unconvincing.

³ Fiorelli 1875, 263 (Tiberian age); Overbeck – Mau 1884, 131 and Mau 1896, 286-287 (AD 20-50); Eschebach 1978, 292; Ling 1991, 253; Descoeudres 1994, 29; initially Wallat 1993, 369 and Torelli 1998, 266; Carafa 2011, 107 (Augustan age); Döhl – Zanker 1979, 187.

⁴ Initially Mau 1879, 256 (about AD 50); Maiuri 1942, 53; Steinby 1979, 267; Zanker 1987, 28 (post-Augustan chronology); Gradel 1992, 54; Eschebach – Eschebach 1995, 86, 150 (Claudian or Neronian age); Wallat 1997, 28; Varone 2005, 316-317; Pesando – Guidobaldi 2006, 49 (before AD 62); Barnabei 2007, 80-81.

⁵ Nissen 1877, 303, 305; Étienne 1974, 11, 17, 246; Coarelli 1976, 165; La Rocca *et al.* 1976, 128; Hornborstel-Hüttner 1979, 126-127; Hoffmann 1979, 105; Dareggi 1982, 6; De Vos – De Vos 1982, 13, 43; Richardson 1988, 273; initially Wallat 1995, 81; Dobbins 1996, 103-112; Ling 2007, 124-125; Pesando 2009, 382; Olivito 2013, 103; Torelli 2017, 207; Dessales 2022, 206; Covolan 2023, 137.

⁶ Nissen 1877, 303; Richardson 1988, 273; Dobbins 1996, 110-112, with comparisons with the octagon chamber of the *Domus Aurea*.

⁷ Dobbins 1996, 99 (Nero and the architect Severus).

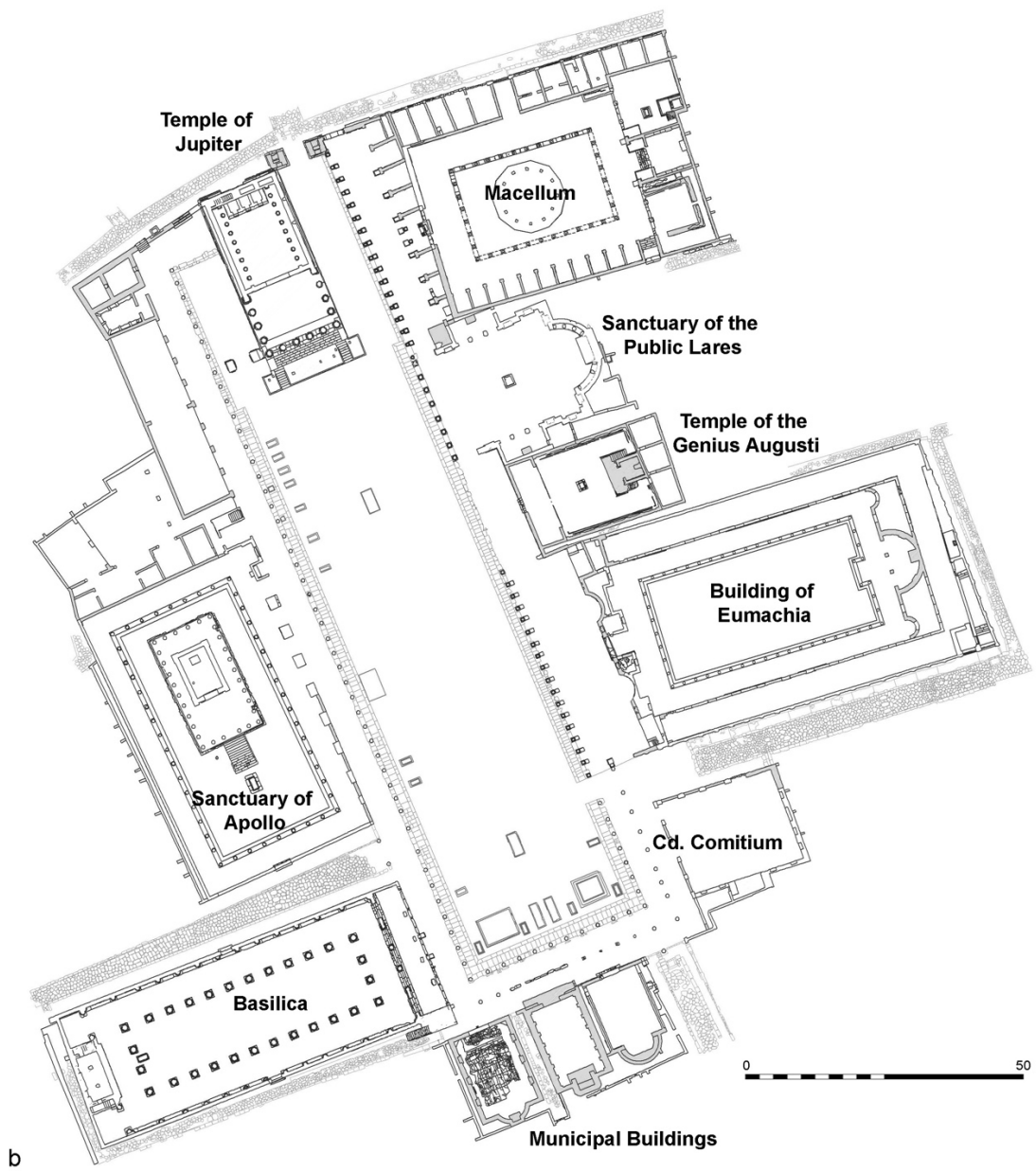


Fig. 1. Forum of Pompeii: a) view of the norther sector; b) plan of the public area at the time of the eruption of AD 79



Fig. 2. Sanctuary of the Public Lares: general view

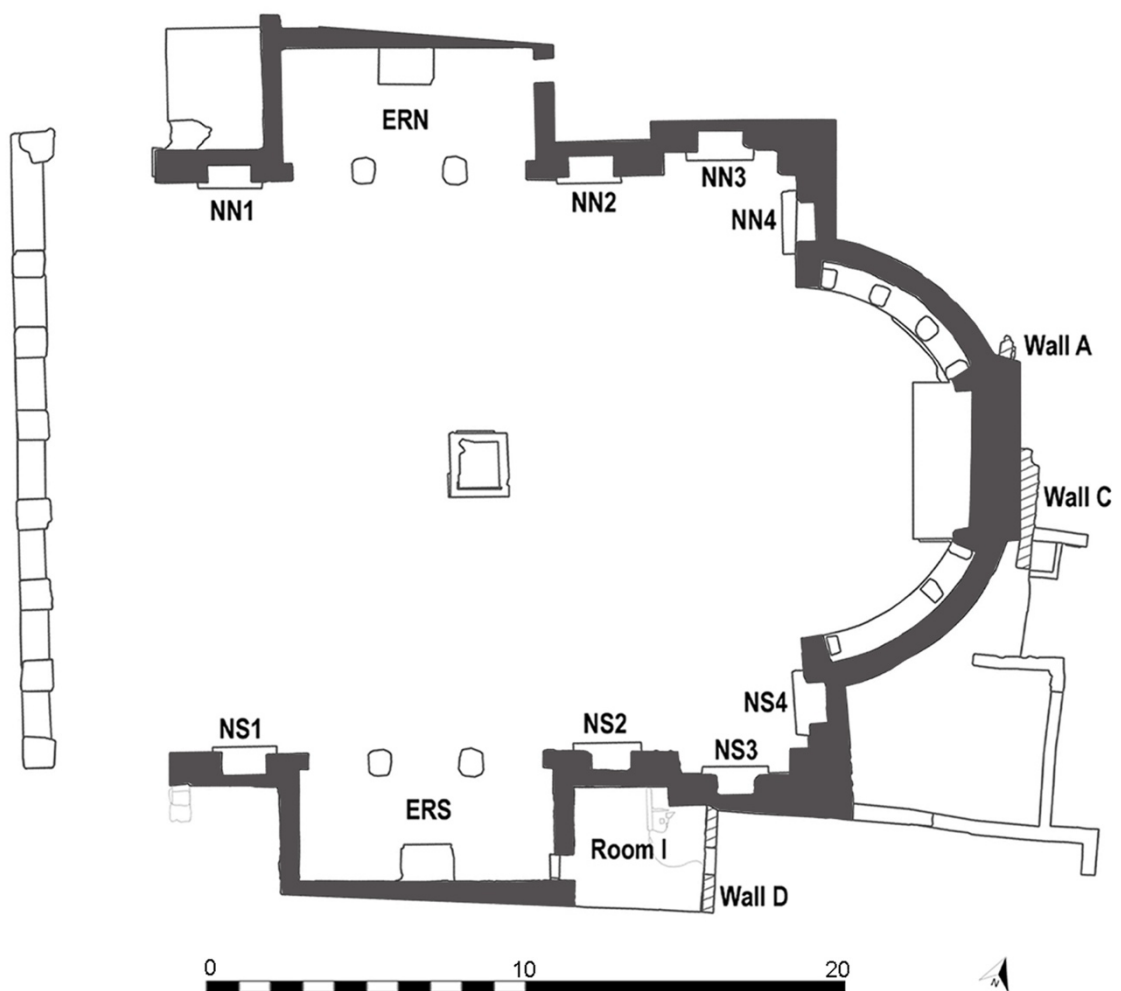


Fig. 3. Sanctuary of the Public Lares: plan with indication of the former structures

An Original Architectural Design

The architectural configuration of the building immediately reveals its unity of conception and execution. The structure consists of an almost centralised rectangle measuring 18 x 20 m (Fig. 3): a broad entrance, 19.5 m wide, opens onto the Forum and is flanked by two projecting antae. Along the long sides, two projecting brickwork sculpture niches (NN1 and NN2; NS1 and NS2), with base and rear walls in *opus quasi reticulatum* (Fig. 4) frame two large rectangular exedras (ERN; ERS) with *opus quasi reticulatum* walls, which has pairs of columns in their entrances (Fig. 4). A third projecting brickwork niche, covered by a barrel vault, concludes on each side the sequence of architectural elements of the long sides (Fig. 4). On the eastern side, an additional pair of brickwork niches with back wall in *opus reticulatum* (NN4; NS4) frame a large central apse (Fig. 4). The apse is set on a high podium which widens at its centre serving as the base of a small columned aedicula. In the upper level, the curved apse held a broad rectangular niche framed by two brick antae and set on a low podium. Both the apse and the podium are made with *opus quasi reticulatum*, coigning at both ends with the brickwork of the niches NN4 and NS4. On the lower high podium, six – originally eight – lava stone blocks, four per side, mark the position of eight columns once connected visually and structurally to the ones of the aedicula. A continuous plinth runs along the niches NS2-4 and NN2-4, aligned with the levels of the eastern podium (1,90 m) and marked by a slight projection from the vertical surface of the niches.

The only surviving evidence of the wide entrance from the Forum consists of eight quadrangular lava footing blocks still in place along the edge of the square (Fig. 4). The eight foundations allow for the reconstruction of a colonnade which served as a monumental entrance to the sanctuary, conceived as an isolated structure defining and emphasizing the façade of the building – the identical function fulfilled by the *Chalcidicum* of the Building of Eumachia.

The building was originally clad with marble slabs, of which extensive remains of the preparatory mortar layers are preserved. The flooring was also made of marble, already highly fragmentated at the time of A. Mau⁸ and now completely disappeared. Nevertheless, the drawings by F. Mazois⁹ provide valuable evidence concerning the original layout and typology of the marble slabs (Fig. 5). The *opus sectile* pavement was divided into nine central quadrangular panels, bordered by a frame and filled alternately with pairs of rectangular slabs or a circular disk. The panels were further framed by smaller rectangular slabs arranged in a single row along the north and south sides and in groups of three on the east and west sides, while a single square slab decorated each corner. An additional frame, composed of at least four bands of equal width, enclosed the entire area, while the central sector was reserved for the altar, of which only the base is preserved, unequivocally attesting the sacral function of the building.

The Building and the Topographical Context of the Early Imperial Forum

In order to place the building in the evolution of the Forum of Pompeii, the first step will be the analysis of the former topographical context in which it was built. The Sanctuary of the Public Lares was indeed erected on an area previously occupied by private houses and commercial structures.

⁸ Mau 1896, 287.

⁹ Mazois 1829, pl. 37, fig. 1.



Fig. 4. Sanctuary of the Public Lares: detail of the sectors of the building

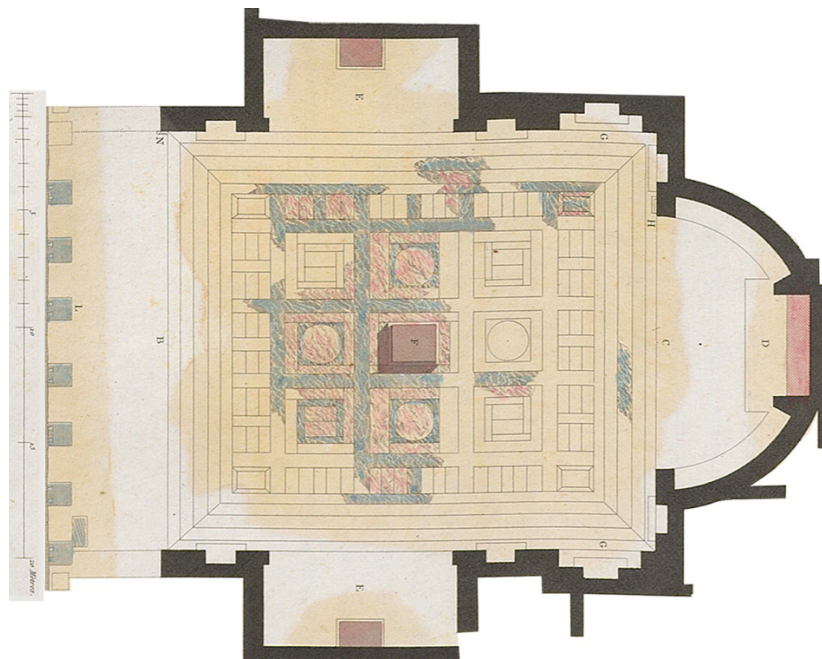


Fig. 5. Sanctuary of the Public Lares: original marble pavement (Mazois 1829, pl. 37, fig. 1)

Private Houses and Commercial Shops

A limestone ashlar wall (A) was completely incorporated into the back wall of the apse during its construction (Figs. 6a-b). An additional *opus incertum* wall (B), abutting wall A on the east, was built during the construction of the Sanctuary and was intended to increase the thickness of the apse's back wall, in order to support the half-domed roof of the apse (Fig. 6a). In turn, wall B abuts toward east the remains of another earlier *opus incertum* wall (C), slightly offset from wall A (Figs. 6c-d). Two observations confirm this structural and chronological relation: first, the upper section of wall B has an unfinished facing, indicating that it was built against an existing surface (Fig. 6c); second, at its southern end, the wall B clearly abuts an earlier plaster layer covering the western face of wall C. The entire stratigraphic wall sequence can therefore be reconstructed. When the external reinforcing wall of the apse (B) was constructed, walls A and C already existed and were partly incorporated into the sanctuary's apse and partly into the wall of the nearby textile workshop (VII 9, 43). Both the limestone block wall (A) and the plastered wall (C) belong to a former building, likely a private house, which was destroyed and integrated into the fabric of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares.



Fig. 6. Sanctuary of the Public Lares: earlier structures incorporated in the building: a, b) limestone ashlar wall A with the reinforcing wall B; c, d) plastered wall C; e) wall D and the junction with the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*

Another earlier structure is preserved in the Room I of the Sanctuary, possibly part of the same private building. The brick masonry of the back wall of niche NS3 abuts over both faces the remains of a previous wall (D), by means of a prominent vertical junction. On the eastern facing of wall D, a small segment of masonry preserved at the junction indicates that the wall originally continued eastward. On the western facing, at its southern end – where the north precinct wall of the Temple of the *Genius Augusti* intersects wall D – the wall turned toward the west, as attested by the remains entirely incorporated within the wall of the Temple (Fig. 6e). Notably, a limestone jamb block and a grey tuff lintel block originally framed a passageway through wall D later blocked, possibly at the time of the construction of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares.

A series of features discovered during the excavations conducted in the 1950s¹⁰ also revealed the presence of commercial structures in the area subsequently occupied by the sanctuary. Despite the fragmentary and mostly unpublished documentation, except for a brief reference in the work of H. and L. Eschebach¹¹ (Figs. 7a-b), the plans made after the excavation show numerous overlapping structures partly identifiable: several circular pits, some of them cut directly into the ground and some built in masonry, seem to refer to a drainage system associated with commercial activities¹². Two terra sigillata cups were found within one of these pits, attesting a continuity of use at least until the end of the first century BC¹³. In addition to the pits, remains of *opus incertum* walls were found, partially overlapping the pits: one of them, immediately east of the exedra ERN, is particularly notable for its slight deviation from the Forum's axis, following an orientation consistent with the pre-Roman (Samnite) layout of the Forum and of the *tabernae* located along its west and east sides, which originally gave the Forum a trapezoidal shape.

If this archaeological evidence is indeed to be attributed to commercial structures and private dwellings once opened onto the Forum's east side and later dismantled for the construction of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares, the structural and chronological sequence reconstructed can be coherently place into the urban development of the east side of the Forum during the Augustan-Tiberian period. In this phase a systematic demolition of Samnite-era commercial and residential structures took place for the construction of new public buildings. The erection of the Building of Eumachia, indeed, obliterated some domestic units located within the area later occupied by the inner porticus and a row of *tabernae* aligned along the *Chalcidicum* of the building¹⁴. The same process can be traced in front of the Temple of *Genius Augusti*, where excavation conducted by A. Maiuri brought to light a further row of *tabernae* aligned with the shops founded in front of the Building of Eumachia¹⁵. In conclusion, the dismantling of private and commercial structures to accommodate the Sanctuary of the Public Lares constitutes a significant first indicator for dating the foundation of the monument to the Augustan-Tiberian period.

¹⁰ *Giornale degli Scavi* 1953, 2; *Giornale degli Scavi* 1954, 29, 33; *Giornale degli Scavi* 1955, 9.

¹¹ Eschebach, Eschebach 1995, figs. 15,1-15,2.

¹² Osanna *et al.* 2023, for a comparison with similar structures belonging to the *tabernae* aligned along the west side of the Forum.

¹³ Wallat 1997, 236.

¹⁴ Maiuri 1973, 53-63.

¹⁵ Maiuri 1973, 89.

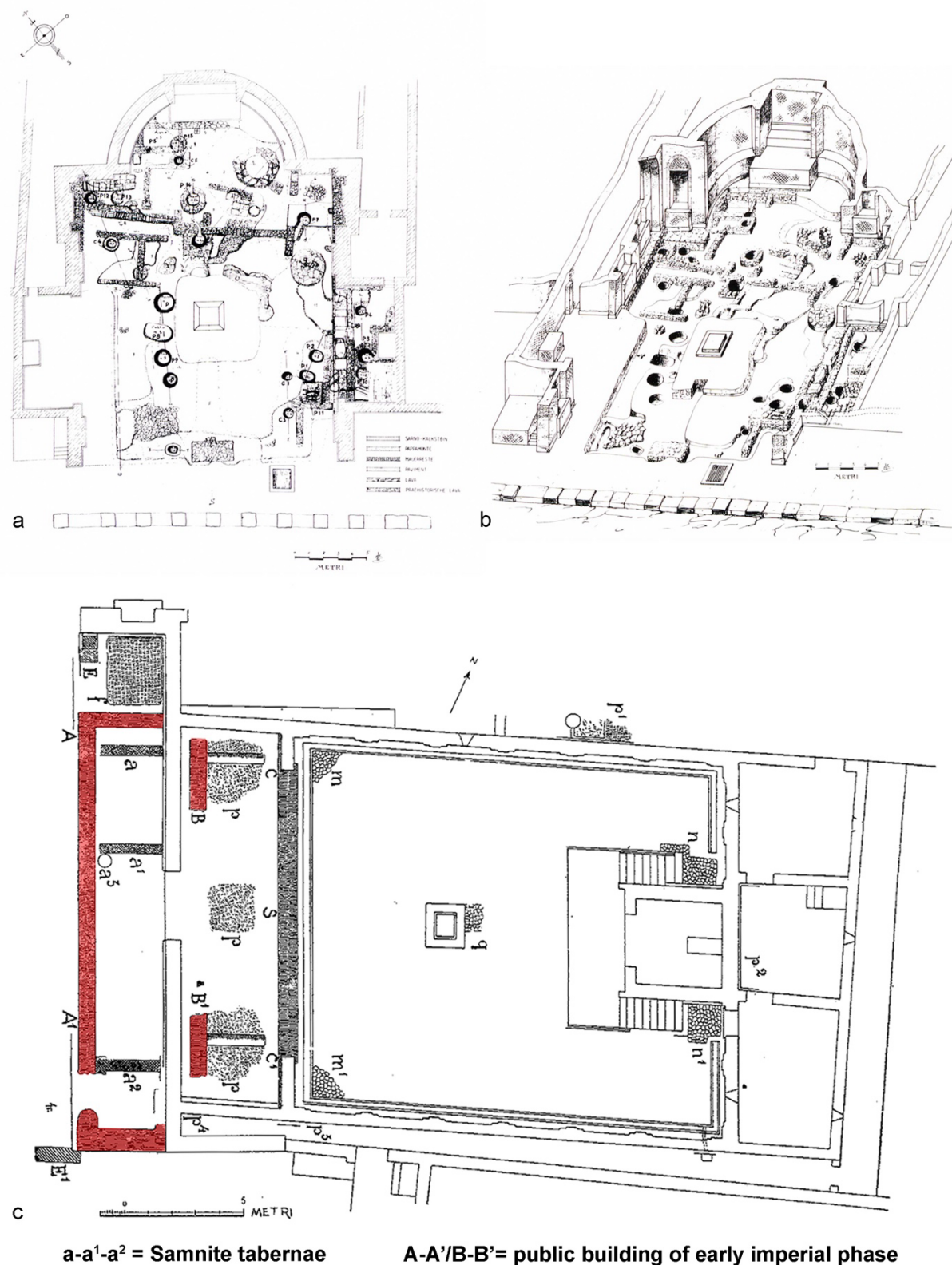


Fig. 7. Building obliterated by the construction of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares: a, b) plan and axonometric reconstruction of the commercial structures (after Eschebach – Eschebach 1995, figs. 15,1-15,2); c) public building obliterated by the present Temple of the *Genius Augusti* (after Maiuri 1973, fig. 44)

The Early Imperial Public Building between the Sanctuary of the Public Lares and the Eumachia Building

Crucial to the present discussion are the remains of a further structure uncovered by A. Maiuri next to the façade of the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*, consisting of two massive foundation walls, oriented north-south and running parallel to the current façade of the temple (Fig. 7c). Despite Maiuri's uncertainty regarding the date of the structure, it is possible to place its chronology in a precise time span. As reconstructed in detail by recent studies¹⁶, the building obliterated the aforementioned *tabernae*, attesting the unitary character of the large-scale re-planning of the *Forum*, extended to the structures previously located in the area of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares and the *Chalcidicum* of Eumachia. This stratigraphic sequence suggests therefore a *terminus post quem* for the building found by A. Maiuri, to be placed in the Augustan-Tiberian period. Moreover, the stratigraphic relation between the earlier foundation walls and the brick façade of the present Temple of the *Genius Augusti* – referring to the post AD 62 restoration phase¹⁷ and built directly atop the remains of these earlier structures¹⁸ – provides a *terminus ante quem* for its destruction, possibly following the AD 62 earthquake. We may therefore argue that between the Augustan-Tiberian period and the AD 62, a building featuring a quadrangular vestibule (18 m) occupied this sector of the Forum, precisely where the later Temple of the *Genius Augusti* was erected after the earthquake. However, this earlier building projected 2,80 further west than the temple's current façade. This latter consideration explains such advanced and peculiar position of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares compared to the southern buildings: its façade, indeed, is perfectly aligned with the structure predating the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*. In conclusion, this apparently anomalous positioning of the sanctuary appears rational only if placed in the alignment system predating the post AD 62 reconstruction of the Forum, consequently supporting a pre AD 62 chronology for the Sanctuary of the Public Lares.

A Review of Architectural and Epigraphical Evidence

The analysis of the physical junctions between the Sanctuary of the Public Lares and the adjacent buildings and the revision of unpublished epigraphic materials provide a definitive confirmation of the Augustan-Tiberian dating of the building.

Despite the traditionally accepted interpretation of the stratigraphic relation of the sanctuary with the *Macellum* (north) and the Temple of the *Genius Augusti* (south), which has led scholars to regard the sanctuary as a later insertion on the Forum's eastern side¹⁹, a detailed analysis of the junctions reveals quite the opposite constructive and chronological sequence.

¹⁶ Casa 2025, 93-96.

¹⁷ Casa 2025, 98-103.

¹⁸ Maiuri 1973, 90.

¹⁹ Initially Mau 1879, 255-256; Nissen 1877, 303; Wallat 1997, 211-213. A totally different reconstruction is proposed in Dobbins 1994, 640-646, 680, 687 and Dobbins 1996, 103-110, in which the archaeologist assign the exedra ERN and the adjacent niche NN1 and part of the exedra ERS respectively to the post-seismic reconstruction of the western *tabernae* of the *Macellum* and to a hypothetical Augustan façade of the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*. For a critical revision of this reconstruction, Casa 2025, 98-103, 162-165.

On the southern wall of the *Macellum*, to be certainly assigned to the post AD 62 restoration phase²⁰, a seam clearly marks the original position of the rear wall of the northern exedra (ERN) of the sanctuary (Fig. 8a).

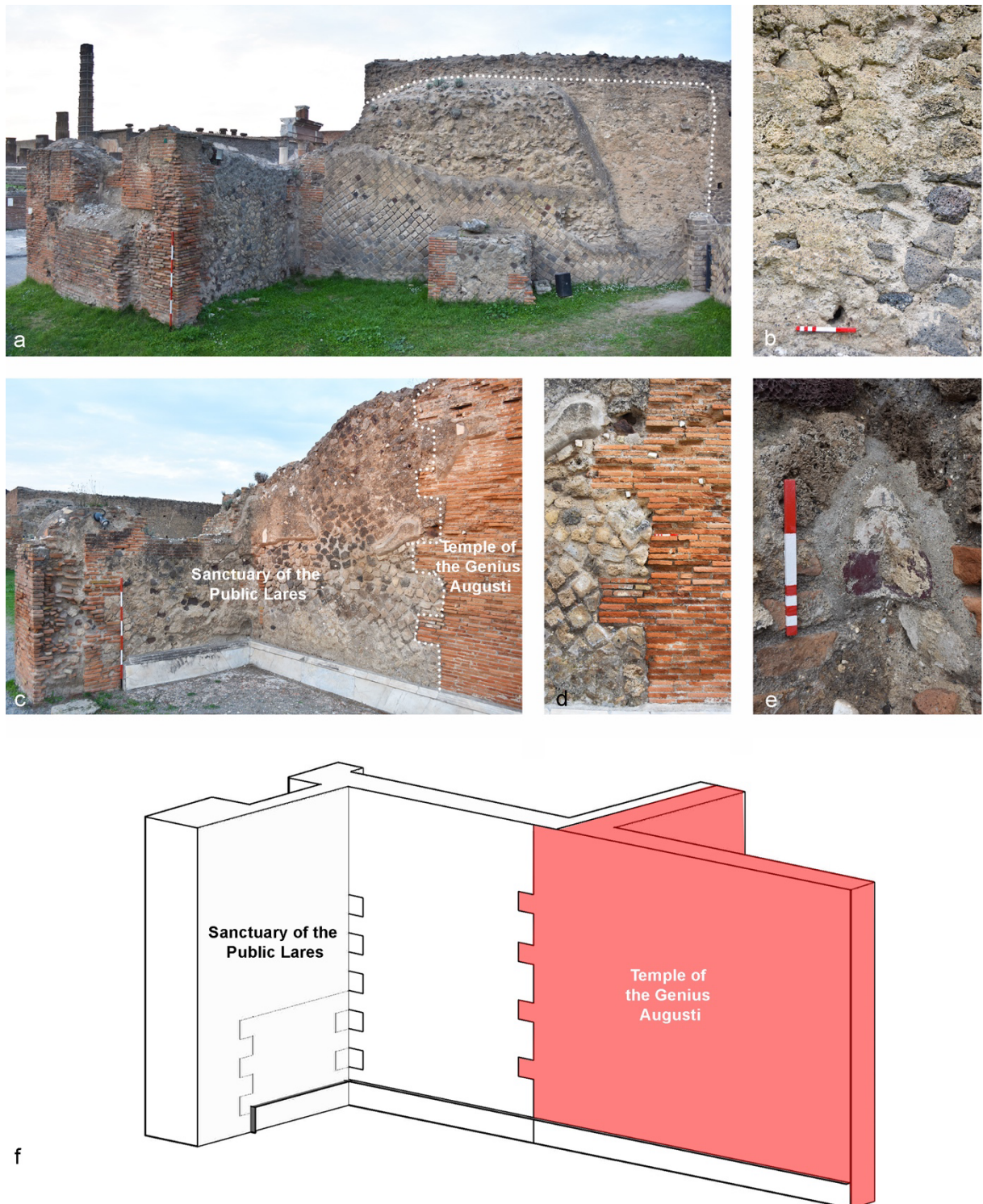


Fig. 8. Stratigraphical relation between the Sanctuary of the Public Lares and the nearby buildings: a, b) junction with the *Macellum*; c, d) junction with the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*; e) Third-Style plaster remains on the exterior of the exedra ERS; f) axonometric reconstruction of the junction with the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*

²⁰ Casa 2025, 146-162.

A different layout of the *opus incertum* lava stone of the *Macellum* wall can be detected on either side of the seam: while to the east the stones are laid regularly with uniform mortar joints, to the west, instead, the mortar overflows onto the stones, which are laid with an irregular disposition (Fig. 8b). The different layout of the stones appears to reflect a different building process: the western section of the wall of the *Macellum* was indeed built against the pre-existing exedra of the sanctuary, which physically prevented ancient builders from operating and finishing freely the surface of the wall. According to this reconstruction, the Sanctuary of the Public Lares predates therefore the *Macellum*.

The same stratigraphical and chronological sequence can be observed in the junction with the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*. The post AD 62²¹ brick façade joins the external *opus quasi reticulatum* wall of the southern exedra (ERS) of the sanctuary, producing an irregular coigning clearly indicating that the two sections are not contemporary, since the brickwork forms a separated and recessed plan behind the surface of the *opus quasi reticulatum*²² (Figs. 8c-d, f). This juncture reveals therefore that the temple's façade was added later. Moreover, within the exterior corner of the exedra are the remains of a Third-Style²³ painted plaster²⁴, once covering the entire wall and later overlapped by the mortar layers for the marble revetment which visually unified the reconnected façades of the two buildings (Fig. 8e). The painted plaster reveals that the external wall of the exedra must have been decorated no later than the early decades of the first century AD, confirming that the Sanctuary of the Public Lares also predates the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*.

A final remark should be made about the distinctive brick-type used in the sanctuary, which has no parallels in the other public buildings of the Forum²⁵. During the post-WWII debris removal, following the 1943 bombing²⁶, several stamped bricks belonging to the building were recovered. Even though they remained unpublished²⁷, the stamps are crucial for a precise dating of the sanctuary. Among the stamps, two can be assigned to *Holconia*, daughter of *Marcus Holconius Rufus* (the restorer of the theatre), *sacerdos publica* during the Augustan age and owner of a brick production workshop²⁸. Another group of three stamps bears the name of *Hostius*, dating back to the late-republican or Augustan age²⁹ as attested also in Herculaneum and in the Vesuvian region³⁰. A single late-republican stamp refers to the *servus* of *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, consul in 38 BC and likely the owner of the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum³¹. The largest group (seven stamps) mentions *Attia Callista*, a freedwoman whose name frequently appears on *dolia*³². In conclusion, despite the large number and the diversity of stamps, it is important to stress that all of them refer to individuals from the late-republican and early imperial period. This further supports the fact that the chronology of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares is to be placed in the early first century AD.

²¹ Casa 2025, 98-103.

²² Dobbins 1996, 107, footnote 22.

²³ Archaeometric analysis conducted by Freccero 2018, 91-92 revealed that the plaster residue belongs to the Third-Style.

²⁴ Mau 1896, 286-287.

²⁵ On the types of bricks employed in the public buildings of the Forum of Pompeii and their chronology, see Casa 2025, 392-401.

²⁶ *Giornale degli Scavi* 1949, 270, 279, 296.

²⁷ For the analysis of the bricks, see Casa 2025, 199.

²⁸ Steinby 1979, 269; Torelli 2000, 317.

²⁹ Torelli 2000, 314.

³⁰ Pagano 1990, 173.

³¹ Torelli 2000, 314.

³² Steinby 1979, 269.

The Building Project and its Patronage

Having established the Augustan-Tiberian chronology of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares, the next step is to place the construction of such an architecturally ambitious monument in the early imperial urban landscape of Pompeii. The building represents a *unicum* in the Pompeian architecture, deviating from the design parameters of other public buildings through its curvilinear plan, and, most notably, the adoption of the apsidal form. This architectural solution became widespread during the imperial period, when it began to be applied to a wide range of buildings with strong symbolic connotations, including theatre and nymphaeum façades, imperial palaces, libraries, bath complexes, and even private spaces in residential houses³³. Within a long process of gradual architectural experimentation, culminating in the elaborated architectures of the Neronian and Domitian periods, the Augustan age marks a significant moment of innovation and codification of certain architectural typologies – for example the type of the “western” theatre – closely linked to the emerging figure of the *princeps*. Indeed, from the Augustan period onwards, we witness the proliferation of a specific building type, i.e. the *augusteum* or *sacrarium*³⁴, intrinsically connected with the cult henceforth dedicated to the emperor and the imperial family. These buildings, likely inspired by the earliest *sacrarium* – i.e. the *Sacrarium Divi Augusti* at the *Curiae Veteres* in Rome erected by Livia on the site of her son’s birth³⁵ – appear to conform to a consistent architectural formula³⁶: all these structures feature large halls which, despite the variations of layout, display without exception a curvilinear apse with a sacralising function³⁷, intended to house the images of members of the imperial family³⁸.

Therefore, the construction of the Pompeian sanctuary must be placed in the chronological and architectural framework of the Augustan period. The sanctuary seems to draw inspiration for its architecture, enlivened by the apse, exedras, and projecting/receding niches, from the monumental *fora* of the capital, and specifically from the Forum of Augustus³⁹, where the large semicircular lateral exedras were animated by statuary niches. With its eight wall niches and the aedicula, the Sanctuary of the Public Lares could display a rich statuary apparatus: according to E. Breton, at least one draped, headless statue and fragments of several others were discovered within the building⁴⁰. Given its association with the imperial cult, we can assume that the wall niches housed statues of members of the imperial family. Additionally, according to a compelling interpretation by V. Kockel, the sculptural groups of Aeneas and Romulus, traditionally located in the *Chalcidicum* of Eumachia but arguably too large for the vestibule, may originally have been displayed in the two exedras of the sanctuary⁴¹. The focal point of the entire statuary programme was the aedicula on the eastern apse, where, according to A. Mau’s reconstruction, at least three statues, one representing the living *princeps*, could be hosted⁴². R. Étienne has suggested that the latter statue may have depicted the emperor in the guise of *Pontifex Maximus*, together with representations of deities traditionally present in the

³³ Picard 1962, 91-92.

³⁴ On this building type, see Torelli 2017, 194.

³⁵ Panella *et al.* 2014.

³⁶ Torelli 1998, 266 had already identified the model of the sanctuary in the *Sacrarium Divi Augusti* on the Palatine Hill.

³⁷ Dareggi 1982, 5.

³⁸ For a summary of the main *augustea* and seats of the *Augustales* in Italy, see Calabrò 2005, 135-193; Torelli 2017, 193-209.

³⁹ De Vos – De Vos 1982, 43.

⁴⁰ Breton 1869, 132, footnote 2 (21-22.08.1818).

⁴¹ Kockel 2005, 69-72.

⁴² Mau 1896, 300.

Pompeian pantheon, including Venus Pompeiana, Ceres, Bacchus, Hercules, Mercury and Fortuna⁴³.

According to this interpretation, the Pompeian sanctuary appears to be the earliest monument within the Forum area explicitly dedicated to the figure of the first emperor or, possibly, to his *Genius*. In this regard, two further documentary sources from the Pompeian Forum must be taken into account: the famous inscription of Mamia and the relief from the *lararium* of the House of *L. Caecilius Iucundus*.

The inscription of the public priestess, mentioning “*M[a]mia P[ublii] f[ilia] sacerdos public(a) Gen[io] Aug[usti] so[lo] et pec[unia] sua - -*”⁴⁴ (Fig. 9a) and whose provenance and original find-spot remain unknown, must be classified, based on its dimension (5.34 m long, 28.5 cm high; letter height: 19.5 cm) as a dedicatory inscription. It clearly belongs to a public building associated with the cult of a *Genius*, dedicated *solo et pecunia sua*, i.e. on a property of Mamia and with private funding, during the Augustan period. G. Fiorelli⁴⁵ attributed the inscription to the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*, given the apparent relation with the sacrificial scene depicted on the altar located in the inner courtyard of the building. This theory was universally accepted and reconciled with the well-known passage from Cassius Dio⁴⁶ about the reluctance in Italy to worship the person of Augustus but not his *Genius*⁴⁷, definitively strengthening the connection between the temple, the altar, and the inscription.



Fig. 9. a) Inscription of Mamia; b) relief from the *lararium* of the House of *L. Caecilius Iucundus* with the representation of the Forum and the sacrificial scene

Recent studies have instead demonstrated that both the building and the altar belong to the Neronian-Flavian restoration phase⁴⁸ and are therefore incompatible with Mamia’s inscription, which is unquestionably Augustan⁴⁹. Consequently, the cult of the *Genius Augusti* mentioned in the inscription must have been housed in another monument within the Forum of Pompeii, which could be identified in the Sanctuary of the Public Lares. This hypothesis was already suggested by I. Gradel⁵⁰, later supported by D. Fishwick⁵¹, in a broader reassessment of the inscription’s text and a controversial reinterpretation of the relief from the House of *L. Caecilius Iucundus* depicting the northern side of the Forum⁵² (Fig. 9b). According to I. Gradel’s reconstruction, the altar represented on the right side of the relief, where a sacrificial scene involving a *popa*, a pig and a bull is taking place, would be actually a *mensa*

⁴³ Étienne 1974, 246.

⁴⁴ *CIL* X 816.

⁴⁵ Fiorelli 1875, 262.

⁴⁶ Cass. Dio. LI.20.6-8.

⁴⁷ Taylor 1931, 216-217.

⁴⁸ Casa 2025, 97-125. On the altar, see Casa 2023, 741-758.

⁴⁹ Both the palaeographic analysis of the inscription (Gradel 1992, 43) and the information we have about Mamia, to whom the funerary monuments outside Herculaneum Gate (*CIL* X 998) belongs, supports an Augustan chronology (Fiorini – Masseria 2021).

⁵⁰ Gradel 1992, 43-58, starting from the assumption that there is no public cult of the *Genius Augusti* in Rome and Italy, considers the inscription to be dedicated to the *Genius Coloniae*. For a critical review of this interpretation, see Casa 2025, 126-130.

⁵¹ Fishwick 1995, 17-38, who does not exclude the existence of the cult of the *Genius* of the emperor.

⁵² On the relieves, see Huet 2007, 142-149, with a summary of the previous research.

positioned in front of a structure characterized by an apse, as suggested by the two pots depicted in the background, which the scholar identified as the apse of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares.

Even if picturesque and occasionally inconsistent⁵³, Gradel's reconstruction has the credit of focusing on the sacrificial scene represented in the relief and the precise moment in which it takes place. If we accept the hypothesis that the relief is intended to capture the exact instant of the earthquake of AD 62, as suggested by the depiction of the Temple of Jupiter, tilted due to seismic tremors in the left half of the relief, then we must necessarily exclude both the theory of an expiatory ceremony (i.e. post AD 62), as proposed by A. Maiuri⁵⁴, or of a private ceremony, as suggested by L. Scott-Ryberg⁵⁵. Likewise, we must reject the hypothesis of V. Huet⁵⁶, who associated the *utensilia* shown in the relief with those decorating the aforementioned altar of the Temple of *Genius Augusti*, implying a connection between the relief and the altar-temple complex which instead belongs, as already noted, to the post AD 62 phase.

Two central aspects must be stressed. In first place, at the time of the earthquake of AD 62 a public cult dedicated to the *Genius Augusti* already existed in the Forum and was celebrated alongside the cult of *Lares Augusti*, as the combination of the bull and the pig in the sacrificial scene of the altar suggests. These animals are traditionally linked to that joint cult: the bull was sacrificed to the *Genius* of the emperor – possibly represented by the veiled bust shown on the altar – while the pig was sacrificed to the *Lares Augusti*, absent from the scene because of the prominence of the *Genius* among the divinities worshipped in such cults⁵⁷. In second place, this sacrifice to the *Genius* and *Lares* took place on a specific day, the 5th February of AD 62, the anniversary of the date on which Augustus was given the title of *Pater Patriae* in 2 BC⁵⁸.

These considerations confirm the establishment of this joint cult already during the Augustan age⁵⁹. This cult must have been housed in one of the buildings of the Forum predating the earthquake of AD 62 and equipped with an altar, which can be identified in the Sanctuary of the Public Lares, the monument mentioned by the inscription of Mamia. The building is indeed the only Augustan-era temple structure among the monuments on the eastern side of the Forum featuring an altar, identifiable with the one depicted in the relief. Moreover, the numerous statuary niches along the lateral walls suggest the simultaneous veneration of multiple deities. Finally, the position of the altar in the relief, placed to the right of the Temple of Jupiter, appears to correspond accurately with the actual topography of the area and the location of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares relative to the *Capitolium*.

These considerations led to collocate Mamia's inscription on the monumental propylaeum which marked the entrance to the Sanctuary of the Public Lares. With its original span exceeding 19.5 m, the structure would have easily accommodated the inscription, placed directly upon the epistyle of the colonnade. Assuming that the colonnade was Corinthian and relying on the eight preserved lava footing blocks, each measuring 1 m per side, and on the proportional relationship internal to the

⁵³ On the chronological inconsistencies of I. Gradel's reinterpretation, see Casa 2025, 126-130.

⁵⁴ Maiuri 1942, 14-17.

⁵⁵ Scott -Ryberg 1955, 170-175.

⁵⁶ Huet 2007, 145-147.

⁵⁷ Gradel 1992, 53.

⁵⁸ Gradel 1992, 54.

⁵⁹ The institution of the *sacerdotium Caesaris Augusti* is first attested in 2 BC, when we find this office inscribed on an honorary base of *M. Holconius Rufus*. On inscriptions referring to the office of *sacerdos/ flamen Augusti*, see Barnabei 2007, 73-74.

Corinthian order, it is possible to reconstruct the height of the individual components: the bases would have measured approximately 31.5-32.5 cm, the column shafts 5.04-5.20 m, the capitals 63-65 cm and the entablature 1.13-1.17 m, for a total height of about 7.12-7.34 m, closely comparable to the 6.94 m estimated for the adjacent vestibule of the *Macellum*⁶⁰ and consistent with the reconstructed height of the interior⁶¹. These reconstructed dimensions allow for further considerations: if no bases, shafts or capitals have survived, the two architrave fragments now preserved respectively in the Room I of the sanctuary and in front of the façade of the Temple of the *Genius Augusti* could originally belong to the entablature: the architectural elements, in white marble, have three fasciae separated by fillets and with a crowning *kyma reversa* and are 44.5 cm high and at least 53 cm deep on the bottom face (Figs. 10a-b). Since the cross-sectional width of the abacus of the Corinthian capital, i.e the distance between the opposite faces of the abacus on the main axes, where the flowers of the abacus are attached,⁶² corresponds to the capital's diameter and height, the preserved architraves could be placed on capitals 63-65 cm high. Moreover, it is possible to calculate the height of the friezes, which would have measured about 34-38 cm⁶³: this dimension appears consistent with the height of Mamia's inscription (28.5 cm), which could be therefore applied along the row of the friezes.

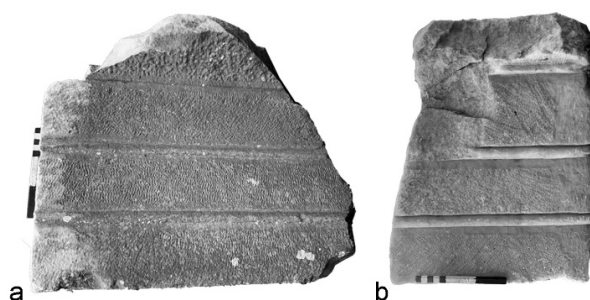


Fig. 10. Fragments of architraves possibly belonging to the entrance colonnade of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares

Finally, the expression *solo et pecunia sua* in the inscription, indicating a dedication made on a private property and financed with private funds, could be related to the remains of earlier structures belonging to a private house, which were demolished for the construction of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares, together with commercial shops. The Third-Style wall decoration preserved on the exterior of the ERS exedra of the building would support a late-Augustan date for the building's foundation, since it can be compared with plaster and wall paintings from the *crypta* of the Building of Eumachia, assigned to this specific period.

In conclusion, the analysis of the archaeological, architectural, and epigraphic evidence related to the Sanctuary of the Public Lares supports an early imperial period chronology. The construction of the building must be placed in the broader context of urban renovation which transformed, during this phase, the eastern side of the Forum, with the systematic dismantling of the pre-existing Samnite *tabernae*, replaced by new public monuments closely linked to the imperial cult. Among these buildings, the Sanctuary of the Public Lares acquires a special status for its sophisticated and ambitious architectural design, where the adoption of the apse with its sacral function and the numerous statuary niches must be related to the cult that, from the Augustan-era onward, is bestowed to the first emperor in connection with

⁶⁰ Müller 2011, 79.

⁶¹ Mau 1896, 291-299.

⁶² Wilson -Jones 1991, 89-94.

⁶³ Casa 2025, 215-217.

the cult of the *Lares*. Indeed, a parallel development occurred at Rome, where, after the Augustan reform of 7 BC, the *Genius* of Augustus was included among the *Lares Compitales*, henceforth designated as *Lares Augusti*. The foundation of Mamia, together with the contemporary construction of the Building of Eumachia and the Temple of *Fortuna Augusta*, represent an important testimony to the prominent role of private munificence not only in the urban and monumental development of Pompeii, but also in the reception and dissemination of the cultural renewal program inaugurated by the first emperor.

Figures

Fig. 1. Forum of Pompeii: a) view of the norther sector; b) plan of the public area at the time of the eruption of AD 79

Fig. 2. Sanctuary of the Public Lares: general view

Fig. 3. Sanctuary of the Public Lares: plan with indication of the former structures

Fig. 4. Sanctuary of the Public Lares: detail of the sectors of the building

Fig. 5. Sanctuary of the Public Lares: original marble pavement drawn by Mazois 1829, pl. 37, fig. 1

Fig. 6. Sanctuary of the Public Lares: earlier structures incorporated in the building: a, b) limestone ashlar block wall A with the reinforcing wall B; c, d) plastered wall C; e) wall D and the junction with the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*

Fig. 7. Building obliterated by the construction of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares: a, b) plan and axonometric reconstruction of the commercial structures (after Eschebach – Eschebach 1995, figs. 15,1-15,2); c) public building obliterated by the present Temple of the *Genius Augusti* (after Maiuri 1973, fig. 44)

Fig. 8. Stratigraphical relation between the Sanctuary of the Public Lares and the nearby buildings: a, b) junction with the *Macellum*; c, d) junction with the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*; e) Third-Style plaster remains on the exterior of the exedra ERS; f) axonometric reconstruction of the junction with the Temple of the *Genius Augusti*

Fig. 9. a) Inscription of Mamia; **b)** relief from the *lararium* of the House of *L. Caecilius Iucundus* with the representation of the Forum and the sacrificial scene

Fig. 10ab. Fragments of architraves possibly belonging to the entrance colonnade of the Sanctuary of the Public Lares

Bibliography

Barnabei 2007

L. Barnabei, "I culti di Pompei. Raccolta critica della documentazione", *Contributi di Archeologia Vesuviana III. I culti di Pompei* (Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, 21), Eds. L. Barnabei, Roma, 2007, 7-88.

Breton 1869

E. Breton, *Pompeia*, Paris, 1869.

Calabrò 2005

A. Calabrò, "Gli edifici degli Augustali in Italia: revisione critica dei materiali e della documentazione epigrafica", *StClOr* 51, 2005, 135-193.

Carafa 2011

P. Carafa, "Minervae et Marti et Herculi aedes doricae fient (Vitr. 1.2.5). The monumental history of the sanctuary in Pompeii's so called Triangular Forum", *The making of Pompeii. Studies in the history and urban development of an ancient town* (JRA Suppl. Series, 85), Eds. S. J. R. Ellis, Portsmouth, 2011, 89-111.

Casa 2023

G. Casa, "L'altare del Tempio del Genius Augusti. Strategie di restauro e ricostruzione nella Pompei Post 62 d.C.", *ArchCl* 74, 2023, 741-758.

Casa 2025

G. Casa, *Il restauro architettonico a Pompei. Cantieri, tecniche e valenze ideologiche* (MAC International Series, 1), Istanbul, 2025 in print.

Coarelli 1976

F. Coarelli, *Pompeii. Archäologischer Führer*, Milano, 1976.

Coarelli 2000

F. Coarelli, "Pompeii: il Foro, le elezioni, le circoscrizioni elettorali", *AIONArch* 7, 2000, 87-111.

Covolan 2023

M. Covolan, *Tufo gallo: cantieri di costruzione ed economia del tufo a Pompei* (Costruire nel mondo antico, 7), Roma, 2023.

Dareggi 1982

G. Dareggi, "Il ciclo statuario della basilica di Otricoli. La fase giulio-claudia", *BDA* 67, 1982, 1-36.

De Franciscis 1978-1979

A. De Franciscis, *L'architettura pubblica a Pompei*, Lezioni raccolte dalla dottoressa Lucia A. Scatozza, Napoli, 1978-1979.

De Vos – De Vos 1982

A. De Vos – M. De Vos, *Pompeii, Ercolano, Stabia* (Guide Archeologiche Laterza, 11), Roma, 1982.

Descoedres 1994

J.-P. Descoedres, *Pompeii revisited. The life and death of a Roman town*, Sydney, 1994.

Dessales 2022

H. Dessales, *Ricostruire dopo un terremoto. Riparazioni antiche a Pompei* (Études Centre Jean Bérard, 13), Napoli, 2022.

Dobbins 1994

J. J. Dobbins, "Problems of Chronology, Decoration, and Urban Design in the Forum at Pompeii", *AJA* 98, 1994, 629-694.

Dobbins 1996

J. J. Dobbins, "The Imperial Cult Building in the forum at Pompeii", *Subject and ruler: the cult of the ruling power in classical antiquity*, Papers presented at a conference held in the University of Alberta on April 13-15, 1994, to celebrate the 65th anniversary of Duncan Fishwick (*JRA Suppl. Series*, 17), Eds. A. Small, Ann Arbor, 1996, 99-114.

Döhl – Zanker 1979

H. Döhl – P. Zanker, "La scultura", *Pompei 79: raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana*, Eds. F. Zevi, Napoli, 1979, 177-210.

Eschebach 1978

H. Eschebach, *Pompeji. Erlebte antike Welt*, Leipzig, 1978.

Eschebach – Eschebach 1995

H. Eschebach – L. Eschebach, *Pompeji vom 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis 79 n. Chr.* (Arbeiten zur Archäologie), Köln, 1995.

Étienne 1974

R. Étienne, *Pompeji: das Leben in einer antiken Stadt*, Stuttgart, 1974.

Fiorelli 1875

G. Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompei*, Napoli, 1875.

Fiorini – Masseria 2021

L. Fiorini – C. Masseria, *Il monumento funerario della sacerdotessa Mamia a Pompei*, Roma, 2021.

Fishwick 1995

D. Fishwick, "The inscription of Mamia again: the cult of the Genius Augusti and the Temple of the Imperial Cult on the Forum of Pompeii", *Epigraphica* 57, 1995, 17-38.

Freccero 2018

A. Freccero, *Wall decoration in Pompeii. Plaster, Stucco, Paint* (Studi e Ricerche del Parco Archeologico di Pompei, 37), Roma, 2018.

Giornale degli Scavi

Giornali degli Scavi di Pompei of the archive of the Archaeological Site of Pompeii.

Gradel 1992

I. Gradel, "Mamia's Dedication: Emperor and Genius. The Imperial Cult in Italy and the Genius Coloniae in Pompeii", *AnalRom* 20, 1992, 43-58.

Guzzo 2007

P. G. Guzzo, *Pompei. Storia e paesaggi della città antica*, Milano, 2007.

Hoffmann 1979

A. Hoffmann, "L'architettura", *Pompei 79: raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana*, Eds. F. Zevi, Napoli, 1979, 97-118.

Hornborstel -Hüttner 1979

G. Hornborstel -Hüttner, *Studien zur römischen Nischenarchitektur* (Studies of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, 9), Leiden, 1979.

Huet 2007

V. Huet, "Le laraire de L. Caecilius Iucundus: un relief hors norme?", *Contributi di Archeologia Vesuviana III. I culti di Pompei* (Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, 21), Eds. L. Barnabei, Roma, 2007, 142-150.

Kockel 2005

V. Kockel, "Altes und Neues vom Forum und vom Gebäude der Eumachia in Pompeji", *Lebenswelten: Bilder und Räume in der römischen Stadt der Kaiserzeit*, Symposium am 24. und 25. Januar 2002 zum Abschluss des von der Gerda Henkel Stiftung geförderten Forschungsprogramms „Stadtkultur in der römischen Kaiserzeit“ (Palilia, 16), Eds. R. Neudecker – P. Zanker, Wiesbaden, 2005, 51-72.

La Rocca *et al.* 1976

E. La Rocca – A. De Vos – M. De Vos, *Pompei* (Guide Archeologiche Mondadori), Milano, 1976.

Ling 1991

R. Ling, "Review of "Pompeii. An Architectural history"", *JRA* 4, 1991, 248-253.

Ling 2007

R. Ling, "Development of Pompeii's public landscape in the roman period", *The World of Pompeii* (The Routledge worlds), Eds. J. J. Dobbins – P. W. Foss, New York-London, 2007, 119-128.

Maiuri 1942

A. Maiuri, *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei* (Italia romana. Campania romana, 2), Roma, 1942.

Maiuri 1973

A. Maiuri, *Alla ricerca di Pompei preromana: saggi stratigrafici*, Napoli, 1973.

Mau 1879

A. Mau, *Pompejanische Beiträge*, Berlin, 1879.

Mau 1896

A. Mau, "Der städtische Larentempel in Pompeji", *RM* 11, 1896, 285-301.

Mazois 1829

F. Mazois, *Le Ruines de Pompéi*, vol. III, Paris, 1829.

Müller 2011

K. Müller, *Die Ehrenbögen in Pompeji* (Studien zur antiken Stadt, 10), Wiesbaden, 2011.

Nissen 1877

H. Nissen, *Pompejanische Studien zur Städtekunde des Altertums*, Leipzig, 1877.

Olivito 2013

R. Olivito, *Il Foro nell'atrio. Immagini di architetture, scene di vita e di mercato nel fregio dai Praedia di Iulia Felix (Pompei, II, 4, 3)* (Bibliotheca Archaeologica, 31), Bari, 2013.

Osanna *et al.* 2023

M. Osanna – C. Rescigno – L. Toniolo, "Artigiani per Apollo? Indicatori e scarti di produzione da contesti pompeiani presso il Foro", *Travailler à l'ombre du temple. Activités de production et lieux de culte dans le monde antique* (Collection du Centre Jean Bérard, 57), Eds. O. de Cazanove – A. Esposito – N. Monteix – A. Pollini, Napoli, 2013, 131-154.

Overbeck – Mau 1884

J. A. Overbeck – A. Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken*, Leipzig, 1884.

Pagano 1990

M. Pagano, "Tegulae Campanae ad Ercolano", *CronErcol* 20, 1990, 157-176.

Panella *et al.* 2014

C. Panella – S. Zeggio – A. F. Ferrandes, "Lo scavo delle pendici nord-orientali del Palatino tra dati acquisiti e nuove evidenze", *ScAnt* 20, 2014, 159-2120.

Pesando 2009

F. Pesando, "Prima della catastrofe: Vespasiano e le città vesuviane", *Divus Vespasianus: il bimillenario dei Flavi*, Eds. F. Coarelli, Roma, 2009, 378-385.

Pesando – Guidobaldi 2006

F. Pesando – M. P. Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*² (Guide Archeologiche Laterza, 14), Roma, 2006.

Picard 1962

G.-Ch. Picard, "Le septizonium de Cincari et le problème des septizonia", *Mon Piot* 52.2, 1962, 77-93.

Richardson 1977

L. Richardson, "The libraries of Pompeii", *Archaeology* 30, 1977, 394-402.

Richardson 1988

L. Richardson, *Pompeii. An architectural history*, Baltimore, 1988.

Scott -Ryberg 1955

I. S. Scott -Ryberg, *Rites of the state religion in Roman art* (MemAmAc 22), Roma, 1955.

Steinby 1979

M. Steinby, "La produzione laterizia", *Pompei 79: raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana*, Eds. F. Zevi, Napoli, 1979, 265-271.

Taylor 1931

L. R. Taylor, *The divinity of the Roman emperor* (Philological Monographs, 1), Middletown, 1931.

Torelli 1998

M. Torelli, "Il culto imperiale a Pompei", *I culti della Campania antica*, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in ricordo di Nazarena Valenza Mele (Napoli, 15-17 maggio 1995) (Pubblicazioni Scientifiche del Centro di Studi della Magna Grecia dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, Terza Serie, 3), Eds. S. Adamo Muscettola – G. Greco, Roma, 1998, 245-270.

Torelli 2000

M. Torelli, "Domi nobiles e lateres signati", *La brique antique et médiévale. Production et commercialisation d'un matériau*, Actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre d'Histoire Urbaine de l'École Normale Supérieure de Fontenay/Saint-Cloud et l'École Française de Rome (Saint-Cloud, 16-18 novembre 1995) (CEFR, 272), Eds. P. Boucheron – H. Broise – Y. Thébert, Roma, 2000, 311-321.

Torelli 2017

M. Torelli, "Per un lessico degli edifici del culto imperiale", *Ostraka* 26, 2017, 193-209.

Varone 2005

A. Varone, "Convivere con i terremoti. La travagliata ricostruzione di Pompei dopo il terremoto del 62 d.C. alla luce delle nuove scoperte", *Omni pede stare*, Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos de Waele (Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, 9), Eds. J. de Waele – S. T. A. M. Mols – E. M. Moormann, Napoli, 2005, 315-323.

Wallat 1993

K. Wallat, "Opus Testaceum in Pompeji", *RM* 100, 1993, 353-382.

Wallat 1995

K. Wallat, "Der Zustand des Forums von Pompeji am Vorabend des Vesuvausbruchs 79 n. Chr.", *Archäologie und Seismologie, La Regione Vesuviana dal 62 al 79 d.C. Problemi Archeologici e Sismologici*, Colloquium (Boscoreale, 26-27 November 1993), Eds. T. Fröhlich – L. Jacobelli, München, 1995, 75-92.

Wallat 1997

K. Wallat, *Die Ostseite des Forums von Pompeji: baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen an den kaiserzeitlichen Gebäuden*, Frankfurt, 1997.

Wilson -Jones 1991

M. Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Capital", *BSR* 59, 1991, 89-150.

Zanker 1987

P. Zanker, *Pompeji. Stadtbilder als Spiegel von Gesellschaft und Herrschaftsform* (Trierer Winckelmannsprogramme, 9), Mainz am Rhein, 1987.